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TO

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT,

THE OLDEST AND THE MOST RENOWNED OF LIVING TRAVELERS,

THIS COMPENDIUM OF THE RESULTS OF MODERN TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION,

IS

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Cyclopedia of Modern Travel.

Bayard Taylor

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PREFACE.

The present century is emphatically an age of exploration and discovery. At no period since the days of Columbus and Cortez has the thirst for exploring new lands been more active and universal than now. One by one the outposts of barbarism are stormed and carried; advanced parallels are thrown up, and the besieging lines of knowledge, which, when once established, can never be retaken, are gradually closing round the yet unconquered mysteries of the globe. Modern exploration is intelligent, and its results are therefore positive and permanent. The traveler no longer wanders bewildered in a cloud of fables, prepared to see marvels, and but too ready to create them: he tests every step of the way by the sure light of science, and his pioneer trail becomes a plain and easy path to those who follow. The pencil, the compass, the barometer, and the sextant accompany him; geology, botany, and ethnology are his aids; and by these helps and appliances, his single brain now achieves results which it would once have required an armed force to win.

In nothing is this change more manifest than in the character of the narratives of modern travelers, as contrasted with those of the past three centuries. The old travelers had all the wonder and the credulity of children, and were scarcely less naïve and unembarrassed in the candor of their relations. They made their works a complete confessional of their experiences; they withheld no secrets from their readers, and in their account of the customs of strange races they frequently descended to details which the extreme delicacy of modern taste would not allow. Their volumes are singular compounds of personal experiences, historical episodes, statistics, and reflections on the laws, religions, and habits of life of other races of men, interwoven with many wonderful stories, and with the most extraordinary conjectures and speculations. Their con-

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scientiousness in describing all which they saw, and their readiness in believing all which they heard, have subjected most of them to the charge of exaggeration, if not of positive falsehood; yet many of their most extraordinary statements have been fully confirmed in our own day, and there is scarcely a single instance where any old traveler of repute has been convicted of willful fabrication.

The modern traveler, on the other hand, is characterized by scepticism rather than credulity. He is much more interested in solving some problem of physical geography, or in illustrating some favorite scientific theory, than in tales of "gorgons, hydras, and chimæras dire." As the ends of the earth have been brought together, through the extension of commercial intercourse, and that magnificent system of colonization which is the leading feature of modern history, he is no longer obliged to masquerade in the disguises of other races than his own, but bears about him the distinguishing stamp of his nationality. He is thus less truly a cosmopolite than his prototype of two centuries back, and while his delineations of nature are in most cases as exact and faithful as possible, he gives us less of that intrinsic human nature which lends such a charm to the story of the latter. There are some exceptions, it is true, the most remarkable of whom is M. Huc, who exhibits all the simplicity and sincerity of the early Jesuit missionaries; and the reader can not help being impressed with the conviction that he tells us nothing which he does not himself honestly believe.

But in the accuracy of their observations the travelers of modern times are pre-eminently distinguished. It is no longer the testimony of a pair of eyes which is offered to us; it is also the confirmation of instruments as unerring as natural laws, which photograph for us the climate, the conformation, the scenery, and the inhabitants of distant lands. Mountains have been measured and the enormous abysses of the ocean sounded; maps are no longer an unmeaning plane surface, but the central plateaus of continents, and the terraces of mountain ranges take their proportionate levels; coast-lines, which formerly displayed but the imperfect resemblance of a child's attempt at drawing, have now the clear and certain outline, the perfect profile of an artist's hand, and every feature in the panorama of our globe is growing into new and beautiful distinctness. These vast results are exclusively the product of our own day. Humboldt, the founder of Physical Geography, still lives to rejoice over the discoveries of each successive year; Agassiz, who has arranged the geographical distribution of the animal king-

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doms, and Maury, who has sketched the inequalities of the beds of oceans, ascertained their currents, and organized the apparent chaos of the winds, live among us; while a host of co-workers, in all parts of the world, are daily contributing materials toward the perfection of those grand systems which attest the supremacy of Man over the material universe, and the majesty of that Divine Wisdom to which the order of creation moves.

A comparison of the maps which we now possess with those of fifty years ago, will best illustrate the achievements of modern exploration. Within that time all the principal features of the geography of our own vast interior regions have been accurately determined; the great fields of Central Asia have been traversed in various directions, from Bokhara and the Oxus to the Chinese Wall; the half-known river systems of South America have been explored and surveyed; the icy continent around the Southern Pole has been discovered; the North-Western Passage, the *ignis-fatuus* of nearly two centuries, is at last found; the Dead Sea is stripped of its fabulous terrors; the course of the Niger is no longer a myth, and the sublime secret of the Nile is almost wrested from his keeping. The Mountains of the Moon, sought for through two thousand years, have been beheld by a Caucasian eye; an English steamer has ascended the Chadda to the frontiers of the great kingdom of Bornou; Eyre, Leichhardt, and Sturt have penetrated the wilderness of Australia; the Russians have explored the frozen shores of Northern Siberia, and descended from Irkoutsk to the mouth of the Amoor; the antiquated walls of Chinese prejudice have been cracked, and are fast tumbling down; and the canvas screens which surrounded Japan have been cut by the sharp edge of American enterprise. Such are the principal features in the progress of modern discovery. What half-century, since the form of the earth and the boundaries of its land and water were known, can exhibit such a list of achievements?

The design of this book is to present a compact, yet as far as possible, a complete and satisfactory, view of these results. So far as I am aware, no work of the kind has yet been undertaken. When it was proposed to me by the publishers, to whom the original idea is due, I at once recognized its utility, and as the preparation of it, though involving a considerable amount of labor, was congenial to my tastes and pursuits, I agreed to complete it previous to setting out on a new series of travels. As it was the object of the publishers to produce a work which should possess permanent value as a book of reference, and yet be sufficiently popular in its arrangement to interest the great mass of readers, who desire some-

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thing more than a dry statement of facts, while its cost should not place it beyond their reach, I decided to let each traveler tell his own story, mainly, confining my own labors to the necessary condensation, and to the selection and arrangement of the different narratives.

The limits prescribed to me rendered it impossible to include under the head of "Travels," the many voyages of exploration which have been made during this century, and which have contributed so richly to its record of discoveries. Those of Ross, Parry, Cecile, D' Urville, Wilkes, Beechy, and others, extending over long periods of time, would have required much space in order to present a complete summary of their results. I determined, therefore, to confine myself to the works of travel and exploration by land, and even in this field the material was so rich that to have included every traveler who has attained some distinction since the beginning of this century would have rendered necessary a much more barren and encyclopædical arrangement than I have thought proper to adopt. The reader, who is interested in a traveler's achievements, naturally desires to hear them told in his own language and characteristic manner, and I preferred selecting the most prominent narratives—those which are, in some measure, typical of the various fields of exploration—and omitting those which are of less importance, or the disclosures of which have been superseded by later travelers. For the same reason, where the story of a man's travels is the story of his life, I have given the article a biographical character, as in the case of Burckhardt and Mungo Park. Alexander von Humboldt, from the position he occupies, justifies the same departure from the original plan of the work. No complete and connected account of his journeys has ever yet been published.

My principal difficulty has thus been the very richness of the materials at my disposal. I have taken great care to prevent the work of compilation from becoming mutilation—to distinguish between that which is of limited or special importance, and that which possesses general interest and value. I can not suppose that I have always succeeded, and am prepared to hear my judgment questioned on many points. The general usefulness of the work, however, and the necessity for its preparation, may be conceded. It contains fifty-five narratives, which, in their original form of publication, embrace ninety volumes. Many of the works, including some of the greatest interest, have long been out of print; many have never been republished in this country; and a few have not been translated into English. Very few distinguished names

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have been omitted. Most of the ground traversed by Sir Alexander Burnes is covered by the narratives of Meyendorff and Lieutenant Wood ; I was prevented from describing the very interesting researches of Stephens in Central America and Yucatan, by the fact of their being copyright works ; and of Schomburgk's expensive work on Guiana, there is not a copy in this country, to my knowledge, and none to be procured at present. With these exceptions, the list of travelers who have made important contributions to our knowledge of other countries and other races, will be found complete.

I have, of course, been obliged to omit all works which do not in some degree partake of the character of exploration, however admirable in style or interesting in substance. There are also some works of the greatest interest in the course of publication, but which have not yet appeared. Foremost among these are the travels of Dr. Barth in Central Africa, which probably exceed in importance any previous labors in the same field. Dr. Krapf has not yet given to the world his account of the great African snow mountain of Kilimandjaro, which he discovered in the year 1850. Anderson's visit to the great lake Ngami, in Southern Africa, is on the eve of publication, and Dr. Livingston, the discoverer of this lake, is now on his return to Cape Town, from a daring journey of three years into the unknown interior. There is, therefore, the greater necessity now, when scarcely a year passes over without some interesting geographical discovery, of bringing together in a convenient form all that has hitherto been done, as an introduction to and elucidation of what may be done hereafter. Of the essential interest of the various narratives it is unnecessary to speak. Many of them already constitute a portion of the household literature of the world, and are read wherever heroic endurance and unflinching courage are held in esteem.

It was thought best to arrange the narratives in chronological order, although this rule has not been adhered to in all cases. Where there is a manifest connection between two or more separate exploring journeys—as in the case of Denham, Clapperton, and Lander—such connection has always been preserved. In some instances, also, several disconnected journeys over prescribed routes or in a special field of travel, have been grouped together under one head. To have introduced geographical distinctions, in addition, would have complicated the arrangement and required a greater expenditure of time than I have been able to devote to the work. I have endeavored to do the best allowed by the time and space at my disposal, and claim no further merit than that of the

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mosaic-worker who arranges in a symmetrical form the jewels placed before him.

In nearly all instances the articles have been prepared from the original editions of the various works. For reference to a few volumes which I was unable to obtain, I am indebted to the Astor and Society Libraries of this city. My friend, Mr. Barclay Pennock, afforded me much assistance in translating from the French and German, and in the abridgement of some of the narratives. The cuts with which the work is illustrated have been taken in all cases, from the original publications. The maps have been specially prepared for the purpose, and will, it is believed, add materially to the interest of the narratives to which they are prefixed.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

New York, July, 1856.

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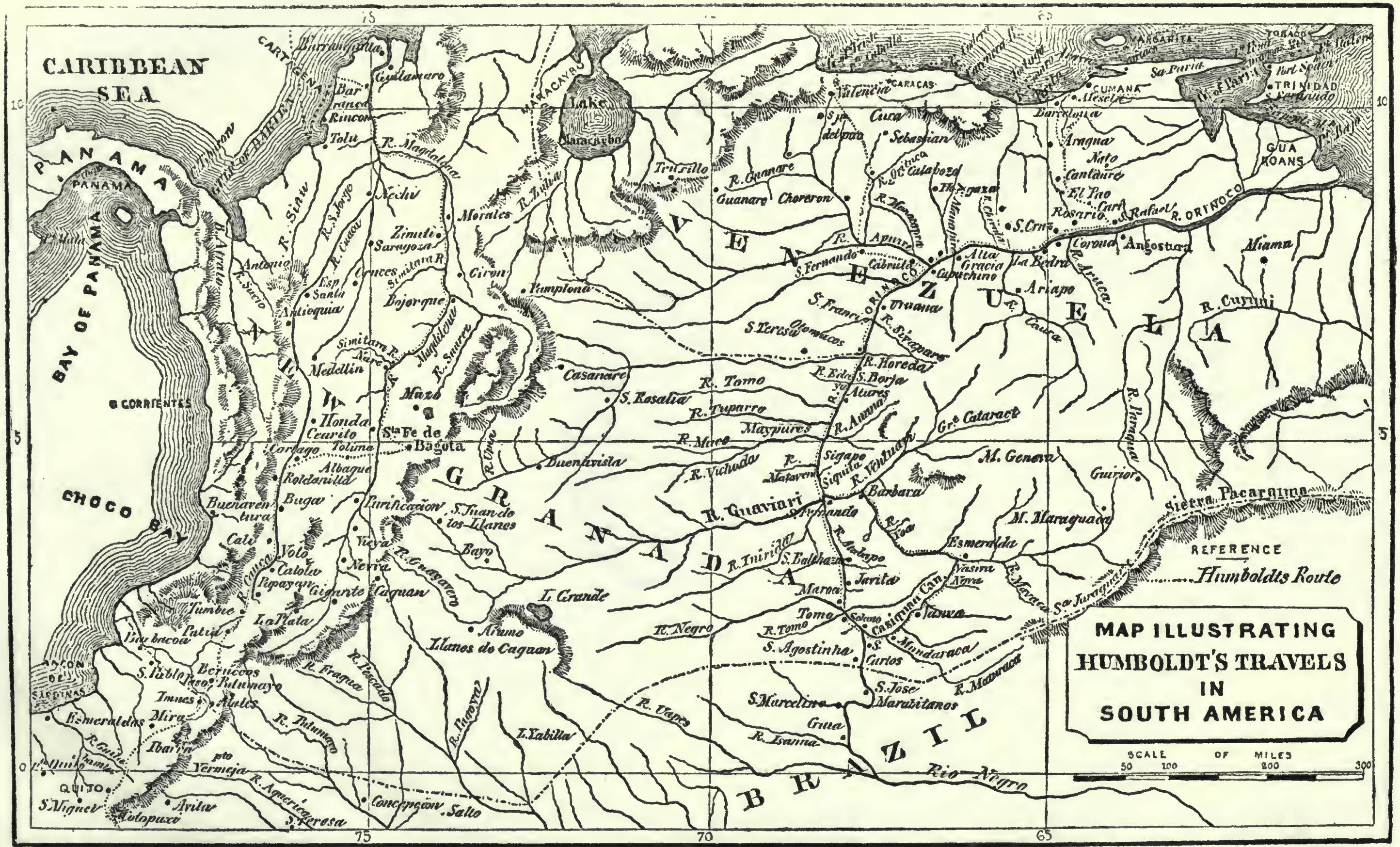

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LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.*

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO, RUSSIA, SIBERIA, AND TARTARY.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION.

Alexander Von Humboldt, the oldest and most renowned of living travelers, was born in Berlin, on the 14th of September, 1769. His youth was spent in the castle and park of Tegel, about nine miles north-west of that city—an estate which his father, Major Von Humboldt, purchased at the termination of the Seven Years' War, when he was appointed chamberlain to Frederic the Great. The poet Goethe, when he accompanied the Duke of Saxe-Weimar to Berlin, in the year 1778, visited Tegel, and there saw the Major's two sons, Wilhelm and Alexander, who were then eight and ten years of age, but could scarcely recognize in them, at that time, his future friends and co-workers in the fields of literature and natural science.

* Humboldt is a traveled man of science, rather than a traveler. His passion for scientific investigation is, perhaps, even greater than his individual enjoyment of new scenes and new experiences. Hence I have found it difficult to obtain the material for a connected narrative of his travels and explorations. His "Personal Narrative," which was written to supply this want, at the request of his friends, is a rich treasury of information, but contributes comparatively little to the end in view, and does not extend beyond his visit to Cuba, in the year 1801. The remaining portion I have been obliged to construct out of fragmentary descriptions scattered through his other works. Klencke's "Life of Humboldt," on which I have relied for a concise statement of the scientific results of his travels, gives but the merest outline. The following are the principal works consulted: Humboldt's "Personal Narrative;" Humboldt's "Views of Nature;" Humboldt's "*Vues des Cordillères*;" Humboldt's "New Spain;" Humboldt's "*Kleinere Schriften*;" Humboldt's "*Asie Centrale*;" Rose's "*Reise nach dem Ural*," etc. (Journey to the Ural); Klencke's "Life of Humboldt."

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The brothers Humboldt were remarkably fortunate in the influences which surrounded them in early life. The question of educational reform was beginning to engage the attention of scholars and statesmen; the ideas of Rousseau, which had penetrated into Germany, had given rise to more rational and liberal plans for the instruction of youth. The physical development of the scholar received its due share of attention, and the study of natural science was considered of no less importance than that of metaphysics and the classics. The first tutor employed by Major Von Humboldt for his sons was Campe (afterwards distinguished as a critic and philologist), who had edited a German edition of Robinson Crusoe, and had written several books for children, containing imaginary narratives of travel and adventure. It is very probable that these books, and the conversation of their author, first excited the passion for travel in the mind of his youngest pupil. By him, and the tutors who succeeded him, the boys were carefully instructed according to their years, without doing violence to the individual bent of their natures. They were allowed to pursue different paths of study, aiding and illustrating each other's progress by the mutual communication and discussion of what they had learned. Alexander soon began to show his inclination for the study of nature. In his eleventh year he received lessons in botany, and thenceforth devoted himself with ardor to that and kindred sciences. It was noticed, however, that his mind was slow to retain what was taught him; his body was weak, and not until late in boyhood, after he had become more robust and vigorous, did he awake to a full consciousness of his powers.

In the year 1786, the brothers entered the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where they remained two years, and were then transferred to that of Göttingen. Here Alexander, now in his nineteenth year, made the acquaintance of Blumenbach, the celebrated natural historian, and of George Forster, who, as naturalist, had accompanied Cook in his voyage around the globe. Through the friendship of the latter, his longing for exploration and scientific discovery was confirmed and strengthened; and he acquired that love of civil liberty, those humane and progressive ideas, which have made him, while the friend of monarchs, the most liberal of citizens. Of the admiration which he felt for Forster, we have ample testimony in the second volume of "Cosmos," where he pays an eloquent tribute to his genius. "All that can give truth, individuality, and distinctiveness to the delineation of exotic nature, is united in his works."

The brothers completed their studies in 1789. While Wilhelm, whose talents fitted him for political life, paid a visit to Paris, Alexander, in company with Forster, made his first scientific journey to the Rhine, through Holland, and to England in the spring of 1790; and this first experience became the subject of his first literary production. It appeared in the same year, under the title of "Mineralogical Observations on some Basaltic Formations of the Rhine." After studying

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book-keeping in a commercial institute in Hamburg, he removed to Freiburg, and became a student in the mining academy, where he remained until the spring of 1792, when he received the appointment of superintendent of mines in Franconia, an office which he held for the three following years. During this time he zealously prosecuted his mineralogical and botanical studies, and made various experiments on the physical and chemical laws of metallurgy. His mind, however, was unsatisfied with his position; he was looking forward with impatience to the opportunity of prosecuting his investigations in broader and fresher fields, and the plan of his great American journey, which appears to have been first made during his intimacy with Forster, presented itself constantly to his imagination. In order to prepare himself for an undertaking of such magnitude, he made several visits to Switzerland and the mountains of Silesia, besides an official journey into Prussian Poland. Thenceforth, this vision of transatlantic travel and exploration became the ruling aim of his life. He thus refers to it in the opening chapter of his "Personal Narrative:"—"From my earliest youth, I felt an ardent desire to travel into distant regions, seldom visited by Europeans. This desire is characteristic of a period of our existence when life appears an unlimited horizon, and when we find an irresistible attraction in the impetuous agitation of the mind, and the image of positive danger. Though educated in a country which has no direct communication with either the East or the West Indies, living amid mountains remote from coasts, and celebrated for their numerous mines, I felt an increasing passion for the sea and distant expeditions. Objects with which we are acquainted only by the animated narratives of travelers have a peculiar charm; imagination wanders with delight over that which is vague and undefined; and the pleasures we are deprived of seem to possess a fascinating power, compared with which, all we daily feel in the narrow circle of sedentary life appears insipid."

Resigning his office in 1795, Humboldt visited Vienna, where he associated himself with the celebrated Freiesleben, and resumed the study of botany. He also occupied himself with galvanism, then just discovered, and planned a visit to the volcanic districts of Naples and Sicily, which he was unable to carry out, on account of the war. The death of his mother, and the disposition of the paternal estates, now called him away from his studies, and it was not until 1797 that he was able to make serious preparations for his American journey. In order to supply himself with ample means, he sold the large estate which he had inherited, and set aside the greater part of the proceeds for that object. But he was yet to encounter delays and obstacles, which would have exhausted the patience of a less enthusiastic person. The brothers had long talked of a journey to Italy in company, and it was decided to carry out this plan prior to Alexander's departure, but, on reaching Vienna, their progress was stopped by the war between France and Austria. Alexander spent the winter of 1797–8 in Salzburg, where he

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met with a gentleman who had visited Illyria and Greece, and who was ardently desirous of making a journey to Egypt. The two enthusiasts matured a plan of ascending the Nile as far as the Nubian frontier, to be followed by an exploration of Palestine and Syria; but the political aspects of Europe at this time prevented them from carrying it into effect. In the spring, Humboldt, hearing that the French government was fitting out an exploring expedition, to be dispatched to the southern hemisphere, under the command of Captain Baudin, hastened to Paris, whither his brother had proceeded, after the peace of Campo Formio. Here he first met with M. Aimé Bonpland, his future companion in South America, who had been appointed one of the naturalists of the expedition. They entered together on a course of preparatory study, while Humboldt, at the same time, united with the celebrated Gay-Lussac, in making experiments to determine the composition of the atmosphere. In addition to these labors, he found time to study the Arabic language. His intellectual activity appears to have been truly remarkable, and there was scarcely any branch of knowledge, which could even remotely increase his qualifications for the great task before him, of which he did not make himself master.

Baudin's expedition was given up, on account of the renewed prospect of war. But the spirit of travel was now thoroughly implanted in Humboldt's heart, and he at once set about forming new plans. Being offered passage from Marseilles to Algiers, in a Swedish frigate, which was dispatched on a special mission to the latter country, he conceived the idea of passing through Barbary to Egypt, and there joining the French scientific mission, which accompanied the army of Napoleon. He also proposed to visit Mecca, if possible, and to extend his travels through Persia to India. In these plans he was seconded by Bonpland, who joined company with him, and in the autumn of 1798 they both proceeded to Marseilles, to await the arrival of the Swedish frigate. Here, again, they were doomed to disappointment. After waiting two months, they learned that the frigate had been injured in a storm on the coast of Portugal, and would not arrive until the following spring. During a visit to Toulon, Humboldt saw the frigate *La Boudeuse*, which had been commanded by Bougainville in his voyage around the world. He says: "I can not describe the impression made upon my mind by the sight of the vessel which had carried Commerson to the islands of the South Sea." Rather than remain inactive in Marseilles, the two friends resolved to pass the winter in Spain. They proceeded, by way of Barcelona, to Madrid, making astronomical observations and barometrical measurements on the road. On arriving at the capital, they found that the accident to the Swedish frigate was the best fortune which could have befallen them. The Saxon embassador informed Humboldt that under the administration of the enlightened minister, Urquijo, he might obtain permission to travel in Spanish America, a permission which, through the jealousy of Spain, had hitherto been obtained with great

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difficulty, and always accompanied with restrictions, which greatly diminished its value. Humboldt thus relates the result of his application: "I was presented at the court of Aranjuez in March, 1799, and the king received me graciously. I explained to him the motives which led me to undertake a voyage to the New World, and the Philippine Islands, and I presented a memoir on the subject to the Secretary of State. Señor de Urquijo supported my demand, and overcame every obstacle. I obtained two passports, one from the first Secretary of State, the other from the Council of the Indies. Never had so extensive a permission been granted to any traveler, and never had any foreigner been honored with more confidence on the part of the Spanish government."

VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

Overflowing with joy at the unhoped-for realization of desires which he had cherished for nine years, and full of the anticipation of adventure and discovery in the New World, Humboldt left Madrid in May, 1799, accompanied by Bonpland, and proceeded to Corunna, on the northwestern coast of Spain, where the corvette Pizarro, bound for Havana and Mexico, was lying. The captain was ordered, not only to receive the travelers on board, and provide a safe place for their astronomical instruments, but also to touch at the port of Orotava, in the Canaries, and allow them time to ascend the peak of Teneriffe. Corunna was at that time blockaded by an English fleet, owing to which cause the sailing of the Pizarro was postponed from day to day, but in the beginning of June a violent storm obliged the three hostile vessels to make for the open sea, and on the fifth the corvette hoisted her anchors, and safely slipped away. The moment so impatiently looked forward to, through so many years, was come at last: after so much severe study, so much devotion to his object, such rich and various preparation, Humboldt, now thirty years of age, entered on the magnificent task, which he considered the great work of his life, and the foundation of his fame as a man of science. No man was ever better prepared, both by nature and by cultivation, for such an undertaking, or better deserved success by the patience and enthusiasm with which he overcame the obstacles in the way of its accomplishment. But the beginnings of success are always clouded with doubt and uncertainty, and when the irrevocable step had been taken, he experienced that sense of depression common to all travelers on first setting out, and he thus wrote: "The moment of leaving Europe for the first time, is attended with a solemn feeling. We in vain summon to our minds the frequency of the communication between the two worlds; we in vain reflect on the great facility with which, from the improved state of navigation, we traverse the Atlantic, which, compared to the Pacific, is but a larger arm of the sea; the sentiment we feel when we first undertake so distant a voyage, is not the less

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accompanied by a deep emotion, unlike any other impression we have hitherto felt. Separated from the objects of our dearest affections, entering in some sort on a new state of existence, we are forced to fall back on our own thoughts, and we feel within ourselves a dreariness we have never known before." The light of a fisher's hut at Sisarga, glimmering like a star on the horizon, was his last glimpse of Europe. He and Bonpland leaned over the rail, watching it until it disappeared. "Oh," he exclaimed, years afterward, "these impressions will never be erased from my memory! How many recollections does not one bright spot, shining unsteadily over the agitated waves in the darkness of night, and pointing out the shores of our native earth, recall to the imagination!"

At sunset, on the 8th of June, the English fleet was seen from the mast-head, and the course of the Pizarro was immediately altered. For some days no lights were allowed on board after dark, for fear of detection, and the travelers were obliged to use dark lanterns in consulting the thermometer. Nothing could have surpassed the enthusiasm with which they prosecuted their scientific investigations. In Humboldt's narrative, the romance of travel is wholly lost sight of in the zeal of the philosopher. No sooner had he left the land than he began to speculate on the currents of the sea, and to measure their force and direction. He fished up medusas, or sea-nettles, galvanized them, and tested their capacity to emit light; he was enchanted with the beauty of the nights, but not too much so to make astronomical observations; he admired the brilliant azure of the tropical sky, and measured its intensity of color with a cyanometer; and when the island of Lancerote, one of the Canaries, came in sight, he immediately took the angle of altitude of its highest peak. So far from being insensible to the influences of nature, few travelers have enjoyed them with a keener zest, but his glance never rests long upon a beautiful scene without going behind its outward features, to speculate upon the geognostic laws which they illustrate. His "Personal Narrative" is therefore a record of his scientific observations rather than of his individual experience and adventure.

On approaching the island of Teneriffe, the weather was so hazy that the peak was invisible, greatly to Humboldt's disappointment. This circumstance, however, proved to be very fortunate; for after entering the harbor of Santa Cruz, early on the morning of the 19th of June, the mist cleared away, and the first rays of the sun which illuminated the famous peak, revealed also four English vessels lying at anchor. Thus narrowly did the travelers escape being carried back to Europe, at the outset of their journey! On account of the blockade, the captain gave them notice that he could only remain four or five days, and they hastened to the town of Orotava, where they procured guides to ascend the peak. They first visited the celebrated dragon-tree, the trunk of which they found to be forty-five feet in circumference, and the great age of which they could only conjecture. Humboldt considers it to be one of the oldest inhabitants of our globe: "Its aspect," he says, "forcibly

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exemplifies that eternal youth of nature, which is an inexhaustible source of motion and of life." Leaving Orotava, Humboldt and his companion took a stony road through a forest of chestnut-trees, continued their ascent to an elevated plateau, called the Plain of *Retama* (a flowering shrub), and before night succeeded in reaching a kind of cavern, called the English Halt, nearly ten thousand feet above the sea. Though in the midst of summer, and under an African sky, they suffered much from cold, the thermometer falling to 41°. Humboldt thus describes their lodging-place. "Our guides made a large fire with the dry branches of retama. Having neither tents nor cloaks, we lay down on some masses of rock, and were singularly incommoded by the flame and smoke which the wind drove toward us. We had attempted to form a kind of screen with cloths tied together, but our inclosure took fire, which we did not perceive till the greater part had been consumed by the flames. We had never passed a night on a point so elevated, and we then little imagined that we should, one day, on the ridge of the Cordilleras, inhabit towns higher than the summit of the volcano we were to scale on the morrow. A strong northerly wind chased the clouds; the moon, at intervals, shooting through the vapors, exposed its disc on a firmament of the darkest blue; and the view of the volcano threw a majestic character over the nocturnal scenery. Sometimes the peak was entirely hidden from our eyes by the fog, at other times it broke upon us in terrific proximity; and, like an enormous pyramid, threw its shadow over the clouds rolling beneath our feet." At three o'clock in the morning they lighted fir-torches, and started on their journey to the summit. They reached the Malpays—a stony plain out of which rises the volcanic cone—in time to witness the rising of the sun. By means of a telescope and chronometer, Humboldt ascertained that the time which the disc occupied in mounting above the horizon, was eight minutes and one second. He was half an hour in scaling the cone, the height of which above the plain is only five hundred and seventy feet, but finally reached the summit, one thousand nine hundred and four toises—twelve thousand one hundred and seventy-four feet—above the sea, at eight o'clock. Here, seated on a block of lava, he overlooked a portion of the earth's surface, equal in dimensions to one fourth of the kingdom of Spain. In the transparency of the air he could distinguish not only the houses, the sails of vessels, and the trunks of trees, far below, but even the differences of color in the vegetation. "The volcano seemed to overwhelm with its mass the island which serves as its base, as it shot up from the bosom of the waters to a height three times loftier than the region where the clouds float in summer. If its crater, half-extinguished for ages past, shot forth flakes of fire like that of Stromboli in the Æolian Islands, the Peak of Teneriffe, like a light-house, would serve to guide the mariner in a circuit of more than two hundred and sixty leagues."

After having bottled some air for analysis, and collected some crystals of sulphur, bedewed with sulphuric acid, which destroyed part of Hum-

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boldt's mineralogical journal, the travelers began their descent. The cold and violent wind often obliged them to seek shelter under the rocks. Their hands and faces were nearly frozen, while their boots were burned by the hot ashes. The guides threw away their specimens, drank their wine, and broke their water-jars. They met with no further accident, however, and before night reached Orotava. This ascent of the Peak of Teneriffe, although it occupied but two days, was most important in its results. The observations made by Humboldt gave him the first idea of those researches into the geographical distribution of plants and animals, which entitle him to rank as the founder of this branch of cosmography. He perceived that the inorganic forms of nature, such as mountains and rocks, resemble each other in the most distant parts of the world, while the organic forms—plants and animals—vary according to climate, character of the soil, altitude above the sea, and other local influences. From observing the circles of vegetation on Teneriffe—rising from the cocoa-palm on the sea-shore, through the regions of chestnut, heath, and fir, to the fragrant *retama* at the base of the crater—he was led to renew his investigations on the slopes of the Andes.

On the 25th of June they sailed from Santa Cruz, and some days afterward passed through the Sargasso Sea—a part of the ocean covered with immense beds of sea-weed, among which stems have been found eight hundred feet in length, and which, floating on the surface, give the sea the appearance of a vast inundated meadow. The appearance of the nocturnal heavens, as the ship proceeded southward, excited anew the enthusiasm of the travelers. "Nothing," writes Humboldt, "awakens in the traveler a livelier remembrance of the immense distance by which he is separated from his country, than the aspect of an unknown firmament. A traveler needs not to be a botanist, to recognize the torrid zone by the mere aspect of its vegetation. Without having acquired any notions of astronomy, he feels he is not in Europe, when he sees the immense constellation of the Ship, or the phosphorescent Clouds of Magellan, arise on the horizon. The heavens and the earth—every thing in the equinoctial regions—present an exotic character. We saw distinctly for the first time the Southern Cross only on the night of the 4th of July, in the sixteenth degree of latitude. It was strongly inclined, and appeared from time to time between the clouds, the center of which, furrowed by uncondensed lightnings, reflected a silvery light. If a traveler may be permitted to speak of his personal emotions, I shall add, that on that night I experienced the realization of one of the dreams of my early youth.

"The two great stars which mark the summit and the foot of the Cross, having nearly the same right ascension, it follows that the constellation is almost perpendicular at the moment when it passes the meridian. This circumstance is known to the people of every nation situated beyond the tropics, or in the southern hemisphere. It has been observed at what hour of the night, in different seasons, the Cross is

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erect or inclined. It is a timepiece which advances very regularly nearly four minutes a-day, and no other group of stars affords to the naked eye an observation of time so easily made. How often have we heard our guides exclaim in the savannahs of Venezuela, or in the desert extending from Lima to Truxillo, "Midnight is past, the Cross begins to bend!" How often those words reminded us of that affecting scene, where Paul and Virginia, seated near the source of the river of Lataniers, conversed together for the last time, and where the old man, at the sight of the Southern Cross, warns them that it is time to separate."

The latter part of the voyage was not so fortunate as the first. A malignant fever broke out, which grew more serious the nearer the ship approached the Antilles. On the 12th of July, Humboldt, who had taken observations of the latitude and longitude every day during the voyage, predicted that land would be seen the next day before sunrise. The pilots, who depended mostly on the log for their reckoning, laughed at this, asserting that they would not make land for two or three days; but at six o'clock next morning, the welcome cry was given by a sailor at the mast-head. The land proved to be the island of Tobago. The next day a young Asturian, nineteen years of age, fell a victim to the fever, and his death seems to have produced a painful impression upon the mind of Humboldt, who thus describes the occurrence: "We were assembled on the deck, absorbed in melancholy reflections. It was no longer doubtful, that the fever which raged on board, had assumed within the last few days a fatal aspect. Our eyes were fixed on a hilly and desert coast, on which the moon, from time to time, shed her light athwart the clouds. The sea, gently agitated, emitted a feeble phosphoric light. Nothing was heard but the monotonous cry of a few large sea-birds, flying toward the shore. A profound calm reigned over these solitary regions, but this calm of nature was in discordance with the painful feelings by which we were oppressed. About eight o'clock, the dead man's knell was slowly tolled. At this lugubrious sound, the sailors suspended their labors, and threw themselves on their knees to offer a momentary prayer: an affecting ceremony, which brought to our remembrance those times, when the primitive Christians all considered themselves as members of the same family. All were united in one common sorrow for a misfortune which was felt to be common to all." Many of the passengers, becoming alarmed, induced the captain to run into Cumana, a port on the north-eastern shore of Venezuela, and there land them, rather than continue their voyage in the Pizarro to Havana. Among them were Humboldt and Bonpland, who decided to visit Venezuela before proceeding to Mexico, and thus the epidemic which they at first regarded as a misfortune, became the accidental cause of their discoveries in the regions of the Orinoco. To the same circumstance they were also indebted for the preservation of their health, for the yellow-fever was then prevailing in Havana, and many of the passengers who remained on board of the Pizarro, fell victims to it after their arrival.

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"On the 16th of July, 1799, at break of day," says Humboldt, "we beheld a verdant coast, of picturesque aspect. The mountains of New Andalusia, half vailed by mists, bounded the horizon to the south. The city of Cumana and its castle appeared between groups of cocoa-trees. We anchored in the port about nine in the morning, forty-one days after our departure from Corunna; the sick dragged themselves on deck to enjoy the sight of a land which was to put an end to their sufferings. Our eyes were fixed on the groups of cocoa-trees which border the river; their trunks, more than sixty feet high, towered over every object in the landscape. The plain was covered with the tufts of cassia, caper, and those arborescent mimosas, which, like the pine of Italy, spread their branches in the form of an umbrella. The pinnated leaves of the palms were conspicuous on the azure sky, the clearness of which was unsullied by any trace of vapor. The sun was ascending rapidly toward the zenith. A dazzling light was spread through the air, along the whitish hills strewed with cylindric cactuses, and over a sea ever calm, the shores of which were peopled with pelicans, herons, and flamingoes. The splendor of the day, the vivid coloring of the vegetable world, the forms of the plants, the varied plumage of the birds, all were stamped with the grand character of nature in the equinoctial regions."

The captain of the Pizarro conducted the travelers to the Governor of the province, Señor Emparan, who received them with great kindness, and by the public consideration which he showed them, secured them a favorable reception in all parts of Venezuela. To their great astonishment, he asked them questions which denoted some scientific knowledge, and Humboldt declares, in his delight at this circumstance, "The name of his native country, pronounced on a distant shore, would not have been more agreeable to the ear of a traveler, than those words *azote*, *oxyd of iron*, and *hygrometer*, were to ours." The travelers hired a spacious house, in a situation favorable for astronomical observations, and commenced their labors at once. "Overpowered at once by a great number of objects, we were somewhat embarrassed how to lay down a regular plan of study and observation. While every surrounding object was fitted to inspire in us the most lively interest, our physical and astronomical instruments in their turns excited strongly the curiosity of the inhabitants. We had numerous visitors; and in our desire to satisfy persons who appeared so happy to see the spots of the moon through Dollond's telescope, the absorption of two gases in a eudiometrical tube, or the effects of galvanism on the motions of a frog, we were obliged to answer questions often obscure, and to repeat for whole hours the same experiments."

Humboldt found relaxation from these annoyances in botanizing, and in studying the manners and customs of the inhabitants. He was particularly interested in the gigantic varieties of cactus, which, planted around the Spanish fortresses, formed an almost impenetrable chevaux-de-frise, while the moats, for further defense, were filled with swarms of

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alligators. Among the customs of the inhabitants of Cumana, he describes the following: "The children pass a considerable part of their lives in the water; all the inhabitants, even the women of the most opulent families, know how to swim; and in a country where man is so near the state of nature, one of the first questions asked on meeting in the morning is, whether the water is cooler than it was on the preceding evening. One of the modes of bathing is curious. We every evening visited a family, in the suburb of the Guayquerias. In a fine moonlight night, chairs were placed in the water; the men and women were lightly clothed, as in some baths of the north of Europe; and the family and strangers, assembled in the river, passed some hours in smoking cigars, and in talking, according to the custom of the country, of the extreme dryness of the season, of the abundant rains in the neighboring districts, and particularly of the extravagances of which the ladies of Cumana accuse those of the Caracas and the Havanna. The company were under no apprehensions from the bavas, or small crocodiles, which are now extremely scarce, and which approach men without attacking them." Humboldt also directed his attention to the volcanic soil on which he was living, and collected facts in relation to the earthquakes with which Cumana was frequently visited, in order to ascertain whether the direction and extent of the shocks was not regulated by some yet undiscovered law.

On the 19th of August, the travelers embarked in a boat, on an excursion to the peninsula of Araya, and those districts formerly celebrated for the slave-trade and the pearl-fishery. They had now been two months in the tropics, and found the nights so cold as to prevent them from sleeping, although the thermometer did not fall below 70°. After visiting the castle of Araya, they were benighted on their way to an Indian village. They were in a narrow path, with the sea on one side, and a perpendicular precipice on the other; the tide was rising rapidly, but they insisted on stopping to observe the setting of Venus, in spite of the terror of their guide. After wading for nearly an hour through the water, they finally reached a hut where they were hospitably entertained.

In the Indian village they found a Spanish shoemaker, who practiced medicine among the natives, and who, after delivering a long discourse on the vanity of human greatness, presented them with some small pearls, with the request that they would note the circumstance on their tablets. The next excursion made by Humboldt and Bonpland was to the mission in the mountains inhabited by the Chaymas Indians, a district filled with a wonderful animal and vegetable world, and a people living in the most primitive condition. Here they first beheld the splendors of tropical vegetation. Walking for hours under a roof of foliage, through which the sky appeared of a deep indigo-blue, they saw the hanging nests of the oriole, and heard the screaming of parrots and macaws. "When a traveler first penetrates into the forests of South

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America," says Humboldt, "he beholds nature under an unexpected aspect. He feels at every step that he is not on the confines, but in the center of the torrid zone; not in one of the West India Islands, but on a vast continent where every thing is gigantic—mountains, rivers, and the mass of vegetation. If he feel strongly the beauty of picturesque scenery he can scarcely define the various emotions which crowd upon his mind; he can scarcely distinguish what most excites his admiration—the deep silence of those solitudes, the individual beauty and contrast of forms, or that vigor and freshness of vegetable life which characterize the climate of the tropics. It might be said that the earth, overloaded with plants, does not allow them space enough to unfold themselves. The trunks of the trees are everywhere concealed under a thick carpet of verdure; and if we carefully transplanted the orchideæ, peppers, and the pothoses, nourished by a single American fig-tree, we should cover a vast extent of ground. By this singular assemblage, the forests, as well as the flanks of the rocks and mountains, enlarge the domains of organic nature. The same parasitic vines which creep on the ground, reach the tops of the trees, and pass from one to the other at the height of more than a hundred feet." The travelers were kindly received at the mission, although the old monk smiled sarcastically on seeing their books and instruments, and observed that there was no satisfaction in life equal to that of eating good beef. In the village of Arenas, they noticed a curious physiological phenomenon, in the person of a Spanish laborer, named Lozano, who had suckled a child with his own milk. The mother having fallen sick, the father, to quiet the infant, took it into his bed, and pressed it to his bosom. Lozano, then thirty-two years of age, had never before remarked that he had milk; but the irritation of the nipple, sucked by the child, caused the accumulation of that liquid. The milk was thick and very sweet. The father, astonished at the increased size of his breast, suckled his child two or three times a day during five months. The travelers saw the certificate, which had been drawn up on the spot, to attest this remarkable fact. They were assured that, during this suckling, the child had no other nourishment than the milk of his father.

Humboldt and his friend continued their journey to the ravine of Cuchivano, by a path infested with jaguars. From the caverns in this ravine smoke and flames are sometimes emitted. The inhabitants of this district prophesied an increase of earthquakes and other disturbances, from the appearance of these flames—prophecies which were fully verified in the course of a few years. On the 12th of September, after climbing the hills, they reached the principal mission of Caripe, where they spent several calm and beautiful nights. "Nothing," says Humboldt, "can be compared to the majestic tranquillity which the aspect of the firmament presents in this solitary region. When tracing with the eye, at night-fall, the meadows which bounded the horizon, the plain covered with verdure and gently undulated, we thought

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we beheld from afar, as in the deserts of the Orinoco, the surface of the ocean supporting the starry vault of heaven. The tree under which we were seated, the luminous insects flying in the air, the constellations which shone in the south; every object seemed to tell us how far we were from our native land. If amid this exotic nature we heard from the depth of the valley the tinkling of a bell, or the lowing of herds, the remembrance of our country was awakened suddenly. The sounds were like distant voices resounding from beyond the ocean, and with magical power transporting us from one hemisphere to the other. Strange mobility of the imagination of man, eternal source of our enjoyments and our pains!" In the valley of Caripe, the travelers visited the celebrated Guacharo Cavern, which had never been heard of in Europe. The entrance is an arch eighty feet wide and seventy-two feet high, out of which flows a small stream. The palms and arums on its banks were found growing a hundred feet within the cave. When the light began to fail, they heard the hoarse cries of the *guacharo*, a nocturnal bird, which they found to belong to a genus previously unknown. The plumage is of a dark bluish-gray, spotted with black, and the wings, when spread, measure three feet and a half. Their food consists of nuts and hard fruits, which they procure by night, retiring into the cave on the approach of day. "It would be difficult to form an idea of the horrible noise occasioned by thousands of these birds in the dark part of the cavern. Their shrill and piercing cries strike upon the vaults of the rocks, and are repeated by the subterranean echoes. The Indians showed us the nests of the guacharos by fixing a torch to the end of a long pole. The nests were fifty or sixty feet above our heads, in holes in the shape of funnels, with which the roof of the grotto is pierced like a sieve. The noise increased as we advanced, and as the birds were scared by the light of the torches of copal. When this noise ceased a few minutes around us, we heard at a distance the plaintive cries of the birds roosting in other ramifications of the cavern."

They only succeeded in penetrating to the distance of fifteen hundred feet, as the Indians, who were timid and superstitious, refused to proceed further. Humboldt estimates the entire length of the cavern at two thousand eight hundred feet, or a little more than half a mile. On the 22d of September, having collected their specimens, they set out on their return, crossing the mountain of Santa Maria, by a dangerous path along the edges of precipices and through dense forests, where they observed many varieties of monkeys. Humboldt remarked that these animals seem the more depressed and melancholy the nearer they resemble man—that in proportion to the increase of their apparent reasoning faculties, their impetuous sprightliness diminishes. The travelers finally arrived at the port of Cariàco, where a contagious fever had broken out, and they, therefore, embarked speedily for Cumana, twelve leagues distant. While studying the character of the Chaymas, and other Indian tribes, on this journey, Humboldt noticed their habit of as-

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senting to whatever is said to them—a habit which taught him to be cautious, thenceforth, in accepting statements made by the natives. To put an Indian alcalde to the proof, he asked him one day, whether he did not think the little river of Caripe, which issues from the cavern of the Guacharo, returned into it on the opposite side by some unknown entrance, after having ascended the slope of the mountain. The Indian seemed gravely to reflect on the subject, and then answered, by way of supporting Humboldt's hypothesis: "How else, if it were not so, would there always be water in the bed of the river at the mouth of the cavern?"

The travelers decided to remain another month at Cumana, to prepare for their intended journey to the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, and to observe an eclipse of the sun, on the 27th of October. On the evening preceding that day, however, they met with an adventure which came near terminating their travels. They were strolling along the beach in the evening, when Humboldt, hearing some one walking behind him, turned and saw a tall Zambo (mongrel negro and Indian), who held over his head a great club of palm-tree wood. He thus describes what followed: "I avoided the stroke by leaping toward the left; but M. Bonpland, who walked on my right, was less fortunate. He did not see the Zambo so soon as I did, and received a stroke above the temple, which leveled him with the ground. We were alone, without arms, half a league from any habitation, on a vast plain bounded by the sea. The Zambo, instead of attacking me, moved off slowly to pick up M. Bonpland's hat, which, having somewhat deadened the violence of the blow, had fallen off and lay at some distance. Alarmed at seeing my companion on the ground, and for some moments senseless, I thought of him only. I helped him to raise himself, and pain and anger doubled his strength. We ran toward the Zambo, who, either from cowardice, common enough in people of this caste, or because he perceived at a distance some men on the beach, did not wait for us, but ran off in the direction of a little thicket of cactus. He chanced to fall in running; and M. Bonpland, who reached him first, seized him round the body. The Zambo drew a long knife; and in this unequal struggle we should infallibly have been wounded, if some Biscayan merchants had not come to our assistance. The Zambo again ran away and we pursued him through the thorny cactuses. At length, tired out, he took shelter in a cow-house, whence he suffered himself to be quietly led to prison. M. Bonpland was seized with fever during the night; but endowed with great energy and fortitude, he continued his labors the next day. The stroke of the club had extended to the top of his head, and he felt its effect for the space of two or three months during the stay we made at Caracas."

After having observed the eclipse, Humboldt's attention was directed to a reddish mist, which covered the sky for some minutes every evening. Other remarkable phenomena soon followed: the mist grew denser,

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the hot night air was inodorous, the sea-breezes failed to blow, and the sky was colored like fire. On the 4th of November, in the afternoon, two violent shocks of an earthquake occurred. The travelers were greatly impressed by this new experience, but immediately arranged their electrical apparatus, and commenced their experiments. Humboldt's remarks upon the sensations produced by an earthquake are strikingly true, as every person who has felt the shock of one can testify. He says: "From our infancy, the idea of certain contrasts becomes fixed in our minds: water appears to us an element that moves; earth, a motionless and inert mass. These impressions are the result of daily experience; they are connected with every thing that is transmitted to us by the senses. When the shock of an earthquake is felt, when the earth which we had deemed so stable is shaken on its old foundations, one instant suffices to destroy long-fixed illusions. It is like awakening from a dream; but a painful awakening. We feel that we have been deceived by the apparent stability of nature; we become observant of the least noise; we mistrust for the first time the soil we have so long trod with confidence. But if the shocks be repeated, if they become frequent during several successive days, the uncertainty quickly disappears. Confidence easily springs up in the human breast: on the coasts of Peru we become accustomed to the undulations of the ground, as the sailor becomes accustomed to the tossing of the ship. caused by the motion of the waves."

TRAVELS ON THE ORINOCO.

On the 18th of November, the travelers left Cumana on a coasting trip to Laguayra, intending to remain in Caracas until the end of the rainy season. They then proposed crossing the great plains, or *llanos*, to the missions of the Orinoco; to ascend that river, south of its cataracts, and ascertain its reported connection with the Rio Negro—the main northern tributary of the Amazon—by means of the Rio Cassiquiare; and afterward to descend the Orinoco to the town of Angostura, and recross the plains to Cumana. This was a journey of nearly twenty-five hundred miles, two thirds of which they would be obliged to make in boats, through a country almost entirely unknown. The monks were the real masters of the Orinoco country, and no intercourse existed between their missions and the cities on the coast. The colonists painted in threatening colors the dangers they would encounter, but nothing could daunt the zeal and intrepidity of Humboldt and Bonpland. They received every assistance from Señor Emparan, the governor, and derived much valuable information from Fray Juan Gonzalez, a monk who had spent several years at Esmeralda, on the upper Orinoco. On departing for Caracas they first realized how powerful an influence their first four months' experience of tropical life and scenery had produced upon their minds. "We quitted the shore of Cumana," says Humboldt, "as if it had long

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been our home. This was the first land we had trodden in a zone toward which my thoughts had been directed from earliest youth. There is a powerful charm in the impression produced by the scenery and climate of these regions; and after an abode of a few months we seemed to have lived there during a long succession of years. In proportion as impressions are powerful and new, they weaken antecedent impressions, and their force imparts to them the character of duration. I appeal to those who, more sensible to the beauties of nature than to the charms of society, have long resided in the torrid zone. How dear, how memorable during life, is the land on which they first disembarked! A vague desire to revisit that spot remains rooted in their minds to the most advanced age. Cumana, and its dusty soil, are still more frequently present to my imagination than all the wonders of the Cordilleras. Beneath the bright sky of the south, the light, and the magic of the aërial hues, embellish a land most destitute of vegetation. The sun does not merely enlighten, it colors the objects, and wraps them in a thin vapor, which, without changing the transparency of the air, renders its tints more harmonious, softens the effects of the light, and diffuses over nature a placid calm, which is reflected in our souls."

Reaching Laguayra on the 21st, Humboldt found the yellow fever raging violently, and without halting in the town, ascended to Caracas, by the mountain road, which he compares to the passage of the St. Gothard, in Switzerland. In the latter city, at an elevation of 2,500 feet above the sea, he found a climate of perpetual spring. He took a house in a quarter of the city, which, during the great earthquake of 1812, was as completely destroyed as if a mine had been sprung beneath. Here the travelers remained two months, charmed with the society of the place, although the weather was unfavorable for their astronomical observations. The nights were generally cloudy, and Humboldt resorted to the theatre, where, as there was no roof over the pit, he could watch, as he sat in his box, for the appearance of Jupiter. The only excursion made during this residence was to the summit of the Silla (*saddle*) of Caracas, which none of the inhabitants had ever ascended. Sixteen persons offered to accompany the expedition, for the sake of novelty, and the party started on the 22d of January, 1800, on a day when, on account of the low clouds, they could calculate on a clear atmosphere. Leaving the foot of the Silla in the morning, they found the path very steep and fatiguing. The ground was covered with short grass, which afforded no firm footing, while thin vapors arose from the forest, and announced an approaching mist. Humboldt's companions lost courage and showed some signs of beating a retreat, and the garrulity of the accompanying negroes contrasted strongly with the taciturnity of the Indians, who had been his guides among the Chaymas mountains. They mocked the discouraged guides, and made themselves especially merry at a young Capuchin friar, who was, at the same time, professor of mathematics. When the company started, he imagined that he would

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surpass all the rest in boldness and endurance; he had even taken bits of white paper with him, that he, as the foremost of the climbers, might throw them down to show the way to the others. He had also promised the monks of his order to fire some rockets from the top of the mountain, in order to announce his success to the inhabitants of Caracas. But this boaster, encumbered in the ascent by his long gown, soon lost both his strength and courage, and stopped at a plantation, whence he watched Humboldt and the others through a telescope. The party moved on toward the eastern part of the Silla, which terminates in two rounded peaks. Their journey now became very difficult on account of the fog, and the necessity of using both hands and feet in climbing the steep and slippery ascent. At the height of five thousand five hundred feet, they were surprised by the sight of a palm forest, within which Humboldt found a greater variety of plants in a small space, than in any other part of the world. After further climbing, during which the mercury sank to 51°, and they suffered from the cold, they reached the hollow between the two peaks, called the "Saddle." The luxuriant vegetation here made it extremely difficult to find a path, which had to be hewn with knives and axes. A dense mist clung around them, and at every step the danger was incurred of coming suddenly upon the brink of the tremendous precipice, and falling six thousand feet into the sea. They made a halt, to await the arrival of some negroes with provisions, but the meal was very sparing, as they had only olives and a little bread. Even the guides had lost all courage, and were with great difficulty prevented from returning. It was now two o'clock in the afternoon, and Humboldt determined to reach the summit of the eastern peak before sunset, and pass the night in the hollow below. The negroes were sent back, with orders to meet him on the following day, with more satisfactory provender than olives. Scarcely had these preparations been made, when the east wind arose, dispersing the clouds in less than two minutes. The two peaks of the Silla, covered only with grass and low bushes, seemed astonishingly near. In order to reach the highest peak, they were obliged to approach the steep precipice hanging over the sea, but the obstacles from vegetation decreased as they ascended. In three quarters of an hour they stood upon the eastern summit, eight thousand six hundred and thirty-two feet above the sea, which expanded before their eyes with a radius of a hundred miles. The western peak hid from their view the city of Caracas, but the vast extent of tropical forests, villages, coffee plantations, and the silver windings of the Guayra River, filled them with rapture. It has been stated that in looking from the Silla over the Carribean Sea, Humboldt observed that rare and remarkable sight, the visible convexity of the earth, but this circumstance is not mentioned in his "Personal Narrative," where he thus describes the view: "Following with the eye the surface of the sea, which was smooth as glass, we were struck with the progressive diminution of the reflected light. Where the visual ray

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touched the last limit of that surface, the water was lost among the superposed strata of air. This appearance has something in it very extraordinary. We expect to see the horizon level with the eye; but, instead of distinguishing at this height a marked limit between the two elements, the more distant strata of water seem to be transformed into vapor, and mingled with the aërial ocean. I observed the same appearance, not in one spot of the horizon alone, but on an extent of more than a hundred and sixty degrees, along the Pacific, when I found myself for the first time on the pointed rock that commands the crater of Pichincha; a volcano, the elevation of which exceeds that of Mont Blanc." At half past four o'clock, having finished their scientific observations, the travelers descended to the palm forest. They were botanizing when the night overtook them; the guides who carried the instruments went away, one by one, to seek a sleeping place among the rocks, and it was not until nearly midnight that Humboldt and Bonpland, overcome with hunger and fatigue, reached the lower valley. After a descent of six hours, they again arrived at the plantation at the foot of the mountain. The inhabitants of Caracas had witnessed their success through telescopes.

On the 7th of February, they commenced their journey into the interior. Instead of proceeding directly across the steppes, or *llanos*, to the Orinoco River, they selected a longer route by way of the valley of Aragua, and the hot springs of Mariara, to the Lake of Valencia; thence across the llanos to San Fernando, on the Apure River, and down that river to the Orinoco. On their way to the Lake of Valencia, they visited a tree called *zamang*, a variety of the mimosa, the boughs of which formed a hemisphere five hundred and seventy-six feet in circumference, and so regular that on measuring several diameters, Humboldt found them to vary only from one hundred and eighty-six to one hundred and ninety-two feet. He considered this tree as old as the dragon-tree of Teneriffe. It is held in such high regard that a man, who cut off a branch, was tried and condemned for the act. In the colonies of Cura, the travelers passed several days after the manner of the natives, taking two baths, three meals, and three sleeps every twenty-four hours. After visiting the hot springs of Mariara, they journeyed six days to the town of New Valencia, traveling only by night, on account of the great heat. At the hot springs of Trinchera, they were surprised to find arums and fig-trees growing in water which had a temperature of 175°. From Valencia they descended to Porto Cabello, on the coast, where they remained until the 1st of March, and then commenced their journey to the plains of the Orinoco. In the valley of Aragua, Humboldt first saw the celebrated "cow-tree," the existence of which he had previously doubted, and of which he gives the following beautiful description: "When incisions are made in the trunk of this tree, it yields abundance of a glutinous milk, tolerably thick, devoid of all acridity, and of an agreeable and balmy smell. It was offered to us in the shell of a calabash. We drank considerable quantities of it in the evening before we

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went to bed, and very early in the morning, without feeling the least injurious effect. The glutinous character of this milk alone renders it a little disagreeable. The negroes and the free people who work in the plantations drink it, dipping into it their bread of maize or cassava. The overseer of the farm told us that the negroes grow sensibly fatter during the season when the *palo de vaca* furnishes them with most milk. This juice, exposed to the air, presents at its surface membranes of a strongly animalized substance, yellowish, stringy, and resembling cheese.

"Amidst the great number of curious phenomena which I have observed in the course of my travels, I confess there are few that have made so powerful an impression on me as the aspect of the cow-tree. Whatever relates to milk or to corn, inspires an interest which is not merely that of the physical knowledge of things, but is connected with another order of ideas and sentiments. We can scarcely conceive how the human race could exist without farinaceous substances, and without that nourishing juice which the breast of the mother contains, and which is appropriated to the long feebleness of the infant. The amylaceous matter of corn, the object of religious veneration among so many nations, ancient and modern, is diffused in the seeds, and deposited in the roots of vegetables; milk, which serves as an aliment, appears to us exclusively the produce of animal organization. Such are the impressions we have received in our earliest infancy: such is also the source of that astonishment created by the aspect of the tree just described. It is not here the solemn shades of forests, the majestic course of rivers, the mountains wrapped in eternal snow, that excite our emotion. A few drops of vegetable juice recall to our minds all the powerfulness and the fecundity of nature. On the barren flank of a rock grows a tree with coriaceous and dry leaves. Its large woody roots can scarcely penetrate into the stone. For several months of the year not a single shower moistens its foliage. Its branches appear dead and dried; but when the trunk is pierced there flows from it a sweet and nourishing milk. It is at the rising of the sun that this vegetable fountain is most abundant. The negroes and natives are then seen hastening from all quarters, furnished with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow, and thickens at its surface. Some empty their bowls under the tree itself, others carry the juice home to their children."

In crossing the mountain-range between the valley of Aragua and the llanos, the travelers passed a night in the village of Guigue, where they lodged with an old sergeant, a native of Murcia, a man of a very original character. To prove to them that he had studied among the Jesuits, he recited the history of the creation of the world in Latin. He knew the names of Augustus, Tiberias, and Diocletian; and while enjoying the agreeable coolness of the nights in an enclosure planted with bananas, he employed himself in reading all that related to the courts of the Roman emperors. He inquired of Humboldt with earnestness for a remedy for the gout, from which he suffered severely. "I know," said he, "a Zam-

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bo of Valencia, who could cure me; but the Zambo would expect to be treated with attentions which I can not pay to a man of his color, and I prefer remaining as I am." On the 9th of March they commenced their journey on the great plains. "The sun was almost at its zenith; the earth, wherever it appeared sterile and destitute of vegetation, was at the temperature of 120°. Not a breath of air was felt at the height at which we were on our mules; yet, in the midst of this apparent calm, whirls of dust incessantly arose, driven on by those small currents of air which glide only over the surface of the ground, and are occasioned by the difference of temperature between the naked sand and the spots covered with grass. All around us the plains seemed to ascend to the sky, and the vast and profound solitude appeared like an ocean covered with sea-weed. On the horizon the earth was confounded with the sky. Through the dry mist and strata of vapor the trunks of palm-trees were seen from afar, stripped of their foliage and their verdant summits, and looking like the masts of a ship descried upon the horizon. There is something awful, as well as sad and gloomy, in the uniform aspect of these steppes. Every thing seems motionless; scarcely does a small cloud, passing across the zenith, and denoting the approach of the rainy season, cast its shadow on the earth. I know not whether the first aspect of the llanos excites less astonishment than that of the chain of the Andes.

"When, beneath the vertical rays of the bright and cloudless sun of the tropics, the parched sward crumbles into dust, then the indurated soil cracks and bursts as if rent asunder by some mighty earthquake. And if, at such a time, two opposite currents of air, by conflict moving in rapid gyrations, come in contact with the earth, a singular spectacle presents itself. Like funnel-shaped clouds, their apexes touching the earth, the sands rise in vapory form through the rarefied air in the electrically-charged center of the whirling current, sweeping on like the rushing water-spout, which strikes such terror into the heart of the mariner. A dim and sallow light gleams from the lowering sky over the dreary plain. The horizon suddenly contracts, and the heart of the traveler sinks with dismay as the wide steppe seems to close upon him on all sides. The hot and dusty earth forms a cloudy vail which shrouds the heavens from view, and increases the stifling oppression of the atmosphere, while the east wind, when it blows over the long-heated soil, instead of cooling, adds to the burning glow. Gradually, too, the pools of water, which had been protected from evaporation by the now seared foliage of the fan-palm, disappear. As in the icy north animals become torpid from cold, so here the crocodile and the boa-constrictor lie wrapt in unbroken sleep, deeply buried in the dried soil. Every where the drought announces death, yet every where the thirsting wanderer is deluded by the phantom of a moving, undulating, watery surface, created by the deceptive play of the mirage. A narrow stratum separates the ground from the distant palm-trees, which seem to hover aloft, owing

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to the contact of currents of air having different degrees of heat and therefore of density. Shrouded in dark clouds of dust, and tortured by hunger and burning thirst, oxen and horses scour the plain, the one bellowing dismally, the other with out-stretched necks snuffing the wind, in the endeavor to detect, by the moisture of the air, the vicinity of some pool of water not yet wholly evaporated.

"The mule, more cautious and cunning, adopts another method of allaying his thirst. There is a globular and articulated plant, the *melocactus*, which encloses under its prickly integument an aqueous pulp. After carefully striking away the prickles with his forefeet, the mule cautiously ventures to apply his lips to imbibe the cooling thistle juice. But the draught from this living vegetable spring is not always unattended by danger, and these animals are often observed to have been lamed by the puncture of the cactus thorn. Even if the burning heat of day be succeeded by the cool freshness of the night, here always of equal length, the wearied ox and horse enjoy no repose. Huge bats now attack the animals during sleep, and vampyre-like suck their blood; or, fastening on their backs, raise festering wounds, in which mosquitoes, hippobosces, and a host of other stinging insects, burrow and nestle.

"When, after a long drought, the genial season of rain arrives, the scene suddenly changes. The deep azure of the hitherto cloudless sky assumes a lighter hue. Scarcely can the dark space in the constellation of the Southern Cross be distinguished at night. The mild phosphorescence of the Magellanic clouds fades away. Like some distant mountain, a single cloud is seen rising perpendicularly on the southern horizon. Misty vapors collect and gradually overspread the heavens, while distant thunder proclaims the approach of the vivifying rain. Scarcely is the surface of the earth moistened before the teeming steppe becomes covered with a variety of grasses. Excited by the power of light, the herbaceous mimosa unfolds its dormant, drooping leaves, hailing, as it were, the rising sun in chorus with the matin song of the birds and the opening flowers of aquatic plants. Horses and oxen, buoyant with life and enjoyment, roam over and crop the plains. The luxuriant grass hides the beautifully spotted jaguar, who, lurking in safe concealment, and carefully measuring the extent of the leap, darts, like the Asiatic tiger, with a cat-like bound on his passing prey. At times, according to the account of the natives, the humid clay on the banks of the morasses is seen to rise slowly in broad flakes. Accompanied by a violent noise, as on the eruption of a small mud-volcano, the upheaved earth is hurled high into the air. Those who are familiar with the phenomenon fly from it; for a colossal water-snake, or a mailed and scaly crocodile, awakened from its trance by the first fall of rain, is about to burst from his tomb.

"When the rivers bounding the plain to the south, as the Arauca, the Apure, and the Payara, gradually overflow their banks, nature compels those creatures to live as amphibious animals, which, during the first

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half of the year, were perishing with thirst on the waterless and dusty plain. A part of the steppe now presents the appearance of a vast inland sea. The mares retreat with their foals to the higher banks, which project, like islands, above the spreading waters. Day by day the dry surface diminishes in extent. The cattle, crowded together, and deprived of pasturage, swim for hours about the inundated plain, seeking a scanty nourishment from the flowering panicles of the grasses which rise above the lurid and bubbling waters. Many foals are drowned, many are seized by crocodiles, crushed by their serrated tails, and devoured. Horses and oxén may not unfrequently be seen which have escaped from the fury of this blood-thirsty and gigantic lizard, bearing on their legs the marks of its pointed teeth."

In traversing these vast plains, which were then parched with the intensest heat, the travelers journeyed mostly by night, halting occasionally at the huts of the herdsmen, who tended the horses and cattle roaming over the waste. After four or five days, they reached the town of Calabozo, a place containing about five thousand inhabitants, where they were hospitably entertained by the superintendent of the royal plantations. In this remote spot they were greatly surprised to find a tolerable electrical apparatus made by a native Spaniard, who had never seen anything of the kind in his life. He had constructed it entirely from the description given in Franklin's treatise, and was beside himself with joy at seeing the strangers arrive with the same machines, and others, of which he had never even heard. During a stay of a few days in Calabozo, Humboldt, after much difficulty, succeeded in obtaining some specimens of the *gymnotus*, or electrical eel. The Indians conducted him to a large reservoir of slimy water, near a neighboring village; but it was not found possible to catch the eels with fishing-nets, as they bury themselves with great agility in the slime. He did not wish to employ the *barbasco* root, which stupefies them when thrown into the water. The Indians then declared that they would be obliged to "fish with horses," thirty of which they collected in a short time. Humboldt, who had never heard of this extraordinary manner of fishing, anxiously awaited the result, which he thus describes: "The noise occasioned by the stamping of the horses drives the eels out of the slime and irritates them; they rise to the surface of the water, and crowd under the bellies of the horses and mules. A contest between animals of so different an organization presents a very striking spectacle. The Indians, provided with harpoons and long slender reeds, surround the pool closely; and some climb up the trees, the branches of which extend horizontally over the surface of the water. By their wild cries, and the length of their reeds, they prevent the horses from running away and reaching the bank of the pool. The eels, stunned by the noise, defend themselves by the repeated discharge of their electric batteries. For a long interval they seem likely to prove victorious. Several horses sink beneath the violence of the invisible strokes which they receive from all

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sides, in organs the most essential to life; and stunned by the force and frequency of the shocks, they disappear under the water. Others, panting, with mane erect, and haggard eyes expressing anguish and dismay, raise themselves, and endeavor to flee from the storm by which they are overtaken. They are driven back by the Indians into the middle of the water; but a small number succeed in eluding the active vigilance of the fishermen. These regain the shore, stumbling at every step, and stretch themselves on the sand, exhausted with fatigue, and with limbs benumbed by the electric shocks of the gymnoti.

"In less than five minutes two of our horses were drowned. The eel being five feet long, and pressing itself against the belly of the horses, makes a discharge along the whole extent of its electric organ. It attacks at once the heart, the intestines, and the cæliac fold of the abdominal nerves. It is natural that the effect felt by the horses should be more powerful than that produced upon man by the touch of the same fish at only one of his extremities. The horses are probably not killed, but only stunned. They are drowned from the impossibility of rising amid the prolonged struggle between the other horses and the eels.

"We had little doubt that the fishing would terminate by killing successively all the animals engaged; but by degrees the impetuosity of this unequal combat diminished, and the wearied gymnoti dispersed. They require a long rest, and abundant nourishment, to repair the galvanic force which they have lost by the repeated discharges. The horses and mules recovered from their terror; their manes no longer bristled, and their eyes ceased to glare with fear. The Indians asserted that if the horses were driven to the same water on two consecutive days, none would die the second day. The eels now timidly approached the shore, where they were caught with little harpoons attached to long cords. If the cords were perfectly dry, no shock was felt while hauling out the fish, but it was communicated through the wet cords. In a few minutes five large eels were caught, which were only slightly wounded, and several others were obtained the same evening. Such is the remarkable contest between horses and fish. That which constitutes the invisible but living weapon of these inhabitants of the water—that, which awakened by the contact of moist and dissimilar particles, circulates through all the organs of animals and plants—that which flashing amid the roar of thunder illuminates the wide canopy of heaven—which binds iron to iron, and directs the silent recurring course of the magnetic needle—all, like the varied hues of the refracted ray of light, flow from one common source, and all blend together into one eternal all-pervading power.

"The gymnotus is neither a charged conductor, nor a battery, nor an electromotive apparatus, the shock of which is received every time they are touched with one hand, or when both hands are employed to form a conducting circle between the opposite poles. The electric action of the fish depends entirely on its will; because it does not keep its electric organs always charged, or whether by the secretion of some fluid, or by

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any other means alike mysterious to us, it be capable of directing the action of its organs to an external object. We often tried, both insulated and otherwise, to touch the fish, without feeling the least shock. When M. Bonpland held it by the head, or by the middle of the body, while I held it by the tail, and, standing on the moist ground, did not take each other's hand, one of us received shocks which the other did not feel. It depends upon the gymnotus to direct its action toward the point where it finds itself most strongly irritated. The discharge is then made at one point only, and not at the neighboring points. If two persons touch the belly of the fish with their fingers, at an inch distance, and press it simultaneously, sometimes one, sometimes the other, will receive the shock. It would be temerity to expose ourselves to the first shocks of a very large and strongly irritated gymnotus. If by chance a stroke be received before the fish is wounded or wearied by long pursuit, the pain and numbness are so violent that it is impossible to describe the nature of the feeling they excite. I do not remember having ever received from the discharge of a large Leyden jar, a more dreadful shock than that which I experienced by imprudently placing both my feet on a gymnotus just taken out of the water. I was affected during the rest of the day with a violent pain in the knees, and in almost every joint."

The travelers left Calabozo on the 24th of March, and continued their journey over the desolate llanos. On the way they found an Indian girl lying in the road, almost lifeless, and with her mouth and nostrils filled with sand. They restored her to consciousness and gave her some wine and water, but she refused to accompany them, and wandered off alone. In three days they reached the Mission of San Fernando, on the Apure river, one of the principal tributaries of the Orinoco. Here was the commencement of their canoe voyages on the Apure, the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare, and the Rio Negro, which lasted for three months. During this journey they were accompanied by Don Nicholas Soto, brother-in-law of the governor of the province. They hired a large canoe, called a *lancha* by the natives. It had a cabin, covered with palm-leaves, in the stern, and was managed by a pilot and four Indians. Provision for a month—consisting of fowls, plaintains, and cassava bread, to which the Capuchins added some Xeres wine—was placed on board, and a supply of fishing-tackle, ammunition, and some brandy for the Indians, laid in. Humboldt made notes of every thing which occurred on the voyage, either during the day, or after the canoe had halted for the night. Owing to this habit, his narrative has an unmistakable stamp of truth and reality. They passed the last plantation on the second day, and then entered a territory inhabited entirely by jaguars, crocodiles, manati, or river-cows, and pecarries. The Apure, which grew broader as they descended, was bordered by dense forests, the trees of which were full of monkeys and birds. The river abounded with fish and tortoises, while huge crocodiles, often twenty feet in length, basked on the sand. Notwithstanding the numbers of these latter animals, the rainy season

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had not yet commenced, and thousands of them were still lying dormant in the mud of the plains. In those wildernesses, where man lives in constant strife with nature, the conversation turns much upon the means by which one can escape the pursuit of a tiger, or a crocodile; all prepare themselves to encounter the danger. The crocodile loosens its hold if the person seized thrusts his finger into its eyes, and the travelers heard of several instances of escape in this manner.

Humboldt gives the following picturesque description of the nocturnal noises of animals in the forests of the Apure: "Below the mission of Santa Barbara de Arichuna we passed the night as usual in the open air, on a sandy flat, on the bank of the Apure, skirted by the impenetrable forest. We had some difficulty in finding dry wood to kindle the fires with which it is here customary to surround the bivouac, as a safeguard against the attacks of the jaguar. The air was bland and soft, and the moon shone brightly. Several crocodiles approached the bank; and I have observed that fire attracts these creatures as it does our crabs and many other aquatic animals. The oars of our boats were fixed upright in the ground, to support our hammocks. Deep stillness prevailed, only broken at intervals by the blowing of the fresh-water dolphins, which are peculiar to the river net-work of the Orinoco. After eleven o'clock, such a noise began in the contiguous forest, that for the remainder of the night all sleep was impossible. The wild cries of animals rung through the woods. Among the many voices which resounded together, the Indians could only recognize those which, after short pauses, were heard singly. There was the monotonous, plaintive cry of the howling monkeys, the whining, flute-like notes of the small sapajous, the grunting murmur of the striped nocturnal ape, the fitful roar of the great tiger, the cougar, or maneless American lion, the peccary, the sloth, and a host of parrots, parraquas, and other pheasant-like birds. Whenever the tigers approached the edge of the forest, our dog, who before had barked incessantly, came howling to seek protection under the hammocks. Sometimes the cry of the tiger resounded from the branches of a tree, and was then always accompanied by the plaintive piping tones of the apes, who were endeavoring to escape from the unwonted pursuit.

"If one asks the Indians why such a continuous noise is heard on certain nights, they answer, with a smile, that 'the animals are rejoicing in the beautiful moonlight, and celebrating the return of the full moon.' To me the scene appeared rather to be owing to an accidental, long continued, and gradually increasing conflict among the animals. Thus, for instance, the jaguar will pursue the peccaries and the tapirs, which, densely crowded together, burst through the barrier of tree-like shrubs which opposes their flight. Terrified at the confusion, the monkeys on the tops of the trees join their cries with those of the larger animals. This arouses the tribes of birds who build their nests in communities, and suddenly the whole animal world is in a state of commotion. Further

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experience taught us, that it was by no means always the festival of moonlight that disturbed the stillness of the forest; for we observed that the voices were loudest during violent storms of rain, or when the thunder echoed, and the lightning flashed through the depths of the woods. The good-natured Franciscan monk who accompanied us through the cataracts of Atures and Maypures to San Carlos, on the Rio Negro, and to the Brazilian frontier, used to say, when apprehensive of a storm at night, 'May heaven grant a quiet night both to us and to the wild beasts of the forest!'"

The next day, Humboldt was favored with another and even more unwelcome experience. "While my companions were preparing dinner," he says, "I walked along the beach to get a near view of a group of crocodiles sleeping in the sun. Some little herons, white as snow, walked along their backs, and even upon their heads, as if passing over trunks of trees. The crocodiles were of a greenish gray, half covered with dried mud; from their color and immobility they might have been taken for statues of bronze. This excursion had nearly proved fatal to me. I had kept my eyes constantly turned toward the river; but, while picking up some spangles of mica in the sand, I discovered the recent footsteps of a tiger, easily distinguishable from their form and size. The animal had gone toward the forest, and turning my eyes on that side, I found myself within eighty paces of a jaguar that was lying under the thick foliage of a ceiba. No tiger had ever appeared to me so large. There are accidents in life against which we may seek in vain to fortify our reason. I was extremely alarmed, yet sufficiently master of myself and of my motions to enable me to follow the advice which the Indians had so often given us as to how we ought to act in such cases. I continued to walk on without running, avoided moving my arms, and I thought I observed that the jaguar's attention was fixed on a herd of capybaras which was crossing the river. I then began to return, making a large circuit toward the edge of the water. As the distance increased, I thought I might accelerate my pace. How often was I tempted to look back, in order to assure myself that I was not pursued! Happily I yielded very tardily to this desire. The jaguar had remained motionless. I arrived at the boat out of breath, and related my adventure to the Indians."

On the afternoon of the 4th of April, after a voyage of six days' on the Apure, they entered the Orinoco. An immense plain of water stretched before them like a sea. White-topped waves, caused by a wind blowing against the current, rose to the height of several feet. The distant horizon was bounded by a zone of level forests. Humboldt found the Apure, at the junction, to be one thousand two hundred feet in breadth, and the Orinoco twelve thousand one hundred and eighty; during the rainy season the latter river attains a breadth of thirty-five thousand feet, or nearly seven miles. Sailing up the Orinoco, they touched at the port of Encaramada, where they first saw some specimens

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of the naked Caribs. They were bound for a sandy island in the river, celebrated for its fisheries of turtle's eggs. Humboldt and Bonpland reached this island next day, and found there the missionary of Uruana, who was greatly astonished at seeing them. After having admired their instruments, he gave them an exaggerated picture of the sufferings to which they would be necessarily exposed in ascending the Orinoco beyond the cataracts. The object of their journey appeared to him very mysterious. "How is it possible to believe," said he, "that you have left your country, to come and be devoured by mosquitoes on this river, and to measure lands that are not your own?" While halting at the island, they witnessed the method of collecting turtle's eggs, and extracting the oil. The turtle always lays its eggs at the time of the lowest water, beginning at night, immediately after sunset. It digs a pit two feet deep, and then commences the work, which frequently lasts all night. There are such numbers that if one turtle finds a hole, which has not been filled up, from the haste of its owner on being surprised by the sunrise, he deposits a second layer of eggs over the top of the first. The egg-gatherers investigate the situation and extent of these deposits with a long pole, which, when pressed perpendicularly into the soil, reveals the looser sand below, on which the eggs lie. The harvest is then gathered in with methodical regularity. According to the number of Indian tribes, the soil is divided into certain districts, for the deposits of eggs are found three feet deep, one hundred and twenty feet from the shore. When they have sounded with the poles, the Indians dig up the soil with their hands, and break the eggs into wooden troughs filled with water, after which they expose them to the rays of the sun until the yellow, upper, oily part thickens. This oil is then skimmed off and boiled, and if none of the eggs contain embryo tortoises, it is very pure and of an agreeable flavor. A space on the shore, one hundred and twenty feet long, and thirty feet broad, gives one hundred jars of oil, and five thousand eggs are required to fill a single jar. It is estimated that the quantity of eggs taken from the island, amounts to thirty-three millions! In the afternoon the travelers had a narrow escape from shipwreck. The boat, struck by a violent gust of wind, was thrown on her beam ends, and was only righted by the breaking of some cordage, and the change of the wind. All their plants and books were submerged, and Humboldt saved his journal with difficulty. When at nightfall he bivouacked on a sterile island in the stream, eating his evening meal in the moonlight, seated on tortoise shells, he realized the great danger he had escaped. He had only been on the Orinoco three days, and a voyage of three months, involving far greater risks, was before him. "There are moments in life," he wrote, "in which, without absolutely despairing, the future seems very uncertain; one is more apt to indulge in serious reflection, when, after having escaped a danger, he has need of a strong emotion." While he meditated thus, lying upon a skin

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spread on the ground, the jaguars swam across the stream, and prowled around him.

The next day they passed the mouth of the Arauca river and the Mission of Uruana, a village of five hundred inhabitants, most of whom belonged to the clay-eating Otomac tribe. Beyond this point the river became narrower and the current stronger. They continued to ascend under sail, but the high and woody grounds deprived them of wind. In the strait of Baraguan, as it is called, where the river is but a mile in breadth, they found almost perpendicular masses of granite, seven hundred feet high. On the 9th of April they reached an Indian settlement, called Pararuma, where the pilot, who had conducted them from San Fernando, and who was unacquainted with the passage of the rapids of the Orinoco, refused to go further. Fortunately, they succeeded in bringing an excellent canoe, to replace the *lancha*, and Father Bernardo Zea, missionary of Atures, near the cataract, offered to accompany them to the frontiers of Brazil. Humboldt gives the following description of their outfit and manner of voyaging: "The new canoe, intended for us was, like all Indian boats, a trunk of a tree hollowed out partly by the hatchet and partly by fire. It was forty feet long, and three broad. Three persons could not sit in it side by side. These canoes are so crank, and they require, from their instability, a cargo so equally distributed, that when you want to rise for an instant, you must warn the rowers to lean to the opposite side. Without this precaution the water would necessarily enter the side pressed down. It is difficult to form an idea of the inconveniences that are suffered in such wretched vessels. To gain something in breadth, a sort of lattice-work had been constructed on the stern with branches of trees, that extended on each side beyond the gunwale. Unfortunately, the *toldo*, or roof of leaves, that covered this lattice-work, was so low that we were obliged to lie down, without seeing any thing, or, if seated, to sit nearly double. The necessity of carrying the canoe across the rapids, and even from one river to another; and the fear of giving too much hold to the wind, by making the *toldo* higher, render this construction necessary for vessels that go up toward the Rio Negro. The *toldo* was intended to cover four persons, lying on the deck or lattice-work of brush-wood; but our legs reached far beyond it, and when it rained half our bodies were wet. Our couches consisted of ox-hides or tiger-skins spread upon branches of trees, which were painfully felt through so thin a covering. The fore part of the boat was filled with Indian rowers, furnished with paddles, three feet long, in the form of spoons. They were all naked, seated two by two, and they kept time in rowing with a surprising uniformity, singing songs of a sad and monotonous character. The small cages containing our birds and our monkeys—the number of which augmented as we advanced—were hung some to the *toldo* and others to the bow of the boat. This was our traveling menagerie. Every night, when we established our watch, our collection of animals and our instruments occupied the center; around

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these were placed first our hammocks, then the hammocks of the Indians; and on the outside were the fires, which are thought indispensable against the attacks of the jaguar. About sunrise the monkeys in our cages answered the cries of the monkeys of the forest.

"In a canoe not three feet wide, and so incumbered, there remained no other place for the dried plants, trunks, sextant, a dipping-needle, and the meteorological instruments, than the space below the lattice-work of branches, on which we were compelled to remain stretched the greater part of the day. If we wished to take the least object out of a trunk, or to use an instrument, it was necessary to row ashore and land. To these inconveniences were joined the torment of the mosquitoes which swarmed under the *toldo*, and the heat radiated from the leaves of the palm-trees, the upper surface of which was continually exposed to the solar rays. We attempted every instant, but always without success, to amend our situation. While one of us hid himself under a sheet to ward off the insects, the other insisted on having green wood lighted beneath the *toldo*, in the hope of driving away the mosquitoes by the smoke. The painful sensations of the eyes, and the increase of heat, already stifling, rendered both these contrivances alike impracticable. With some gayety of temper, with feelings of mutual good-will, and with a vivid taste for the majestic grandeur of these vast valleys of rivers, travelers easily support evils that become habitual."

On the 10th of April they commenced their voyage in this narrow craft, slowly ascending the Orinoco. They were hospitably received at the Mission of Carichana, and on the second day passed the mouth of the Meta, one of the largest tributaries of the Orinoco, with a volume of water equal to that of the Danube. It is navigable as far as the foot of the Andes of New Grenada, within twenty leagues of Bogota, the capital. The Orinoco now began to rise, much to the surprise of the Indians, as the rainy season had not yet fairly set in. On the 13th, after passing the rapids of Tabaje, they reached the Mission of San Borja, where they found a number of converted Guahibo Indians. The interest with which they examined these creatures, ocasioned, singularly enough, the desertion of the mission. The Guahibos of the forest persuaded their brethren that the whites, on their return, would carry them off as slaves, and they all fled into the woods. They had much difficulty in conversing with the different tribes which they met with on the river, and were sometimes obliged to employ several interpreters at the same time. They were, however, in no danger from hostile attacks, the Jesuits having subjugated the natives by force of arms, before they administered their spiritual consolations. One of these priests said to Humboldt, with great candor, "The voice of the Gospel is heard only where the Indians have also heard the sound of fire-arms. By chastising the natives, we facilitate their conversion."

The river Orinoco, in its course from south to north, is crossed by a chain of granite mountains. Twice confined in its course, it turbulently

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breaks on the rocks, which form steppes and transverse dykes. "Neither the fall of Tequendama," says Humboldt, "nor the magnificent scenes of the Cordilleras, could weaken the impression produced upon my mind by the first view of the rapids of Atures and of Maypures. When the spectator is so stationed that the eye can at once take in the long succession of cataracts, and the immense sheet of foam and vapor illumined by the rays of the setting sun, the whole river seems, as it were, suspended over its bed." They reached the Mission of Atures, at the foot of the first cataract, on the evening of April 15. During this day's voyage they were struck with the supernatural silence of the tropical noonday: "Not a breath of air moved the dust-like sand. The sun stood in the zenith; and the effulgence of light poured upon the river gave additional distinctness to the red haze which vailed the distance. All the rocky mounds and naked boulders were covered with large, thick-scaled iguanas, gecko-lizards, and spotted salamanders. Motionless, with uplifted heads and widely-extended mouths, they seemed to inhale the heated air with ecstasy. The larger animals at such times take refuge in the deep recesses of the forest, the birds nestle beneath the foliage of the trees, or in the clefts of the rocks; but if in this apparent stillness of nature we listen closely for the faintest tones, we detect a dull, muffled sound, a buzzing and humming of insects close to the earth, in the lower strata of the atmosphere. Every thing proclaims a world of active organic forces. In every shrub, in the cracked bark of trees, in the perforated ground inhabited by hymenopterous insects, life is everywhere audibly manifest. It is one of the many voices of nature revealed to the pious and susceptible spirit of man." They found the cataract of Atures to be a succession of rapids, extending over a distance of four or five miles, in which the entire fall of the river was about thirty-two feet, presenting a striking resemblance to the cataracts of the Nile, while the method of ascending them in canoes is almost precisely similar to that employed by the Egyptians. When the dikes, or natural dams, are only two or three feet high, the Indians venture to descend them in boats. In going up the river, they swim on before, and if, after many vain efforts, they succeed in fixing a rope to one of the points of rock that crown the dike, they then, by means of that rope, draw the bark to the top of the rapid. The bark, during this arduous task, often fills with water; at other times it is stove against the rocks, and the Indians, their bodies bruised and bleeding, extricate themselves with difficulty from the whirlpools, and reach, by swimming, the nearest island. When the steppes or rocky barriers are very high, and entirely bar the river, light boats are carried on shore, and with the help of branches of trees placed under them to serve as rollers, they are drawn as far as the place where the river again becomes navigable. This operation is seldom necessary when the water is high.

After two days spent at Atures, Humboldt and Bonpland continued their voyage, still accompanied by Don Nicholas Soto and Father Bernardo Zea. They now began to suffer indescribable torments from the

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mosquitoes and venomous flies by day, and the *zancudos* (a species of large gnats) by night. These pests would bite through thick garments, and could not be driven away by smoke. They came in such clouds that the mouths, ears, and noses of the travelers were filled with them. Their hands were swollen and covered with hard, painful blotches, and they were at last able to tell the time of day by the regularity with which the different varieties of stinging insects made their visitations. On the upper Orinoco, the principal topic of conversation, both among the natives and the missionaries, is mosquitoes. The usual salutations are: "How did you find the gnats during the night?" "How are you off for mosquitoes to-day?" which reminded Humboldt of an ancient Chinese manner of greeting: "Have you been incommoded in the night by serpents?" "The lower strata of air," he writes, "from the surface of the ground to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, are absolutely filled with venomous insects. If in an obscure spot, for instance in the grottos of the cataracts formed by superincumbent blocks of granite, you direct your eyes toward the opening enlightened by the sun, you see clouds of mosquitoes more or less thick. I doubt whether there be a country upon earth, where man is exposed to more cruel torments in the rainy season. Having passed the fifth degree of latitude, you are somewhat less stung; but on the upper Orinoco the stings are more painful, because the heat and the absolute want of wind render the air more burning and more irritating in its contact with the skin. 'How comfortable must people be in the moon!' said a Salive Indian to Father Gumilla; 'she looks so beautiful and so clear, that she must be free from mosquitoes.' These words, which denote the infancy of a people, are very remarkable. The satellite of the earth appears to all savage nations the abode of the blessed, the country of abundance. The Esquimaux, who counts among his riches a plank or trunk of a tree, thrown by the currents on a coast destitute of vegetation, sees in the moon plains covered with forests; the Indian of the forests of Orinoco there beholds open savannahs, where the inhabitants are never stung by mosquitoes."

Two more days brought them to the great cataract, or rapid of Maypures, which they reached after night, in the midst of a violent rain. Father Zea lighted torches of copal, and conducted them to the mission, where they remained while the Indians dragged the canoe up the rapids. At the northern end of the principal cataract, which has a fall of nine feet perpendicular, there is a lofty rock called Keri, so named from a luminous white spot, in which the Indians perceive a remarkable similarity to the moon. Humboldt was not able to climb the rock, but supposed the white spot to be an immense piece of quartz in the dark granite. On an opposite rock, the Indians showed a similar disc, which they called Camosi, and worshiped as an image of the sun. The best view of the cataract, is from the rock of Manimi, a granite ridge near the mission of Maypures. "We often visited this mountain," says Humboldt, "for we were never weary of gazing on the astonishing spectacle.

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From the summit of the rock is descried a sheet of foam, extending the length of a whole mile. Enormous masses of stone, black as iron, issue from its bosom. Some are grouped in pairs, like basaltic hills; others resemble towers, fortified castles, and ruined buildings. Their gloomy tint contrasts with the silvery splendor of the foam. Every rock, every islet is covered with vigorous trees, collected in clusters. As far as the eye can reach, a thick vapor is suspended over the river, and through this whitish fog the tops of the lofty palm-trees shoot up. Such is the character of the landscape discovered from the top of the mountain of Manimi, which no traveler has yet described. The calm of the atmosphere, and the tumultuous movement of the waters, produce a contrast peculiar to this zone. Here no breath of wind ever agitates the foliage, no cloud vails the splendor of the azure vault of heaven; a great mass of light is diffused in the air, on the earth strewn with plants with glossy leaves, and on the bed of the river, which extends as far as the eye can reach. When the rays of the glowing evening sun are refracted in the humid atmosphere, an exquisite optical illusion is produced. Colored bows appear, vanish, and re-appear, while the ethereal picture dances, like an ignis fatuus, with every motion of the sportive breeze. In the blue distance the eye rests on the mountain chain of Cunavami, a far-stretching range of hills which terminates abruptly in a sharply truncated cone. We saw this conical hill, called by the Indians Calitamini, glowing at sunset as if in crimson flames. This appearance daily returns. No one has ever been in the immediate neighborhood of this mountain. Possibly its dazzling brightness is produced by the reflecting surface of decomposing talc, or mica schist."

VOYAGES ON THE RIO NEGRO AND CASSIQUIARE.

On the 21st of April, they re-embarked in their narrow canoes, which had suffered considerable damage by striking against the rocks. The rainy season had now fairly set in; there were heavy showers almost daily, and as the wind never blows in these regions, they suffered terribly from mosquitoes. They made good progress, however, and on the night of the 24th entered the Guaviare, the largest tributary of the Orinoco, then the Atabapo, which flows into it from the south, near its junction with the former river, and reached the mission of San Fernando. Humboldt now found himself on the spot where he could be enabled to verify the celebrated bifurcation of the Orinoco, which had been previously doubted by geographers. The upper Orinoco, near the mission of Esmeralda, divides itself into two parts, one of which, flowing westward, receives the Guaviare and other tributaries, and continues its way to the Caribbean Sea; the other, turning southward, forms a branch of the Rio Negro, and mingles its waters with those of the Amazon. This extraordinary geographical feature, the only instance

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of the kind on a large scale, was first satisfactorily established by Humboldt's explorations. The mission of San Fernando de Atabapo was the threshold of the comparatively unknown region which he was to penetrate. "During the night," he says, "we had left, almost unperceived, the waters of the Orinoco; and at sunrise found ourselves as if transported to a new country, on the banks of a river, the name of which we had scarcely ever heard pronounced, and which was to conduct us, by the portage of Pimichin, to the Rio Negro, on the frontiers of Brazil. 'You will go up,' said the president of the missions, who resides at San Fernando, 'first the Atabapo, then the Temi, and finally, the Tuamini. When the force of the current of "black waters" hinders you from advancing, you will be conducted out of the bed of the river through forests, which you will find inundated. Two monks only are settled in those desert places, between the Orinoco and the Rio Negro; but at Javita you will be furnished with the means of having your canoe drawn over land in the course of four days to the rivulet of Pimichin. If it be not broken to pieces you will descend the Rio Negro without any obstacle as far as the little fort of San Carlos; you will go up the Cassiquiare (from south to north), and then return to San Fernando in a month, descending the upper Orinoco from east to west.' Such was the plan traced for our passage, and we carried it into effect without danger, though not without some suffering, in the space of thirty-three days."

After resting a day at the mission, they commenced their voyage up the Atabapo, the water of which was of a much darker hue and purer quality than that of the Orinoco. The banks were entirely concealed by the dense growth of palms and other trees. In order to shorten the journey, the Indians left the main bed of the river and took narrow channels (occasioned by the rains), which led directly through the forests. The foliage was so dense that no ray of sunlight could penetrate it, and they were often obliged to hew with knives a passage for the canoe. On the 30th of May, they left the Atabapo, and entered a branch called the Temi. Near the junction of the two rivers stands a granite mound, called the "Mother's Rock," on account of a touching history which it commemorates. Three years previous, the missionary at San Fernando had undertaken a hostile expedition among the Indians for the purpose of capturing souls. Among other prisoners taken was a woman who was surprised alone in a hut, her husband having gone off on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the children. After being carried to San Fernando, the desire to see her children induced her to attempt an escape. She fled repeatedly, but was as often caught and brought back, and violently flogged, without effect. It was then determined to send her to the distant missions on the Rio Negro, whence it would be impossible for her to return. While the canoe was passing up the Atabapo, she flung herself into the stream and was thrown ashore at the foot of the rock. Again she escaped into the woods, but was again

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caught, brought back to the rock, and most cruelly beaten. She was then taken to the mission of Javita and closely confined, but in spite of her wounds she took advantage of a dark and stormy night to unfasten with her teeth the cords which bound her and again fled in search of her children. For four days and nights she wandered through a trackless forest, then inundated and swarming with venomous reptiles. She swam the swollen rivers; her flesh was torn with thorns and spiky leaves; her only food was the large black ants which she caught; but after this incredible labor she reached her children, only to be torn away from them shortly afterward, for the last time. The missionaries threw her into a cell, where she refused all nourishment in her despair, and thus died. Humboldt exclaims, after relating this story: "If man scarcely leaves a trace of his existence in this wilderness, the name of this rock, an imperishable monument of nature, will remain as a memorial of the moral perversity of our age, of the contrast between the virtue of the savage and the barbarism of civilized man!"

On the 1st of May they left the river Temi, and advanced a short distance up one of its branches, the Tuamini, to the mission of Javita, the commencement of the portage of five miles through the forests to the rivulet of Pimichin, which flows into the Rio Negro. They were detained five days by the transportation of the canoe. Twenty-three Indians were employed in dragging it, using the branches of trees as rollers. The travelers employed the time in botanizing, and in collecting information concerning the Indian tribes. When the portage was performed—happily without injury to the canoe—they proceeded on foot to the Pimichin, through a forest swarming with venomous vipers. On the 6th of May they embarked on the Pimichin, and in five hours afterward entered the Rio Negro. Their perseverance was at last rewarded. "We had now been confined thirty-six days in a narrow boat, so unsteady that it would have been overturned by any person rising imprudently from his seat, without warning the rowers. We had suffered severely from the sting of insects, but we had stood the insalubrity of the climate; we had passed without accident the great number of waterfalls and bars, which impede the navigation of the rivers, and often render it more dangerous than long voyages by sea. After all we had endured, it may be conceived that we felt no little satisfaction in having reached the tributary streams of the Amazon, having passed the isthmus that separates two great systems of rivers, and in being sure of having fulfilled the most important object of our journey, namely, to determine astronomically the course of that arm of the Orinoco which falls into the Rio Negro, and of which the existence has been alternately proved and denied during half a century. In proportion as we draw near to an object we have long had in view, its interest seems to augment. The uninhabited banks of the Cassiquiare, covered with forests, without memorials of times past, then occupied my imagination, as do now the banks of the Euphrates, or the Oxus, celebrated in the annals of civil-

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ized nations. In that interior part of the New Continent one may almost accustom one's self to regard men as not being essential to the order of nature. The earth is loaded with plants, and nothing impedes their free development. An immense layer of mold manifests the uninterrupted action of organic powers. Crocodiles and boas are masters of the river; the jaguar, the peccary, the dante, and the monkeys traverse the forest without fear and without danger; there they dwell as in an ancient inheritance. This aspect of animated nature, in which man is nothing, has something in it strange and sad. Here, in a fertile country, adorned with eternal verdure, we seek in vain the traces of the power of man; we seem to be transported into a world different from that which gave us birth. These impressions are the more powerful in proportion as they are of long duration."

After a voyage of only two days down the rapid current of the Rio Negro, passing the Missions of Maroa and Davipe, the travelers reached San Carlos, the last Spanish station, and the termination of their travels southward. Here there was a small military post, and the commandant received them with great hospitality. From San Carlos the mouth of the Amazon could have been reached in the same time as that of the Orinoco, and Humboldt was for a moment tempted to continue his journey. It was very fortunate that he did not carry this idea into effect. The government of Brazil had heard of his travels, and through a spirit of jealous suspicion, had given orders to its agents to seize the travelers, with their instruments, journals, etc., in case they crossed the frontier, and forward them to Lisbon. On the 10th, Humboldt and Bonpland started on their return. Soto and Father Zea would have preferred returning by the same route they had come, but the former, anxious to explore the Cassiquiare—the Orinoco branch of the Rio Negro—persuaded them to acquiesce in their plan. They found the two rivers, at their junction, nearly equal in breadth; the current of the Cassiquiare, however, was very strong—sometimes eight miles an hour—and their progress was slow. At one of the missions on its banks he obtained positive information of the cannibal habits of the native tribes. The priest informed him that one of the native chiefs, a few years before, had carefully fattened and then eaten one of his own wives. Infanticide is also very common, and when an Indian woman bears twins one of them is instantly killed, because they consider it a vile thing for a human being to bring forth more than one, like an opossum or peccary. The travelers spent ten nights on the Cassiquiare, tormented with gnats, mosquitoes, and ants. The passage became more troublesome in proportion as they approached the Orinoco. "The luxuriance of the vegetation increases in a manner of which it is difficult even for those acquainted with the aspect of the forests between the tropics, to form an idea. There is no longer a bank: a palisade of tufted trees forms the margin of the river. You see a canal twelve hundred feet broad, bordered by two enormous walls, clothed with parasitic vines and foliage. We often tried to land,

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but without success. Toward sunset we would sail along for an hour seeking to discover, not an opening (since none exists), but a spot less wooded, where our Indians by means of the hatchet and manual labor, could clear space enough for a resting-place for twelve or thirteen persons. It was impossible to pass the night in the canoe; the mosquitoes, which tormented us during the day, accumulated toward evening beneath the *toldo* covered with palm-leaves, which served to shelter us from the rain. Our hands and faces had never before been so much swelled. Father Zea, who had till then boasted of having in his missions of the cataracts the largest and fiercest mosquitoes, at length gradually acknowledged that the sting of the insects of the Cassiquiare was the most painful he had ever felt. We experienced great difficulty, amid a thick forest, in finding wood to make a fire, the branches of the trees being so full of sap that they would scarcely burn. The view of the river, and the hum of the insects, were a little monotonous; but some remains of our natural cheerfulness enabled us to find sources of relief during our wearisome passage. We discovered, that by eating small portions of dry cacao ground with sugar, and drinking a large quantity of the river water, we succeeded in appeasing our appetite for several hours. The ants and the mosquitoes troubled us more than the humidity and the want of food. Nothwithstanding the privations to which we were exposed during our excursions in the Cordilleras, the navigation on the Cassiquiare has always appeared to us the most painful part of our travels in America."

RETURN TO CUMANA.

They reached the Orinoco on the 21st of May, and proceeded three miles up the stream, to the missionary station of Esmeralda. At the bifurcation of the river rises the granite mountain of Duida, eight thousand feet high, which forms a splendid feature in the landscape. During a stay of two days at Esmeralda, Humboldt had an opportunity of witnessing the preparation of the celebrated *curare* poison, which is obtained from the juice and bark of a particular plant, highly concentrated by boiling and filtration. When it comes in contact with the blood it is immediately fatal, and no remedy for it has yet been discovered; but it may be swallowed not only with safety, but with great advantage, in cases of gastric derangement. It is prepared by a skillful Indian, who has the title of "poison-master." While Humboldt was witnessing the process, the master, who had a wounded finger, incautiously allowed some of the poison to touch it. He instantly fell to the ground, as if stunned, but the poison was fortunately in a diluted state, and the man's life was saved by the application of muriate of soda. Humboldt himself had also a narrow escape from a similar fate. The poison ran out of a bottle which was badly stopped, and saturated his stockings. He per-

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ceived the glutinous feeling as he was about to put them on, and as his feet were covered with sores from the bites of insects, such an act would have been certain death. When the travelers left Esmeralda, they were in a very weak and languid condition, caused by the torments of insects, bad food, and confinement in the narrow and damp canoe. After spending another night at the junction (or rather disjunction), of the Cassiquiare, they floated with the current, the river being free from shoals, and in thirty-five hours reached the mission of Santa Barbara, a distance of nearly a hundred and fifty miles. On the 27th, they arrived at the mission of San Fernando de Atabapo, which they had left more than a month before. They remained but a day to rest, and then floated, in seventeen hours, to the cataract of Maypures, where they were obliged to wait two days for the passage of their canoe. Another day brought them to the cataract of Atures. Here they landed before sunset, on the eastern bank of the Orinoco, in order to visit the cavern of Ataruipe, which is the place of sepulture of an extinct nation.

Humboldt thus describes his visit to this remarkable cave: "The surrounding scenery has a grand and solemn character, which seems to mark it as a national burial-place. With difficulty, and not without danger of being precipitated into the depths below, we clambered a steep and perfectly bare granite rock, on whose smooth surface it would be hardly possible to keep one's footing were it not for large crystals of feldspar, which, defying the action of weather, project an inch or more from the mass. On gaining the summit, a wide prospect of the surrounding country astonishes the beholder. From the foaming bed of the river rise hills richly crowned with woods, while beyond its western bank the eye rests on the boundless savannah of the Meta. On the horizon loom like threatening clouds the mountains of Uniama. Such is the distant view; but immediately around all is desolate and contracted. In the deep ravines of the valley moves no living thing save where the vulture and the whirring goat-sucker wing their lonely way, their heavy shadows gleaming fitfully past the barren rock. The caldron-shaped valley is encompassed by mountains, whose rounded summits bear huge granite boulders, measuring from forty to more than fifty feet in diameter. They appear poised on only a single point of the surface, as if the slightest shock of the earth would hurl them down. The further side of this rocky valley is thickly wooded. It is in this shady spot that the cave of the Ataruipe is situated; properly speaking, however, it is not a cave, but a vault formed by a far projecting and overhanging cliff, —a kind of bay hollowed out by the waters when formerly at this high level. This spot is the grave of an extinct tribe. We counted about six hundred well-preserved skeletons, placed in as many baskets, formed of the stalks of palm-leaves. These baskets, called by the Indians *mapires*, are a kind of square sack varying in size according to the age of the deceased. Even new-born children have each their own mapire. These skeletons are so perfect, that not a rib or a finger is wanting.

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"The Indians assured me that the corpse was buried during several months in a moist earth, which gradually destroyed the flesh; and that after being disinterred, any particles of flesh still adhering to the bones were scraped off with sharp stones. This practice is still continued among many tribes of Guiana. Besides these baskets, or mapires, we saw many urns of half-burned clay, which appear to contain the bones of whole families. The largest of these urns are upward of three feet in height, and nearly six feet in length, of an elegant oval form, and greenish color; with handles shaped like crocodiles and serpents, and the rims bordered with flowing scrolls and labyrinthine figures. These ornaments are precisely similar to those which cover the walls of the Mexican palace at Mitla. They are found in every clime and every stage of human culture—among the Greeks and Romans, no less than on the shields of Otaheitans, and other South Sea islanders—in all regions where a rhythmical repetition of regular forms delights the eye. The causes of these resemblances, as I have explained elsewhere, are rather to be referred to psychical conditions, and to the inner nature of our mental qualifications, than as affording evidence in favor of a common origin and the ancient intercourse of nations.

"Our interpreters could give us no certain information regarding the age of these vessels; but that of the skeletons did not in general appear to exceed a hundred years. There is a legend among the Guareke Indians, that the brave Atures, when closely pursued by the cannibal Caribs, took refuge on the rocks of the cataracts—a mournful place of abode—in which this oppressed race perished, together with its language! In the most inaccessible portion of the rapid, other graves of the same character are met with; indeed it is probable that the last descendants of the Atures did not become extinct until a much more recent period. There still lives, and it is a singular fact, an old parrot in Maypures which can not be understood, because, as the natives assert, it speaks the language of the Atures!

"We left the cave at nightfall, after having collected, to the extreme annoyance of our Indian guides, several skulls and the perfect skeleton of an aged man. One of these skulls has been delineated by Blumenbach in his admirable craniological work; but the skeleton, together with a large portion of our natural history collections, especially the entomological, was lost by shipwreck off the coast of Africa on the same occasion when our friend and former traveling companion, the young Franciscan monk, Juan Gonzalez, lost his life. As if with a presentiment of this painful loss, we turned from the grave of a departed race with feelings of deep emotion. It was one of those clear and delicious cool nights so frequent beneath the tropics. The moon stood high in the zenith, encircled by a halo of colored rings, her rays gilding the margins of the mist, which in well defined outline hovered like clouds above the foaming flood. Innumerable insects poured their red phosphorescent light over the herb-covered surface, which glowed with living fire, as

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though the starry canopy of heaven had sunk upon the grassy plain. Climbing bignonia, fragrant vanillas, and golden-flowered banisterias, adorned the entrance of the cave, while the rustling palm-leaves waved over the resting-place of the dead. Thus pass away the generations of men!—thus perish the records of the glory of nations! Yet when every emanation of the human mind has faded—when in the storms of time the monuments of man's creative art are scattered to the dust—an ever new life springs from the bosom of the earth. Unceasingly prolific nature unfolds her germs, regardless though sinful man, ever at war with himself, tramples beneath his foot the ripening fruit!"

After taking leave of the good monk, Father Zea, who was ill and remained at the mission, Humboldt and Bonpland ventured to pass the last half of the cataract of Atures in the laden boat. They landed several times on the rocks which connect the single islands by abrupt dikes; sometimes the waves dashed over these dikes, and sometimes found an outlet through subterranean channels. The travelers crept into one of the caverns under the rocks; its damp walls were covered with confervas, which they gathered, while overhead the torrent fell with a fearful noise. As the Indians had left them in the middle of the rapid to circumnavigate a small island in the canoe, they were obliged to spend some time on the rock in a violent storm. The night had already set in, and their situation without shelter was dismal in the extreme. The little monkeys, which they had carried with them for months in wicker baskets, attracted the crocodiles by their cries, thus refuting the assertion of the Indians that these animals are never seen in the rapids. After a long time the canoe arrived at the foot of the island, having safely accomplished the passage; they re-shipped their instruments and collections, and were soon afloat on the broad waters of the lower Orinoco. On the 7th of June they reached the Mission of Uruana, inhabited by the Otomacs—a tribe of Indians who are noted for their habit of eating dirt. They select an unctuous kind of clay, which they make into cakes and bake in the fire. They are very fond of this diet, which, during the height of the rainy season, constitutes their principal food. Notwithstanding it contains little or no nutritive quality, these Indians are robust and healthy. It is supposed that they use the oil of turtles' eggs, and the fat of the crocodile, in connection with it. They are a turbulent and passionate people, and strongly addicted to the use of palm-wine and other intoxicating drinks. They also throw themselves into a peculiar state of intoxication by the use of a powder called *niopo*, made from the seeds of a species of acacia, and inhaled through the forked bone of a bird, the extremities of which are applied to the nostrils. The powder is so stimulating that the smallest portion of it occasions violent sneezing in those unaccustomed to its use.

A further voyage of nine days, without particular incident, brought the travelers to Angostura, the capital of Spanish Guiana, where they arrived on the 16th of June. Humboldt thus describes his feelings,

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on this return to civilization: "It would be difficult for me to express the satisfaction we felt on landing at Angostura. The inconveniences endured at sea in small vessels are trivial in comparison with those that are suffered under a burning sky, surrounded by swarms of mosquitoes, and lying stretched in a canoe, without the possibility of taking the least bodily exercise. In seventy-five days we had performed a passage of five hundred leagues—twenty to a degree—on the five great rivers, Apure, Orinoco, Atabapo, Rio Negro, and Cassiquiare; and in this vast extent we had found but a very small number of inhabited places. Coming from an almost desert country, we were struck with the bustle of the town, though it contained only six thousand inhabitants. We admired the conveniences which industry and commerce furnish to civilized man. Humble dwellings appeared to us magnificent; and every person with whom we conversed, seemed to be endowed with superior intelligence. Long privations give a value to the smallest enjoyments; and I can not express the pleasure we felt, when we saw for the first time wheaten bread on the governor's table."

Soon after their arrival, they were both attacked with fever on the same day, and Bonpland's condition became so serious that his recovery was almost despaired of. This misfortune detained them at Angostura until the 10th of July, when they crossed the Orinoco for the last time and commenced their journey across the llanos to New Barcelona. Their collections of plants and geological specimens greatly augmented their baggage, owing to which circumstance they were obliged to travel very slowly. The heat was excessive, and as there was no wind, they found the journey very toilsome. At the end of the third day they reached the Mission of Cari, the inhabitants of which belonged to the ancient Carib tribe which Columbus found on this coast. They are a very tall race, many of them being six feet in height. Their features are more regular, with a more intelligent expression, than those of the other Indian tribes. The men are more clothed than the women, who are almost naked, the want of clothing being much less important than the absence of red paint on their bodies. They asked Humboldt for pins, which they immediately stuck into their lower lips. Leaving the mission, six more days brought the travelers in sight of the mountain-chain of Cumana —which divides the llanos from the Caribbean Sea—rising like a cloud in the distance. On the 23d of July they reached New Barcelona, exhausted by the hot sand-winds of the plains. Bonpland soon regained his health and activity, but Humboldt experienced an attack of typhus fever, which was then prevalent, and was unable to travel for a month.

Anxious to reach Cumana, in order to avail themselves of the first opportunity that might offer for a passage to Vera Cruz, they hired an open boat, which was employed in the contraband trade with Trinidad, and for that reason imagined they had nothing to fear from the English cruisers. They shipped their instruments, plants, and monkeys, and set

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sail; but had not gone far before they came in sight of an armed boat, which hailed them, and fired at them simultaneously. It belonged to a Halifax privateer, and among the passengers was a Prussian sailor, from whom Humboldt heard his native language, for the first time since his departure. He protested against the seizure, but without effect; they were carried on board the privateer, and the captain declared their boat to be a lawful prize. At this juncture, an English sloop-of-war, the *Hawk*, which was cruising in those seas, hove in sight and ordered the privateer to lay to. A midshipman was sent on board, who, on learning the difficulty, took Humboldt with him on board the sloop. The captain of the latter, Garnier, who had voyaged with Vancouver, and was a man of considerable intelligence, had heard of Humboldt's expedition through the English newspapers. He introduced him to his officers, some of whom had accompanied Lord Macartney to China, gave him his own state-room for the night, ordered the boat to be given up, and sent the travelers on their way in the morning. Before noon they saw the fortress of Cumana, strikingly relieved, from its whiteness, against the dark curtain of the inland mountains. "We gazed with interest on the shore," says Humboldt, "where we first gathered plants in America, and where, some months later, M. Bonpland had been in such danger. Among the cactuses, that rise in columns twenty feet high, appear the Indian huts of the Guaykerias. Every part of the landscape was familiar to us; the forest of cactus, the scattered huts, and that enormous ceiba, beneath which we loved to bathe at the approach of night. Our friends at Cumana came out to meet us: men of all castes, whom our frequent herborizations had brought into contact with us, expressed the greater joy at sight of us, as a report that we had perished on the banks of the Orinoco had been current for several months."

VISIT TO CUBA.

They waited at Cumana for the arrival of the packet from Corunna to Vera Cruz; but the strictness of the English blockade was such that they were detained two months and a half. As no packet arrived, and an American vessel was about to leave New Barcelona for Cuba, they determined to take passage in her, and on the 16th of November, after a stay of sixteen months in Venezuela, bade a final adieu to their friends at Cumana. They beheld with emotion the silver disc of the full moon illuminating the cocoa-trees on the banks of the Manzanares, for the last time, but the breeze was strong, and in six hours they had reached New Barcelona. The American vessel sailed on the evening of November 24th, and after a very tempestuous passage of twenty-five days, reached Havana on the 19th of December. Humboldt made astronomical observations during the passage, whenever it was possible, and tested the accuracy of the position of the reefs and islands which they passed. His

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approach to the shores of Cuba was announced by the delicious aromatic odors which blew from off the land.* The travelers were the guests of Count O'Reilly and Señor Cuesta during their stay at Havana, which was about three months. They employed their time, until the end of February, in making observations in and around the city, and in the neighboring plains of Guines. About the end of February, having completed the observations they proposed making at the northern extremity of the torrid zone, they were on the point of embarking for Vera Cruz, intending to cross Mexico, sail to the Philippine Islands, and return to Europe by way of India and Persia, when a rumor (which afterward proved false) concerning the French expedition of Captain Baudin, induced them to change their plans. It was stated that this expedition had departed from France, bound for the coast of Chili and Peru, whence it would sail for Australia.

TRAVELS AMONG THE ANDES.

The projects which Humboldt had formed before leaving Paris were instantly revived. He determined to sail to Carthagena, cross the isthmus to the Pacific, and await Baudin's arrival in Lima or Valparaiso. But it was first necessary to forward to Europe his large collection of objects of natural history. "Bonpland and I," he says, "resolved instantly to divide our herbals into three portions, to avoid exposing to the risks of a long voyage the objects we had obtained with so much difficulty on the banks of the Orinoco, the Atabapo, and the Rio Negro. We sent one collection by way of England to Germany, another by way of Cadiz to France, and a third remained at Havana. We had reason to congratulate ourselves on this foresight: each collection contained nearly the same species, and no precautions were neglected to have the cases, if taken by English or French vessels, remitted to Sir Joseph Banks, or to the professors of natural history at the Museum at Paris. It happened fortunately that the manuscripts which I at first intended to send with the collection to Cadiz were not intrusted to our much esteemed friend and fellow-traveler, Fray Juan Gonzalez, who had followed us to Havana with the view of returning to Spain. He left the island of Cuba soon after us, but the vessel in which he sailed foundered on the coast of Africa, and the cargo and crew were all lost. By this event we lost some of the duplicates of our herbals, and what was more important, all the insects which M. Bonpland had, with great difficulty, collected during our voyage to the Orinoco and the Rio Negro. By a singular fatality we remained two years in the Spanish colonies without receiving a single letter from Europe; and those which arrived in the three following years made no mention of what we had transmitted.

* In approaching Cuba from the north in July, 1849, we were met several miles from shore by the same fragrant land wind, freighted with the balms of the tropics.—B. T.

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The reader may imagine my uneasiness for the fate of a journal which contained astronomical observations, and barometrical measurements, of which I had not made any copy. After having visited New Grenada, Peru, and Mexico, and just when I was preparing to leave the New Continent, I happened, at a public library of Philadelphia, to cast my eyes on a scientific publication, in which I found these words: 'Arrival of M. de Humboldt's manuscripts at his brother's house in Paris, by way of Spain!' I could scarcely suppress an exclamation of joy."

They experienced some difficulty in obtaining passage to Carthagena, but finally chartered a Spanish sloop lying at Batabano, on the southern shore of the island, and set sail on the 9th of March, 1801. The cabin was merely a hold for provisions, and they were obliged to live on deck, where the thermometer stood at 90° in the shade. "Luckily these inconveniences lasted only twenty days," says Humboldt, with the resignation of a genuine traveler. Coasting along the southern shore, in five days they reached Trinidad de Cuba, where they were treated with much distinction by the Governor. A grand party was assembled to entertain them in the evening, and an ecclesiastic, habited in velvet, notwithstanding the heat, declaimed a sonnet, celebrating their voyage on the Orinoco. They set sail the next day, and after a rough passage of sixteen days, again reached the South American continent, at the mouth of the river Sinu, which the captain entered to shelter his frail vessel from the storms. This was at that time an almost unvisited region, and the botanical zeal of the travelers led them into a situation of great danger. Having rowed ashore to collect plants by moonlight they would have fallen into an ambuscade of naked men, armed and laden with chains——probably escaped criminals—if they had not retreated cautiously to the vessel. On the 30th of March they reached Carthagena, where, after consultation with the authorities, they were persuaded to give up their intention of crossing the isthmus to Panama, and to choose instead the route to Guayaquil, by way of Bogota and Quito. This change of direction gave Humboldt occasion to trace the map of the Rio Magdalena, to determine astronomically the position of eighty points situated in the inland country between Carthagena, Popayan, and the upper valley of the Amazon and Lima, to discover the error in the longitude of Quito, to collect several thousand new plants, and to observe, on a vast scale, the relation between the rocks of syenitic porphyry and trachyte and the active fire of volcanoes.

The travelers remained six days at Carthagena, making preparations for their journey. During this time, Humboldt visited the remarkable air-volcanoes of Turbaco, lying in the midst of palm-groves, near the Indian village of the same name. These volcanoes consist of eighteen or twenty cones of gray mud, a few yards in height, with miniature craters filled with water at the top. Every few minutes a strong jet or exhalation of azotic gas takes place, accompanied with a loud, snorting sound. In ascending the Magdalena, Bonpland explored the rich botan-

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ical treasures of the shore, while Humboldt drew a chart of the river district, in spite of the oppressive climate, and the tortures of the mosquitoes. At the town of Honda, they left the river, and proceeded on mules to Bogota, having been thirty-five days on the journey. In the latter place the travelers remained until September, occupying themselves with botanical and geographical researches, and with excursions to the many interesting spots in the vicinity. The most striking of these was the cascade of Tequendama, which Humboldt considers one of the most beautiful in the world. "The scenery comprises every thing which can render a view eminently picturesque: the cascade is not the highest in the world, but there is no other which combines so great a

FALLS OF TEQUENDAMA.

height with such a mass of water. The river is half the breadth of the Seine, at Paris, and precipitates itself, in two bounds, a depth of five hundred and seventy feet. In approaching the cascade, one sees around him oaks and other trees which recall the vegetation of Europe; then all at once he beholds, as from a tower, the palm, the banana, and the sugar-cane at his feet. Owing to this circumstance, the inhabitants of Bogota say that the river of Tequendama leaps at one bound from a cold to a hot climate. The appearance of the tropical vegetation at the bottom of the ravine is the more interesting to them, as they live on a table-land where the thermometer often descends to the freezing-point. The solitude of the place, the richness of the vegetation, and the frightful roar of the waters, make the foot of the cascade of Tequendama one of the wildest and most savage scenes among the Cordilleras.

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Leaving Bogota toward the end of September, Humboldt and Bonpland started on their journey to Quito, by way of Popayan. They crossed the central chain of the Andes, by the remarkable pass of Quindiu, the highest point of which is eleven thousand three hundred feet above the sea. The mountain of Quindiu is covered with uninhabited forests, and can not be passed in less than twelve days. Travelers are obliged to carry provisions for a month, because it often happens that a sudden swelling of the mountain torrents prevents them from either going backward or forward. The path in many places is a ravine, or *crevasse*, so narrow as barely to allow the passage of the oxen which carry the baggage. The light of day can scarcely penetrate to the bottom, and the obscurity is increased by the thick vegetation overhead. If the traveler meets with any of these laden animals in such a place, he must either retrace his steps, or seize hold of a stout root and draw himself up out of their reach. The rich inhabitants are transported on the backs of men, who are called *cargueros*, and follow this business for a livelihood. Like horses, they are selected according to their strength, their sureness of foot, and their easy gait. They carry a sort of chair, strapped to the shoulders, in which the traveler sits, looking backward, and easily accomplish a journey of eight or nine hours a day. Like horses, also, their backs often become sore under the saddle, and they run the same risk of being abandoned on the road if they fall sick; but they are, nevertheless, cheerful and attached to their business, which is not looked upon as degrading. Humboldt and Bonpland would not consent to use this method of transportation, but traveled on foot, barefooted, at the head of their caravan of twelve oxen, who carried their instruments and collections. The path was in a tenacious clayey soil, which made walking very fatiguing, added to which the oxen have the habit of stepping always in the same tracks, so that they gradually form a succession of deep holes, which are soon filled up with soft mud, in which the traveler sinks to his knees. It was in the rainy season, and they found the journey exceedingly laborious and fatiguing. The Indians carried with them packages of the leaves of a species of banana, covered with a resinous varnish, which is impervious to moisture. With these and some poles cut in the woods they constructed a tent every night, so that the travelers were always certain of a dry lodging-place. They finally reached the valley of the Cauca, which they ascended to Popayan, visited the snowy volcanoes of Purace and Sotara, and continued their journey, by way of the town of Pasto, to Quito, where they arrived on the 6th of January, 1802, nearly four months after leaving Bogota.

Humboldt soon recovered from the hardships of the journey, in the bracing and equable climate of Quito, and remained for nearly nine months, employed in his geological and botanical studies; his sense for natural beauty and sublime landscapes finding abundant food for gratification in the splendid landscapes of the plain of Quito, with its views

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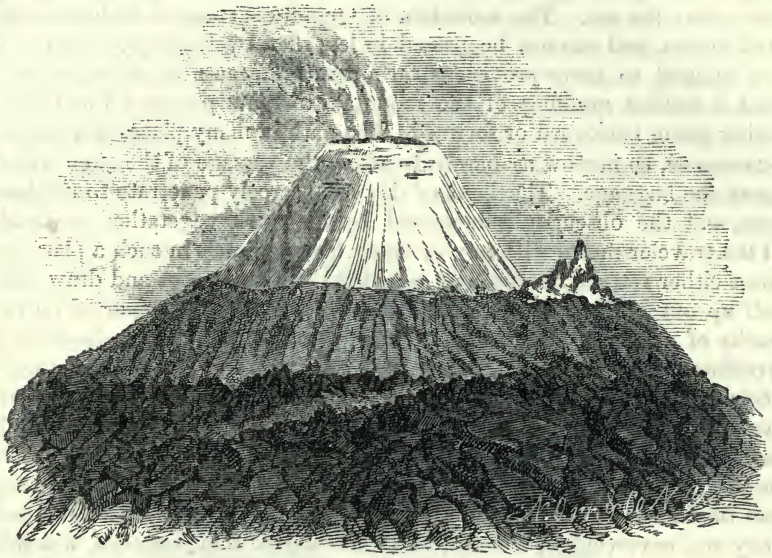
of the snowy cones of the Andes. These grand conical peaks, then supposed to be the highest in the world, tempted him to attempt the ascent of their almost inaccessible sides. He climbed to the snow-line of Coto-



THE VOLCANO OF COTOPAXI.

paxi, the highest volcano in the world, which, in the year 1738, threw up a pillar of flame a mile in height, and made its bellowings heard at the distance of five hundred miles. Finding it impossible to reach the summit, he next tried the volcano of Pichincha, lying nearer Quito, and after two unsuccessful attempts reached the crater on the 26th of May. He did not find it filled with snow, as Condamine and Bouger had done nearly seventy years before, but inflamed and preparing for an eruption, a circumstance which, on his return to Quito, filled the inhabitants with alarm. While on the summit of this volcano, Humboldt came near losing his life. While attempting to cross a deep chasm, the fragile bridge of snow gave way under him, and he was only saved by the presence of mind of an Indian, who held him on the brink, at the imminent risk of losing his own balance.

After having surmounted Pichincha, which is about fifteen thousand four hundred feet above the sea, and obtained an equal elevation on the side of Cotopaxi, Humboldt determined to make an attempt to scale Chimborazo, which was then believed to be the highest peak of the Andes.* Accompanied by Bonpland and a young Spanish naturalist,

* It has been since ascertained that Sorata and Illimani, in Bolivia, and the peak of Aconcagua, in Chili, are higher than Chimborazo, all of them having an altitude of over twenty-three thousand feet.

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Don Carlos de Montufar, he proceeded to the table-land of Tapia, nine thousand four hundred and thirty-four feet above the level of the Pacific Ocean, and on the 22d of June commenced the expedition to Chimborazo. They followed the plain, slowly ascending, to the Indian village of Calpi, at the foot of the mountain, where they halted for the night. The next morning they started early, and began the ascent. They determined to climb the mountain from the south-south-eastern side, and the Indians who acted as guides—although few of them had ever reached the limit of the eternal snow—also gave this route the preference. The base of Chimborazo consists of great plains, rising like terraces one above the other. They first crossed the llano of Luisa, and then, after a gradual ascent of about a mile, reached that of Sisgun, twelve thousand four hundred and thirty feet above the sea. Here, on the level floor of the plain, Humboldt wished to make a trigonometrical measurement, in order to ascertain the height of the summit, for which purpose he had brought along his sextants and other instruments; but the peak was shrouded in dense clouds. They then continued ascending to the little lake of Yana-Cocha, which is a circular basin of not more than one hundred and thirty feet in diameter. The sky became more and more obscured, but they had occasional glimpses of the head of Chimborazo through the openings of the clouds. Much snow had fallen during the previous night, and they were obliged to leave their mules at this point, which is considerably below the line of perpetual snow. The barometer showed that they had attained a height of fourteen thousand three hundred and fifty feet. A short distance above Yana-Cocha, the grass began to disappear, and they reached a region of naked augite rocks, which rose in columns to the height of fifty or sixty feet, and at a distance resembled trees or masts. Following these rocky pillars through the fields of snow, they finally reached a narrow ridge, or comb, running directly toward the summit, by which alone it was possible to advance; for the snow was so soft and yielding that they did not dare to walk upon it.

The path became more and more steep and narrow. The guides all left them, except one, at the height of sixteen thousand five hundred and twenty-five feet: neither threats nor persuasions would induce them to go further. They then remained alone—Humboldt, Bonpland, Carlos de Montufar, and a *mestizo* from the neighboring village of San Juan. With great labor and perseverance they continued to ascend, though they were enveloped in thick mist. The rocky comb, which the natives appropriately called a "knife-blade," was in many places not more than eight or ten inches broad. On the left was a declivity of snow, covered with a glassy coating of ice, while on the right they looked into a chasm a thousand feet deep, with immense masses of naked rock at the bottom. Nevertheless, they were obliged to incline their bodies to this side, for the snowy pitch on the left seemed even more dangerous, because there was no possibility of either arresting their descent, or of preventing them from sinking deep in the loose snows. The difficulty of ascending was

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now increased by the brittle, disintegrated character of the rock. In some places they were obliged to crawl painfully on their hands and feet, which, wounded by the sharp edges, marked their path with their own blood. They marched in single file, carefully testing the stability of the rock as they proceeded—a very necessary operation, as many of the masses were lying loose on the brink. Their previous experience in climbing Pichincha, Cotopaxi, and Antisana here proved to be of great service, besides teaching them how best to husband their fast diminishing strength. As the summit was almost constantly hidden from view, they became very desirous of knowing how much remained to be ascended, and Humboldt opened the barometer at a point where the comb was broad enough to allow two persons to sit side by side. The mercury indicated a height of eighteen thousand three hundred and eighty feet, or about two hundred feet higher than they had ascended, three months previously, on the cone of Antisana, by climbing a very similar ledge. They were a little disappointed at finding themselves still so far from the point of their ambition. The temperature of the air was 37°, and that of the earth 42°.

After another hour of cautious climbing, the rocky comb became less steep, but the mist was thicker than ever. They now began, one after another, to suffer from the extreme rarefaction of the air. The tendency to vomit, combined with vertigo, was much more disagreeable than the difficulty of breathing. Their lips and gums bled profusely, and their eyelids and eyeballs were injected with blood. The mestizo suffered more than the others. They were by no means alarmed at these symptoms, which they had experienced during former ascents. Humboldt, in fact, had once fallen senseless near the summit of Pichincha, and remained in that condition for some time, until found by his guide. The belts of cloud finally parted, although the air was quite still, and they suddenly saw, apparently quite near at hand, the great dome of Chimborazo. It was a grand and solemn spectacle. The hope of soon standing upon its topmost pinnacle invigorated their strength anew. The ledge became a little broader, and they went forward with more security for a few minutes, when all at once a chasm, four hundred feet deep and sixty feet broad, yawned across their path. They distinctly saw beyond the chasm, the same ledge going forward in the same direction, but the gulf was not to be passed. They were stopped by an insurmountable obstacle, in full view of their goal. It was one o'clock in the afternoon, and they were benumbed with cold, although the temperature was no lower than 29°. The barometer indicated a height of nineteen thousand two hundred and thirty feet above the sea, and, according to Humboldt's calculation, thirteen hundred below the summit. This was the highest point to which any human being had ever ascended on the sides of the mountains. It has only been surpassed a single time since then, when Boussingault and Colonel Hall, in December, 1831, reached an elevation of

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about nineteen thousand six hundred feet on the side of Chimborazo, by taking another path than that which Humboldt had chosen.

CHIMBORAZO.

As the weather became more and more thick and unfavorable, they commenced returning by means of the same narrow ridge which had enabled them to ascend. They only halted long enough to collect specimens of the rock, foreseeing that they would afterward in Europe frequently be asked for "a small piece of Chimborazo." A violent storm of hail overtook them, but fortunately changed into snow as they descended into a lower atmosphere. The storm became so dense that before they reached the spot where their mules had been left, the rocks were covered to the depth of several inches. The Indian guides were in great anxiety on their account, but before dark they reached the Indian village of Calpi, and were hospitably entertained by the priest. For several days afterward Chimborazo stood clear against the sky, unobscured by a speck of vapor, but the chasm which barred their path seemed impassable, and no second attempt was made.

During his residence in Quito, Humboldt received intelligence that the expedition under Captain Baudin had sailed to New Zealand, intending to pass homeward around the Cape of Good Hope, and would, therefore, not touch Chili or Peru. His plan of visiting the Philippine Islands and India was frustrated by this news, but he immediately formed a new plan of travel. Leaving Quito he followed the chain of the Andes, by

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way of Assuay, Cuenca and Loxa, to the upper valley of the Amazon. This journey, which was very fatiguing and hazardous, was made still more difficult by the scientific instruments and the collections of plants and minerals which the travelers carried with them. On the road to Assuay, Humboldt found in the plain of Cañar, nearly sixteen thousand feet above the sea, the remains of the ancient road of the Incas, which is supposed to have led from Quito to Cuzco. It is paved with blocks of porphyry, and appeared to be fully equal to any of the ancient Roman highways. In Assuay and Cañar he found many other very interesting relics of the native Peruvian dynasty, but none which gave such an impression of its power and civilization as these roads. Near Loxa Humboldt visited the *cinchona* woods, which yield the "Peruvian bark," or quinine. "At that time," he says, "none of this valuable product found its way into commerce; all that was obtained was shipped at Payta, a port of the Pacific, and conveyed round Cape Horn to Cadiz, for the use of the Spanish court. To procure the small supply of eleven thousand Spanish pounds, no less than eight hundred or nine hundred cinchona-trees were cut down every year. The older and thicker stems are becoming more and more scarce; but, such is the luxuriance of growth that the younger trees, which now supply the demand, though measuring only six inches in diameter, frequently attain the height of from fifty-three to sixty-four feet. This beautiful tree, which is adorned with leaves five inches long and two broad, seems, when growing in the thick woods, as if striving to rise above its neighbors. The upper branches spread out, and when agitated by the wind the leaves have a peculiar reddish color and glistening appearance which is distinguishable at a great distance."

In descending to the valley of the Amazon, in the province of Jaen de Bracamoros, the travelers were obliged to ford the Rio de Guancabamba no less than twenty-seven times. The current was so strong that the heavily-laden mules, eighteen or twenty in number, were in continual danger of being carried away; and Humboldt and Bonpland suffered the greatest suspense and anxiety until the dangerous road was passed. In the lower part of the same river, they noticed a novel post for the conveyance of letters. The official communications from the Pacific coast to the valley of the Amazon are dispatched by a swimming courier, usually a young Indian, who is at home in the water. The few letters of which he is the bearer he carefully wraps in a large cotton handkerchief, which he rolls around his head in the form of a turban. On arriving at those parts of the rivers in which there are falls or rapids, he lands and goes by a circuitous route through the woods. When wearied by long-continued swimming, he rests by throwing one arm on a plank of light wood. Sometimes he takes a friend along to bear him company. Many of the wild Indian tribes who dwell on the shores of the upper Amazon, perform their journeys in a similar manner. On one occasion Humboldt saw the heads of thirty or forty individuals, men, women and children, as they floated down the river. On approaching the basin of the Amazon

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he was delighted with the beauty of the scenery and the luxuriance of the vegetation. The orange-trees grew to the height of sixty or seventy feet.

The travelers descended the River Chamaya on rafts, to its confluence with the Amazon, at the narrows of Rentama. They found the latter river to be fourteen hundred feet in breadth, at this point. After seventeen days spent in the hot valley of the Amazon, they ascended the Andes to the table-land of Caxamarca, stopping on the way to visit the famous silver mines of Gualgoyoc. They took up their temporary abode in the vicinity of the mines in the little mountain town of Micuipampa, situated at an elevation of twelve thousand feet above the sea, and where, though only 6° 43′ from the equator, water freezes within doors, at night, during a great part of the year. This wilderness, almost devoid of vegetation, is inhabited by three or four thousand persons, who are supplied with articles of food from the warm valleys, as they themselves can grow nothing but some kinds of cabbage and salad. Here, as in all the mining towns of Peru, *ennui* drives the richer inhabitants, who, however, are not the best informed class, to the dangerous diversions of cards and dice. The consequence is, that the wealth thus quickly won is still more quickly spent. Here one is continually reminded of the anecdote related of one of the soldiers of Pizarro's army, who complained that he had lost, in one night's play, "a large piece of the sun," meaning a plate of gold which he had obtained at the plunder of the temple of Cuzco.

Passing over a succession of *paramos*, or mountain deserts, where they were severely bruised by hail-storms, the travelers at last saw beneath them the fertile valley of Caxamarca, its extent of one hundred square miles watered by the windings of a beautiful little river. In the ancient town, the capital of the unfortunate Inca Atahuallpa, there are many interesting remains of its former rulers. Some vestiges of the Inca's palace and fortress are still to be seen, although most of the original Peruvian buildings have been torn down to furnish material for the dwellings of their conquerors. In the town jail, which is erected on the ruins of Atahuallpa's palace, the room is still shown in which he was confined until the day of his execution (August 29, 1533), and the natives even point out a mark on the wall, as indicating the height which his golden ransom reached. "Descendants of the Inca," says Humboldt, "still dwell in Caxamarca, amid the dreary architectural ruins of departed splendor. These descendants are the family of the Indian Cacique, or, as he is called in the Quichua language, the Curaca Astorpilca. They live in great poverty, but nevertheless contented, and resigned to their hard and unmerited fate. Their descent from Atahuallpa, through the female line, has never been a doubtful question in Caxamarca; but traces of beard would seem to indicate some admixture of Spanish blood. The son of the Cacique Astorpilca, an amiable and interesting youth of seventeen, conducted us over the ruins of the ancient palace. Though living in the utmost poverty, his imagination was filled with visions of

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the subterranean splendor and the golden treasures which, he assured us, lay hidden beneath the heaps of rubbish over which we were treading. He told us that one of his ancestors once blindfolded the eyes of his wife, and then, through many intricate passages cut in the rock, led her down into the subterranean gardens of the Inca. There the lady beheld, skillfully imitated in the purest gold, trees laden with leaves and fruit, with birds perched on their branches. Among other things she saw Atahuallpa's golden sedan-chair, which had been so long searched for in vain, and which is alleged to have been sunk in the basin at the Baths of Pultamarca. The husband commanded his wife not to touch any of these enchanted treasures, reminding her that the period fixed for the restoration of the empire of the Incas had not yet arrived, and that whosoever should touch any of the treasures would perish the same night.

"The son of Astorpilca assured me that underground, a little to the right of the spot on which I then stood, there was a large datura-tree, or guanto, in full flower, exquisitely made of gold wire and plates of gold, and that its branches overspread the Inca's chair. The morbid faith with which the youth asserted his belief in this fabulous story, made a profound and melancholy impression on me. These illusions are cherished among the people here, as affording them consolation amid great privation and earthly suffering. I said to the lad, 'Since you and your parents so firmly believe in the existence of these gardens, do you not, in your poverty, sometimes feel a wish to dig for the treasures that lie so near you?' The young Peruvian's answer was so simple and so expressive of the quiet resignation peculiar to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, that I noted it down in Spanish in my journal. 'Such a desire,' said he, 'never comes to us. My father says that it would be sinful. If we had the golden branches, with all their golden fruits, our white neighbors would hate us and injure us. We have a little field and good wheat.' Few of my readers will, I trust, be displeased that I have recalled here the words of young Astorpilca and his golden dreams."

After a stay of five or six days in Caxamarca, the travelers started for Truxillo, on the Pacific coast. Crossing the valley of the Magdalena, they ascended a steep wall of rock, five thousand feet high, from the summit of which the guides assured them, they would behold the Pacific Ocean. But a thick mist overhung the plain, and obscured the distant coast. They beheld only variously-shaped masses of rock, now rising like islands above the waving sea of mist, and now vanishing. "The desire which we feel to behold certain objects," says Humboldt, "is not excited solely by their grandeur, their beauty, or their importance. In proportion as the fulfillment of a wish may have appeared improbable, its realization affords the greater pleasure. The traveler enjoys, in anticipation, the happy moment when he shall first behold the constellation of the Cross, and the Magellanic clouds circling over the south pole; when he shall come in sight of the snow of the Chimborazo, and of the column of smoke ascending from the volcano of Quito; when, for

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the first time, he shall gaze on a grove of tree-ferns, or on the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean. The days on which such wishes are fulfilled mark epochs in life, and create indelible impressions; exciting feelings which require not to be accounted for by any process of reasoning. The longing wish I felt to behold the Pacific from the lofty ridges of the Andes, was mingled with recollections of the interest with which, as a boy, I had dwelt on the narrative of the adventurous expedition of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. That happy man, whose track Pizarro followed, was the first to behold, from the heights of Quarequa, on the isthmus of Panama, the eastern part of the great "South Sea." The reedy shores of the Caspian, viewed from the point whence I first beheld them, viz., from the Delta formed by the mouths of the Volga, cannot certainly be called picturesque, yet the delight I felt on first beholding them, was enhanced by the recollection that, in my very earliest childhood, I had been taught to observe, on the map, the form of the Asiatic inland sea. The impressions aroused within us in early childhood, or excited by the accidental circumstances of life frequently, in after years, take a graver direction, and become stimulants to scientific labors and great enterprises.

"After passing over many undulations of ground, on the rugged mountain ridges, we at length reached the highest point of the Alto de Guangamarca. The sky, which had so long been obscured, now suddenly brightened. A sharp south-west breeze dispersed the vail of mist; and the dark blue canopy of heaven was seen between the narrow lines of the highest feathery clouds. The whole western declivity of the Cordilleras, covered with huge blocks of quartz thirteen or fifteen feet long; and the plains of Chala and Molinos, as far as the sea coast near Truxillo, lay extended before our eyes, with a wonderful effect of apparent proximity. We now, for the first time, commanded a view of the Pacific. We saw it distinctly; reflecting along the line of the coast an immense mass of light, and rising in immeasurable expanse until bounded by the clearly defined horizon. The delight which my companions, Bonpland and Carlos Montufar, shared with me in viewing this prospect, caused us to forget to open the barometer on the Alto de Guangamarca. According to a calculation which we made at a place somewhat lower down, the point at which we first gained a view of the ocean must have been at no greater an elevation than between nine thousand three hundred and eighty and nine thousand six hundred feet."

VISIT TO MEXICO, AND RETURN TO EUROPE.

After reaching Truxillo, on the coast, the travelers proceeded southward over the barren and sandy tracts bordering the sea, to Lima, where they remained for some time, in order to observe the transit of Mercury.

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Humboldt was especially fortunate in having a clear day for this purpose, at a time when fogs are prevalent in Lima. At the beginning of January, 1803, they took passage for Acapulco in the Spanish frigate *Atalanta*. On arriving at Guayaquil, they discovered that the volcano of Cotopaxi had suddenly burst into violent eruption, its explosions, resembling discharges of artillery, being distinctly heard at the former place, which was at least a hundred and fifty miles distant. The eruption was first announced to the inhabitants of Quito by the sudden disappearance of the snow from the crater of Cotopaxi, owing to the increase of internal heat. They immediately made preparations to revisit the volcano, but had not proceeded far before they were recalled by the news that the frigate was obliged to set sail immediately. After a voyage of thirty days, they arrived safely at Acapulco, where they remained for some weeks before commencing their journey to the capital. We have very few details of Humboldt's personal experiences and adventures in Mexico. His work on "New Spain" consists of an account of the political condition of the country, its statistics, its physical geography, its natural history and geology. At the time of its publication it was by far the most complete and accurate description of Mexico which had ever appeared, and in some respects has not been superseded by later works. On reaching Acapulco, Humboldt had intended to remain but a few months in Mexico, and then return to Europe, because his instruments appeared to have suffered, and he found it impossible to correct them. But he was so much pleased with the climate and scenery, and so fascinated by the new fields of investigation opened to him, that it was a year before he was willing to depart.

Toward the close of winter, the travelers left Acapulco, and proceeded, by way of Chilpanzingo and Cuernavaca to the capital, where they occupied themselves for some time in studying the interesting antiquities of the Aztecs. Humboldt was one of the first scholars who called attention to these remarkable relics, and a great portion of his "*Vues des Cordillères*" is taken up with dissertations in regard to them. In Mexico he succeeded in borrowing astronomical instruments, with which he ascertained the exact longitude of the place, which had been incorrectly given. He also visited the famous mines of Moran and Real del Monte, examined the *Desagua*, an immense artificial drain of the valley of Mexico, the pyramids of Teotihuacan, and other interesting objects in the vicinity. In July he proceeded northward, still accompanied by Bonpland, to the celebrated mining town of Guanajuato, where he devoted two months to geognostic studies, especially to the detection of ores, and then traveled southward through the valley of the Rio Santiago, to Valladolid (now Morelia) the capital of the province of Michoacan. He was greatly charmed with the little lake of Pascuaro, and the scenery in its vicinity, which, he declared, would alone repay the traveler for his voyage across the ocean. His interest in the phenomena of volcanoes led him to the plains of Jorullo, near the Pacific Ocean, where, in the year 1759, a volca-

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nic cone, sixteen hundred feet high, was formed in a single night, on a spot which had previously been perfectly level. The plain surrounding this volcano is covered with several thousand diminutive basaltic cones, which exhale a thick vapor through their vent-holes and communicate an insupportable heat to the surrounding air. Owing to this cause, the neighborhood is very unhealthy, but the travelers were not deterred from threading the Tartarean labyrinth, and ascending the volcano, by climbing over the jagged surfaces of the streams of lava. They even descended a distance of two hundred and fifty feet into the cone, which is constantly burning.

In January, 1804, Humboldt and Bonpland took a final leave of the city of Mexico, and started on a tour among the Cordilleras, along the eastern border of the table-land. The former ascertained, by trigonometrical measurement, the height of the snowy peaks of Popocatapetl and Iztaccihuatl, and examined the pyramid of Cholula. He made a barometrical survey of the road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, which, in the district between Perote and Jalapa—then an almost impenetrable forest of oak and fir-trees—was thrice repeated, enabling him to locate the route for the fine post-road which has since been constructed. The travelers also ascended the peak of Cofre de Perote, and measured, by trigonometry, the height of Orizaba.* Reaching Vera Cruz, they were fortunate enough to escape the yellow-fever, which was then raging there, and to obtain a passage for Havana in a Spanish frigate. At the latter place they took possession of the important collections which had been left there three years previously, and after a stay of nearly two months, took passage for Philadelphia in an American vessel. They had a violent storm, which lasted seven days, in the Bahama Channel, but reached their destination safely after a voyage of thirty-two days. As Humboldt remained but six or seven weeks in the United States, devoting his time principally to the study of their political condition, he has published no account of his visit. He traveled to Washington, which was then a mere village, but which, nevertheless, he thought, would grow into a more imposing city than Mexico. He associated with the scientific society of Philadelphia, which was at that time deservedly celebrated; he visited New York, and finally, in July, 1804, sailed for Bordeaux, where he arrived in the following month, having been absent from Europe more than five years.

PUBLICATION OF HIS WORKS.

This journey, planned with so much zeal and courage, prosecuted with so much perseverance and industry, and carried on to so triumph-

* This mountain was ascended for the first time by a party of American officers during the late war. They found, by barometrical measurement, that its height had been slightly under-estimated by Humboldt, and that it was, in reality, between two and three hundred feet higher than Popocatapetl, hitherto considered the highest mountain on the North American Continent.

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ant a completion, produced a great sensation in the scientific world. In the words of Professor Klencke, "It was not only unexampled as the execution of the most magnificent undertaking of a German citizen; it was not only perfectly disinterested, and a sacrifice made solely to the interests of science; people admired not alone the courageous determination, the persevering force, the industry, the intellectual capacities and inquiring talent of Humboldt's personality, but the gradually revealed results of his journey to the equinoctial regions of the new continent became of such universal importance in all branches of human science and commerce, in its influence on a new system of science even—nay, also on the political improvements of the country traversed—that Humboldt was hailed in Europe as a second Columbus." Wilhelm von Humboldt was at the time residing in Rome, but his wife was in Paris with her children. A report had reached Europe that the travelers had fallen victims to the yellow-fever previous to their departure from Havana, and this report was very generally believed. The dispatch, which brought the intelligence of their arrival at Bordeaux to the National Institute of France, was immediately forwarded by the secretary to Madam von Humboldt, whose surprise and joy on meeting with her brother-in-law was equal to his own on seeing her so much sooner than he had anticipated. On reaching Paris, Humboldt immediately set about arranging his collections, and preparing the materials he had gathered for the publication of a grand scientific work. He was still assisted by his friend Bonpland, and by the sympathy and encouragement of all the *savans* of the capital, among whom were Cuvier, Gay-Lussac, Arago, and Laplace.

In the spring of 1805 he accompanied his sister-in-law to Rome, and spent part of the ensuing summer at Albano, with his brother Wilhelm. Their society was at that time still further enriched by the presence of Madame de Stael, Schlegel, and Sismondi. An anticipated eruption of Vesuvius led him to Naples, in company with Gay.Lussac, and he was fortunate in being able to witness the grand outbreak of the 12th of August. After completing his observations he proceeded to Berlin, and did not return to Paris until 1807, when he established himself there permanently, to superintend the publication of his works. But the fruits of his journey were so considerable, so varied, and entering into so many spheres of science, his studies and collections were so exciting for further research and comparison, that he was obliged to unite with other scholars, and allow them to complete, in a more especial manner, the various branches of his undertaking. "The most eminent men of the age," says Klencke, "considered it an honor to be engaged as fellow-laborers in this gigantic work; they emulated each other in the sterling value of the contents, and the most accurate adaptation of the material afforded them. Artists and artisans strove to make the artistic contributions—the atlas, the landscapes, the typographical execution—as perfect and brilliant as possible." The work was originally written in French, and portions of it have not yet been translated into the author's native lan-

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guage. It is rather a series of detached works, treating of special branches of science, than a single connected work, and some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking may be obtained from the fact that at the end of forty years from the publication of the first portion, it was not complete. Indeed, it may still be considered as incomplete, although incomparably the grandest work of the kind which has ever appeared. In 1844, the cost of a single copy of the folio edition was about $2,000, and the printing, paper, and copper-plates alone had occasioned an expenditure of $160,000, much of which was contributed by Humboldt from his own private resources.

In the year 1810 he visited Vienna, where his brother Wilhelm was residing as Prussian embassador. Although but four or five volumes of his work were published, he had already conceived the idea of making a second great journey to Central Asia and Thibet. The Russian minister, Romanzow, had proposed to him to accompany a mission which was to proceed through Independent Tartary to Cashgar, on the western frontier of Thibet, and he at once accepted the offer. This plan, which was to be put in execution in the year 1812, met with an unexpected obstacle in the war between Russia and France. Although his proposed journey was frustrated for the time, he did not relinquish the hope of carrying it out at some future day; and with this view, after his return to Paris, occupied himself for some years with the study of the Persian language, so that he might, at his own expense, proceed to India by way of Teheran and Herat. He gained so accurate a knowledge of the structure of the Asiatic mountain chains from literary sources that he was able to give critical judgments on the explorers who had traveled to the Himalaya mountains. The French government had, in the interests of science, proffered its assistance to the execution of this plan, and even the King of Prussia, when he was at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, granted Humboldt an annual sum of 12,000 thalers ($8,500) and the expense of preparing the expedition for the journey to Asia; but, for some reason or other, which has not been explained, the plan was never carried out.

In the year 1818, Humboldt and Bonpland, after sharing each other's fortunes for twenty years, separated forever. The latter, who had been appointed superintendent of the gardens at Malmaison by Napoleon, became weary of France after the downfall of the empire, and accepted an appointment as Professor of Natural History at Buenos Ayres. After his departure from Europe nothing was heard of him for a long time, but the news came at last that he had been seized by the orders of Francia, the Dictator of Paraguay, while visiting an Indian colony on the shores of the river Paranà. Francia was incensed at Bonpland for his efforts to establish the tea culture within the Brazilian territories, for the tea-plant is peculiar to Paraguay, and forms one of the staple productions of the country. Bonpland was not deprived of his personal liberty, and was allowed to practice as a physician. When the news of this outrage reached Humboldt, he was unremitting in his endeavors to enlist the in-

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fluence of the governments of France and Spain in Bonpland's favor; but Paraguay was entirely beyond their reach. After a detention of nine years, Bonpland was released and returned to Buenos Ayres.*

After his visit to England in 1818, and his consultations with the King of Prussia at Aix-la-Chapelle, in October and November of the same year, Humboldt returned to Paris, where he remained until 1822, when he again joined the king at Verona, and accompanied him on his journey to Venice, Rome, and Naples. They also returned together to Berlin, where Humboldt spent some months with his brother. He did not, however, take up his permanent residence in Berlin until May, 1827, contenting himself with an annual visit to Paris, to superintend the progress of his great work. In the autumn of the same year, at the suggestion of his brother, Schlegel, and in fact, of all the scholars and naturalists of Berlin, he consented to give a course of public lectures on physical cosmography. The character of these lectures and the sensation they produced, is thus described by Professor Klencke:—"As he had before done in Paris, in the French language, Humboldt now, in his native tongue, gave the rich fruits of his researches to the public, in a course of lectures delivered before a select but numerous assemblage. He enchanted his hearers by the peculiar force of his intellectual clearness, by his eloquence, the genuineness and warmth of his feelings, and the inexhaustible novelty of his subject. He stood before them as a convincing, inspiring teacher, who, like an artist, displayed the wonderful pictures of a newly-explored world to their view. This course of sixty-one lectures, commenced on the 3d of November, and concluded on the 26th of April, 1828, was, as it were, the first sketch of the "Kosmos," published subsequently as the compact result of his life and studies. When some of the first lectures had been delivered, the press of people from all ranks was so great that Humboldt was literally forced to give a repetition of the first course, adapted for a more general public, nearly cotemporary with the others, in the large hall of the Musical Academy. These popular lectures were eagerly visited by the highest and most learned persons in the capital. The king, the royal family, the court, the highest lords and ladies, attended regularly and listened with the people, who showed their pride in the celebrated man by their enthusiastic admiration."

JOURNEY THROUGH RUSSIA, SIBERIA, AND TARTARY.

Humboldt was urged to publish these lectures, and prepared to comply, but his plans were unexpectedly changed. The illness and death of his sister-in-law drew him away from his studies for a time, but the sub-

* Bonpland appears to have voluntarily returned to Paraguay soon afterward, and to have devoted himself to establishing plantations. He never relinquished the idea of returning to Europe, but lingered year after year, and finally died there, quite recently, at a very advanced age.

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ject which soon demanded all of his attention was the renewal of the former plan of a grand scientific exploration of Central Asia. The original plan, which was warmly encouraged by the governments of France and Prussia, had been entirely given up, after Humboldt had cherished it for years. But in December, 1827, the Emperor Nicholas invited him to make an extended exploration of the mining districts of the Ural mountains, the territories bordering on China and Tartary, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, at the expense of the Russian government. Humboldt accepted the offer with joy, but asked leave to postpone the preparation for the journey until he had completed the public lectures on which he was at that time engaged. The emperor granted his request, and left him at liberty to choose the localities he was to explore, and to prosecute the journey in such a manner as would best advance the interests of science, always considering the advantages which the Russian government might draw from a development of the mining capabilities of the country, as merely of secondary importance.

In the year 1828, the preparations for the journey were made, plans were laid, and arrangements entered into with other naturalists, whom he was allowed to select as his companions. He communicated with Gustav Rose and G. Ehrenberg, two naturalists living in Berlin, who consented to accompany him on his projected expedition. Each of the three travelers had a special branch of activity allotted to him. Humboldt undertook the observations on magnetism, the results of geographical astronomy, and the general preparation of the geognostic and physical plan of north-western Asia. G. Rose was to make the chemical analyses of minerals, and keep the traveling diary, while the botanical and zoological labors fell to Ehrenberg's share.

On the 12th of April, 1829, the three travelers left Berlin for St. Petersburg, where they arrived on the 1st of May. The Russian Minister of Finance, Count Cancrin, had made ample arrangements for their comfort and security, and for facilitating their expedition. Carriages were prepared, a courier was selected, horses were engaged to be held in readiness at the stations along the route, houses were everywhere to be placed at their disposal, and military escorts provided, where proximity to the frontiers made their protection necessary. A Russian mining officer, Menschenin, afterward Inspector of Mines, was appointed as Humboldt's constant companion, to give him every information in regard to ways and localities, and to levy the necessary assistance from the Russian authorities.

Thus prepared, and furnished with all the comforts of Russian hospitality, they left St. Petersburg on the 20th of May, and proceeded rapidly over the broad highway to Moscow. After a few days spent here in making barometrical observations, and in examining the geological productions of the country, they continued their journey toward the Ural, advancing more slowly over the indifferent roads of the marshy lands that occupy a portion of that level region. They arrived at Nish-

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ni (Lower) Novgorod, on the Volga, by the last of May. Here they met with Count Polier, the proprietor of some mining estates in the Ural, who was traveling thither with a few scientific gentlemen, and who accordingly accompanied them into that region. They embarked on the Volga and reached Kasan on the 4th of June. Kasan was for three centuries the seat of an independent Tartar Khanate, which was overturned in 1552. The suburbs of the town were still inhabited by Tartars, whose *Medscheds* or temples were visited by the travelers. On entering the sacred edifices the guides took off their slippers, although they permitted the visitors to wear their boots. From Kasan they made an excursion down the Volga to the interesting ruins of Bulgar, the capital of the ancient Bulgaria, which flourished from the seventh to the thirteenth century. As they approached the modern village, the whole population came forth to meet them in groups of men, women, and children, and the oldest inhabitants, who led the groups, offered bread and salt to Humboldt, in token of reverence, according to the Russian custom. The walls of a few edifices, two towers, and several tombstones bearing monumental inscriptions in Turkish, Arabic, and Armenian, which mostly dated from the year 623 of the Hedjira, or, A. D. 1226, were the principal remains which the travelers found of the ancient capital. Many silver and copper coins, copper rings, and trinkets, were still found among the rubbish. The tombs of Tartar saints were still objects of pilgrimages for the faithful. A Tartar Mollah was performing his devotions among the ruins, by repeating a form of prayer and frequently bowing his body, without allowing the presence of the travelers to disturb him. As the ruins were some distance apart, he availed himself of a seat in their carriage, and rode with them to all the ruins, always arranging it so that he had performed his devotional exercises before they were through with their examinations. At Kasan they witnessed a rural festival of the Tartars, called the *Saban*, which is celebrated annually after seed-time. The sports consisted in wrestling, running, and horse-racing.

Leaving Kasan on the 9th, they passed through a district inhabited by the *Wotjaks*, a branch of the Finnish family, who had embraced the Christian religion, and adopted the Russian language, while they still retained their primitive costumes. The women wore high caps, made of birch-bark covered with blue cloth, and hung with silver coins and red fringes. They spent the 12th at Werchne (Upper) Mulinsk, on Count Polier's estate, where he entertained them hospitably, after which he accompanied them on their expedition beyond Jekatharinenburg. When they came to the valleys in the outskirts of the Ural, on the 14th of June, they were delighted with the sudden appearance of spring. Three weeks before, they had left the Neva in ice, and now all the plants were in full bloom, covering the ground with a profusion of rare and beautiful flowers. On the 15th, they arrived at Jekatharinenburg, situated among the mountains on the Asiatic side of the Ural ridge, in

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one of the richest mineral regions of the continent. They visited Schabrowski, Beresowsk, and other gold mines in the vicinity, the rich copper mines of Gumeschewskoi, and then extended their excursions northward as far as Nishni Tagilsk, into a district abounding in gold, platina, copper, iron, and precious stones. Nishni Tagilsk, with a surrounding tract of eight thousand square verst, is a possession of the Demidoff family, and is scarcely surpassed by any place in the world in the richness and variety of mineral productions in its immediate vicinity. Near the town is the celebrated mountain of magnetic iron, called Wissokaja Gora, whose excellent ores supply numerous furnaces, while copper of a superior quality is found in large quantities, and rich fields of gold and platina abound, the latter far surpassing in richness all others in the Ural mountains. Near the imperial iron works of Kuschwinsk, they visited another remarkable mountain of magnetic iron, called Gora Blagodat (the Blessed Mountain), which was discovered to the early Russian settlers by a *Wogul* named Tschumpkin. For this act he was burned alive upon the mountain by his countrymen, the primitive inhabitants. A monument stands on the summit, erected to his memory by the Russians.

Humboldt's attention had already been called to the remarkable analogy in the grouping of minerals in various parts of the world, and now he was struck with the resemblance of this region to the gold and platina districts of Brazil, which also produce diamonds. This idea of the association of minerals awakened in him the strongest hope of discovering diamonds in the Ural mountains, and on every occasion of gold and platina washing, the sand was microscopically examined in this hope. In this manner they found many minerals heretofore unknown in the Ural mountains, among them crystals which in Brazil are found with diamonds, although they were not successful in the main object of their search. Humboldt's theory was confirmed, however, during his sojourn in this region, for diamonds were found by Count Polier, in the vicinity of Bittersk, a few days after he parted from him, and in a little while others were discovered in various places in the northern Ural.

On the 1st of July they left Kuschwinsk, and proceeded by the iron works of Nishni Turinsk to the copper mines of Bogoslowsk. Here the mountains were higher, and the side-branches, extending at right angles from the main ridge, spread over a wider extent of territory. The forests were dense, and the indifferent roads, which render this region comparatively inaccessible, greatly hindered them in their investigations. The country was rich in plants and flowers, as well as in minerals, and the luxuriant growth of juicy vegetation produced myriads of stinging gnats and mosquitoes, which greatly annoyed the travelers. The inhabitants protect themselves from these pests by a net sprinkled with birch-bark tea, or by the smoke of decayed wood, or fungi, which they carry ignited in small earthen vessels upon their backs.

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The scenery around Bogoslowsk was magnificent. Over the broad plain, lying eastward, the view was almost unbounded; while on the west and north the mountains rose in majestic grandeur. The principal range was forty or fifty miles distant, and its snow-covered peaks stood out in bold relief above the dark forests of pine and fir which covered the intervening heights. They visited the mines of copper, iron, and gold in this district, and returned by Mursinsk, rich in precious stones, to Jekatharinenberg, where they arrived on the 11th, after an absence of sixteen days. In a week they had prepared and arranged the mass of materials they had collected, when they set out for Tobolsk, and reached that city on the 21st.

Tobolsk had been the eastern limit of the expedition in Humboldt's original plan; but the ease and promptness with which they had accomplished the journey in the northern Ural, induced him to extend the journey to the Altai, that he might become acquainted with these important mountains by personal observation. The plan being approved by the authorities, they completed their arrangements, and in two days were again upon the road. The intervening region consists mostly of steppes, which, although traversed by a few roads, upon which villages are here and there established at the stations, are generally barren and uncultivated. They ascended the Irstysch to Tatmytakaja, then crossed over in a south-easterly direction to the waters of the Om, and continued their route eastwardly, near its banks, across the fearful steppe of Barabinski. This great steppe, which embraces the whole space between the rivers Irstysch and Obi, is not dry and arid, as the steppes are usually supposed to be, but well supplied with lakes, marshes, and flowing streams. Many of the lakes contain salt water, and the earth itself is in some places impregnated with salt. Here and there a spot of rich vegetation appears, and occasionally a few poplars or birch-trees relieve the monotonous level. Over the marshy ground the road was frequently bridged in long courses, but as these improvements were in a bad condition, the traveling upon them was very tedious. Another annoyance was even less endurable than this; they were attacked by swarms of stinging gnats and flies, which preyed upon them unceasingly. This vexing pest, with the jolting of the carriage, occasioned a serious loss to Humboldt in the breaking of a large barometer, though its place was partially supplied by a lighter one. At Kaïnsk, in the middle of the steppe, they received the alarming intelligence that the Siberian pestilence was raging in all the villages before them on the way to Tomsk. This terrible disease prevails at first among the cattle, and from them extends to human beings, especially upon the plains, never among the mountains. The travelers held a consultation, and as it was impracticable to reach the Altai region by any other route, if they should retrace their steps, at least within the limits of their plan, they resolved, at all hazards, to continue their journey, with the precaution—as the disease was represented to be contagious—to avoid all contact with the peasants

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among whom it prevailed. There were many deaths in the villages through which they passed; in Karganskaja six persons had died on the day before their arrival, and in the same village five hundred horses had already perished, so that the expedition had difficulty in procuring the number requisite for their conveyance. In every village a small hospital was established; and on the outskirts of each, fires of dry turf and materials affording abundance of smoke, were kindled to purify the atmosphere. As they approached the Obi, and left the steppe behind them, all traces of the disease disappeared. Crossing the Obi at Bergsk, they proceeded in a southerly direction, and reached Barnaul on the morning of August 2d, having traveled one thousand miles since leaving Tobolsk.

The city of Barnaul, on the Obi, although on the borders of the steppe, is the central point of the Altaian mining interests, being the seat of the controlling authorities of the whole region, and the location of the principal smelting furnaces. The most important product of the Altai is silver, of which the yield is greater than that of any other part of the continent. For more than a half century before Humboldt's visit, the average annual product was nearly seventy thousand marks, or forty thousand pounds. In the same time the mines yielded four hundred and eighty thousand pounds of copper, and about eight hundred thousand pounds of lead annually. Although the quantity of silver produced by the Altai is so great, the ore from which it is obtained is very poor, yielding an average of only four per cent., while the average product of the Mexican ores ranges from eighteen to twenty-five per cent.

Leaving Barnaul on the 4th, Humboldt and his companions proceeded to carry out the plan he had projected of an extensive tour through the mining regions. Going southward they crossed the steppe of Platowskaja to the upper districts of the Obi, where they visited the rich silver mines of Smejewskaja Gora, of Riddersk and its vicinity, and the extensive porphyry works of Kolyvansk. The Smejewskaja Gora, or Serpent Mountain—so called from the great number of serpents found upon it, when it was first discovered—consists almost entirely of ores, of which the most important is silver. Copper, lead, zinc, and iron are also produced in considerable quantities. On the 13th of August, they had advanced as far as Ustkamenogorsk, a fortress on the Irtysch, toward the frontiers of Chinese Mongolia. Here they had an opportunity of witnessing the admirable military exercises of the Cossacks, who were stationed at this post. Leaving their baggage at this place, they continued their tour to the gold and silver mines of Syränowsk, on the south-western side of the Cholsun and Katunja ranges of the Altai mountains. Beyond Syränowsk the travelers had distant views of these mountains. Thirty miles distant rose the numerous peaks of the Stolbrowucha, already covered with snow, and further eastward, closing the long vista of the valley of Beresowska, stood the untrodden summit of Bjelucha, the loftiest peak of the Altai. The view of these

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snow-covered mountains awakened in Humboldt and his companions a desire to penetrate further into that interesting region, but the lateness of the season and the plans already laid, warned them to desist.

They were now so near the boundary of China, that Humboldt wished to pass over to Batî, or Khonimailakhû, the nearest Chinese-Mongolian post, situated on the Irtysch, below Lake Saissan. He had made known his wishes at Buchtarminsk, the upper Russian post on the river, and a Cossack had been sent thither to announce his visit. When they arrived, they found two tents prepared for them, which they occupied during their stay. There were two stations at this post, one on the left bank of the river, occupied by Mongolian troops, the other on the right, by Chinese; both commanded by Chinese officers. They lived in the small round tents, or *Jurten*, of the Khirgises, which were irregularly disposed. Humboldt first visited the commander of the Chinese, who came out before his tent to meet them, followed by two attendants. He was a young man, tall and thin, wore a blue silk coat which reached to the ankles, and carried several peacock feathers in his cap, denoting his rank. After a ceremonious introduction, questions and answers were exchanged through the interpreters, by which they learned that he was directly from Pekin, that he had made the journey in four months on horseback, and that the commanders were changed every three years. After a similar visit to the commanding officer of the Mongolians, who was less communicative, they visited the temple, a small, square, wooden building, containing an altar opposite the door, and the picture of an idol of the Buddhistic worship hanging upon the wall above the altar. A wall stood between the door and the river, near which was another altar with burning coals upon it. On returning to their tents they received a visit from the first commander and his attendants, who took out their pipes and began to smoke, after inviting their hosts to do likewise. Gifts were ceremoniously exchanged, when Humboldt received some Chinese books. The officer expressed great delight when Humboldt told him he had a brother who was interested in the Chinese language, to whom he would take them. These books, which are in the royal library at Berlin, contain a historical romance in four volumes, called *Sankuetshi*, the subject of which is the history of the three kingdoms, into which China was divided after the *Han* dynasty, and which was the subject of the literary dispute between Klaproth and Professor Neumann of Munich. The troops consisted of eighty men. They wore long coats of different colors, and they were very dirty, and very lean. They greatly admired the corpulency of one of Humboldt's company. A few camels were seen about the tents, a flock of goats, and some sheep with enormous tails.

The return to Ustkamenogorsk was highly interesting to Humboldt for its geological value, and was suggestive of new researches; for as he was sailing down the Irtysch he saw on the secluded shores of these waters, over a surface of more than sixteen thousand feet, immense rocks

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of granite lying horizontally and in layers, and resting on clay slate, whose layers were partly perpendicular, partly at an angle of eighty-five degrees. This was a highly important fact for Humboldt in his theory of the formation of granite.

Their next route was down the Irtysch and westward across the steppe of Ischim, to the southern portion of the Ural chain, passing along the frontiers of the Middle Horde of Khirgises, a nomadic tribe inhabiting the steppes between the Irtysch and the Ural river. A line of military posts, consisting of small villages more or less fortified, at intervals of twenty or thirty versts, and garrisoned by Cossacks, is established along the whole boundary, from the Chinese frontier to the Caspian Sea. Humboldt and his companions left Ustkamenogorsk under a military escort of Cossacks, which was relieved from post to post, and passing through Semipolatinsk, a place of considerable importance in the caravan trade with middle Asia, they followed the course of the Irtysch as far as Omsk, where they arrived on the 25th. After remaining here two days, in which they visited the Cossack, military, and Asiatic schools, and made their usual observations, they left the river and crossed the steppe by way of Petropaulowsk and the trading town of Troitsk, and came to Miask on the 3d of September.

Miask is a mining city of considerable importance, situated in the most productive mineral district of the southern Ural range. Here they spent two weeks, making frequent excursions to the gold washings and the mines of the vicinity, to the Ilmen mountains, and to the mines around Slatoust. Then proceeding southward to the head waters of the Uri, they climbed the Auschkul mountain, and examined several mines in its neighborhood. On the way thither, they passed some deserted villages of the Bashkirs, the owners spending the summer in a nomadic life, and returning to their houses for the winter only. At Orsk, on the Ural at the junction of the Or, Humboldt stopped to examine the extensive quarries of green jasper near that place. On continuing his journey he was furnished with a guard of Cossacks as a defense against the Khirgises, for that portion of the line, between Orsk and Orenburg, was considered the most dangerous on the whole frontier. On the 21st they came to Orenburg, the capital of the district, the main fortress on the line, and the center of a flourishing caravan trade to various places in middle Asia. What most interested Humboldt in the vicinity of Orenburg, was the great salt works of Ilezk, on the steppe between the Ural and the Ilek, forty-five miles south of the city. In the absence of the Governor-General, the travelers were entertained by Major-General Gens, whose knowledge of the geography and politcal condition of middle Asia, greatly interested Humboldt. He had a fund of information obtained from caravans and from personal observation. In order to gratify Humboldt's desire to see more of the Khirgises, he sent a message to the nearest sultan, requesting him to come with his subjects into the neighborhood, and exhibit their skill in some of their accustomed

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games and sports. Accordingly a large number appeared, and raised their tents a few versts from the city, after which the sultan came in person to visit Humboldt and General Gens.

As they drove to the encampment, they had occasion to admire the skill of the Khirgises, many of whom rode around the carriage at full gallop, resting with their hands upon the horses' backs and their feet in the air. Having arrived at the tents they were first introduced to the sultan's wives, who were seated in a row in his tent, and then the sports began. The first was horse-racing. The participants rode off to a place seven versts distant, whence they were to ride back to the tents as their goal. Meanwhile other games were introduced. Two Khirgises entered a circle, formed by the spectators, to wrestle. Casting off their outer garments, each threw his leathern girdle over the other, and thus they struggled to throw each other to the ground. The victor remained in the ring until thrown by a new antagonist. One distinguished himself by throwing six in succession, but was vanquished by the seventh. Then a large kettle was brought out, half filled with boiled groats. Into this General Gens threw a silver ruble, which the Khirgises attempted to take out with their teeth. When several rubles had been successively picked out in this manner, and a still greater number of Khirgises had ludicrously besmeared their heads and shoulders in vain, the sport was changed, and now the musicians appeared. The first were men, who begun to sing in long-drawn tones, frightfully distorting their faces the while. There was no trace of melody in their song, although they were themselves so enraptured with it that it was almost impossible to persuade them to stop. When they had finished, a female, completely vailed, entered the circle, and sang in the same manner as the men. Then two others entered and sang a duet, standing with their faces close together, and raising their vails so that they could see each other, and also allow the spectators to obtain a side view, which they did not seem to take amiss. They were interrupted by the intelligence that the horsemen were coming, whereupon the spectators gave way, aided by the whips of the overseers. A boy won the prize, which was a gold embroidered cloak, the others receiving smaller presents. Foot-racing was the next performance. From the starting-point to the tent was about a mile, which the winner ran through in the short space of three minutes. Here the first prize was a silver ruble, the rest were pieces of cotton cloth and smaller presents. When the sports were ended the travelers returned to the city, and prepared for their departure on the morrow.

On leaving Orenburg, they resolved to pass around to the northward of the great sandy steppe of Rynpeski, which lies between the Ural and the Volga, and is inhabited by wandering tribes of Cossacks, Khirgises of the Inner Horde, and Calmucks; but as Humboldt wished to see Uralsk, the chief city of the Uralian Cossacks, they first descended the Ural to that place. They arrived on the 27th, and remained a day to see the autumnal fishing, and other industrial operations of the people.

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The prosperity of the Cossacks of the Ural (or Jaik), is mainly owing to the productive fisheries of the Ural river, which, next to military occupations, furnish their chief employment; pasturage and agriculture being but secondary. From Uralsk the travelers turned north-eastwardly across the mountain steppe of Obschtschei Syrt, to Busuluk, thence westwardly to the Volga at Samara. In this region Humboldt found numerous sulphur springs, and waters impregnated with asphaltes and with salt; while in many places sulphur is obtained from the earth in large quantities. As they descended the Volga, they passed through a number of German colonies on the banks of the river, above and below Saratoff. From Dubowka they made an excursion to the large salt-lake of Elton—called *Altan Nor*, the Golden Lake, by the Cossacks—situated in the steppe, seventy miles eastward of the Volga, and celebrated for its extensive manufactories of salt. While examining the waters of the lake, they found large quantities of insects of various kinds, and even birds, which, having fallen into the lake, were well preserved, and from these Ehrenberg made a good collection of the fauna of the region.

Further down the river, at Sarepta, they found a colony of Moravian brethren, established in 1765, who carried on a considerable traffic, in their own manufactures, with the Cossacks. In the lower districts of the Volga they frequently passed the *kibitkas* of the Calmucks, and met the people with their herds of horses, sheep and camels. They also passed one of the temples, in the entrance of which a number of long sticks stood upright with written prayers fastened upon them. The prayers of the Calmucks are all written in the Thibetan language, which is always used by the priests in their religious rites, although it is quite unintelligible to the people. They are usually written on long strips of cotton cloth, which are fastened to long sticks that they may be easily agitated, for the prayers are not read or repeated by the priests in their worship, but waved as flags by the wind, as the Calmucks believe that the moving of the written prayers is just as effectual as repeating them. By these fluttering prayers and the noisy music that proceeded from the temple, the travelers knew that the Cossacks were at worship within, and, having a desire to see them, they entered. Upon the altar stood gilded figures of their idols, while glaring pictures of idols hung upon the walls. Several basins containing fruit, water, dried flesh, cheese and other offerings, were placed before the altar. Between the door and the altar six priests sat face to face upon the floor, the *lama* or chief priest being nearest the altar, the *gellongs* or inferior priests more remote. They were playing upon a variety of instruments, producing the strange noise which was heard without. The music, or rather the frightful uproar, alternated with a song of like character. At length the lama arose, the music ceased, and the priests then spoke to the travelers, whom they had not before heeded.

Humboldt was received with great honor at Astrachan. When he arrived at the ferry on the afternoon of October 12th, a steamboat, sent

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by the Governor-General Ossipoff, was waiting for him and his companions, and amid the firing of cannon they crossed to the city, where a large crowd was drawn together by these unusual preparations. They were conveyed by four-horse carriages to the spacious apartments allotted them, where, on the morrow, Humboldt was waited upon by the dignitaries of the place and the deputies of all the various nations represented in the motley population of Astrachan. They were presented by the governor-general in the order of rank. First came the burgomaster, with the elders of the mercantile profession, who, according to the Russian custom, brought the tokens of homage, but instead of common bread and salt, it was a pound-cake, ornamented with the best fruits of Astrachan—with grapes, large plums, pears and apples—and salt. Next came the nobles and the officers of the garrison, and then the deputies of the Armenians, Persians, Hindoos, Tartars, and others.

The travelers found much to interest them in Astrachan, in its diversified population, in the bazaars of the various nations and their places of worship. In one of the temples a *fakir* sat crouching on the floor with his chin resting upon his knees, between which the long white beard reached down to the ground. He had no clothing but a sheepskin thrown loosely about him, and had been sitting thus for fifteen years.

Humboldt obtained a steamboat and proceeded with his companions to the mouths of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, in order to analyze its waters, to make barometrical measurements, and to obtain specimens of the fish. When they had thus seen the most remarkable objects of Astrachan, and completed their scientific labors, they proceeded to visit the remarkable Calmuck prince, Sered Dschab, whom Humboldt desired to see. As he resided near the Volga, fifty miles above the city, they made all preparations for their journey, and set off from Astrachan on the 21st of October. The prince sent a large cavalcade and carriages to the landing, supposing that Humboldt traveled in greater state, and received them with great honor at his residence, where he entertained them hospitably. He conducted them to his temple where religious services were performed, showed them his horses, his orchard and gardens, and the distilleries where brandy is manufactured from mare's milk. At his residence they also met with Dschangir, the young Khan of the Inner Horde of Khirgises. Leaving their Calmuck host they hastened to continue their homeward journey, for the weather was cold and winter was fast approaching. On the next day the country was covered with snow.

Retracing their course along the Volga as far as Zarizyn, they then crossed over to the Don, where Humboldt made his last barometrical observation, having reference to the relative height of the Caspian Sea, after which they proceeded by Woronesch, Tula and Moscow, to St. Petersburgh, where Humboldt's obligations to the government and court detained him four weeks. The party finally arrived at Berlin on the 28th of December, 1829. Humboldt had been absent on this expedition

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eight months and a half, during which he had traveled a distance of between eleven and twelve thousand miles.

This journey, like the American one, was of great importance to the science of physical geography. Its results were published in three works, of which each of the travelers undertook to compose one. Humboldt's "Fragments of Asiatic Geology and Climatology" was the first to appear. It treats especially of the mountain ridges and volcanoes of Central Asia, and serves to establish Humboldt's theory, that the volcanic activity of the earth is continually decreasing. Before this journey there existed many erroneous notions of the geography of the interior of Asia, the connection of the mountain chains, and the character of the soil and climate, and Humboldt's work, together with his "*Asie Centrale*" (first published in Paris in 1843), threw an entirely new light upon all this region. Another very important result followed this expedition. In many parts of Siberia Humboldt left carefully compared thermometers, in the hands of competent and intelligent persons, and awakened the taste for these measurements and comparative experiments, especially among the Russian mining superintendents of the Ural mountains. In addition to this, at his suggestion, the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, with the emperor's concurrence, established at different points, throughout the entire extent of the Russian empire, a regular system of observations on the daily changes in the state of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer, on the temperature of the soil, the direction of the wind, and the moisture of the atmosphere. During the twelve years which elapsed between the publication of his "Asiatic Fragments" (1831), and his "Central Asia" (1843), Humboldt was in constant communication with Russia, and was regularly furnished with the results of the system of observation which he had instituted. Notwithstanding the varied and important contributions to physical science which he was thus enabled to afford, he felt that he was not compensated for the relinquishment of his long-cherished plan of visiting Persia, Thibet, and India. Now, in his old age, he declares that he regrets nothing so much as that he did not carry out the project, when it was first made.

HUMBOLDT'S LATER YEARS.

In September, 1830, Humboldt was sent to Paris by Frederic William III., with the diplomatic mission to acknowledge Louis Philippe and the new dynasty. He was also sent a second time in February, 1831, and on his return the following autumn, appears to have visited Weimar, and spent a few hours with Goethe, who was then in his eighty-first year, and whose death occurred in less than six months afterward. In the year 1835 he was called upon to mourn the loss of his brother, who died on the 8th of April, and whose literary executor he became.

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Thenceforth he resided mostly in Berlin, devoting himself entirely to science, and to the arrangement, revision, and publication of his brother's manuscripts. His Asiatic works occupied the principal part of his time, and occasioned an extensive correspondence with his friends in Russia and Paris, besides which he superintended the labors of others who worked under his direction. In the year 1840, he published a dissertation on his ascent of Chimborazo, and on the mean elevation of the different continents, and also recommenced the work, which had been interrupted in 1828—his universal physical description of the world under the title of "Kosmos," which he now continued on a more extended plan. In January, 1842, the King, Frederic William IV., summoned him from these labors, with the command to accompany the court to London, to attend the christening of the Prince of Wales. In England he was treated with distinguished honor. After their return to Berlin, the king instituted a peace class of the Order of Merit (founded by Frederic the Great only as a military order), for the purpose of decorating the greatest scholars and artists, as a symbol of royal favor. The number was limited to thirty, and Humboldt, as the greatest living scholar, was appointed Grand Chancellor of the order.

Since 1842, Humboldt has remained in Berlin, devoting all the time which he can spare from his attendance at court to the preparation and publication of his "Kosmos," which he leaves behind him as his last and richest scientific legacy to the world. He presents a remarkable picture of hale, active, and productive old age. Possessed of that elastic temperament which resists the effects of climate and physical hardship, and which is totally independent of the laws of stature or muscular strength, his faculties seem scarcely less vigorous than in the prime of life, while his interest in the progress of scientific investigation and discovery, is as lively as ever. Professor Klencke, in his biography of Humboldt, written in the year 1849, gives the following description of the grand old veteran, as he then appeared:

"Humboldt now lives wherever his royal friend lives. There are apartments for him in Berlin, Potsdam, in all the royal palaces, and not a day passes that he does not see the king. In spite of his eighty-one years, he works unweariedly in those hours which are not occupied by the court; he is active and punctual in his immense correspondence, and answers every letter of the humblest scholar with the most amiable affability. The inhabitants of Berlin and Potsdam all know him personally, and show him as much honor as they show the king. With a slow but firm step, a thoughtful head, rather bent forward, whose features are benevolent with a dignified expression of noble calmness, either looking down or politely responding to the greetings of the passers-by with kindness and without pride; in a simple dress, frequently holding a pamphlet in his hand, resting on his back, so he wanders through the streets of Berlin, alone and unostentatiously, a noble picture of a blade of wheat bending beneath the weight of its numerous rich

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golden ears. Wherever he appears he is received with tokens of universal esteem. Those who pass, timidly step aside for fear of disturbing him in his thoughts; even the working man looks respectfully after him, and says to his neighbor: 'There goes Humboldt!' And whoever has had the happiness of conversing with him, never forgets the force of his lucid, simple, natural, and unaffected conversation, for in every thing he says, depth and learning, clearness and unbounded knowledge, are revealed without any of the pride of learning, the stiff pedantry and preciseness of many German men of science. Humboldt has evidently been educated in the highest society; his manner is dignified, open, unaffected, and frank; he has lived with all nations, and adopted and united in himself the advantages of all."

This picture is true at the present day, when six years have been added to his venerable age. He is still in correspondence with scientific men in all parts of the world, and frequently reads their letters aloud at the table of the king. He is equally alive to the political aspects of the different nations, and suffers no circumstance of their material development to escape his attention. Though the friend and equal of a king, he is thoroughly liberal and progressive in his ideas, and there are few grander instances of individual independence on record, than the fact of his voting the liberal ticket at the polls in Berlin, in the year 1855. Few men have lived more fortunate lives than he: few have ever left behind them a nobler monument of industry, zeal and genius. Humboldt has been especially favored by Providence, from his very cradle. Unlike the majority of distinguished men, he was not obliged to contend with poverty or adverse circumstances; he never knew that physical and spiritual prostration which springs from the impatience of unacknowledged powers. And it is his highest merit that with worldly circumstances so favorable, he did not give way to the charms and indulgences of his aristocratic position, that he did not fall into the egotism of high birth, nor the pride of idleness, but in all periods of his life followed the true impulses of his nature, and made himself the self-sacrificing servant of science, for the good of mankind. Rejecting all the comforts which he inherited, and the distinguished society into which he was thrown, he cheerfully sacrificed his property, and subjected himself to the greatest dangers and privations in his endeavors to investigate the phenomena of nature, and obtain a knowledge of the laws which govern the world.

May the growing and still brightening orb of his life be rounded to a century of years!

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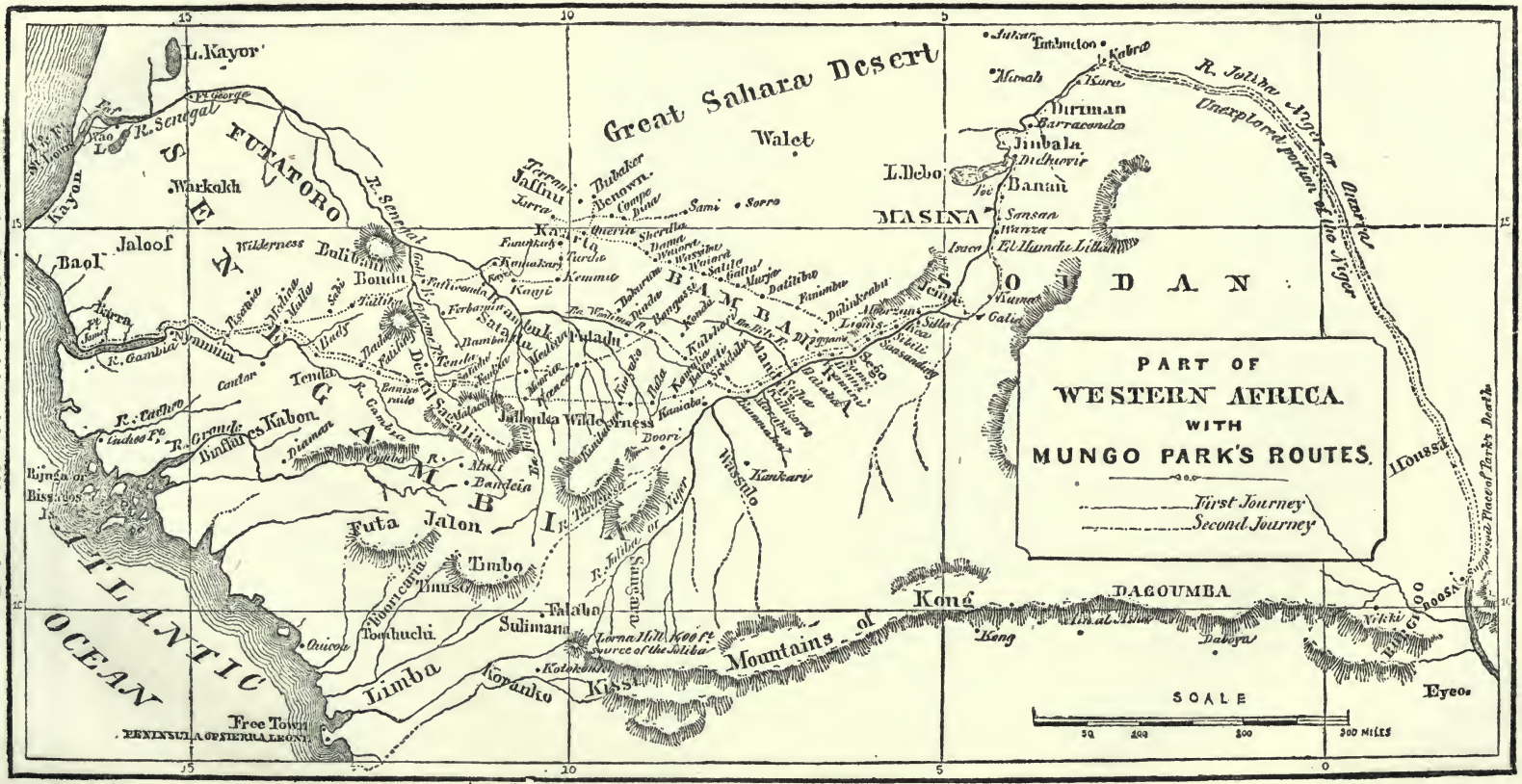

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MUNGO PARK'S

TRAVELS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Mungo Park, one of the first and bravest of the many travelers who have devoted themselves to the exploration of the course of the river Niger, was born on the 10th of September, 1771, at Fowlshiels, on the banks of the Yarrow, in Scotland. His father was a farmer, who was blessed with thirteen other children, but was fortunately able to give young Mungo a tolerable education, and to apprentice him to a surgeon at Selkirk, in his fifteenth year. In 1789, Park entered the University of Edinburg, and applied himself with great assiduity to the studies connected with his profession. His summer vacations, during one of which he made a tour to the Highlands, were devoted to botany.

After having completed his education he removed to London, hoping to establish himself there in business as a surgeon. Through his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, he had the good fortune to become acquainted with Sir Joseph Banks, the patron of so many travelers, and through whose recommendation he was appointed surgeon to the ship Worcester, an East Indiaman.* In this capacity he made a voyage to Bencoolen, in Sumatra, and on his return communicated a paper to the "Linnæan Transactions," containing descriptions of eight new fishes of that island. About this time the African Association, of which Sir Joseph Banks was a very active and zealous member, was desirous of engaging a person to replace Major Houghton, who, it was feared, had fallen a sacrifice to the climate, or perished in some contest with the natives. Park at once offered his services, which, after some deliberation, were accepted, and the Association fitted him out in the most liberal manner. On the 22d of May, 1795, he sailed from Portsmouth in the brig *Endeavor*. His instructions, he says, were very plain and concise. He was directed, on his arrival in Africa, "to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way

* The surgeon attached to the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Madras*, in which I sailed from Southampton to Gibraltar, in November, 1852, was Dr. Mungo Park, a nephew of the traveler.—B. T.

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of Bambouk or by such other route as should be found most convenient; that I should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of the river; that I should use my utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighborhood, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa; and that I should afterward be at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as under all the then existing circumstances of my situation and prospects should appear to me to be most advisable."

On the 21st of June, after a voyage of thirty days, he arrived at Jillifica, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, in the kingdom of Barra. From this place, after a stay of two days, he proceeded up the Gambia, in the waters of which were found prodigious numbers of fish of unknown species, together with alligators and hippopotami, whose teeth furnish excellent ivory. Park, having quitted the *Endeavor* at Jonkakonda, proceeded thence by land, and reaching Pisania, a small British factory in the King of Yam's dominions, on the 5th of July took up his residence at the house of Dr. Laidley, until he should be able to prosecute his journey into the interior.

His first care was to render himself master of the Mandingo language, which in that part of Africa is in general use, and to collect from every source within his power information respecting the countries he was about to visit. In the language his progress depended on his own application; but he soon found that little or no reliance could be placed on the accounts of the interior furnished him by the natives, who, on the most material points, were frequently in direct contradiction with each other. His anxiety to examine and judge for himself was therefore increased. However, besides that the rainy season, which had now commenced, rendered traveling impracticable, another equally insuperable bar to the speedy prosecution of his journey quickly presented itself. In observing on the 31st of July an eclipse of the moon, he imprudently exposed himself to the night dew, and next day he found himself attacked by fever and delirium, the commencement of an illness that with a very trifling intermission confined him during two months within doors.

Having been disappointed in his expectations of proceeding with a slave caravan toward Bambarra, Park departed from Pisania on the 2d of December, 1795. He had been provided with a negro servant, named Johnson, who had been many years in Great Britain, and understood both the English and Mandingo languages; and with a negro boy, named Demba, the property of Dr. Laidley, who, as the highest inducement of good behavior, promised him his freedom on his return. Besides these Park was accompanied by four other persons, who, though independent of his control, were made to understand that their safe return to the countries on the Gambia would depend on our traveler's preservation. His equipment was by no means magnificent: a horse for himself, two asses for his servants, provisions for two days, a small assort-

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ment of beads, amber, and tobacco, a few changes of linen and other apparel, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two fowling-pieces, two pair of pistols, and some other small articles. His friends at Pisania accompanied him during the first two days, and then, dismissing him on his way, took their leave, secretly persuaded that they would never see him more.

He had scarcely lost sight of his European friends, and ridden off musing and somewhat melancholy into the woods, when a body of black people presented themselves in a clamorous manner before him, demanding custom dues, in default of which they threatened to carry him before their king. To escape from this honor, which might have proved a costly one, Park presented them with a little tobacco, upon which they were contented, and he was allowed to proceed. On reaching Medina, the capital of Woolli, he judged it prudent to present himself at the king's levee, when the benevolent old chief not only granted him permission to traverse his dominions, but assured him that he would offer up prayers for his safety, partly to secure which he furnished him with a trusty guide.

Having safely reached the frontiers of the Woolli dominions, Park dismissed his guide; and being about to enter a country interspersed with deserts, in which water is frequently not to be procured, he hired three negroes, experienced elephant-hunters, who were at once to serve as guides and water-bearers. While he was preparing to depart, however, one of these negroes, who had all received a part of their pay in advance, made his escape; and lest the remaining two should be disposed to follow his example, he immediately gave orders to fill their calabashes with water, and struck off into the wilderness, just as the sun was appearing above the horizon. After crossing the first desert, they reached Talika, the frontier town of Bondou toward Woolli, where Park engaged a kind of custom-house officer to accompany him for a trifling present to Fatteconda, the residence of the king. On his arrival at Fatteconda he was received by the black chief with much apparent kindness, though Major Houghton, he had heard, in his passage through the country, had been both insulted and plundered by this same man. It is true the king was so completely captivated by Park's best blue coat and gilt buttons, that he could not resist the temptation to beg it; but he endeavored in some measure to remunerate him for the loss by a present of five drachms of gold, and by altogether abstaining from examining his baggage, or exacting any other present than what was voluntarily bestowed.

The territories of these petty African chiefs, who are complaisantly denominated kings, are exceedingly limited in extent. Your road conducts you to-day through one kingdom, to-morrow through another, and the next day through a third; which, of all those circumstances that obstruct the movements of the traveler in Africa, is, perhaps, the most vexatious and the most difficult to overcome; as the rapacity of the first chiefs who lie in his way deprives him of the power of satisfying

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the equal rapacity of the remainder. Hence, Park traveled in a perpetual state of captivity. He was never, unless when far removed from human society by woods or deserts, completely master of his own actions, or sufficiently respected to render it possible for him to contemplate the superior classes, even of these savages, from a proper level.

Park left Fatteconda on the 23d of December. "In the afternoon," says he, "my fellow-travelers informed me, that as this was the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga, and dangerous for travelers, it would be necessary to continue our journey by night, until we should reach a more hospitable part of the country. I agreed to the proposal, and hired two men for guides through the woods, and as soon as the people of the village were gone to sleep (the moon shining bright) we set out. The stillness of the air, the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest made the scene solemn and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any of us but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity by pointing out to me the wolves and hyenas as they glided like shadows from one thicket to another. Toward morning we arrived at a village called Kimmoo, when our guides awakened one of their acquaintance, and we stopped to give our asses some corn, and roast a few ground-nuts for ourselves. At daylight we resumed our journey, and in the afternoon arrived at Joag in the kingdom of Kajaaga."

On arriving at Joag Park—who had taken up his residence at the house of the dooty, or chief man of the town, a rigid but hospitable Mohammedan—was favored with an opportunity of observing the genuine character of the negro. "The same evening," says he, "Madiboo, the bushreen who had accompanied me from Pisania, went to pay a visit to his father and mother, who dwelt at a neighboring town called Dramanet. He was joined by my other attendant, the blacksmith; and as soon as it was dark, I was invited to see the sports of the inhabitants, it being their custom, on the arrival of strangers, to welcome them by diversions of different kinds. I found a great crowd surrounding a party who were dancing by the light of some large fires to the music of four drums, which were beat with great exactness and uniformity. The dances, however, consisted more in wanton gestures than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes.

At Joag, while preparing to advance on his journey, he was suddenly honored with a visit from the king's son, accompanied by a troop of horse, who, pretending that by entering his father's dominions he had forfeited the whole of his property, insisted upon examining his merchandise, of which he seized upon the moiety. Of the remnant that remained, particularly a little amber and a few beads, which he had succeeded in concealing, he was now so fearful of producing any portion, even for the purchase of food, lest he should once more awaken the cupidity of the authorities, that both he and his attendants determined on combating hunger for the day, "and wait some opportunity of purchasing or beg-

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ging provisions." In this extremity, while he was sitting down chewing straws, a female slave, who observed him in passing by, was moved with compassion, and presented him with a quantity of ground-nuts, which was a very seasonable supply. Scarcely had the old woman left him, before he received information that the nephew of the King of Kasson, who had been sent by his uncle on an embassy to the King of Kajaaga, and was now returning to his own country, was about to pay him a visit. He came accordingly, and upon Park's representing to him his situation and distresses, kindly offered to be his guide and protector as far as Kasson. With him, therefore, our traveler now continued his route to the banks of the Senegal, upon crossing which, his royal guide, who, like other guides, required a present for his services, informed him they were in his uncle's dominions, and in complete safety.

Safe or not safe, however, Park soon found that the stranger and the traveler were nowhere beyond the reach of extortion. Half of the little property which had escaped the fangs of the Kajaaga people, was here taken from him. He was then permitted to depart. Among the honest negroes with whom he had set out from Pisania, on the Gambia, there was a blacksmith from the interior, who, having amassed some little money upon the coast, was now returning to spend the remainder of his days in his native land. Shortly after quitting Teesee, the last place where our traveler had submitted to legal robbery, he and his companions came within sight of the blacksmith's village. The news of his return, had, it seems, preceded him. His brother, accompanied by a singing-man, came forth to welcome the wanderer home, and brought along with him a horse, that the blacksmith "might enter his native town in a dignified manner." Park and his companions were desired to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing-man led the way; the two brothers followed; and the cavalcade was quickly joined by a considerable number of the inhabitants, who, by extravagant gestures and songs of triumph, testified their joy at the return of their townsman. "When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted, and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, freed from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amid these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her; and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, and arms, and face with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview, I was convinced, that whatever difference there is between the Negro and European in the conformation of the nose, and the color of their skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

"During the tumult of these congratulations, I had seated myself

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apart, by the side of one of the huts, being unwilling to interrupt the flow of filial and parental tenderness; and the attention of the company was so entirely taken up with the blacksmith, that I believe none of his friends had observed me. When all the people present had seated themselves, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give some account of his adventures; and silence being commanded he began; and after repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, related every material occurrence that had happened to him from his leaving Kasson to his arrival at the Gambia; his employment and success in those parts; and the dangers he had escaped in returning to his native country. In the latter part of his narration, he had frequent occasion to mention me; and after many strong expressions concerning my kindness to him, he pointed to the place where I sat, and exclaimed, *Affille ibi siring* (see him sitting there). In a moment all eyes were turned upon me. I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprised that they had not observed me before; and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of such an uncommon appearance. By degrees, however, their apprehensions subsided, and when the blacksmith assured them I was perfectly inoffensive, some of them ventured so far as to examine the texture of my clothes; but many of them were still very suspicious, and when by accident I happened to move myself, or look at the young children, their mothers would scamper off with them with the greatest precipitation. In a few hours, however, they all became reconciled to me."

With those honest people Park remained during the whole of that day and the next, and then, accompanied by the worthy blacksmith, who declared that he would not quit him during his stay in that part of the country, set forward toward Kooniakary. On his arrival at this city he obtained an audience of the king, a fine old man, who, for his conduct both in peace and war, was greatly beloved by his subjects. His behavior toward the stranger was not inconsistent with his character. He informed him with apparent regret, that the direct route to Bambarra was about to be closed by war; but, after vainly advising his guest to retrace his footsteps, added, that there yet remained some hopes of peace, respecting the validity of which he should be able to pronounce an opinion in the course of four or five days. In the mean while he invited Park to remain in the neighborhood.

On the 1st of February, 1796, the king's messenger returned from the contiguous kingdom of Kaarta, bringing intelligence that the Bambarra army had not yet entered the country, and that it was possible the traveler might be enabled to traverse it before the invasion should take place. Accordingly, being provided with two guides by the king, Park took leave of his friend the blacksmith, and set forward on his dangerous journey. The country, at all times thickly peopled, now swarmed with fugitives, whom the fear of the Bambarrans had terrified from their homes. The scenery in many places was romantically wild. "On com-

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ing in sight of the mountains of Footado, we traveled," says Park, "with great difficulty down a stony and abrupt precipice, and continued our way in the bed of a dried river-course, where the trees meeting over our heads, made the place dark and cool. In a little time we reached the bottom of this romantic glen; and about ten o'clock emerged from between two rocky hills, and found ourselves on the level and sandy plains of Kaarta. At noon we arrived at a korree, or watering-place, where, for a few strings of beads, I purchased as much milk and corn-meal as we could eat; and indeed provisions are here so cheap, and the shepherds live in such affluence, that they seldom ask any return for what refreshment a traveler receives from them."

From this place, having prevailed upon his landlord, a Mohammedan negro, to accompany him as a guide to Kemmoo, Park set forward on the 11th of February. He observes, "We had no sooner got into a dark and lonely part of the first wood, than he made a sign for us to stop; and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. I confess I was somewhat startled, thinking it was a signal for some of his companions to come and attack us; but he assured me it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success we were likely to meet with on our present journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said a number of short prayers, concluded with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told us we might proceed without fear, for there was no danger."

Adventures now appeared to crowd upon the party. The country through which their road lay being thickly sprinkled with wild fruit-trees, they amused themselves, as they rode slowly along, with picking and eating the fruit, "In this pursuit," says Park, "I had wandered a little from my people, and being uncertain whether they were before or behind me, I hastened to a rising ground to look about me. As I was proceeding toward this eminence, two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from among the bushes. On seeing them I made a full stop; the horsemen did the same; and all three of us seemed equally surprised and confounded at this interview. As I approached them their fears increased, and one of them, after casting on me a look of horror, rode off at full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers until his horse, seemingly without his rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. About a mile to the westward they fell in with my attendants, to whom they related a frightful story. It seems their fears had dressed me in the flowing robes of a tremendous spirit; and one of them affirmed, that when I made my appearance, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky, like so much cold water."

Shortly after this they arrived at the capital of Kaarta, where he was an object of such extraordinary curiosity to the populace—the majority

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of whom had never before seen a white man—that they burst forcibly into his hut, crowd after crowd. Those who had beheld the monster gave way to those who had not, until, as he observes, the hut was filled and emptied thirteen different times. Here he found that the war with Bambarra had actually commenced; that all communication between the countries had consequently ceased; and that, if it was his determination to persevere, it would be necessary to take a circuitous route through the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar. The people of Kaarta were Mohammedans; but instead of the fine sonorous voice of the muezzin, by which the faithful are elsewhere summoned to their devotions, the hour of prayer was here announced by the beating of drums, and blowing through large elephant's teeth, hollowed out in such a manner as to resemble bugle-horns. The sound of these horns Park thought melodious, and approaching nearer to the human voice than any other artificial sound. Being very desirous to depart from the seat of war, he presented his horse-pistols and holsters to the king; and on pressing to be dismissed, received in return an escort of eight horsemen to conduct him to Jarra. Three of the king's sons, with two hundred horsemen, kindly undertook to accompany him a little way on his journey.

On his arrival at Jarra, in the kingdom of Ludamar, he dispatched a messenger to Ali who was then encamped near Benowm, soliciting permission to pass unmolested through his territories; and having waited fourteen days for his reply, a slave at length arrived from the chief, affirming that he had been instructed to conduct the traveler in safety as far as Goomba. His negro, Johnson, here refused to follow him any further, and signified his intention of pushing back without delay to Gambia; upon which Park, fearful of the success of his enterprise, intrusted him with a copy of his journal, reserving another for himself, directing him to deliver the papers to the English on the coast. A portion of his baggage and apparel he committed to the care of a slave-merchant at Jarra, who was known to Dr. Laidley. He then departed, with his slave-boy, accompanied by the chief's messenger. On the road he was robbed once more by the Moors, who added insult to violence; and when he was nearly perishing from thirst, beat away his faithful slave from the wells, without permitting him to draw water.

However, after much fatigue and extraordinary privations, they arrived in Ali's camp at Benowm, where Park was immediately surrounded by crowds of fanatical Moors, attracted partly from curiosity, partly from a desire to vent their fierce zeal against a Christian. "My arrival," says he, "was no sooner observed than the people, who drew water at the wells, threw down their buckets; those in the tents mounted their horses, and men, women, and children came running or galloping toward me. I soon found myself surrounded by such a crowd, that I could scarcely move; one pulled my clothes, another took off my hat; a third stopped me to examine my waistcoat buttons, and a fourth called out '*La illah il, allah, Mohammed rossool allah* (there is no God but

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God, and Mohammed is his prophet), and signified, in a threatening manner, that I must repeat those words. We reached at length the king's tent, where we found a great number of people, men, women, and children, assembled. Ali was sitting on a black leathern cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip—a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man of the Arab caste, with a long white beard, and he had a sullen and indignant aspect. He surveyed me with attention, and inquired of the Moors if I could speak Arabic; and being answered in the negative, he appeared much surprised, and continued silent. The surrounding attendants, and particularly the ladies, were abundantly more inquisitive; they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of my apparel, searched my pockets, and obliged me to unbutton my waistcoat and display the whiteness of my skin; they even counted my toes and fingers, as if they doubted whether I was in truth a human being."

SULTAN ALI'S TENT AT BENOWM.

Ali now, with the base idea of insulting an unprotected stranger, ordered a wild boar to be brought in, which he signified his desire that Park should kill and eat. This, well knowing their religious prejudices, he, of course, refused to do; upon which the boys who led in the boar were commanded to let it loose upon him, the Moors supposing that there exists an inveterate feud between pigs and Christians, and that it would immediately run upon and gore him. The boar, however, was more magnanimous. Scorning to attack a defenseless foreigner, he no sooner found himself at liberty than, brandishing his tusks at the natives, he rushed at them indiscriminately, and then, to complete their consternation, took shelter under the very couch upon which the tyrant was sitting. This bold proceeding of the unclean beast dissolved the assembly, and the traveler was led away to the tent of a slave, in front of which,

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not being permitted to enter, he received a little food. Here he likewise passed the night, lying upon the sand, surrounded by the curious multitude. Next day, a hut, constructed with corn-stalks, was given to him, but the boar, which had been recaptured, was tied to a stake in the end of it, as his fittest companion.

By degrees, however, the Moors began to conceive that the Christian might, in one way or another, be rendered useful, but could think of no better employment for him than that of a barber. In this capacity he made his first attempt, in the royal presence, on the head of the young prince of Ludamar. This dignified office he had no great desire to monopolize, and his unskillfulness in performing the operation, for he almost at the outset made an incision in the young prince's head, quickly reduced him once more to the rank of a common mortal. Ali seemed by no means desirous, however, of dispensing altogether with his services, wishing, perhaps, to preserve him from the same motives which induce us to preserve a wild beast; and, therefore, to render his escape the more impracticable, took possession of the whole of his baggage, including his gold, amber, watch, and one of his pocket compasses, the other he had fortunately buried in the sand composing the floor of his hut. The gold and amber were highly gratifying to Moorish avarice, but the pocket compass soon became an object of superstitious curiosity. "Ali was very desirous to be informed why that small piece of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great Desert, and I found myself somewhat puzzled to answer the question. To have pleaded my ignorance would have created a suspicion that I wished to conceal the real truth from him; I therefore told him that my mother resided far beyond the sands of Sahara, and that while she was alive the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct me to her; and that if she was dead it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with redoubled amazement, turned it round and round repeatedly, but observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution and returned it to me, manifesting that he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an instrument in his possession."

It now began to be debated between Ali and his advisers what should be done with their prisoner. Their decisions were very dissimilar. Some were of opinion that he should be put to death, others that he should merely lose his right hand, while a third party thought that his eyes ought to be put out. Ali himself, however, determined that matters should remain as they were until his queen Fatima, then in the north, had seen him. Meanwhile all these reports were related to our traveler, and tended not a little to distress and agitate his mind. His demand to be permitted to depart was formally refused. The accumulated horrors of his situation, united with the want of food and sleep, at length brought on a fever, by which his life was endangered. But his persecution from the Moors did not therefore cease. They plucked his cloak from him,

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they overwhelmed him with insults, they tortured him like some ferocious animal, for their amusement, and when, to escape from this detestable thraldom, he crawled away to a short distance from the camp, he was forced back by menaces and violence.

At length, after more than a month's detention at Benowm, he was commanded to follow Ali to the northern encampment of Bubaker, on the skirts of the Great Desert, and on the way endured the extremity of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Upon arriving at Bubaker, he was shown as a strange animal to Fatima, who, though far from being exempt from the Moorish prejudices against a Christian, or in any remarkable degree disposed to humanity, still treated him with somewhat greater lenity than the rest of the Moors; and, upon the departure of her husband for Jarra, not only obtained him permission to join the party, but prevailed upon the tyrant to restore him his horse, saddle, and bridle, together with a part of his apparel. His faithful black boy, Demba, however, was taken from him, notwithstanding his animated remonstrances to Ali, who, upon his pressing the point rather warmly, only replied, that if he did not instantly mount his horse and depart he should share the fate of his slave. "There is something in the frown of a tyrant," says Park, "which rouses the most secret emotions of the heart. I could not suppress my feelings, and for once entertained an indignant wish to rid the world of such a monster. Poor Demba was not less affected than myself; he had formed a strong attachment toward me, and had a cheerfulness of disposition which often beguiled the tedious hours of captivity. He was likewise a proficient in the Bambarra tongue, and promised, on that account, to be of great use to me in future. But it was in vain to expect any thing favorable to humanity from a people who are strangers to its dictates. So, having shaken hands with this unfortunate boy, and blended my tears with his, assuring him, however, I would do my best to redeem him, I saw him led off by three of Ali's slaves toward the camp of Bubaker."

Upon his arrival at Jarra, where he was shortly afterward transferred by Ali to tyrants of a lower grade, his condition, far from being improved, was only rendered the more intolerable. The city itself, moreover, was in a state of the utmost confusion. Malcontents from Kaarta having taken refuge there, had recently made an incursion into their native country, carried off a large quantity of plunder, and thus drawn the vengeance of their king against the city. All those who had reason to dread his resentment were now, therefore, preparing to fly into Bambarra; and Park, whose route lay in the same direction, became exceedingly desirous of effecting his escape from the Moors, that he might seize upon this fortunate occasion of fulfilling the object of his mission. "Their departure," says he, speaking of the black fugitives, "was very affecting: the women and children crying, the men sullen and dejected, and all of them looking back with regret on their native town; and on the wells and rocks beyond which their ambition had never tempted

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them to stray, and where they had laid all their plans of future happiness, all of which they were now forced to abandon, and to seek shelter among strangers."

Hoping to escape in this confused throng, he mounted his horse, and taking a bag of corn before him, rode slowly off along with the townspeople. On their arrival at Queira, a village at no great distance from the city, Park began to flatter himself that he had really eluded the vigilance of his persecutors, but before the agreeable idea had got a firm footing in his mind, he saw Ali's chief slave, accompanied by four Moors, arrive, and take up their lodgings with the dooty. Johnson, Park's interpreter (who had been seized by Ali's order before he could leave Jarra), suspecting the design of this visit, sent two boys to overhear their conversation, by which means he learned that it was their intention to carry Park back to Bubaker. Upon this he at once came to the desperate resolution to effect that very night his deliverance from his pursuers, or to perish in the attempt. Johnson, who applauded this determination, but wanted the courage to imitate it, was nevertheless exceedingly well disposed to aid in effecting his master's escape. He therefore undertook to keep watch upon the movements of the enemy, while Park was preparing for flight. About midnight he got all his apparel in readiness, which consisted of two shirts, two pair of trousers, two pocket-handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, a hat, a pair of half boots, and a cloak. Besides these things he had not in his possession a single bead or any other article with which to purchase food for himself, or provender for his horse. "About daybreak, Johnson, who had been listening to the Moors all night, came," says he, "and whispered to me that they were all asleep. The awful crisis was now arrived when I was again either to taste the blessings of freedom, or languish out my days in captivity. A cold sweat moistened my forehead as I thought of the dreadful alternative, and reflected that one way or the other, my fate must be decided in the course of the ensuing day. But to deliberate was to lose the only chance of escaping. So taking up my bundle, I stepped gently over the negroes who were sleeping in the open air, and, having mounted my horse, I bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of my papers I had intrusted him with, and inform my friends in Gambia that he had left me in good health on my way to Bambarra. I proceeded with great caution, surveying each bush, and frequently listening and looking behind me for the Moorish horsemen, until I was about a mile from the town, when I was surprised to find myself in the neighborhood of a korree, belonging to the Moors. The shepherds followed me for about a mile, hooting and throwing stones after me; and when I was out of their reach, and had begun to indulge the pleasing hope of escaping, I was again greatly alarmed to hear somebody halloo behind me, and, looking back, I saw three Moors on horseback coming after me at full speed, whooping and brandishing their double-barrel guns. I knew it was in vain to think of escaping, and therefore

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turned back and met them, when two of them caught hold of my bridle, one on each side, and the third, presenting his musket, told me I must go back to Ali."

It soon appeared, however, that these gentlemen were merely private robbers, who were fearful that their master had not sufficiently pillaged the stranger; for, after examining his bundle, and plundering him of his cloak, they bade him begone, and follow them no further. Too happy to be rid of the villains at any rate, he immediately struck into the woods and continued his journey. His joy at thus escaping from the Moors was quickly damped by the consideration that he must very soon be in want of both food and water, neither of which could he procure without approaching villages or wells, where he would almost inevitably encounter his old enemies. He therefore pushed on with all the vigor of which he was possessed, in the hope of reaching some town or village of the kingdom of Bambarra. But he already began to experience the tortures of thirst; his mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness, accompanied by symptoms of fainting, would frequently come over his eyes; and as his horse also was exceedingly fatigued, he began to apprehend that he should perish of thirst. Some shrubs, the leaves of which he chewed to relieve the burning pain in his mouth and throat, were all found to be bitter and of no service. "A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle rising," says Park, "I climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look over the barren wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand everywhere presented itself, and the horizon was level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

"Descending from the tree, I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which, I was affected with sickness and giddiness; and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here then (thought I), after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation—here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast, as I believed, a last look on the surrounding scene, and while I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions; and on recovering my senses I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence: and, as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering-place. With this view

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I put the bridle upon my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the north-east—a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly; and in less than an hour I heard the wind roaring behind the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected: but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms; and I was obliged to mount my horse and stop under a bush to prevent being suffocated. The sand continued to fly for near an hour in amazing quantities, after which I again set forward, and traveled with difficulty until ten o'clock. About this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. In a little time the sand ceased to fly, and I alighted and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes.

"There being no moon, it was remarkably dark; so that I was obliged to lead my horse, and direct my way by the compass, which the lightning enabled me to observe. In this manner I traveled with tolerable expedition until past midnight; when the lightning became more distant, and I was under the necessity of groping along, to the no small danger of my hands and eyes. About two o'clock my horse started at something; and, looking around, I was not a little surprised to see a light at a short distance among the trees, and supposing it to be a town, I groped along the sand in hopes of finding corn-stalks, cotton, or other appearances of cultivation, but found none. As I approached, I perceived a number of other lights in different places, and began to suspect that I had fallen upon a party of Moors. However, in my present situation, I was resolved to see who they were, if I could do it with safety. I accordingly led my horse cautiously toward the light, and heard by the lowing of the cattle, and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, and most likely belonged to the Moors. Delightful as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing with hunger, than trust myself again in their hands; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit I inadvertently approached so near one of the tents as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. The people came running to her assistance from some of the neighboring tents, and passed so very near me that I thought I was discovered, and hastened again into the woods.

"About a mile from this place I heard a loud and confused noise, somewhere to the right of my course, and in a short time was happy to find it was the croaking of frogs, which was heavenly music to my ears.

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I followed the sound, and at daybreak arrived at some shallow muddy pools, so full of frogs that it was difficult to discern the water. The noise they made frightened my horse, and I was obliged to keep them quiet by beating the water with a branch until he had drunk. Having here quenched my thirst, I ascended a tree, and the morning being clear, I soon perceived the smoke of the watering-place which I had passed in the night, and observed another pillar of smoke, east-south-east, distant twelve or fourteen miles."

Toward this column of smoke, which, as he was informed, arose from a Foulah village, he now directed his course; but on arriving at the place, was inhospitably driven from every door, except that of an old woman, who kindly received him into her dwelling, and furnished him with food for himself, and with provender for his horse. Even here, however, the influence of Ali pursued him like his evil genius. The people who had collected round him while he was eating, began, as he clearly discovered from their expressions, to form the design of carrying him back once more to Benowm or Bubaker. He therefore hastened his departure, and having wandered among the woods all day, passed the night under a tree. In this way he continued his journey, sometimes meeting with hospitality, but more frequently avoiding the dwellings of man, and subsisting upon the wild produce of the woods, and the water of a few pools, to which the croaking of the frogs directed him.

At length he entered the kingdom of Bambarra, where he found the people more hospitable in proportion as they were more opulent than their neighbors. Cultivation was here carried on in a spirited manner, and on an extensive scale, and "hunger," as the natives expressed it, "was never known." The country itself was beautiful, intersected on all sides by rivulets, which, after a rain-storm, were swelled into rapid streams. Park's horse was now so attenuated by fatigue that it appeared like a mere skeleton, which the traveler, fearing to mount, drove before him, as if to scare away the crows. The Bambarrans, whose hospitable disposition was accompanied by but little delicacy, were infinitely amused at this droll spectacle. Taking him for a Moor, they supposed from his appearance that he must be one of those religious mendicants who, having performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities, thenceforward consider themselves fully entitled to subsist upon the labors of their industrious co-religionists. "'He has been at Mecca,' said one; 'you may see that by his clothes.' Another asked if my horse was sick; a third wished to purchase it, &c. So that I believe the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company."

However, in spite of all this laughter and ridicule, he proceeded on his way, and at length had the satisfaction to be informed that on the morrow he should see the Niger, denominated *Joliba*, or the "Great Water," by the natives. Next morning, the 21st of July, after passing through several large villages, he saw the smoke ascend over Sego, the capital of Bambarra, and felt elate with joy at the thought of drawing

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near so important an object of his mission. "As we approached the town," says Park, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king, and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I anxiously looked around for the river, one of them called out *Geo affilli* (see the water); and, looking forward, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission—the long sought-for, majestic Niger, glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward.* I hastened to the brink, and, having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavors with success."

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consisted of four distinct towns, two on the northern, and two on the southern bank of the Niger. The king at this period resided on the southern bank, while Park had arrived on the opposite side. The communication between the different quarters of the city was kept up by means of large canoes, which were constantly passing and repassing; notwithstanding which, so great was the pressure of passengers, that Park was compelled to wait upward of two hours before he could obtain even a chance of being ferried over. Meanwhile, the prospect before him was novel and striking in the highest degree. "The view of this extensive city," he observes, "the numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

While he was thus waiting for a passage, the news was conveyed to Mansong that a white man was on the banks of the river coming to see him. The king, who seems to have been alarmed at this intelligence, immediately dispatched a messenger, who was directed to inform the stranger that he would not be admitted into the royal presence until the purport of his mission was made known; and that in the mean while, he was prohibited from passing the river. He was likewise told that the king desired him to seek lodgings in one of the villages in the vicinity of the capital. As there was no alternative, he at once set out for the village, where, to his great mortification, he found that no person would admit him into a house. "I was regarded with astonishment and fear," he observes, "and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts were so very numerous in the neighborhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up a tree, and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the labors

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of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat upon the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half-broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed toward a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress, pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension, called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves a great part of the night. They lightened their labor by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it; it was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these: 'The winds roared, and the rains fell; the poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree; he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn.' Chorus: 'Let us pity the white man, no mother has he,' &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was so oppressed by such unexpected kindness that sleep fled my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her."

Although Mansong refused to admit the traveler into his presence, and seemed at first to neglect him, it soon appeared that his conduct did not arise from any churlish or inhospitable feelings; for while he persisted in his refusal to see him, and signified his pleasure that he should forthwith depart from the city, he sent him a present of five thousand cowries, and a guide to Sansanding. Park immediately obeyed the royal command, and learned from the conversation of his guide on the way, that the king's motives for thus dismissing him without an audience were at once prudent and liberal, since he feared that by the least show of favor he should excite the jealousy of the Moorish inhabitants, from whose inveterate malice he might be unable to protect him.

With his guide he proceeded to Sansanding, where he was hospitably received by the dooty, and would, as the king's stranger, have enjoyed much quiet and consideration, had he not the misfortune to meet with some of his old enemies, the Moors, who insisted on conducting him to the mosque, and converting him into a Mohammedan at once. However, the dooty, by exerting his authority, freed him from these fanatics, and ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it dressed for his supper. "About midnight, when the Moors had left me," says Park, "he paid

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me a visit, and with much earnestness desired me to write him a *saphie*, (charm). 'If a Moor's saphie is good,' said this hospitable old man, 'a white man's must needs be better.' I readily furnished him with one possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's Prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed, a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper."

From Sansanding he departed early in the morning, before the Moors were stirring. The road now lay through the woods, and the guide, who understood the dangers of the way, moved forward with the greatest circumspection, frequently stopping and looking under the bushes. Upon observing this, Park inquired the reason, and was told that the lions were very plentiful in that part of the country, and often attacked travelers in the woods. While they were conversing on this subject, Park discovered a giraffe at a little distance. "Shortly after this," says he, "as we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language which I did not understand. I inquired in Mandingo what he meant. '*Wara billi billi*' (a very large lion)! said he, and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued; so we rode slowly past the bush from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, 'God preserve us,' and to my great surprise I then perceived a large red lion, at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore-paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach."

About sunset they arrived at Moodiboo, "a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The small green islands, the peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle were here secure from the attacks of wild beasts, and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world." Park was now so worn out with fatigue and suffering, that his landlord, fearing he might die in his house, hurried him away though he was scarcely able to walk, and his horse still less able to carry him. In fact, they had not proceeded far before the poor beast fell down, and could no more be made to rise; so that, taking off his saddle and bridle, our traveler with extreme reluctance abandoned him to his fate, and began to toil along on foot after his guide. In this way they reached Kea, a small fishing village on the Niger, where Park em-

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barked in a fisherman's canoe which was going down the stream, while the guide returned to Sego.

In this canoe he reached Moorzan, whence he was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town on the opposite shore. It was with great difficulty that he here obtained admission into the strangers' room of the dooty's house, a damp, uncomfortable place, where he had a severe paroxysm of fever during the night. Here his resolution and energy, of which no traveler possessed a larger share, began at length to fail. No hope of success remained. He therefore, with extreme sorrow and anguish of mind, determined on returning. His own simple and manly account of the matter can not fail to impress even the most insensible with veneration for a degree of courage and intrepidity amounting to heroism. "Worn down by sickness, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, half-naked, and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging, I began," says Park, "to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced by painful experience, that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains had already set in with all their violence; the rice-grounds and swamps were already overflowed; and, in a few days more, traveling of every kind except by water would be completely obstructed. The cowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present were not sufficient to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity in a country where the Moors have such influence. But, above all, I perceived I was advancing more and more within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenne—unless under the protection of some man of consequence among them, which I had no means of obtaining—I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to me the only alternative; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge I did right in going no further. I had made every exertion, to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey nor the dangers of a second captivity should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do."

When he had come to this resolution, he thought it incumbent upon him, before he left Silla, to collect whatever information might be within his reach respecting the further course of the Niger, and the situation and extent of the various kingdoms in its vicinity. Subsequent travelers have solved the problem, the honor of explaining which was denied to Park. We now know that this great river, after flowing to a consider-

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able distance eastward of Timbuctoo, makes a bend to the south, and, after pursuing a south-westerly course, falls into the Atlantic Ocean on the coast of Benin.

On the 30th of July he commenced his return westward, by the same route through which he had reached Silla. In a few days he recovered his horse, which had in some measure regained its strength, though it was still too weak to be ridden. The rainy season having now set in, the whole of the plain country was quickly inundated; so that he was often in danger of losing his way while traversing savannahs many miles in extent, knee-deep in water. In several places he waded breast-deep across the swamps. The huts of the villages in which he passed the night, being undermined or softened by the rain, often fell in; and the noise of their fall sometimes kept him awake, expecting that his own might be the next. His situation was now even worse than during his progress eastward. A report had been widely circulated that he was a spy, in consequence of which he was in some places civilly refused admittance into the towns, in others repulsed from the gates with violence; so that he now appeared inevitably doomed to perish with hunger. However, when the fatal hour seemed at hand, some charitable being always appeared with a poor but seasonable supply, such, perhaps, as a little raw corn, which prolonged his life, and supplied him with strength to achieve his memorable journey. "On the evening of the 15th of August, I arrived," says Park, "at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate; but as lions were very numerous in this neighborhood, and I had frequently in the course of the day seen the impression of their feet upon the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me that no person must attempt to enter without the dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so near me that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed a tree for safety. About midnight the dooty with some of his people opened the gate, and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited so long at the gate of a village, without cursing the inhabitants."

The history of this journey now becomes nothing more than a repetition of similar sufferings. Hunger, fatigue, and depression of spirits attack the traveler by turns. Nothing, however, subdues his courage. Obstacle after obstacle yields to his persevering intrepidity, and he pushes forward with invincible ardor toward the coast. In one place, at the request of a native who had grown opulent by industrious application to

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commerce, he wrote charms for a good supper; and, finding the contrivance productive, continued the practice next day for small presents of various kinds. On other occasions, where superstition did not come to his aid, humanity interposed, and snatched him from starvation. At Bammakoo he was hospitably treated, even by a Moor, who, having traveled to Rio Grande, had conversed with Christians, and conceived a favorable idea of their character. The rains had now increased the Niger to a vast size, and rendered impassable almost every road; but, as our traveler's finances had long been exhausted, he found himself compelled to proceed, the charity of the natives not extending so far as to the maintaining of a stranger for several months. The ordinary roads being obstructed by the rains, the only practicable route, wild, dreary, and desolate, lay over sterile, rocky mountains, which, it was feared, a horse could not pass.

Finding that a singing-man was about to proceed by this road to Sibidooloo, Park placed himself under his guidance, and quitted Bammakoo. He had not proceeded far, however, before his companion, finding that he had taken the wrong path, escaped among the rocks, and left him to find his way as he best might. He soon arrived at a village, where he was entertained with hospitality, and where he passed the night. Next day, as he was quietly pursuing his course, a troop of peasants presented themselves, whom he at first took for elephant-hunters, but who very shortly proved themselves to be banditti. Pretending to arrest him in the name of the King of the Foulahs, they commanded him to follow them, until, having reached a dark, lonely part of a wood, one of them exclaimed in the Mandingo language, "This place will do!" and immediately snatched his hat from his head. "Though I was by no means free from apprehension," says Park, "yet I was resolved to show as few signs of fear as possible; and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me I should proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an answer another drew a knife, and, seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But, observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, stripped me quite naked. Even my half-boots, though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein, were minutely inspected. While they were examining the plunder, I begged them with great earnestness to return my pocket-compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore he would lay me dead upon the spot if I presumed to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the

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remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed; they returned me the worst of the two shirts and a pair of trowsers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason why they did not wish to keep it."

This was the most terrible misfortune that had hitherto befallen him, and at first his mind appeared to sink under the united influence of grief and terror. For awhile he sat in sullen dejection, half-persuaded that he had no alternative but to lie down and perish. Presently, however, a reliance upon Providence succeeded this extreme dejection, and his mind gradually regained its tone:—"I was, indeed, a stranger," he thought, "in a strange land; yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsule, without admiration. Can that being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? Surely not! Reflections like these would not allow me to despair; I started up, and, disregarding both danger and fatigue, traveled forward, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed."

On arriving at Sibidooloo, Park related to the mansa, or chief of the town, the misfortune which had befallen him. This humane and excellent man, having heard him patiently to an end, took the pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his coat with an indignant air, "Sit down," said he, "you shall have every thing restored to you; I have sworn it." He then took the necessary measures for the recovery of the traveler's property, and invited him to partake of his hospitable fare until this should have been effected. After spending a few days at this place, without hearing any news of his horse or other property, our traveler removed to a distant village, where he remained until the whole was discovered and restored to him, with the exception of his pocket-compass, which had been broken to pieces. Having nothing else to bestow upon his hospitable landlords, he gave his horse to one, and his saddle and bridle to the other: and then taking his leave, proceeded on foot to Kamalia, where he arrived on the 16th of September. At this town, romantically situated at the foot of a lofty mountain, he found a slave-merchant, who, intending to descend to the coast with a small caravan in the beginning of the dry season, offered the traveler an asylum until he should set out. Conceiving that it would be impossible to proceed

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during the rains, Park accepted his kind proposal, and promised in return to give him the price of a slave upon their arrival on the coast. Here a fever, which had for some time menaced him, manifested itself with great violence, and continued to torment him during the whole season of the rains. His landlord, meanwhile, exerted himself to keep up his hopes, and having by some means or another obtained possession of an English Common Prayer Book, he communicated the use of it to Park, who was thus enabled to beguile the gloomy hours of his solitude and sickness. At length the rains became less frequent, and the fever abated, so that he could move out and enjoy the fresh air in the fields.

KAMALIA.

On the 19th of April, after Park had remained seven months at Kamalia, Karfa, the slave-merchant, having collected his slaves, and completed all necessary preparations, set out toward the coast, taking the traveler, to whom his behavior had always been marked by the greatest kindness, along with him. Their road led them across the Jallonka wilderness, where the sufferings of every member of the caravan, and more particularly of the slaves, were most exquisite; but affliction was far from having taught them commiseration, for a fine young female slave, fainting from fatigue, had no sooner signified her inability to go on, than the universal cry of the caravan was, "Cut her throat, cut her throat." By the interposition of Karfa her life was spared, but she was abandoned on the road, where she was, no doubt, soon devoured by wild beasts. At length, after a long, toilsome journey, Karfa succeeded

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in fulfilling his promise, and conducted Park safe to Pisania, which he reached on the 10th of June, and where the good old man was overwhelmed with the gratitude of his guest. Park now took his passage in an American vessel, and on arriving in the West Indies, quitted this ship for a packet bound for Falmouth, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Immediately on his landing, he hastened to London, where he arrived before daylight on the morning of Christmas day. It being too early an hour to call on his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, he strolled about for some time in the neighboring streets. At length, finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British Museum accidentally open, he went in and walked about there for some time. It happened that Mr. Dickson, who had the care of those gardens, went there early that morning on some trifling business. What must have been his emotions on beholding, at that extraordinary time and place, the vision, as it must at first have appeared, of his long-lost friend, the object of so many anxious reflections, and whom he had long numbered with the dead.

He was now received with distinguished honor by the African Association, and the various literary men whom he met with in London. In the mean time his travels, which the Association permitted him to publish on his own account, were announced; and both during his stay in London, and the visit which he paid to his friends in Scotland, all his leisure hours were devoted to the compiling and arranging of the materials for the work. It appeared in the spring of 1799, and immediately acquired that degree of popularity which it has ever since maintained.

Soon after the publication of his travels, which became at once exceedingly popular and profitable, Park again returned to Scotland, where, on the 2d of August, 1799, he married one of the daughters of Mr. Anderson, of Selkirk, with whom he had served his apprenticeship. For the two following years he resided on the farm at Fowlshiels with his mother and one of his brothers. He then removed to the town of Peebles, where he resumed the practice of his profession, and in a short time acquired a good share of the business of the place. His kindness and charity greatly endeared him to the poor of the district, though he was considered haughty and reserved by strangers, who were apt to annoy him with their questions. He soon began to tire, however, of the obscure life of a country surgeon; the fascination of Africa was upon him, and he longed to return to the scene of his dangers and sufferings. When one of his relatives, a short time before his departure on his second expedition, expostulated with him on his rashness and imprudence, he replied that a few inglorious winters of country practice at Peebles was a risk as great, and would tend as effectually to shorten life, as his proposed journey. The British government twice offered him the command of an expedition to explore the interior of Australia, which he declined. After the preliminaries of peace with France had been signed, in October, 1801, Sir Joseph Banks wrote to him informing him that the

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African Association intended reviving their project for an exploration of the Niger, and that, in case government should enter into the plan, he would be recommended as the most proper person to carry it into execution. Park remained in suspense for two years, when Lord Hobart, who was then connected with the Colonial Department, made him a formal proposal on the part of the government. He accepted at once, and in December, 1803, left Scotland with the expectation of soon embarking for Africa.

On account of political changes the expedition was given up, after several of the troops destined for the service had already been embarked at Portsmouth. Park was informed that nothing could be done until the following September, and was recommended to study the Arabic language in the mean time, and to exercise himself in taking astronomical observations. He employed a native of Mogador as a teacher, and returned to Scotland, where he remained during the spring and summer of 1804. Sir Walter Scott was at that time residing near Fowlshiels, and the traveler and author soon became friends. Scott relates that, calling upon Park one day and not finding him at home, he walked in search of him along the banks of the Yarrow. In a short time he found him employed in plunging large stones into the river, and attentively watching the bubbles as they rose to the surface. On being asked why he persevered so long in this singular amusement, Park answered: "This was the manner in which I used to ascertain the depth of a river in Africa, before I ventured to cross it, judging whether the attempt would be safe by the time which the bubbles of air took to ascend."

On leaving Fowlshiels for the last time in September, 1804, Park was extremely affected, and would not venture to trust his own feelings or those of his family, with a formal parting. He left them, as if with the intention of returning, alleging that he had particular business at Edinburg, whence he sent them his last farewell. Scott describes, in feeling terms, the manner of his last parting with his friend. Just before quitting Fowlshiels, Park paid him a visit and slept at his house. The next morning, Scott accompanied him part of the way on his return, and they rode together over the wild chain of pastoral hills which divide the Tweed from the Yarrow. Park talked much of his new African expedition, and mentioned his determination of going straight from Edinburg, without returning to take leave of his family. They were then on the top of a lofty hill which overlooked the course of the Yarrow, and the autumnal mist, which floated heavily and slowly down the valley beneath them, presented to Scott's imagination a striking emblem of the troubled and uncertain prospect which Park's undertaking afforded. He endeavored to present its dangers to his friend's mind, but Park had a ready answer for every thing. Thus discussing the plan, they came to a road where it had been agreed they should separate. A small ditch divided the moor from the road: in going over it, Park's horse stumbled, and nearly fell. "I am afraid, Mungo, that is a bad

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omen," said Scott; to which Park answered, smiling: "*Freits* (omens) follow those who look for them." With this proverbial saying, and afraid of a formal adieu, he rode away and was speedily out of sight.

At the close of the year 1804, after much delay and uncertainty, the expedition was finally determined on, and Park received from Lord Camden his appointment as its chief conductor. "For the better enabling you to execute this service," says his lordship, "his majesty has granted you the brevet commission of captain in Africa, and has also granted a similar commission of lieutenant to Mr. Alexander Anderson, whom you have recommended as a proper person to accompany you. Mr. Scott has also been selected to attend you as draughtsman. You are hereby empowered to enlist with you for this expedition any number you think proper of the garrison at Goree, not exceeding forty-five, which the commandant of that island will be ordered to place under your command, giving them such bounties or encouragement as may be necessary to induce them cheerfully to join with you in the expedition."

Five thousand pounds were at the same time placed at Park's disposal, and further directions given him respecting the course and line of conduct he was expected to pursue. With these instructions Park and his companions proceeded to Portsmouth, where they were joined by four or five artificers, appointed for the service from the dock-yards. They sailed on the 30th of January, 1805, and after touching at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, to purchase asses, reached Goree on the 28th of March. Double pay was offered to the soldiers during the expedition, with a discharge on their return, and these inducements were so great that the whole garrison volunteered. Thirty-five were chosen, and placed under the command of Lieutenant Martyn of the royal artillery corps, who had also volunteered for the service. The expedition now being organized, left Goree on the 6th of April, the soldiers cheering loudly and joyously as they jumped into the boats.

On arriving at Kayee, a small town on the Gambia River, Park engaged a Mandingo priest, named Isaaco, who was also a traveling merchant, and much accustomed to long inland journeys, to serve as guide to his caravan. On the 27th of April, he left Kayee, and arrived in two days at Pisania, from whence he had set out for the interior of Africa nearly ten years before. Some of the practical difficulties of the march had become very apparent during this short journey, since he found it necessary to halt at Pisania six days, to procure additional beasts of burden. He soon found, also, that the soldiers, whose appearance had pleased him so much at Goree, were physically inferior to the work required of them, while in sobriety, steadiness, and good discipline, they were sadly deficient. Finally every thing was arranged, and they left Pisania on the 4th of May. The party consisted of Park, his brother-in-law Anderson, to whom a lieutenant's commission was given; Lieutenant Martyn; George Scott, draughtsman; forty soldiers, sailors,

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and carpenters, and Isaaco, the guide. They had much trouble with the asses, at the start; some lay down, others kicked off their loads, and it became necessary to increase their number still further. They passed Medina, the capital of the kingdom of Woolli, and advanced slowly eastward—much too slowly, in fact, for the rainy season was fast approaching, and Park was anxious to reach the Niger before the intervening rivers should become impassable.

At Bady, a town on the interior frontier of Woolli, they were led into a quarrel with the *faranba*, or chief of the town, respecting the amount of duties to be paid by their caravan, in which, though the conduct of the African was rude and peremptory, the travelers were clearly in the wrong. A few days after this affair the caravan had an adventure with a new species of enemy. On the 24th of May they reached a place which they denominated Bee's Creek, where they halted with the intention of encamping there. "We had no sooner unloaded the asses at the creek," says Park, "than some of Isaaco's people, being in search of honey, unfortunately disturbed a large swarm of bees near where the coffle had halted. The bees came out in immense numbers, and attacked men and beasts at the same time. Luckily, most of the asses were loose, and galloped up the valley; but the horses and people were very much stung, and obliged to scamper in all directions. The fire which had been kindled for cooking, having been deserted, spread and set fire to the bamboos; and our baggage had like to have been burned. In fact, for half an hour the bees seemed to have put an end to our journey. In the evening, when the bees became less troublesome, and we could venture to collect our cattle, we found that many of them were very much stung and swelled about the head. Three asses were missing; one died in the evening and one next morning, and we were compelled to leave one at Sibikillin; in all six: besides which, our guide lost his horse, and many of the people were very much stung about the face and hands."

About the middle of June the rains began to set in, accompanied by violent tornadoes. The earth was quickly covered with water. The soldiers were affected with vomiting, or with an irresistible inclination to sleep. Park himself was affected in a similar manner during the storm, and, notwithstanding that he used every exertion to keep away heaviness, at length fell asleep on the damp ground. The soldiers did the same thing. In the morning twelve of them were sick. In this vicinity he saw many pits, from which gold was obtained in large quantities by washing. As the caravan proceeded, many of the soldiers growing delirious, or too weak to continue the march, were left behind to the care of the natives; while others died on the road, or were drowned in the rivers. Some, still more unfortunate if possible, were lost in the woods, where they were no doubt devoured by wild beasts. Meanwhile the natives, who imagined that the caravan contained prodigious wealth, hung upon their march, plundered them at every turn,

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and as often as they appeared too weak to resist, endeavored to extort presents from them.

The condition of the men now became desperate. Day after day some poor wretch was abandoned to his fate, some in one way, some in another. One example of this kind may serve for the whole. "Three miles east of the village of Koombandi," says Park, "William Alston, one of the seamen whom I received from his majesty's ship *Squirrel*, became so faint that he fell from his ass, and allowed the ass to run away. Set him on my horse, but found he could not sit without holding him. Replaced him on the ass, but he still tumbled off. Put him again on the horse, and made one man hold him upright while I led the horse; but, as he made no exertion to hold himself erect, it was impossible to keep him on the horse, and after repeated tumbles he begged to be left in the woods till morning. I left a loaded pistol with him, and put some cartridges into the crown of his hat." The next day this man came up with the company, entirely naked, having been plundered by the natives. His health appeared to improve for some days, but he afterward grew worse again, and died before reaching the Niger.

In crossing the Wondu the caravan was nearly deprived of its guide in the following manner. "Our guide, Isaaco, was very active in pushing the asses into the water, and shoving along the canoe; but as he was afraid that we could not have them all carried over in the course of the day, he attempted to drive six of the asses across the river further down, where the water was shallower. When he had reached the middle of the river, a crocodile rose close to him, and instantly seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind he felt the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eyes, on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco attempted to reach the further shore, calling loudly for a knife. But the crocodile returned and seized him by the other thigh, and again pulled him under water; he had recourse to the same expedient, and thrust his fingers into its eyes with such violence that it again quitted him; when it arose, flounced about on the surface of the water as if stupid, and then swam down the middle of the river. Isaaco proceeded to the other side, bleeding very much."

This event retarded for several days the march of the caravan. Besides, Park himself was attacked with fever, and their provisions, moreover, were now reduced to so low an ebb, that upon examination it was found that no more than rice for two days remained in their possession. This deficiency was, therefore, to be immediately supplied. Two persons were sent away with an ass to a distant village for rice, and in the mean time Park devoted his attentions to the wounds of the guide. The audacity of the native thieves was extraordinary. In ascending an eminence two miles from Maniakono, Park himself was robbed in a very characteristic manner:—"As I was holding my musket carelessly in my hand, and looking around," says he, "two of Numma's sons came up to me; one of them requested me to give him some snuff; at this instant

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the other (called Woosaba), coming up behind me, snatched the musket from my hand, and ran off with it. I instantly sprung from the saddle and followed him with my sword, calling to Mr. Anderson to ride back, and tell some of the people to look after my horse. Mr. Anderson got within musket-shot of him; but, seeing it was Numma's son, had some doubts about shooting him, and called to me if he should fire. Luckily I did not hear him, or I might possibly have recovered my musket at the risk of a long palaver, and perhaps the loss of half our baggage. The thief accordingly made his escape among the rocks; and when I returned to my horse, I found the other of the royal descendants had stolen my coat."

Their condition was now exceedingly distressing. From the 10th of June, when the rainy season set in, the entries in Park's journal are truly heart-rending. On the 20th of July he writes: "Francis Beedle, one of the soldiers, was evidently dying, and having in vain attempted to carry him over the river, I was forced to leave him on the west bank. In the morning one of the soldiers crossed the bridge, and found Beedle expiring. Did not stop to bury him, the sun being high; but set out immediately. About half-past ten came to Mr. Scott lying by the side of the road, so very sick that he could not walk. Shortly after, Mr. Martyn laid down in the same state." On the 27th, five men were left behind; on the 30th, he writes: "Was under the necessity of leaving William Allen, sick. I regretted much leaving this man; he had naturally a cheerful disposition; and he used often to beguile the watches of the night with the songs of our dear native land." On the 10th of August four more men lagged behind, and were never heard of again; on the 12th, two more, and Mr. Anderson appeared to be dying. Park halted with him under a tree, watching his fluttering pulse, until his strength appeared to return. He then placed him upon his own horse, and pushed forward toward their proposed resting-place, leading the horse by the bridle. "We had not proceeded above a mile," says Park, "before we heard on our left a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but ending in a hiss like the fuff* of a cat. I thought it must be some large monkey; and was observing to Mr. Anderson, 'What a bouncing fellow that must be,' when we heard another bark nearer to us, and presently a third still nearer, accompanied with a growl. I now suspected some wild beast meant to attack us, but could not conjecture of what species it was likely to be. We had not proceeded a hundred yards further, when, coming to an opening in the bushes, I was not a little surprised to see three lions coming toward us. They were not so red as the lion I had formerly seen in Bambarra, but of a dusky color, like that of an ass. They were very large, and came bounding over the long grass, not one after another, but all abreast of each other. I was afraid, if I allowed them to come too near us, and my piece should miss

* *Fuff* is an expressive Scotch word, applicable in its original sense to the explosive noise which a cat makes in flying at a dog.

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fire, that we should all be devoured by them. I therefore let go the bridle, and walked forward to meet them. As soon as they were within a long shot of me, I fired at the center one. I do not think I hit him; but they all stopped, looked at each other, and then bounded away a few paces, when one of them stopped and looked back at me. I was too busy in loading my piece to observe their motions as they went away, and was very happy to see the last of them march slowly off among the bushes. We had not proceeded above half a mile further when we heard another bark and growl close to us among the bushes. This was, doubtless, one of the lions before seen; and I was afraid they would follow us till dark, when they would have too many opportunities of springing on us unawares. We however heard no more of them."

At length, from the brow of a hill, Park had once more the satisfaction of beholding the Niger, rolling its immense stream along the plain. It was the 19th of August, 1805, one hundred and five days after starting from Pisania. But he was in no mood of mind to triumph at the sight. The majority of his companions had fallen on the way; of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters who left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter reached the Niger. With this miserable remnant of his original force he descended the hill, and pitched his tents near the town of Bambakoo. After a day or two he advanced to Marraboo to await the answer of the King of Bambarra. On the 2d of September he writes: "Ever since my arrival at Marraboo I had been subject to attacks of the dysentery; and as I found that my strength was failing very fast, I resolved to charge myself with mercury. I accordingly took calomel till it affected my mouth to such a degree that I could not speak or sleep for six days. The salivation put an immediate stop to the dysentery, which had proved fatal to so many of the soldiers." On the 6th one of his remaining men died, two others at Samee on the 24th, and yet two more at Sansanding on the 2d of October. At Bambakoo some of the party embarked in canoes on the Niger, while others proceeded by land to the neighborhood of Sego, which they reached on the 19th of September. Mansong was still King of Bambarra; and being highly gratified with their presents, not only gave them permission to build a boat on the Niger at whatever town they pleased, but engaged to protect, as far as his power extended, the trade of the whites in the interior. Park selected Sansanding as the place most eligible for building the boat, and removed thither as quickly as possible. Here immediately on his arrival he opened a shop, exhibiting a choice assortment of European goods, which sold so well among the natives that his success excited the envy of the Jenné people, the Moors, and the other merchants of the place, who offered Mansong merchandise to a much greater value than the presents made him by Park, if he would either kill the strangers or drive them out of the country. Mansong, however, rejected the offer. "From the 8th to the 16th nothing of consequence occurred; I found my shop every day more and more crowded with customers; and such was my run of busi-

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ness, that I was sometimes forced to employ three tellers at once to count my cash. I turned one market-day twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-six pieces of money (cowries)."

Park now received intelligence of the death of Mr. Scott, who had been left behind near Bambakoo. Mansong very soon convinced the traveler that he understood the art of receiving presents much better than that of returning them; for upon being requested to furnish a canoe in which the mission, now reduced to a very small number, might embark on the Niger, he sent one after another several half-rotten barks; two of which Park, seeing no hope of getting better, was at length compelled to accept, and with these he constructed what he termed a schooner. Shortly after this he lost his brother-in-law Anderson, upon whose death "I felt myself," says he, "as if left a second time lonely and friendless amid the wilds of Africa." Dreary and perilous as was his position, however, he still determined to persevere. His companions were now reduced to four, Lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, one of whom was deranged in his mind; yet with this wretched remnant of a detachment which, it must be confessed, had been thus thinned, or rather annihilated, by his own ill management and want of foresight, he purposed following the course of the Niger to its termination, whether that should prove to be in some great lake or inland sea, or, as he rather believed, in the Atlantic Ocean. "And this voyage," says one of his biographers, "one of the most formidable ever attempted, was to be undertaken in a crazy and ill-appointed vessel, manned by a few negroes and a few Europeans!"

On the 16th of November, having completed all the necessary preparations for his voyage, our traveler put the finishing hand to his journal; and in the interval, between that and his embarkation, which seems to have taken place on the 19th, wrote several letters to England. His letter to Lord Camden contained the following characteristic passage: "I am afraid that your Lordship will be apt to consider matters as in a very hopeless state; but I assure you I am far from desponding. With the assistance of one of the soldiers I have changed a large canoe into a tolerably good schooner, on board of which I this day hoisted the British flag, and shall set sail to the east with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt. I have heard nothing that I can depend on respecting the remote course of this mighty stream; but I am more and more inclined to think that it can end nowhere but in the sea. My dear friend Mr. Anderson, and likewise Mr. Scott, are both dead; but though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last die on the Niger."

These letters, together with his journal, were then delivered to his guide, Isaaco, by whom they were conveyed to Gambia, from whence they were transmitted to England; after which nothing certain or au-

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thentic can be said to have been heard either of Park or the expedition. In 1806, however, vague accounts of the death of Park and his companions were brought to the British settlement on the coast by the native traders from the interior; but several years elapsed without any further intelligence being obtained. At length, in 1810, Colonel Maxwell, governor of Senegal, dispatched Park's guide, Isaaco, into the interior, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the reports which prevailed, and, should they prove correct, of collecting information respecting the place and manner of the catastrophe.

After an absence of one year and eight months, Isaaco returned to Senegal, and delivered to the governor a journal of his proceedings, including a narrative which he had received from Amadi Fatouma, the guide who had accompanied Park from Sansanding down the Niger. The particulars of Isaaco's adventures it is altogether unnecessary to describe. He found Amadi Fatouma at Medina, a village distant a few hours from Sansanding. On seeing Isaaco, and hearing the name of Park, he began to weep, and his first words were, "They are all dead." The recollection of the melancholy transaction appeared to affect him in an extraordinary manner, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he at length consented to recall to memory an event which he seemed peculiarly desirous of delivering over to oblivion. However, upon the pressing entreaties of Isaaco, he narrated circumstantially what had taken place. Upon leaving Sansanding, there were, he said, nine persons in the canoe, Park, Martyn, three other white men, three slaves, and myself as their guide and interpreter. They had proceeded but a very little way down the river before they were pursued and attacked by the Africans, in canoes, particularly in passing Timbuctoo, where a great number of the natives were killed. Shortly after passing Goroumo, they lost one white man by sickness. They were now, therefore, reduced to eight; but as each person had always fifteen muskets loaded and ready for action, they were still formidable to their enemies.

As Park had laid in a considerable quantity of provisions previous to his leaving Sansanding, he was enabled to proceed for several days without stopping at any place, which is the only circumstance that can account for his passing in safety through the country of so many hostile nations. At length, however, their wants compelled them to have some communication with the shore. "We came," says Amadi Fatouma, "near a small island, and saw some of the natives. I was sent on shore to buy some milk. When I got among them I saw two canoes go on board to sell fresh provisions, such as fowls, rice, etc. One of the natives wanted to kill me, and at last he took hold of me and said I was his prisoner. Mr. Park, seeing what was passing on shore, suspected the truth. He stopped the two canoes and people, telling the latter that if they should kill me, or keep me prisoner on shore, he would kill them all and carry their canoes away with him. Those on shore, suspecting Mr. Park's intentions, sent me off in another canoe on board. They were

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then released, after which we bought some provisions from them and made them some presents. A short time after our departure twenty canoes came after us from the same place. On coming near they hailed, and said, 'Amadi Fatouma, how can you pass through our country withgiving us any thing?' I mentioned what they had said to Mr. Park, and he gave them a few grains of amber and some trinkets, and they went back peaceably. On coming to a narrow part of the river, we saw on the shore a great many men sitting down; coming nearer to them they stood up; we presented our muskets at them, which made them run off into the interior. A little further on we came to a very difficult passage. The rocks had barred the river, but three passages were still open between them. On coming near one of them we discovered the same people again, standing on the top of a large rock, which caused great uneasiness to us, especially to me, and I seriously promised never to pass there again without making considerable charitable donations to the poor. We returned and went to a pass of less danger, where we passed unmolested.

"We came-to before Carmassee, and gave the chief one piece of baft. We went on and anchored before Gourman. Mr. Park sent me on shore with forty thousand cowries to buy provisions. I went and bought rice, onions, fowls, milk, etc., and departed late in the evening. The chief of the village sent a canoe after us to let us know of a large army encamped on the top of a very high mountain waiting for us, and that we had better return or be on our guard. We immediately came to an anchor, and spent there the rest of the day and all the night. We started in the morning. On passing the above-mentioned mountain we saw the army, composed of Moors, with horses and camels, but without any fire-arms. As they said nothing to us we passed on quietly, and entered the country of Haoussa, and came to an anchor. Mr. Park said to me, 'Now, Amadi, you are at the end of your journey; I engaged you to conduct me here; you are going to leave me; but before you go you must give me the names of the necessaries of life, etc., in the language of the countries through which I am going to pass;' to which I agreed, and we spent two days together about it without landing. During our voyage I was the only one who had landed. We departed, and arrived at Yaour. I was sent on shore the next morning with a musket and a saber to carry to the chief of the village; also with three pieces of white baft for distribution. I went and gave the chief his present; I also gave one to Alhagi, one to Alhagi-biron, and the other to a person whose name I forget; all Marabous. The chief gave us a bullock, a sheep, three jars of honey, and four men's loads of rice. Mr. Park gave me seven thousand cowries, and ordered me to buy provisions, which I did. He told me to go to the chief and give him five silver rings, some powder and flints, and tell him that these presents were given to the king by the white men, who were taking leave of him before they went away. After the chief received these things, he inquired if the white men in-

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tended to come back. Mr. Park, being informed of this inquiry, replied that he could not return any more. Mr. Park had paid me for my voyage before we left Sansanding. I said to him, 'I agreed to carry you into the kingdom of Haoussa; we are now in Haoussa. I have fulfilled my engagement with you; I am therefore going to leave you here and return.'"

On the next day Park departed, leaving the guide at the village of Yaour, where he was put in irons by an order from the king, from a supposition that he had aided the white men in defrauding him of the customary presents, which the chief of Yaour had in fact received, but retained for himself. "The next morning, early," continues the guide, "the king sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river-side. There is before this village a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high; there is a large opening in that rock in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through; the tide current is here very strong. This army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself; he nevertheless attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time; two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed; they threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers, and fatigued, and unable to keep the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men and jumped into the water; Mr. Martin did the same, and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe without ceasing, stood up and said to them, 'Stop throwing now, you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don't kill me.' They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

"I was kept in irons three months; the king released me, and gave me a slave (woman). I immediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr. Park and all of them had died, and what I have related above. I asked him if he was sure nothing had been found in the canoe after its capture; he said nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt. I asked him where the sword-belt was; he said the king took it, and had made a girth for his horse with it."

Such is the narrative of Amadi Fatouma; and the information since obtained in the country by Captain Clapperton corroborates almost every important circumstance which it describes. It appears, however, that certain books—whether printed or manuscript does not appear—were found in Park's canoe, some of which were still in the possession of the chief of Yaour when Clapperton made his inquiries; but the wily African, who no doubt expected a valuable present for these relics,

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refused to deliver them to the traveler's messenger, and Clapperton himself, for some reason or another not stated, neglected to visit the chief in person. It should be remarked, that the Africans who were questioned by Clapperton seemed all exceedingly desirous of exculpating their countrymen, perhaps their own friends and relations, from the charge of having murdered Park and his companions: according to one narrator, the canoe was caught between two rocks, where the river, being obstructed in its course, rushed through its narrow channel with prodigous rapidity. Here the travelers, in attempting to disembark, were drowned in the sight of an immense multitude who had assembled to see them pass, and were too timid to attack or assist them. On another occasion, however, the same person confessed that his countrymen did indeed discharge their arrows at the travelers, but not until they had been fired upon from the canoe. But the sheriff of Bokhary, whose letter was found among the MSS. of Clapperton, asserts that the inhabitants of Boussa went out against the white men in great numbers, and attacked them during three successive days; after which Park and Martyn, who from this account would appear to have been the only European survivors, threw their papers and baggage into the water, and leaping in after them were drowned in the stream. This melancholy event appears to have occurred between three and four months after the departure of the expedition from Sansanding, or about the 1st of March, 1806.

Park possessed in a high degree the qualities necessary for a successful traveler: intrepidity, enthusiasm, perseverance, veracity, and prudence, all of which were admirably illustrated by his first journey. Few men have passed through circumstances so trying, with equal nerve and self-possession; but it is to be doubted whether these merits were equally conspicuous during his second expedition. Half of the men, whose lives were sacrificed to his haste and impatience, might have given his party sufficient strength to carry him through the territory of Boussa and the hostile tribes beyond, and assured alike his safety and his triumph. But the blame of his failure, no doubt, rests mainly upon the British government, through whose procrastination he was kept for two years in a state of painful suspense, and finally delayed in his preparations, until the favorable season for traveling had nearly passed.

In person Park was tall, being about six feet high, and perfectly well proportioned. His countenance and whole appearance were highly interesting; his frame active and robust, fitted for great exertions and the endurance of extreme hardships. His constitution had suffered considerably from the effects of his first journey into Africa, but seems afterward to have been restored to its original vigor, of which his last expedition afforded the most abundant proofs. In all the relations of private life he appears to have been highly exemplary. To the more gentle and amiable parts of his character the most certain of all testimonies may be found in the warm attachment of his friends, and in the fond and affectionate recollections of every branch of his family.

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LEWIS AND CLARKE'S

JOURNEY TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

VOYAGE UP THE MISSOURI.

On the acquisition of Louisiana, in the year 1803, the attention of the government of the United States was directed toward exploring and improving the new territory. Accordingly, in the summer of the same year, an expedition was planned by President Jefferson for the purpose of discovering the course and sources of the Missouri River, and the most convenient water-communication thence to the Pacific Ocean. His private secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis, and Captain William Clarke, both officers of the army of the United States, were associated in the command of this enterprise. After receiving the requisite instructions, Captain Lewis left the seat of government, and being joined by Captain Clarke at Louisville, proceeded to St. Louis, where they arrived in the month of December. Their original intention was to pass the winter at La Charette, then the highest settlement on the Missouri, but the Spanish commandant of the province, not having received an official account of its transfer to the United States, was obliged, by the general policy of his government, to prevent strangers from passing through the Spanish territory.

They therefore encamped at the mouth of Wood River, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, out of his jurisdiction, where they passed the winter in disciplining the men, and making the necessary preparations for setting out early in the spring, before which the cession was officially announced. The party consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers of the United States Army who volunteered their services, two French watermen, an interpreter and hunter, and a black servant belonging to Captain Clarke. All these, except the last, were enlisted to serve as privates during the expedition, and three sergeants were appointed from among them by the captains. In addition to these were engaged a corporal and six soldiers, and nine watermen to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan nation, in order to assist

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in carrying the stores, or repelling an attack, which was most to be apprehended between Wood River and that tribe. The party was to embark on board of three boats; the first was a keel-boat fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet of water, carrying one large squaresail and twenty-two oars; a deck of ten feet in the bow and stern formed a forecastle and cabin, while the middle was covered by lockers, which might be raised so as to form a breast-work in case of attack. This was accompanied by two perioques or open boats, one of six and the other of seven oars. Two horses were at the same time to be led along the bank of the river for the purpose of bringing home game, or hunting, in case of scarcity.

All the preparations being completed, they left their encampment on Wood River, opposite the mouth of the Missouri, on the 14th of May, 1804, and on the 16th arrived at St. Charles, situated on the north bank of the Missouri, twenty-one miles from its mouth. This was then a town of about four hundred and fifty inhabitants, chiefly the descendants of the French of Canada. Here they remained a few days waiting for Captain Lewis, who had been detained by business at St. Louis. When he arrived, they again set sail, on the afternoon of Monday the 21st, but were prevented by wind and rain from going more than three miles, when they encamped upon an island.

Two miles above their next camp, they passed a settlement of thirty or forty families from the United States, and further on, at the foot of cliffs three hundred feet high, they saw a large cave called the Tavern by the traders, who had painted in it some images that commanded the homage of the Indians. On the 24th they passed some difficult rapids where, between the dangers of the falling banks on the one hand, and the constantly changing sand-bars on the other, they came near capsizing their boat. On the evening of the next day (25th), they stopped for the night near the small village of La Charette, about seventy miles from the mouth of the river. It consisted of seven small houses, and as many poor families, who had fixed themselves here for the convenience of trade, and formed the last establishment of whites on the Missouri. They were again detained a day on the 31st at their encampment on the Grindstone Creek, by the high west wind and rain. In the afternoon a boat came down from the Osage River, bringing a letter from a messenger sent to the Osage nation on the Arkansas River, which mentioned that the letter announcing the cession of Louisiana was committed to the flames; that the Indians would not believe that the Americans were owners of that country, and disregarded St. Louis and its supplies.

On the 5th of June they met two French traders, descending on a raft from their winter quarters, eighty leagues up the Kanzas River, where they had caught great quantities of beaver, but had lost much of their game by fires from the prairies. Soon afterward they passed Little Manitou Creek, which was named from a strange figure resembling the bust of a man, with the horns of a stag, painted on a projecting rock, and probably representing some spirit or deity. On the 7th they

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passed Big Manitou Creek, near which was a limestone rock inlaid with flint of various colors and covered with uncouth paintings of animals, and inscriptions. They landed to examine it, but found the place infested with rattlesnakes, of which they killed three. Meeting two rafts from the Sioux nation, loaded with furs and buffalo-tallow, they engaged one of the party, a Mr. Durion, who had lived more than twenty years with the Sioux, and was high in their confidence, to accompany them thither.

They continued to advance but slowly, their progress being greatly impeded by the numerous rolling sandbanks, the strong current and frequent head-winds, while the dangers of the navigation were increased on the one hand by the sunken trees, on the other by the falling in of the banks. They reached the Kanzas River on the 26th, and encamped on the low point above its mouth, where they remained two days and made the necessary observations, recruited the party, and repaired the boat. They reached the mouth of the Platte on the evening of July 21st, and having found, at the distance of ten miles above its junction, a high and shaded situation, they encamped there, intending to make the requisite observations as well as to send for the neighboring tribes, for the purpose of making known the recent change in the government, and the wish of the United States to cultivate their friendship.

Having completed the object of their stay, they set sail on the 27th, and on the 30th again encamped to await the arrival of the Indians. On the evening of August 2d, a band of Ottoways and Missouris appeared, and next morning the Indians, with their six chiefs, were assembled under an awning, formed with the main-sail, in the presence of all the party, paraded for the occasion. A speech was then made, announcing to them the change of government, with promise of protection, and advice as to their future conduct. All the six chiefs replied, each in turn, according to rank. They expressed their joy at the change in the government, and their desire to be recommended to their great father (the President), that they might obtain trade and necessaries. They wanted arms for hunting and for defense, and asked for mediation between them and the Mahas, with whom they were then at war. "We promised to do so," says Captain Clarke, "and wished some of them to accompany us to that nation, which they declined, for fear of being killed by them. We then proceeded to distribute our presents. The grand chief of the nation not being of the party, we sent him a flag, a medal, and some ornaments for clothing. To the six chiefs who were present, we gave a medal of the second grade to one Ottoway chief, and one Missouri chief; a medal of the third grade to two inferior chiefs of each nation—the customary mode of recognizing a chief being to place a medal around his neck, which is considered among his tribe as a proof of his consideration abroad. Each of these medals was accompanied by a present of paint, garters, and cloth ornaments of dress; and to this we added a canister of powder, a bottle of whiskey, and a few presents to the whole, which appeared to make them perfectly satis-

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fied. The air-gun, too, was fired, and astonished them greatly. The absent grand chief was an Ottoway, named Weahrushhah, which in English degenerates into Little Thief. The two principal chieftains present were Shangotongo, or Big Horse, and Wethea, or Hospitality; also Shosguean, or White Horse, an Ottoway; the first was an Ottoway, the second a Missouri. The incidents just related induced us to give this place the name of the Council Bluff; the situation of it is exceedingly favorable for a fort and trading factory, as the soil is well calculated for bricks, and there is an abundance of wood in the neighborhood, and the air being pure and healthy. The ceremonies of the council being concluded, we set sail in the afternoon, and encamped at the distance of five miles, where we found the mosquitoes very troublesome."

The small-pox had sadly scourged the Indians of this region. The Mahas, once a warlike and powerful people, had been wasted away by the disease, and in their frenzy they had burned their villages; some had even put to death their wives and children, probably to save them from the affliction, and all had gone off to some better country. The messengers of the expedition called the Indians to another council, and they met further up the river on the 18th and 19th, when the commanders made speeches, and distributed medals and presents, as at Council Bluff. Next morning the Indians left them; they set sail, and soon afterward came to under some bluffs on the north side of the river. "Here," says Captain Clarke, "we had the misfortune to lose one of our sergeants, Charles Floyd. He was seized with a bilious colic, and all our care and attention were ineffectual to relieve him. He was buried on the top of the bluff with the honors due to a brave soldier, and the place of his interment marked by a cedar post, on which his name and the day of his death were inscribed. About a mile beyond this place, to which we gave his name, is a small river about thirty yards wide, on the north, which we called Floyd's River, where we encamped."

On the 25th of August, Captains Lewis and Clarke, with ten men, went to see an object deemed extraordinary among all the neighboring Indians. This was a large mound in the midst of the plain, nine miles northward from the mouth of the Whitestone River. "The base of the mound is a regular parallelogram, the longest side being about three hundred yards, the shorter sixty or seventy. From the longest side it rises with a steep ascent from the north and south to the height of sixty-five or seventy feet, leaving on the top a level plain of twelve feet in breadth and ninety in length. The north and south extremities are connected by two oval borders, which serve as new bases, and divide the whole side into three steep but regular gradations from the plain. The only thing characteristic in this hill is its extreme symmetry, and this, together with its being totally detached from the other hills, which are at the distance of eight or nine miles, would induce the belief that it was artificial; but, as the earth, and the loose pebbles which compose it, are arranged exactly like the steep grounds on the borders of the creek,

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we concluded from this similarity of texture that it might be natural. But the Indians have made it a great article of their superstition. It is called the mountain of Little People, or Little Spirits, and they believe that it is the abode of little devils, in the human form, of about eighteen inches high, and of remarkably large heads; they are armed with sharp arrows, with which they are very skillful, and are always on the watch to kill those who have the hardihood to approach their residence. The tradition is, that many have suffered from these little evil spirits, and among others three Maha Indians fell a sacrifice to them a few years since. This has inspired all the neighboring nations, Sioux, Mahas, and Ottoways, with such terror that no consideration could tempt them to visit the hill. We saw none of these wicked little spirits, nor any place for them, except some small holes scattered over the top. We were happy enough to escape their vengeance, though we remained some time on the mound to enjoy the delightful prospect of the plain, which spreads itself out till the eye rests upon the hills in the north-west at a great distance, and those of the north-east still further on, enlivened by large herds of buffalo feeding at a distance." As they returned they gathered delicious plums, grapes, and blue currants, on the banks of the creek, and on reaching their encampment set the prairies on fire, to warn the Sioux of their approach.

On the 27th, they met with a few Indians at the mouth of the James River, who informed them that a large body of Sioux were encamped in the neighborhood. Sergeant Pryor was accordingly dispatched to them with an invitation to meet Lewis and Clarke at a spot above the river. The latter encamped next day under Calumet Bluff, on the south side, to await the arrival of the Sioux. The 29th was spent in repairing a perioque that had been disabled, and other necessary occupations, when at four o'clock in the afternoon Sergeant Pryor and his party arrived on the opposite side, attended by five chiefs, and about seventy men and boys. Some presents were given, and a conference appointed for the morrow. Sergeant Pryor reported that on reaching their village, twelve miles distant, he was met by a party with a buffalo robe, on which they desired to carry their visitors, an honor which they declined, informing the Indians that they were not the commanders of the boats. As a great mark of respect they were then presented with a fat dog, already cooked, of which they partook heartily, and found it well flavored. The chiefs and warriors were received on the 30th, under a large oak-tree, when Captan Lewis delivered a speech, with the usual advice and counsel for their future conduct. They then acknowledged the chiefs by medals and presents, and smoked with them the pipe of peace, after which the latter retired to hold a council concerning the answer which they were to make on the morrow. The young people exercised their bows and arrows in shooting at marks for beads, and in the evening the whole party danced until a late hour. In the morning they met, and the chiefs sat down in a row, with pipes of peace, highly ornamented, and all

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pointed toward the seats of Captains Lewis and Clarke. When the latter were seated, the grand chief, Weucha, or Shake Hand, arose and spoke at some length, approving what had been said, and promising to follow the advice. He promised to make peace between the tribes then at war, and ended by requesting material aid for their people and their wives. He was followed by the other chiefs and a warrior, who, in shorter speeches, repeated or seconded his views. "All these harangues concluded by describing the distress of the nation. They begged us to have pity on them; to send them traders; that they wanted powder and ball; and seemed anxious that we should supply them with some of their great father's milk, the name by which they distinguished ardent spirits. We prevailed on Mr. Durion to remain here and accompany as many of the Sioux chiefs as he could collect down to the seat of government." These Indians were the Yanktons, a tribe of the great nation of Sioux.

They set forward on the 1st of September. On the 2d they passed some extensive mounds and walls of earth, the first remains of the kind they had an opportunity of examining. They consisted of a citadel and walls more than a mile in length, on the southern banks of the river, and a circular fortress nearly opposite, on Bonhomme Island. On the morning of September 11th they saw a man on horseback coming down the river toward them, and were much pleased to find it was George Shannon, one of their party, for whose safety they had been very uneasy. Their two horses having strayed away on the 26th of August, he was sent to search for them. When he had found them he attempted to rejoin the party, but seeing some other tracks, probably those of Indians, he concluded that they were ahead and had been for sixteen days following the bank of the river before them. During the first four days he had exhausted his bullets, and was then nearly starved, being obliged to subsist for twelve days on a few grapes and a rabbit which he had killed by making use of a hard piece of stick for a ball. One of his horses gave out and was left behind; the other he kept as a last resource for food. Despairing of overtaking the expedition, he was returning down the river in hopes of meeting some other boat, and was on the point of killing his horse, when he was so fortunate as to join his companions.

In another week they reached the Great Bend, and dispatched two men with their remaining horse across the neck to hunt there, and await their arrival. In the following night they were alarmed by the sinking of the bank on which they were encamped. They leaped into their boats and pushed off in time to save them, and presently the whole ground of their encampment sank also. They formed a second camp for the rest of the night, and at daylight proceeded on to the throat of the Great Bend. A man whom they had dispatched to step off the distance across the Bend, made it two thousand yards; the circuit is thirty miles. On the evening of the 24th, they encamped near a river which they called the Teton, from a tribe inhabiting its borders. Here they raised a flag-staff and an awning in the morning, and with all the party parading

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under arms, awaited the Indians, who had been summoned to a council. The chiefs and warriors from a camp two miles up the river, met them, the speeches were delivered, and they went through the ceremony of acknowledging the chiefs by giving them the usual presents, according to rank. They then invited them on board, showed them the boat, air-gun, and such curiosities as might amuse them, but after giving them a quarter of a glass of whiskey, it was with much difficulty that they could get rid of them. "They at last accompanied Captain Clarke on shore in a perioque with five men; but it seems they had formed a design to stop us; for no sooner had the party landed than three of the Indians seized the cable of the perioque, and one of the soldiers of the chief put his arm around the mast; the second chief, who affected intoxication, then said that we should not go on, that they had not received presents enough from us. Captain Clarke told him that he would not be prevented from going on; that we were not squaws, but warriors; that we were sent by our great father, who could in a moment exterminate them. The chief replied that he, too, had warriors, and was proceeding to offer personal violence to Captain Clarke, who immediately drew his sword, and made a signal to the boat to prepare for action. The Indians who surrounded him drew their arrows from their quivers and were bending their bows, when the swivel in the boat was instantly pointed toward them, and twelve of our most determined men jumped into the perioque, and joined Captain Clarke. This movement made an impression on them, for the grand chief ordered the young men away from the perioque, and they withdrew and held a short council with the warriors. Being unwilling to irritate them, Captain Clarke then went forward and offered his hand to the first and second chiefs, who refused to take it. He then turned from them and got into the perioque, but had not gone more than ten paces when both the chiefs and two of the warriors waded in after him, and he brought them on board. We then proceeded on for a mile and anchored off a willow island, which from the circumstances that had just occurred, we called Bad-humored Island." Having thus inspired the Indians with fear, they desired to cultivate their acquaintance, and accordingly on the next day they drew up to the shore where a crowd of men, women, and children were waiting to receive them. Captain Lewis went on shore and remained several hours, and finding their disposition friendly, resolved to remain during the night, and attend a dance which the Indians were preparing for them. Captains Lewis and Clarke were received on landing by ten well-dressed young men, who took them up on a robe highly decorated, and carried them to the council-house where they were placed on a dressed buffalo skin by the side of the grand chief. He was surrounded by a circle of about seventy men, before whom were placed the Spanish and American flags, and the pipe of peace. A large fire, at which they were cooking provisions, was near, and a quantity of buffalo meat, as a present. When they were seated,

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an old man spoke, approving what the white men had done, and imploring pity on their own unfortunate situation. Lewis and Clarke replied with assurances of protection; then the great chief arose and delivered a harangue, after which with great solemnity he took some of the most delicate parts of the dog, which was cooked for the festival, and held it to the flag by way of sacrifice. This done, he held up the pipe of peace, first pointing it upward, then to the four quarters of the globe, and then to the earth, made a short speech, lighted the pipe, and presented it to the guests. They ate and smoked until dark, when every thing was cleared away for the dance, a large fire being made in the center, to give light and warmth to the ball-room. The musicians played upon a sort of tambourine and made a jingling noise with a long stick to which the hoofs of deer and goats were hung; the third instrument was a small skin bag with pebbles in it: these, with a few singers, made up the band. The women came forward highly decorated, some with poles bearing the scalps of their enemies, others with guns, spears, and other trophies taken in war by their husbands, brothers, or connections. They danced toward each other till they met in the center, when the rattles were shaken, and all shouted and returned to their places. In the pauses of the dance a man of the company would come forward and recite, in a low, guttural tone, some little story or incident, either warlike or ludicrous. This was taken up by the orchestra and dancers, who repeated it in a higher strain and danced to it. Sometimes the women raised their voices, when the orchestra ceased, and made a music less intolerable than the men. The dances of the men, always separate from the women, were conducted in nearly the same way. The harmony of the entertainment came near being disturbed by one of the musicians, who, thinking he had not received a due share of the tobacco distributed during the evening, put himself into a passion, broke one of the drums, threw two of them into the fire, and left the band. The drums were taken out of the fire; a buffalo robe held in one hand and beaten with the other, by several of the company, supplied the place of the lost tambourine, and no notice was taken of the offensive conduct of the man. The white guests retired at twelve o'clock, accompanied by four chiefs, two of whom spent the night on board.

While on shore they saw fifty prisoners, women and children, who had been taken in a late battle with the Mahas, on which occasion the Sioux had killed seventy-five men. They gave them a variety of small articles and interceded for them with the chiefs, who promised to restore them and live in peace with the Mahas. The tribe they saw this day were a part of the great Sioux nation, known by the name of Teton Okandandas. While with them, the travelers witnessed a quarrel between two squaws, which was suddenly stopped by the appearance of a man, at whose approach every one seemed terrified and ran away. He took the squaws and without any ceremony whipped them severely.

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This was an officer whose duty was to keep the peace. The whole interior police of the village was confided to two or three such officers, who were named by the chief, and remained in power a few days, until a successor was appointed. They were always on the watch to keep tranquillity during the day, and guard the camp in the night. Their power, though of short duration, was supreme, and in the suppression of any riot no resistance was suffered. In general they accompanied the person of the chief, and when ordered to any duty, however dangerous, made it a point of honor rather to die than refuse obedience. It was thus when they attempted to stop Lewis and Clarke on the day before. The chief having ordered one of these men to take possession of the boat, he immediately put his arms around the mast, and no force except the command of the chief would have induced him to release his hold.

They spent the next day with other Indians of the nation, who entertained them in a similar manner; but when they were preparing to set out, some difficulties arose from a misunderstanding with the people, either from jealousy or the hope of obtaining presents. By decided measures and the distribution of tobacco, the natives were appeased, and the expedition set forward on the 28th. As they sailed up the river they were frequently accosted by Indians, who asked them to land, and begged for tobacco and other presents, but they had no further intercourse with them until they came in the vicinity of the Ricaras, on the 8th of October. Here they halted a few days, visited the Indians at their villages, and received them in council. The usual ceremonies were here performed, speeches made, chiefs acknowledged by distinguished presents, and curiosities exhibited to astonish the natives. "The object that appeared to astonish the Indians most, was Captain Clarke's servant, York, a remarkably stout, strong negro. They had never seen a being of that color, and therefore flocked around him to examine the extraordinary monster. By way of amusement, he told them that he had once been a wild animal, and had been caught and tamed by his master; and to convince them, showed them feats of strength, which, added to his looks, made him more terrible than we wished him to be." "On our side," says Captain Clarke, "we were gratified at discovering that these Ricaras made use of no spirituous liquors of any kind; the example of the traders who bring it to them, so far from tempting, has, in fact, disgusted them. Supposing that it was as agreeable to them as to the other Indians, we had at first offered them whiskey, but they refused it with this sensible remark, that they were surprised that their father should present to them a liquor which would make them fools."

On the 13th they continued their journey. During the day they passed a stream to which they gave the name of Stone Idol Creek, for they learned that a few miles back from the Missouri there were two stones resembling human figures, and a third like a dog; all which were objects of great veneration among the Ricaras. "Their history would

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adorn the 'Metamorphoses' of Ovid. A young man was deeply enamored with a girl whose parents refused their consent to the marriage. The youth went out into the fields to mourn his misfortunes; a sympathy of feeling led the lady to the same spot; and the faithful dog would not cease to follow his master. After wandering together and having nothing but grapes to subsist on, they were at last converted into stone, which, beginning at the feet, gradually invaded the nobler parts, leaving nothing unchanged but a bunch of grapes which the female holds in her hands unto this day." These stones were sacred objects to the Ricaras, who made some propitiatory offering whenever they passed them. They saw another object of Ricara superstition on the 21st—a large oak-tree, standing alone on the open prairie, which, having withstood fires that had consumed every thing around, was possessed of extraordinary powers in the belief of the Indians. One of their ceremonies was to make a hole in the skin of the neck, through which a string was passed, and the other end tied to the body of the tree; and after remaining in this way for some time, they fancied they became braver. The Ricara chief told them of a large rock in the neighborhood, on the Chisshetaw, which was held in great veneration, and consulted by parties for their own or their nation's destinies; these they probably found in some sort of figures or paintings with which it was covered.

WINTER AMONG THE MANDANS.

The party now approached the region of the Mandans, passed many of their deserted villages, and on the 24th met one of their grand chiefs, who was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy, the Ricara chief, who had accompanied the expedition, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and smoked with him. The latter afterward went with the Mandans to their camp. On the 26th they encamped near the first village of the Mandans, who came down in crowds to see them as soon as they landed. Among the visitors was the son of the grand chief, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, they found it was customary to express grief at the death of relations by some corporeal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. On the two following days they visited several villages, and went up the river a short distance in search of a convenient spot for a winter fort, but the timber was too scarce and small for their purpose. The council assembled on the 29th. A number of chiefs of the Mandans, the Minnetarees, and the Ahnahaways, were present. The forces of the expedition were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel of the boat. The Indians were addressed, as heretofore, with advice intermingled with assurances of friendship and trade, and toward the end of the speech the subject of the Ricara chief was intro-

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duced, with whom they were recommended to make a firm peace. To this they seemed well disposed, and smoked with him amicably. Presents were then distributed with great ceremony: one chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the President, a uniform coat, hat, and feather; to the second chiefs they gave a medal representing some domestic animals and a loom; to the third chiefs, medals with the impressions of a farmer sowing grain. A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which they gave to the Mandans. The council was concluded by a shot from the swivel, after which the air-gun was fired for their amusement. In the evening the prairie took fire, either by accident or design, and burned with great fury, the whole plain being enveloped in flames. So rapid was its progress, that a man and woman were burned to death before they could reach a place of safety, and several others were badly injured or narrowly escaped destruction. A half-breed boy escaped unhurt in the midst of the flames, and his safety was ascribed to the great medicine spirit, who had preserved him on account of his being white. But a much more natural cause was the presence of mind of his mother, who, seeing no hopes of carrying off her son, threw him on the ground, covered him with the fresh hide of a buffalo, and then escaped herself from the flames. As soon as the fire had passed she returned and found him untouched, the skin having prevented the flame from reaching the grass on which he lay.

On the 31st Captain Clarke had an interview with the grand chief of the Mandans, who expressed his faith in what had been said, hoped they would enjoy peace, and promised to send his second chief with some warriors to the Ricaras with their chief, to smoke with that nation. He added that he would go and see his great father, the President. The chiefs of the other villages manifested the same amicable disposition, and the Ricaree chieftain set out on his return with a Mandan chief and several Minnetaree and Mandan warriors.

Having found a suitable wintering-place three miles below, they encamped there, and on the 3d of November they began the building of their cabins. Some Frenchmen who were here built a perioque to descend to St. Louis, and Lewis and Clarke engaged the services of a Canadian Frenchman, who had been with the Chayenne Indians on the Black River. Mr. Jessaume, their interpreter, also came down with his squaw and children to live at the camp. In the evening they received a visit from Kagohami, or Little Raven, one of the chiefs who attended the council, whose wife accompanied him, bringing about sixty weight of dried meat, a robe, and a pot of meal. Other Indians visited them, and frequently brought them presents, during the building of their cabins. These were completed and picketed by the 20th, when they moved into them, and named the place Fort Mandan. There were five villages in the neighborhood, the residence of three distinct nations, who had been at the council. Captain Lewis made an excursion to them in a few days,

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and found them all well disposed and very kind, except a principal chief of one of the upper villages, named Mahpahpaparapassatoo, or Horned Weasel, who made use of the civilized indecorum of refusing to be seen, and when Captain Lewis called he was told the chief was not at home.

They passed the winter very comfortably at the fort, finding sufficient employment in hunting, visiting, and cultivating the friendship of the Indians; although in these excursions they frequently suffered from the cold, which was sometimes very intense. On the 10th of December the hunters saw large herds of buffalo crossing the river on the ice. The mercury stood at 11° below zero, and the next morning it was 21° below. When the party returned in the evening, many of them were frostbitten. On the 12th the thermometer indicated 38° below zero, and at sunrise on the 17th it was 45° below.

On Christmas day the party fired three platoons before day. They had told the Indians not to visit them, as it was one of their great medicine days; so the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly in dancing, in which they took great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions they had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity.

On the morning of the new year, 1805, the men were permitted to go up with their music to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen, who danced on his head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. This attention was shown to the village because they had conceived the whites to be wanting in regard for them, and had begun to circulate invidious comparisons between them and the northern traders; all these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest. The Indians likewise performed various dances at their villages during the winter.

On the 9th of January, the mercury at 21° below zero, Captain Clarke, with three or four men, accompanied Kagohami and a party of Indians to hunt. They were incommoded by snow and high winds, and several of the Indians came back nearly frozen. Next morning the mercury stood at 40° below zero, and they were uneasy for one of the men, who was still missing. He came back, however, as they were sending out a party in search of him, having made a fire and kept himself warm through the night. An Indian boy came in soon after. He had slept in the snow with no covering but his moccasins and leggings, and a buffalo robe, and had his feet frozen. A missing Indian also returned, and although his dress was thin, and he had slept on the snow without fire, he had not suffered the slightest inconvenience. They often had occasion to observe how well the Indians endured the rigors of the season. A more pleasing reflection occurred at seeing the warm interest which the situation of these two persons had excited in the village. The boy

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had been a prisoner and adopted from charity, yet the father's distress proved that he felt for him the tenderest affection. The man was a person of no distinction, yet the whole village was full of anxiety for his safety.

Toward the middle of January nearly one half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days. In these excursions, men, women, and children, with their dogs, all leave the village together, and after finding a spot convenient to the game, fix their tents. All the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. On the 9th of March the grand chief of the Minnetarees, who was absent on their arrival, visited them. He was received with great attention, two guns were fired in honor of his arrival, the curiosities were shown to him, and presents bestowed upon him. In the course of conversation he observed that some foolish young men of his nation had told him there was a person among them quite black, and he wished to know if it could be true. They assured him that it was true, and sent for York. The chief was much surprised at his appearance; he examined him closely, spitting on his finger and rubbing the skin in order to wash off the paint; nor was it until the negro uncovered his head and showed his hair, that the chief could be persuaded he was not a painted white man.

On the approach of spring, Lewis and Clarke began to make preparations for their departure. Canoes were built and hauled down to the river, and the boats were all finally launched on the 1st of April. While they were loading their boats on the 5th, they were visited by a number of Mandans. They brought information of a party of Ricaras on the other side of the river. An interpreter was sent to learn the reason of their coming; he returned next morning with a Ricara chief, who brought a letter from Mr. Tabeau, stating the wish of the grand chief of the Ricaras to visit the President, and requesting permission for himself and four men to join the returning boat of the expedition. This being granted, he said he was sent with ten warriors by his nation, to arrange their settling near the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they wished to join; that he considered all the neighboring nations friendly, except the Sioux, whose persecution they could no longer withstand, and whom they hoped to repel by uniting with the tribes in this quarter. He added, that the Ricaras intended to live in peace with all nations, and requested Lewis and Clarke to speak in their favor with the Assiniboin Indians. This they promised, and assured him of the President's protection. They then gave him a medal, a certificate, and some presents, with which he departed for the Mandan village, well satisfied with his reception.

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JOURNEY ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

Having made all their arrangements, they left the fort on the afternoon of April 7th. The party now consisted of thirty-two persons. Besides Captains Lewis and Clarke, there were Sergeants John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, and Patrick Gass. The interpreters were George Drewyer and Toussaint Chaboneau. The wife of Chaboneau also accompanied them with her young child, and they hoped she would be useful as an interpreter among the Snake Indians. She was herself one of that tribe, but had been taken in war by the Minnetarees, by whom she was sold as a slave to Chaboneau, who brought her up and afterward married her. One of the Mandans likewise embarked with them, in order to go to the Snake Indians and obtain a peace with them for his countrymen. All this party, with the baggage, was stowed in six small canoes and two large perioques. At the same time that they took their departure, their barge, manned with seven soldiers, two Frenchmen, and Mr. Gravelines as pilot, sailed for the United States, loaded with their presents and dispatches.

On the 9th they came to a hunting party of Minnetarees, who had prepared a park or inclosure, and were waiting the return of the antelope. In the region they passed through on the two following days they saw on the surface of the earth large quantities of a white substanae which tasted like a mixture of common salt with Glauber salts. It appeared on the sides of the hills, and even on the banks of the rivers, as well as on the sand bars. Many of the streams which came from the foot of the hills were so strongly impregnated with this substance that the water had an unpleasant taste and a purgative effect. On the 26th of April, at noon, they encamped at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. As the river was crooked and the wind adverse Captain Lewis had left the boats the day before and proceeded over land to find the Yellowstone and make the necessary observations, so as to be enabled to continue the expedition without delay. He pursued his route along the foot of the hills, which he ascended for the distance of eight miles. From these the wide plains, watered by the Missouri and the Yellowstone, spread themselves before the eye, occasionally varied with the wood of the banks, enlivened by the irregular windings of the two rivers, and animated by vast herds of buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. Above the Yellowstone the hills were higher and rougher, and the wild animals more numerous. A small river which they passed on the 3d of May they called Porcupine River, from the unusual number of porcupines near it. A quarter of a mile beyond this they passed another on the opposite side, to which, on account of its distance from the mouth of the Missouri, they gave the name of Two-thousand-mile creek. On the 5th Captain Clarke and a hunter met the largest brown bear they had ever seen. When they fired he did not attempt to attack, but fled

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with a tremendous roar, and such was his tenacity of life that, although he had five balls through his lungs, and five other wounds, he swam more than half across the river to a sand-bar, and survived twenty minutes. He weighed between five and six hundred pounds, and measured eight feet seven inches from the nose to the extremity of the hind feet. On the 14th six hunters attacked another which they discovered lying in the open grounds, at a little distance from the river. Coming unperceived upon him, four of them fired, and each lodged a ball in his body. The furious animal sprang up and ran open-mouthed upon them. As he approached, the two hunters, who had reserved fire, gave him two wounds, one of which, breaking his shoulder, retarded him a moment, but before they could reload, he was so near that they were obliged to run to the river. Two jumped into the canoe, the other four separated, and concealing themselves in the willows, fired as fast as each could reload. They struck him several times, but instead of weakening the monster, each shot seemed only to direct him to the hunter, till at last he pursued two of them so closely that they threw aside their guns and pouches, and jumped down a perpendicular bank of twenty feet into the river. The bear sprang after them, and was within two feet of the hindmost when one of the hunters on shore shot him in the head and finally killed him. They dragged him to the shore, and found that eight balls had passed through him in different directions. The bear being old, they took the skin only, and rejoined the party at the camp, who had meanwhile been terrified by an accident of a different kind. This was the narrow escape of a canoe containing all their papers, instruments, medicine, and almost every other article indispensable to the success of the enterprise. The canoe being under sail, was struck by a sudden squall of wind which turned her considerably. The man at the helm, instead of putting her before the wind, luffed her up into it. The wind was so high that it forced the brace of the squaresail out of the hand of the man who was attending it, and instantly upset the canoe, which would have been turned bottom upward but for the resistance of the awning. Such was the confusion on board, and the waves ran so high, that it was half a minute before she righted, and then nearly full of water; but by bailing she was kept from sinking until they rowed ashore. Here they remained until the articles were dried and repacked, and again embarked on the afternoon of the 16th.

On Sunday, the 26th of May, after ascending the highest summits of the hills on the north side of the river, "Captain Lewis first caught a distant view of the Rocky Mountains, the object of all our hopes, and the reward of all our ambition. On both sides of the river, and at no great distance from it, the mountains followed its course; above these, at the distance of fifty miles from us, an irregular range of mountains spread themselves from west to north-west from his position. To the north of these a few elevated points, the most remarkable of which bore north 65° west, appeared above the horizon, and as the sun shone on the

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snows of their summits, he obtained a clear and satisfactory view of those mountains which close on the Missouri the passage to the Pacific."

In the night of the 28th they were alarmed by a new sort of enemy. A buffalo swam over from the opposite side and clambered over one of the canoes to the shore; then taking fright he ran full speed up the bank toward the fires, and passed within eighteen inches of the heads of some of the men before the sentinel could make him change his course: still more alarmed, he ran down between four fires and within a few inches of the heads of a second row of men, and would have broken into the lodge if the barking of the dog had not stopped him. He suddenly turned to the right, and was out of sight in a moment, leaving them all in confusion, every one seizing his rifle and inquiring the cause of the alarm. On learning what had happened, they were rejoiced at suffering no more injury than the damage to some guns in the canoe which the buffalo crossed. Next day they passed a precipice about one hundred and twenty feet high, under which lay scattered the fragments of at least a hundred carcases of buffaloes. They had been chased down the precipice in a way very common on the Missouri, by which vast herds are destroyed. The mode of hunting is, to select one of the most active young men, who is disguised by a buffalo skin, with the head and ears so arranged as to deceive the buffalo; thus dressed he fixes himself at a convenient distance between a herd and the river precipices. Meanwhile his companions show themselves in the rear and side of the herd; they instantly take the alarm and run toward the Indian decoy, who leads them on at full speed toward the river, then suddenly securing himself in some known crevice of the cliff, leaves the herd on the brink of the precipice. It is then in vain for the foremost to retreat or even stop; they are pressed on by the hindmost rank, who, seeing no danger but from the hunters, goad on those before them until the whole are hurled down and the shore is strewn with their dead bodies. Sometimes in this perilous seduction the Indian is himself either trodden under foot by the rapid movements of the buffaloes, or, missing his footing in the cliff, is urged down the precipice by the falling herd.

In the upper course of the Missouri, the rapidity of the current and the numerous rocks rendered the navigation difficult, and often dangerous. They had frequently to depend on towing, and as the lines were mostly of elk-skin, slender and worn, the boats sometimes narrowly escaped destruction, while the men on the banks suffered great hardships. In some places the banks were slippery and the mud so adhesive that they could not wear their moccasins; often they had to wade in deep water, and sometimes to walk over the sharp fragments of rocks which had fallen from the hills. As they advanced, the cliffs became higher and more abrupt. Sometimes they rose in perpendicular walls and turrets, which at a distance resembled long ranges of buildings and columns variously sculptured and supporting elegant galleries, while the parapets were adorned with statuary. On a nearer approach they repre-

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sented every form of picturesque ruins; columns, some with pedestals and capitals entire, others mutilated and prostrate, others rising pyramidally over each other until they terminated in a sharp point. These were varied by niches, alcoves, and the customary appearances of desolated magnificence. As they advanced there seemed to be no end to this visionary enchantment.

On the 3d of June they encamped in the morning on a point formed by the junction of a large river with the Missouri. Here they were at a loss to know which was the Ahmateahza, or Missouri, therefore they dispatched a party in a canoe up each of the streams, to ascertain the comparative body of water, and sent out companies to discover from the rising grounds the bearings of the two rivers. Meanwhile they ascended the high grounds in the fork, whence they saw a range of lofty mountains in the south-west, partially covered with snow, and far beyond them a still higher range completely snow-clad, reaching off to the north-west, where their glittering tops were blended with the horizon. The direction of the rivers was soon lost in the extent of the plain. On their return they found the north branch to be two hundred yards wide, and the south three hundred and seventy-two. The characteristics of the north fork so nearly resembled those of the Missouri, that almost all the party believed it to be the true course, while the same circumstances induced Captains Lewis and Clarke to think otherwise—that it passed through the low grounds of the open plain in the north, and did not come down from the mountains.

The reports of the parties were far from deciding the question, therefore Lewis and Clarke set out on the 4th, each to ascend one of the rivers for a day and a half, or more, if necessary. Captain Lewis pursued the north fork for two days, when finding its direction too far northward for their route to the Pacific, he began to retrace his steps on the afternoon of the 6th. A storm of wind and rain which prevailed, made their returning route extremely unpleasant. The surface of the ground was saturated with water, and so slippery that it was almost impossible to walk over the bluffs which they had passed in ascending the river. In advancing along the side of one of these bluffs, at a narrow pass, Captain Lewis slipped, and but for a fortunate recovery by means of his espontoon, would have been precipitated into the river over a precipice of about ninety feet. He had just reached a spot, where, by the assistance of his espontoon, he could stand with tolerable safety, when he heard a voice behind him cry out, "Good God! captain, what shall I do?" He turned instantly, and found it was a man named Windsor, who had lost his foothold about the middle of the narrow pass, and had slipped down to the very verge of the precipice, where he lay with his right arm and leg over the brink, while with the other arm and leg he was with difficulty holding on to keep himself from being dashed to pieces below.

Captain Lewis instantly perceived his dreadful situation, and stifling

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his alarm, calmly told him that he was in no danger; that he should take his knife out of his belt with the right hand, and dig a hole in the side of the bluff for his right foot. With great presence of mind he did this, and then raised himself on his knees. Then taking off his moccasins he came forward on his hands and knees, holding the knife in one hand and his rifle in the other, and thus crawled to a secure spot. The men who had not attempted this passage, returned and waded the river at the foot of the bluff, where they found the water breast high. Thus they continued down the river, sometimes in mud, sometimes up to their arms in water, and when it became too deep to wade, they cut foot-holds with their knives in the sides of the banks. At night they encamped in an old Indian lodge of sticks, which afforded them dry shelter, and they slept comfortably on some willow boughs. They reached the camp on the evening of the 8th, and found Captain Clarke and the party very anxious for their safety. Captain Lewis, being persuaded that this was not the main stream, nor one which it would be advisable to ascend, gave it the name of Maria's River.

Captain Clarke's party ascended the south branch. Near the camp on the evening of the 4th, a white bear attacked one of the men, whose gun happening to be wet, would not go off; he instantly made toward a tree, but was so closely pursued that in climbing he struck the bear with his foot. The bear not being able to climb, waited till he should be forced to come down; and as the rest of the party were separated from him by a perpendicular cliff which they could not descend, it was not in their power to give him any assistance: but finally the bear was frightened by their cries and firing, and released him. Next day they followed the river several miles, until Captain Clarke was satisfied it was their true route, when they turned back and reached the camp on the evening of the 6th. Although Lewis and Clarke were completely satisfied by their observations, all the rest of the party were of a contrary opinion. In order therefore that nothing might be omitted which could prevent an error, it was agreed that one of them should ascend the southern branch by land, until he reached either the falls or the mountains. Meanwhile, to lighten their burdens, they determined to deposit here one of the perioques and all the heavy baggage they could possibly spare from the boats.

Captain Lewis and his party set out on the 11th. As there were many deep ravines extending back from the shore which made the traveling difficult near the river, they sometimes left it in its windings, but on the 13th, being fearful of passing the falls, they changed their course toward the river. They had proceeded thus awhile, when their ears were greeted with the sound of falling water. Directing their steps toward it they reached the falls at noon, having traveled seven miles since hearing the sound. Captain Lewis hastened to descend the steep banks, which were two hundred feet high, and seating himself on a rock before the falls, enjoyed the sublime spectacle which

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since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence upon the desert, unknown to civilization. "The river is three hundred yards wide at the fall, and is pressed in by perpendicular cliffs which rise about one hundred feet. The fall itself is eighty feet, forming on one side an unbroken sheet one hundred yards in length, while the remaining part, which precipitates itself in a more rapid current, is broken by irregular rocks below, and forms a splendid prospect of white foam, two thousand feet in length. This spray is dissipated into a thousand shapes, sometimes flying up in columns of fifteen or twenty feet, which are then oppressed by larger masses of the white foam, on all which the sun scatters the brightest colors of the rainbow. Below this fall the river is for three miles one continued succession of rapids and cascades, overhung with perpendicular bluffs, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high."

Next morning a man was dispatched to Captain Clarke with an account of the discovery of the falls, and Captain Lewis proceeded to examine the rapids alone. After passing a series of rapids and small cascades he reached, at the distance of five miles, a second fall of nineteen feet. While viewing it he heard a loud roar above, and crossing over the point of a hill for a few hundred yards, he saw the whole Missouri, here a quarter of a mile wide, precipitated in an even, uninterrupted sheet to the perpendicular depth of fifty feet, whence, dashing against the rocky bottom, it rushes rapidly down, leaving behind it a spray of the purest foam across the river. The scene was singularly beautiful, without the wild, irregular sublimity of the lower falls. The eye had scarcely been regaled with this charming prospect when, at the distance of half a mile, Captain Lewis observed another of a similar kind. Hastening thither he found a cascade stretching across the river with a descent of fourteen feet, though the perpendicular pitch was only six feet. This too in any other neighborhood would have been an object of great magnificence, but after what he had just seen it became of secondary interest; his curiosity being however awakened, he determined to go on, even should night overtake him, to the head of the falls. The river was a constant succession of rapids and small cascades, at every one of which the bluffs became lower, or the bed of the river more on a level with the plains. At the distance of two and a half miles he arrived at another cataract of twenty-six feet, where the river was six hundred yards wide. Just above this was a cascade of about five feet, beyond which, as far as could be discerned, the velocity of the water seemed to abate.

Captain Lewis now ascended the hill which was behind him, and saw from its top a beautiful plain extending from the river to the base of the snow-mountains in the south and south-west. Along this wide level country the Missouri pursued its winding course, filled with water to its even and grassy banks; while, about four miles above, it was joined by a large river flowing from the north-west, through a valley three miles in

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width, and distinguished by the timber which adorned its shores. He then descended the hill, and directed his course toward the river falling in from the west. He soon met a herd of at least a thousand buffaloes, and being desirous of providing for supper, shot one of them. The animal immediately began to bleed, and the Captain, who had forgotten to reload his rifle, was intensely watching to see him fall, when he beheld a large brown bear which was stealing upon him unperceived, and was already within twenty steps. In the first moment of surprise he lifted his rifle, but remembering instantly that it was not charged, and that he had not time to reload, he felt that there was no safety but in flight. It was in the open level plain, not a bush or tree within three hundred yards, the bank of the river sloping and not more than three feet high, so that there was no possible mode of concealment. He therefore thought of retreating in a quick walk, as fast as the bear advanced, toward the nearest tree; but as soon as he turned, the bear ran, open mouth, and at full speed upon him. Captain Lewis ran about eighty yards, but finding that the animal gained on him fast, it flashed on his mind that by getting into the water to such a depth that the bear would be obliged to attack him swimming, there was still some chance of his life. He therefore turned short, plunged into the river about waist deep, and facing about, presented the point of his espontoon. The bear came to the water's edge within twenty feet of him, but as soon as he put himself in this posture of defense, he seemed frightened, and wheeling about, retreated with as much precipitation as he had pursued. Very glad to be released from this danger, Captain Lewis returned to the shore, and observed him run with great speed, sometimes looking back as if he expected to be pursued, till he reached the woods. He could not conceive the cause of the sudden alarm of the bear, but congratulating himself on his escape when he saw his own track torn to pieces by the furious animal, he learned from the whole adventure never to suffer his rifle to be a moment unloaded. The river to which he directed his steps he found to be the Medicine River of the Indians, mentioned as emptying itself into the Missouri, just above the falls. He set out in the evening to retrace his steps to the camp, twelve miles distant, and, after fresh encounters with wild beasts, came late at night to his party, who were anxious for his safety.

Captain Clarke and his party arrived in the boats at the rapids on the 15th, where they were joined next day by Captain Lewis. They then proceeded to examine the ground for a portage, to deposit a portion of their goods and baggage, and to prepare carriages for the transportation of the boats with the remainder. The portage was about fifteen miles. The men were loaded as heavily as their strength would permit, and the prickly pear and the sharp points of earth formed by the buffalo during the late rains made the crossing really painful. Some were limping from the soreness of their feet, others scarcely able to stand from the heat and fatigue. They were obliged to halt and rest fre-

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quently, and at almost every stopping-place they would fall asleep in an instant; still they went on with great cheerfulness.

On the 29th, Captain Clarke, accompanied by his servant, York, Chaboneau and his wife and child, proceeded to the falls to make further observations. On his arrival he observed a very dark cloud rising in the west, which threatened rain. He took shelter in a deep ravine, where some shelving rocks kept off the rain. The shower increased, and presently a torrent of rain and hail descended. The rain fell in a solid mass, and instantly collecting in the ravine came rolling down in a dreadful current, carrying the mud and rocks, and every thing that opposed it. Captain Clarke fortunately saw the danger a moment before it reached them, and sprang up the steep bluff with his gun and shot-pouch in one hand, pushing the Indian woman with her child before him. Her husband, too, had seized her hand, but was so terrified that but for Captain Clarke they would all have been lost. So instantaneous was the rise of the water, that before he had reached his gun and began to ascend the bank, the water was up to his waist, and he could scarcely get up faster than it rose, till it reached the height of fifteen feet, with a furious current that would have swept them into the river just above the Great Falls, down which they must inevitably have been precipitated. He now relinquished his intention of going up the river, and returned to the camp.

Finally, after unheard-of toil and privations, the various parties had arrived at the camp above the falls and transported all the baggage thither by the 1st of July. Here some days were spent in building a boat, and calking it with a composition of charcoal, with beeswax and buffalo-tallow, instead of tar, which they could not obtain; but on the 9th, when it was lanched and loaded, it leaked so that they were obliged to abandon it. Captain Clarke, with a party of workmen, then went to some timber on the river, eight miles above, where they constructed some canoes. The expedition proceeded by land and by water to join them, and on the 15th of July they embarked all their baggage on board of eight canoes, and set out on their journey. On the 19th they went through a grand mountain-pass, which they called the Gates of the Rocky Mountains. For nearly six miles the rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of nearly twelve hundred feet. Being anxious to meet with the Shoshonees or Snake Indians, and fearful lest they should hear of the expedition and retreat to the mountains, Captain Clarke frequently went on by land in advance. On the 25th he arrived at the three forks of the Missouri, and finding that the north branch, though not largest, contained more water than the middle one, and bore more to the westward, he determined to ascend it. Therefore leaving a note for Captain Lewis, he went up the stream twenty-five miles; when Chaboneau being unable to proceed further, the party encamped, all of them much fatigued, their feet blistered, and wounded by the prickly pear. Captain Clarke proceeded next day to the top of

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a mountain twelve miles further, whence he had an extensive view of the river valley upward, but saw no fresh signs of Indians. He then returned to Chaboneau, pursued his route across to the middle branch, and descending it, met with Captain Lewis at the forks on the 27th. Captain Lewis had first arrived at the south-eastern branch, which he ascended a short distance, and named Gallatin's River, in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury. He then proceeded to the confluence of the other branches, where he found Captain Clarke's note, and encamped on the south-west fork to await him. He arrived much exhausted with fatigue, and with fever and chills, occasioned by drinking cold water from a spring in the heat of the day. Finding it difficult to decide which of the two streams was the larger, or the real Missouri, they were induced to discontinue the name, and gave to the south-west branch the name of Jefferson, in honor of the President of the United States and the projector of the enterprise; and called the middle branch Madison, after the Secretary of State.

Captain Clarke being much restored by the 30th, they began to ascend the Jefferson River. On the 1st of August Captain Lewis left the party, with Sergeant Gass, Chaboneau, and Drewyer, to go on in advance in search of the Shoshonees. In a few days he came to forks in the river, and finding the right one to be rapid and obstructed, while the other was more turbid, and seemed to flow from an opening in the mountains, he left a note recommending the latter to Captain Clarke, and then continued his course along the more rapid branch. This he followed for more than a day when, coming to the mountains, he obtained an extensive view of the surrounding region. From the general course of the southern stream, as well as the gap by which it intersects the mountains, he decided to make it their future route. He then crossed over to the other branch, and descended toward the forks, where he found the party in the boats returning from the stream he had lately left. They had reached the forks on the afternoon of the 5th, but unluckily Captain Lewis's note had been left on a green pole, which the beavers had cut down and carried off, with the note, an accident which deprived them of all information as to the character of the two branches; and as the north-west fork was most in their direction, and contained as much water, they ascended it. They found it extremely rapid, and its waters so scattered, that they proceeded with difficulty. Next morning they had been joined by Drewyer, who had gone out in search of deer, and who informed them of the state of the two rivers, and of Captain Lewis's note. They accordingly descended to the fork, when they met with Captain Lewis. This north-west branch they called Wisdom River.

On the 7th they continued their journey up the Jefferson. Immediately after breakfast on the 9th, Captain Lewis took Drewyer, Shields, and McNeal, and slinging their knapsacks, they set out with a resolution to meet some nation of Indians before they returned, however

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long they might be separated from the party. They followed the river by an Indian road until they entered the mountains next day, and came to two nearly equal branches. Finding the best road on the right fork, Captain Lewis concluded to follow it, and left a note to that effect for Captain Clarke.

They had gone but a few miles on the morning of the 11th, when they were delighted to see a man on horseback, at the distance of two miles, coming down to meet them. On examining him with the glass, Captain Lewis saw that he was of a different nation from any Indians they had hitherto met. He was armed with a bow and quiver of arrows; mounted on an elegant horse, without a saddle, while a small string attached to the under jaw answered as a bridle. Convinced that he was a Shoshonee, and knowing how much of their success depended on the friendly offices of that nation, Captain Lewis was anxious to approach without alarming him, and endeavor to convince him that he was a white man. He therefore proceeded on at his usual pace. When they were within a mile of each other the Indian suddenly stopped; Lewis followed his example, took his blanket from his knapsack, and holding it with both hands at the two corners, threw it above his head, and unfolded it as he brought it to the ground, as if in the act of spreading it. This signal is the universal sign of friendship among the Indians on the Missouri and Rocky Mountains. As usual, Captain Lewis repeated this signal three times; still the Indian kept his position, and looked with an air of suspicion on Drewyer and Shields, who were now advancing on each side. Lewis then took from his pack some beads, a looking-glass, and a few trinkets, which he had brought for the purpose, and advanced unarmed toward the Indian. He remained awhile, then turned his horse and began to move off slowly. Captain Lewis then called out "*Tabba bone!*" ("white man"), but the Indian kept his eye on Drewyer and Shields, who were still thoughtlessly advancing, till Lewis made a signal to them to halt. Then the Indian waited for Captain Lewis, who still came nearer, repeating the words "tabba bone," and holding up the trinkets, at the same time stripping up his sleeve to show the color of his skin. He thus advanced within a hundred paces, but as Shields, who had not observed the signal, was still approaching, the Indian suddenly turned his horse, and leaping the creek, disappeared in an instant. Though sadly disappointed, Captain Lewis determined to make some use of the incident. He therefore set off with his men to follow the track, hoping it might lead them to a body of the nation. They now fixed a small flag of the United States on a pole, which was carried as a signal of their friendly intentions, should the Indians see them approaching. Thus pursuing their journey, they came, on the 12th, to a plain Indian road which led directly on toward the mountain. The stream gradually became smaller, till, after going a few miles, it had so greatly diminished in width, that one of the men, in a fit of enthusiasm, with one foot on each side of the river, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the

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Missouri. As they went along, their hopes of soon seeing the waters of the Columbia arose almost to painful anxiety, when, after four miles from the last abrupt turn of the river, they reached a small gap formed by the high mountains, which recede on each side, leaving room for the Indian road. "From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which rises with a gentle ascent of about half a mile, issues the remotest water of the Missouri. They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain—as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, which yielded its modest tribute to the parent ocean—they felt themselves rewarded for all their labors and all their difficulties. They left reluctantly this interesting spot, and pursuing the Indian road through the interval of the hills, arrived at the top of a ridge, from which they saw high mountains, partially covered with snow, lying still further west. The ridge on which they stood formed the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. They followed a descent much steeper than that on the eastern side, and at the distance of three quarters of a mile, reached a fine, bold creek of cold water, running to the westward. They stopped to taste, for the first time, the waters of the Columbia."

Next day, as they were pursuing their journey westward through an open, broken country, they perceived two women, a man, and two dogs on an eminence a mile before them. The strangers seemed at first to await them, and Captain Lewis approached, unfurling the flag and calling "*Tabba bone!*" But the females first retreated behind the hill, and when Lewis came near the man went off also, and they had all disappeared when he reached the top of the hill. They had gone about a mile further, when they suddenly came upon three female Indians from whom they had been concealed until they were within thirty paces of each other. A young woman fled, the other two, an elderly woman and a little girl, seeing the strangers too near for them to escape, sat on the ground, holding down their heads as if reconciled to the death which they supposed awaited them. Captain Lewis put down his rifle, and advancing, took the woman by the hand, raised her, and repeated the words "tabba bone!" at the same time baring his arm to prove that he was a white man, for his hands and face had become, by exposure, as dark as their own. She appeared at once relieved, and Captain Lewis gave them some beads, pewter mirrors, paint, and other trinkets, as well as to their companions, who had hastened back when called, and he painted their cheeks with vermilion, a ceremony which among the Shoshonees, is emblematic of peace. Afterward, at his request, they conducted the party toward the Indian camp.

In this way they had marched two miles, when they met a troop of nearly sixty warriors, well mounted, riding at full speed toward them. Captain Lewis put down his gun and went forward with the flag. The chief spoke to the women, who explained and showed exultingly the

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presents they had received, and then the chief and two warriors leaped from their horses, came up to Captain Lewis, and embraced him with great cordiality, at the same time applying their left cheek to his, and frequently vociferating "*Ah hi e! ah hi e!*" "I am much pleased; I am much rejoiced." The whole body of warriors now came forward, and the men received the caresses, and the grease and paint, of their new friends. After this fraternal embrace, Captain Lewis lighted a pipe and offered it to the Indians, who now seated themselves in a circle around the party. But before they accepted this mark of friendship, they pulled off their moccasins, a custom which indicates the sacred sincerity of their professions when they smoke with a stranger, and imprecates on themselves the misery of going barefoot forever if they are faithless to their words, a penalty by no means light to those who roam over the thorny plains of their country. It is not unworthy to remark the analogy which some of the customs of these children of the wilderness bear to those recorded in Holy Writ. After a few pipes were smoked and some presents distributed, Captain Lewis stated the friendly object of their visit, and gave the flag to the chief as an emblem of peace, after which they proceeded to the Indian camp. There a council was held, in which the captain more fully explained the purposes of his visit, and distributed the few articles he had left to the wondering crowd which had assembled to see the first white men. Here he learned that an alarm had been given, and the warriors he had met in the morning were coming down to attack the supposed enemy.

In order to give time for the boats to reach the forks of the river, Captain Lewis remained a while, and obtained all the information he could collect in regard to the country. On the 14th, his men went out with the Indians to hunt, but as they were unsuccessful he made a little paste with flour, which, with some berries, formed a palatable repast. Having secured the goodwill of the chief, he informed him of the approach of his companions, and induced him to go down with horses to assist in transporting their merchandise. On the morning of the 15th, he began to feel the inconveniences of hunger, and found that his whole stock of provisions consisted of two pounds of flour. This was divided, and one half boiled with the berries into a sort of pudding; and after presenting a large share to the chief, he and his men breakfasted on the remainder. Cameahwait, the chief, was delighted with this new dish; he examined the flour, and asked if it was made of roots; the process of preparing it was explained, and he said it was the best thing he had eaten for a long time. Captain Lewis now endeavored to hasten the departure of the Indians, who, although urged by the chief, were still reluctant, having heard that he was in league with their enemies, the Pahkees. Finally, by appearing to doubt their courage, he succeeded in enlisting a few, with whom he smoked a pipe and set off immediately. Their departure spread a gloom over the village, yet they had not gone far when they were joined by others, and before they had reached the

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spring where they had encamped on the 12th, all the men of the nation, and a number of the women, had overtaken them. Here they halted an hour to let the horses graze, and at sunset encamped at the upper end of the valley.

Next morning Captain Lewis sent two hunters ahead to procure provisions, at the same time requesting Cameahwait to prevent his young men from going out, lest by their noise they might alarm the game, but this immediately revived their suspicions. They believed these men were sent forward to apprize the enemy of their coming, and small parties of Indians went out on each side of the valley, under pretense of hunting, but in reality to watch the movements of the two men; while a considerable number, alarmed, went home. An hour afterward they saw one of the spies coming back at full speed across the plain; the chief stopped and seemed uneasy, the rest were moved with fresh suspicions, and Captain Lewis himself was disconcerted; but the young Indian had scarcely breath to say a few words as he came up, when the whole troop dashed forward as fast as their horses could carry them; and Captain Lewis, astonished, was borne along nearly a mile before he learned, with great satisfaction, that it was all caused by the announcement that one of the white men had killed a deer. When they reached the place where Drewyer had thrown its intestines, they all dismounted in confusion, and ran tumbling over each other like famished dogs, each tearing away whatever part he could, and beginning to eat it. When the deer was skinned Captain Lewis reserved one quarter and gave the rest to the Indians, who devoured nearly the whole of it without cooking. Two more deer were brought in, and these scenes repeated, until the Indians seemed completely satisfied and in good humor. At length, as they were approaching the place where they were to see the white men, the chief placed ornaments around the necks of Lewis and his party, evidently to disguise the white men. Seeing this, Captain Lewis, to inspire them with confidence, put his cocked hat and feather on the head of the chief; the men followed his example, and the change seemed very agreeable to the Indians.

To guard against disappointment, Captain Lewis explained the possibility of his companions not having reached the forks, in consequence of the difficulty of navigation; and to the disappointment of both parties, on coming within two miles of the forks, no canoes were to be seen. Uneasy lest at this moment he should be abandoned and all his hopes of obtaining aid from the Indians destroyed, he gave the chief his gun, telling him that if the enemies of his nation were in the bushes he might defend himself with it; that for his own part he was not afraid to die, and that the chief might shoot him as soon as they discovered themselves betrayed. As they went on, Captain Lewis sent a man with an Indian for the notes he had left, which he pretended to be from his companion, sent forward by agreement, to let him know where the boats were; that they were just below the mountains, coming slowly against the current.

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The chief and the greater part of the Indians were satisfied; they spent the night here, and in the morning Drewyer and an Indian were dispatched down the river in quest of the boats. They had been gone two hours when a straggling Indian came in with a report that he had seen the white men, who were only a short distance below, and were coming on. The Indians were all transported with joy, and the chief, in the warmth of his satisfaction, renewed his embrace of Captain Lewis, who was quite as much delighted as the Indians themselves.

Meanwhile the party in the boats had been ascending the multiplied windings of the river by a slow and toilsome progress, and on the night of the 16th were encamped only four miles, by land, below the forks, although the distance was ten miles by water. On setting out in the morning, Captain Clarke, with Chaboneau and his wife, walked on shore, but they had not gone more than a mile before Captain Clarke saw Sacajawea (Caboneau's wife) who was ahead with her husband, begin to dance and show every mark of the most extravagant joy, turning round to him and pointing to several Indians, whom he now saw advancing on horseback, sucking her fingers at the same time, to indicate that they were of her native tribe. As they came near he saw Drewyer among them, dressed like an Indian, from whom he learned the situation of the party. While the boats were making the circuit he went toward the forks with the Indians, who sang aloud as they went along, with the greatest appearance of delight. They soon drew near the camp, and just as they reached it a woman made her way through the crowd, toward Sacajawea, and recognizing each other they embraced with the most tender affection. They had been companions in childhood, had been taken prisoners in the same battle, and shared the rigors of their captivity, till one of them had escaped from the Minnetarees. Captain Clarke was received by the chief, who, after embracing him, conducted him to a tent of willows, seated him on a white robe, and tied in his hair six small shells resembling pearls, an ornament highly valued by these people. The moccasins of the whole party were then taken off, and after much ceremony the smoking began. When the conference was opened, Sacajawea was sent for; she came into the tent, sat down, and was beginning to interpret, when in the person of Cameahwait she recognized her brother. She instantly jumped up, and ran and embraced him, throwing over him a blanket and weeping profusely; the chief himself was also moved. After some conversation between them she resumed her seat and attempted to interpret for the parties, but her new situation seemed to overpower her, and she was frequently interrupted by her tears. After the council was finished, the unfortunate woman learned that all her family were dead except two brothers, one of whom was absent, and a son of her eldest sister, a small boy, who was immediately adopted by her.

When the canoes arrived the baggage was taken out and an awning erected, under which a treaty was held. Here they made arrangements

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with the Indians for horses in order to proceed with as little delay as possible, promising them ample remuneration for every service they should render. The conference having ended satisfactorily, the presents were distributed. To Cameahwait they gave a small medal with the likeness of President Jefferson, and on the reverse a figure of hands clasped with a pipe and tomahawk; to this was added a uniform coat, a shirt, a pair of scarlet leggings, a carrot of tobacco, and some small articles. Each of the other chiefs received a small medal struck during Washington's administration, a shirt, handkerchief, leggings, a knife, and some tobacco. Medals were also given to two young warriors, who were promising youths and very much respected in the tribe. These honorary gifts were followed by presents of paint, moccasins, awls, knives, beads, and looking-glasses. A plentiful meal of Indian corn, of which the hull was taken off by being boiled in lye, was also distributed; and as it was the first they had ever tasted, they were very much pleased with it. They had indeed abundant sources of surprise in all they saw; the appearance of the men, their arms, their clothing, the canoes, the strange looks of the negro, and the sagacity of the dog; all in turn shared their admiration, which was raised to astonishment by a shot from the air-gun. This operation was instantly considered as *a great medicine*, by which they, as well as the other Indians, mean something emanating directly from the Great Spirit, or produced by his invisible and incomprehensible agency.

Lewis and Clarke next consulted as to their future operations. The Indians had represented that the river below them was rocky, rapid, and so closely confined between high mountains, that it was impossible to pass down it, either by land or water, to the great lake. It was therefore agreed that Captain Clarke should set off in the morning with eleven men, go by the Indian camp, and leave Chaboneau and his wife to hasten the collection of horses, then lead his men down the river, and if he found it navigable and the timber in sufficient quantity, begin to build canoes. Before setting out on the 18th, they exposed a few articles to barter for horses, and soon obtained three good ones, for which they gave some clothing, knives, and other small articles, the whole of which did not cost more than twenty dollars. A fourth was purchased by the men for an old check shirt, a pair of old leggings, and a knife. Captain Clarke arrived at the camp on the 20th, where he succeeded in engaging an intelligent old man as a guide. After pursuing his route for a few days he began to perceive that the Indians had not exaggerated. The mountains were rocky, and so high that it seemed almost impossible to cross them with horses; their road lay over the sharp fragments of rocks which had fallen from the steep cliffs, and were strewed in heaps for miles together; yet the horses, unshod, traveled across them as fast as the men. These difficulties increased until on the 23d he reached a small meadow, below which the whole current of the river beat against a solid wall of rock perfectly inaccessible to horses. Leaving the horses and the

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greater part of the men here, he proceeded with his guide, clambering over immense rocks and along the sides of lofty precipices which bordered the river, until at the distance of twelve miles he reached a small meadow. Thus far the river was one continued rapid, along which even the empty canoes must be let down with cords, and then at the great risk both of the canoes and the men, while the transportation of the baggage over the steep mountains would have to be done by men. Still Captain Clarke continued his route, and at length ascended a high and steep point of a mountain, from which the guide now pointed out where the river broke through the mountains, about twenty miles distant. The view was terminated by a lofty mountain, which was perfectly covered with snow. Toward this formidable barrier the river went directly on, and there it was, as the guide observed, that the difficulties and dangers, of which they had spoken, commenced. Captain Clarke was now convinced of the impracticability of this route; he therefore hastened to return, and after rejoining his men next evening they retraced their steps to the Indian camp, where they arrived on the 26th. As game was scarce in this region they found a precarious subsistence, and suffered from a scarcity of food, the Indians being able to supply them with little else than a pittance of fish. Therefore, while awaiting the arrival of Captain Lewis and his party, they made all possible preparations for their departure, especially in preparing pack-saddles for the horses which Lewis had purchased.

Captain Lewis and his party, who were left with the Indians at the forks of the Jefferson on the 18th, spent a few days in making ready to transport the baggage. Saddles were made, some of the baggage was buried, the boats sunk in the stream, and by the 24th all the preparations were made for their departure. Meanwhile the hunters had been out as usual, but the game was so scarce that they were obliged to encroach on their stock of provisions. One night Drewyer returned late with a fawn and a quantity of Indian plunder, which he had taken by way of reprisal. While hunting in the morning, he came suddenly upon an Indian camp, at which were an old man, three women, a young man and a boy. As they showed no surprise he rode up to them, and turning his horse loose to graze, sat down and began to converse with them by signs. They had just finished a repast of some roots, and in a little while they collected their horses and began to saddle them. Drewyer, having rested, went to catch his horse, forgetting at the moment to take up his rifle. He had scarcely gone more than fifty paces when the Indians mounted their horses, the young man snatched up the rifle, and leaving all their baggage they set off at full speed toward the mountain passes. Drewyer instantly pursued them. After running ten miles, the horses of the women began to give out, and as they raised dreadful cries, the young man slackened his pace, and began to ride round them. Drewyer persuaded the women that he did not mean to hurt them, and they stopped; and when he asked the young man for his rifle, the only part

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of the answer he understood was "Palikee," the name by which they call their enemies, the Minnetarees. While they were thus engaged in talking, Drewyer watched his opportunity, and seeing the Indian off his guard, galloped up to him and seized his rifle. The Indian struggled for some time, but finding Drewyer too strong for him, had the presence of mind to open the pan and let the priming fall out; then loosing his hold, he gave his horse the whip and escaped at full speed, leaving the women at the mercy of the conqueror. Drewyer then returned, and finding their baggage, brought it to camp with him.

From some Indians who arrived they purchased three horses, by giving for each an ax, a knife, a handkerchief, and a little paint. For a mule they were obliged to add a second knife, a shirt, a handkerchief, and a pair of leggings. They now loaded eleven horses and a mule, and placing the rest on the shoulders of the Indian women, left the camp at noon on the 24th. They were all on foot except Sacajawea, for whom her husband had purchased a horse. An Indian had the politeness to offer Captain Lewis one of his horses to ride, which he accepted, in order better to direct the march of the party. On the morning of the 26th they reached the fountain of the Missouri and passed over the dividing ridge, and in the evening arrived at the encampment. Here they found a note from Captain Clarke, apprising them that there were no hopes of a passage by water, and suggesting the route by the north as the most practicable. Captain Clarke joined them on the 29th, and they resumed the purchase of horses. The prices had risen meanwhile, so that one horse cost a pistol, one hundred balls, some powder, and a knife; another was changed for a musket; and in this way they obtained twenty-nine. The horses were young and vigorous, but poor, and worn with the roughness of the Shoshonee saddle. They were therefore anxious to obtain one at least for each man, to carry the baggage, or the man himself, or in the last resource to serve as food; but they were unable to supply all.

On the 30th they loaded their horses and took leave of the Shoshonees, accompanied by the old guide, his four sons, and another Indian. They descended the river by the road which Clarke had previously pursued until the 1st of September, when they turned to the north-west across the hills. Next day the Indians all left them except the guide, and the road they were following turned eastward toward the Missouri. They had therefore to cut their way with much difficulty up the west branch of the creek they were following. The road led over the steep and rocky side of the hills, and the thickets were almost impenetrable; the horses frequently fell down the sides of the hills, and some gave out exhausted with fatigue. On the 4th they crossed a high mountain, which formed the dividing ridge between the waters of the creek they had been ascending, and those running north and west. Every thing was frozen, and the ground was covered with snow, which had fallen the night before. They presently came to a stream flowing westward, which they

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descended to its junction with a river from the east. Here they found a large encampment of Indians, who received them with great cordiality. They smoked with them, remained a few days, exchanged presents, and trafficked for horses. These Indians were called Ootlashoots, and represented themselves as one band of the Tushepaws, a numerous people residing on the head waters of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. They seemed kindly and friendly, and willingly shared the berries and fruits which formed their only stock of provisions. Their only wealth was their horses, which were very fine and so numerous that this party had with them at least five hundred. To this river they gave the name of Clarke, as they had that of Lewis to the one they had lately left, each from the first white man who had visited its waters. Resuming their journey, they came on the 9th to a large stream flowing in from the west, where they halted a day to make observations and collect provisions, as they were here to leave the river, and the mountain region through which they had to pass was without game. Next day one of the hunters returned with three Indians whom he had met up the creek, one of whom they persuaded to go with them. They ascended the course of the creek, and after a rugged and difficult passage over the mountain, came on the 14th to the Kooskooskee River. Their whole stock of animal food being exhausted, they killed a colt, on which they made a hearty supper, and from this incident they gave the name of Colt-killed Creek to a stream near by. They then left the river and took the mountains on the right, where the timber was fallen and the ascent so steep that they had to wind in every direction. The horses frequently slipped, and one, which was loaded with a desk and small trunk, rolled over and over for forty yards till his fall was stopped by a tree. The desk was broken, but the poor animal escaped without much injury. Provision was also very scarce; they found only a few pheasants, and on the 17th they killed another colt. This want of provisions, the extreme fatigue to which they were subjected, and the dreary prospect before them, began to dispirit the men; Captain Clarke therefore set out with six hunters on the 18th, intending to go on ahead and find something for the support of the party. The region they passed through was rugged and barren until the 20th, when they descended the last of the Rocky Mountains and reached the level country. They had proceeded a few miles on the plain when they saw three boys, who ran and hid in the grass. Captain Clarke, leaving his horse and gun with the men, soon relieved the apprehensions of the boys, and sent them forward to the village with presents of small pieces of ribbon. Presently a man came out very cautiously to meet the party, and conducted them to a large tent in the village, where all the inhabitants gathered round to view, with a mixture of fear and pleasure, these wonderful strangers. This spacious tent was the residence of the great chief, who had gone, with all the warriors, to attack some of their enemies to the south-west, leaving but a few men to guard the women and children. They entertained their guests with a

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sumptuous feast; the latter returned the kindness by a few small presents, and then went on with one of the chiefs to a second village, two miles distant. Here the party was treated with great kindness, and passed the night.

The inhabitants of these villages called themselves Chopunnish, or Pierced-nose. The chief drew a chart of the river, and explained that a greater chief than himself, who governed this village, and was called Twisted Hair, was now fishing at the distance of half a day's ride down the river. The hunters not being able to kill any thing, Captain Clarke bought as much dried salmon, roots, and berries as he could obtain with the few articles he chanced to have in his pockets, and having sent them back to Captain Lewis, he went on toward the camp of the Twisted Hair. He arrived at midnight, and giving him a medal they smoked together till one o'clock. The chief seemed cheerful and sincere, and on the next day he accompanied Captain Clarke back to the village where they arrived at sunset; they then walked up to the second village where the main party with Captain Lewis had just arrived. Next morning, the 23d, the chiefs and warriors were all assembled, and Lewis and Clarke explained to them whence they came, the objects of their visit, and their pacific intentions toward all the Indians. This was conveyed by signs, but seemed to give perfect satisfaction. They then gave medals and additional presents to the chiefs, and delivered a flag and handkerchief for the grand chief on his return. They purchased a quantity of fish, berries, and roots, and in the afternoon went on to the second village, where they continued their purchases.

On the 24th, they sent back Colter in search of horses lost in the mountains, and having collected the rest, set out for the river by the route already passed by Captain Clarke. They now felt the consequences of eating heartily after their late privations: many of them were taken very ill; Captain Lewis could scarcely sit on his horse, while others had to be put on horseback, and some, from extreme weakness and pain, were forced to lie down by the road-side for some time. At sunset they reached the island where they had first met the Twisted Hair, and where some hunters had been left on the 22d. The latter had been unsuccessful, and two of them were sick. The party encamped on an island a little below, and administered to the sick.

VOYAGE DOWN LEWIS AND COLUMBIA RIVERS.

Having resolved to go down to some spot suitable for building canoes, they set out early on the 26th, and encamped five miles below, opposite the forks of the river. But the men were so weak that several were taken sick in coming down, the weather being oppressively hot. Next day they prepared to make five canoes; but few of the men, however, were able to work, and some of them were taken ill. The hunt-

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ers, too, returned without any game, and seriously indisposed, so that nearly the whole party was ill. Colter returned with one of the horses and brought half a deer, which was very nourishing to the invalids. At length those first attacked began to recover, and all who were able to work were busied at the canoes. Meanwhile it became necessary to dispose of the horses. They were therefore collected to the number of thirty-eight, and being branded and marked, were delivered to three Indians, the brothers and son of a chief who was going with them down the river, who, having each received a knife and some small articles, agreed to take good care of the horses till the return of the expedition. The saddles were buried near the river, and with them a canister of powder and a bag of balls.

On Monday, the 7th of October, the canoes were lanched and loaded, the oars fixed, and every preparation made for setting out, but when all was ready, the two chiefs who had promised to accompany them were not to be found, and at the same time they missed a pipe-tomahawk. They therefore proceeded without them. Below the forks the river was called the Kooskooskee; it was a clear, rapid stream, with a number of shoals and difficult places. They passed, in the course of the day, ten rapids, in descending which one of the canoes struck a rock and sprung a leak. Next day, as they were passing the last of fifteen rapids, which they had been fortunate enough to escape, one of the canoes struck, and immediately filled and sunk. The men, several of whom could not swim, clung to the boat till a canoe could be unloaded, when with the assistance of an Indian boat they were all brought to shore. All the goods were so wet that they had to halt for the night, and spread them out to dry. The old Shoshonee guide with his son deserted them on the 9th, and was seen running up the river, without having given notice of his design, or even received his pay. Without serious accident they passed many rapids below and reached the junction of the Kooskooskee with the Lewis, on the evening of the 10th. They stopped for breakfast next morning at a large encampment of Indians a few miles below, where they traded for a stock of provisions. While the traffic was going on, they observed a vapor bath, different from those they had previously seen. "It was a hollow square six or eight feet deep, formed in the river bank, and completely covered, except an opening about two feet wide at the top. The bathers descend by this hole, taking with them a number of jugs of water; and, after being seated around the room, throw the water on the stones until the steam becomes of a temperature sufficiently high for their purposes. The baths of the Indians of the Rocky Mountains are of different sizes, the most common being made of mud and sticks like an oven, but the mode of raising the steam is exactly the same. Among both these nations it is very uncommon for a man to bathe alone; he is generally accompanied by one, or sometimes by several of his acquaintances; indeed it is so essentially a social amusement that to decline going in to bathe

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when invited by a friend is one of the highest indignities that can be offered him."

In Lewis River they likewise encountered frequent rapids, which sometimes injured their boats, and endangered their safety. In descending one of these a boat was driven crosswise against a rock in the middle of the current. The crew attempted to get her off, but the waves dashed over her and she soon filled. They got out on the rock and held her above water, with great exertion, until another canoe was unloaded and sent to her relief, but they could not prevent a great deal of baggage from floating down the stream. As soon as she was lightened she was hurried down the channel, leaving the crew on the rock. They were brought off by the rest of the party, and the canoe itself and nearly all that had been washed overboard, was recovered.

On the 16th they reached the Columbia, and halted above the point of junction to confer with the Indians, who had collected in great numbers to receive them. A chief who had passed them on horseback a few days before, and who appeared to be a man of influence, harangued the Indians on the occasion. After smoking with the latter, they formed a camp and had the fires prepared, "when a chief came from the Indian camp, about a mile and a quarter up the Columbia River, at the head of nearly two hundred men. They formed a regular procession, keeping time to the noise, rather than music, of their drums, which they accompanied with their voices. As they advanced they formed a semicircle around us, and continued singing for some time. We then smoked with them all, and communicated, as well as we could by signs, our friendly intentions toward all nations, and our joy at finding ourselves surrounded by our children." Medals and presents were then distributed, as usual, to the chiefs. "After they had dispersed, we proceeded to purchase provisions, and were enabled to collect seven dogs, to which some of the Indians added small presents of fish, and one of them gave us twenty pounds of fat dried horse-flesh." Next day they were occupied in making the necessary observations and measuring the rivers. During this time, the principal chief came down with several of his warriors, and smoked with the party. They were also visited by several men and women who offered dogs and fish for sale, but as the fish was out of season, they contented themselves with purchasing all the dogs they could obtain.

These Indians called themselves Sokulks. In their language, as well as in dress and general appearance, they resembled the Chopunnish of the Kooskooskee and Lewis Rivers. "The most striking difference between them is among the females, the Sokulk women being more inclined to corpulency than any we have yet seen. Their stature is low, their faces broad, and their heads flattened in such a manner that the forehead is in a straight line from the nose to the crown of the head. Their eyes are of a dirty sable; their hair is coarse and black, and braided without ornament of any kind. Instead of wearing, as do the

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Chopunnish, long leathern shirts, highly decorated with beads and shells, the Sokulk females have no other covering than a piece of leather drawn around the hips."

In the course of the day Captain Clarke ascended the Columbia a few miles in a small canoe. Opposite some rapids, five miles above, he found a fishing-place, consisting of three mat-houses. Here were great quantities of salmon drying upon scaffolds; and, indeed, from the mouth of the river upward he saw immense numbers of dead salmon strewed along the shore or floating on the surface of the river, whose waters were so clear that the salmon could be seen swimming in it at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet. The Indians, who had collected on the banks to view him, now joined him in eighteen canoes and accompanied him up the river.

On the 18th a numerous council was held with Indians who came in; then, having completed the purposes of their stay, they purchased forty dogs for provisions and proceeded down the river. Coming to some dangerous rapids on the 19th, several of the party landed to lighten the boats. While walking ahead, Captain Clarke ascended a cliff about two hundred feet above the water, from which he saw that the country on both sides of the river, immediately below the cliffs, was low, and spread itself in a level plain to a great distance on all sides. To the west, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, was a very high mountain covered with snow, which, from its direction and appearance, he supposed to be the Mount St. Helen's laid down by Vancouver as visible from the mouth of the Columbia. There was also another mountain of a conical form, whose top was covered with snow, in a southwest direction. As Captain Clarke came to the lower end of the rapid before any others, except one of the small canoes, he sat down on a rock to wait for them, and seeing a crane fly across the river, shot it, and it fell near him. Several Indians had been before this passing on the opposite side toward the rapids, and some few who passed nearly in front of him, being either alarmed at his appearance or the report of the gun, fled to their houses. Captain Clarke was afraid that these people had not yet heard that the white men were coming, and therefore, in order to allay their uneasiness before the whole party should arrive, he got into the small canoe with three men, and rowed over toward the houses. While crossing, he shot a duck, which fell into the water. As he approached, no person was to be seen except three men on the plains, and they too fled as he came near the shore. He landed before five houses close to each other, but no one appeared, and the doors, which were of mat, were closed. He went toward one of them with a pipe in his hand, and pushing aside the mat, entered the lodge, where he found thirty-two persons, chiefly men and women, with a few children, all in the greatest consternation; some hanging down their heads, others crying and wringing their hands. He went up to them all and shook hands with them in the most friendly manner; but their apprehensions,

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which had for a moment subsided, revived on his taking out a burning-glass, as there was no roof to the house, and lighting his pipe. He then offered it to several of the men, and distributed among the women and children a few small trinkets which he carried about with him, and gradually restored some tranquillity among them. He then left this house, and directing each of the men to go into a house, went himself into a second. Here he found the inhabitants more terrified than those he had first seen, but he succeeded in pacifying them, and then visited the other houses, where the men had been equally successful.

After leaving the houses he went out to sit on a rock, and beckoned to some of the men to come and smoke with him; but none of them ventured to join him till the canoes arrived with the two chiefs, who immediately explained to them the pacific intentions of the strangers. Soon afterward the interpreter's wife landed, and her presence dissipated all doubts, since in that country no woman ever accompanies a war-party; they therefore all came out and seemed perfectly reconciled. They told the two chiefs that they knew the strangers were not men, for they had seen them fall from the clouds. In fact, unperceived by them, Captain Clarke had shot the white crane, which they had seen fall just before he appeared to their eyes. The duck which he had killed also fell close by him, and as there were a few clouds flying over at the moment, they connected the fall of the birds with his sudden appearance, and believed that he had himself dropped from the clouds; the noise of the rifle, which they had never heard before, being considered merely as a sound to announce so extraordinary an event. This belief was strengthened when on entering the room he brought down fire from the heavens by means of his burning-glass. They were soon satisfactorily convinced that the strangers were only mortals, and after one of the chiefs had explained their history and objects, they all smoked together in great harmony.

On the 22d they came to the Great Falls of the Columbia, at the head of which they unloaded all the canoes and took the baggage over by land to the foot of the rapids. In this transportation they were greatly assisted by the Indians living on the banks of the river, who carried some of the heavy articles on their horses. For their services, however, they repaid themselves so adroitly that the travelers had to secure the camp against their pilfering. Next day they brought down their canoes by the plan adopted by the Indians. Crossing the river, they hauled them over a point of land on the south side, so as to avoid a perpendicular fall of twenty feet. At the distance of a quarter of a mile they reached the water and embarked. Having thus descended for a mile, they reached a pitch of the river, which, divided by two large rocks, descends with great rapidity down a fall of eight feet. As the boats could not be navigated down this steep descent, they were obliged to land and let them down as slowly as possible by strong ropes of elk-skin. They all passed in safety except one, which being loosed by the breaking of the ropes, was swept down, but was recovered by the Indians below.

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They were visited that day by a great number of Indians, both from above and below the falls, and toward evening they were informed by one of the chiefs who accompanied them, that he had overheard that the Indians below intended to attack the party as it passed down the river. Being always ready for any attempt of that sort, they only re-examined their arms and increased the ammunition to one hundred rounds. The chiefs, however, were not so much at ease, and when at night they saw the Indians depart earlier than usual, they were very much alarmed. Next morning the Indians approached with apparent caution, and behaved with more than usual reserve. The two chiefs, by whom these circumstances were not unobserved, now expressed their wish to return home, saying that they could no longer be of any service, and that they could not understand the language of the people below the Falls; that the two tribes had been at war with each other, and the Indians would certainly kill them. "We endeavored to quiet their fears, and requested them to stay two nights longer, in which time we would see the Indians below and make a peace between the two nations. They replied that they were anxious to return and see their horses; we insisted on their remaining with us, not only in hopes of bringing about an accommodation between them and their enemies, but because they might be able to detect any hostile designs against us, and also assist us in passing the next falls, which are not far off, and represented as very difficult. They at length consented to stay two nights longer."

Three miles below, the river widens into a large basin, at the extremity of which a high black rock, rising perpendicularly from the right shore, seemed to run wholly across the river. So totally did it appear to stop the passage, that as they approached they could not see where the river escaped, except that the current was drawn with more than usual velocity to the left of the rock, where there was a great roaring. Climbing the rock, they saw that the whole river swept through a channel of forty-five yards wide, in which the water was thrown into whirls, and swelled and boiled in every part with the wildest agitation. But as it was impossible to carry the boats over this high rock, and as the chief danger was not from rocks, but from great waves and whirlpools, they resolved to try the passage in the boats. With great care they passed safely through, much to the astonishment of the Indians who had collected on the top of the rock to see them. This narrow passage continued for half a mile, when the river again enlarged to the width of two hundred yards. Presently they came to other rapids, which looked so unpromising that they unloaded the most valuable articles and sent them down by land, with all the men who could not swim. They descended in safety, and encamped in the evening, two miles below, near an Indian village at the second falls. The inhabitants received them with great kindness, visits were exchanged, and an apparent reconciliation was effected between them and the two chiefs who accompanied the expedition.

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The Indians represented the narrows as most dangerous; but as the portage of the large canoes was impracticable, they sent some of the party forward next morning with the best stores, fixed others on the rocks to assist with ropes the canoes that might meet with any difficulty, and began the descent, in the presence of great numbers of Indians, who had collected to witness the exploit. The channel for three miles was worn through a hard, rough black rock from fifty to a hundred yards wide, in which the water swells and boils in a tremendous manner. At half a mile they got through the worst without serious accident, then reloading the canoes they passed down the remainder of the channel very well, except that one of the boats was nearly lost by striking against a rock. The Indians designate these falls by the word *Timm*, which they pronounce so as to make it represent the sound of a distant cataract. Below the channel they landed to smoke with a chief whom they saw, who had been absent when they passed his village above. He was a bold-looking man, of pleasing appearance, about fifty years of age, and dressed in a war-jacket, a cap, leggings, and moccasins. They presented him with a medal and other small articles, and he gave them some meat, of which he had but little; for on his route he had had a battle with a war party of the Towahnahiooks. Here they met with their old chiefs, who had walked on to the village below, to smoke a pipe of friendship on the renewal of peace. These chiefs had each brought a horse, intending to go home, and now the travelers smoked a parting pipe with their two faithful friends, who had accompanied them from the head of the river.

They encamped that evening, the 25th, on a high rock, where they remained two days to make observations, to dry their wet cargoes, and to hold conferences with the Indians. Six men were sent out to collect rosin to pitch the canoes, which, by being frequently hauled over rocks, had become leaky. Many Indians came; some, from hunting excursions, brought presents of deer's flesh and small white cakes made of roots. Lewis and Clarke bestowed the usual medals and presents, and being anxious to insure a friendly reception on their return, treated them with great kindness. These attentions were not lost on the Indians, who appeared well pleased with them. At night a fire was made in the middle of the camp, and as the Indians sat round it, the men danced to the music of the violin, which so delighted them that several resolved to remain all night; the rest crossed the river. Having dried their goods they set out on the 28th, and on the day following stopped at the residence of the principal chief of the Chilluckittequaw nation, who inhabited this region. He proved to be the same with whom the two chiefs had made peace at the village above. After the exchange of presents the chief showed them some curiosities, and then directed his wife to hand him his medicine-bag, from which he brought out fourteen forefingers, which he said had once belonged to the same number of his enemies, whom he had killed in fighting with the nations to the south-

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east. This bag was about two feet in length, containing roots, pounded dirt, etc., which the Indians only know how to appreciate. It is suspended in the middle of the lodge, and it is supposed to be a species of sacrilege to be touched by any but the owner. It is an object of religious fear, and it is, from its sanctity, the safest place to deposit their medals and more valuable articles.

By the last of October they reached the Lower Falls of the Columbia, where they held a conference with the Indians who came in from a neighboring village, and then made preparations for a portage on the 1st of November. They then carried their small canoe and all the baggage across the slippery rocks to the foot of the shoot, after which the four large canoes were brought down by slipping them along poles, placed from one rock to another, and in some places by partially using streams that escaped alongside the river. Three of them, however, were so injured that the men were obliged to stop at the end of the shoot to repair them. A mile and a half below, they passed another bad rapid, and so difficult was the navigation of this day, that when they encamped for the night they had made but seven miles from the head of the shoot. In the morning they found it necessary to unload once more, and send the baggage, with those who could not swim, around a dangerous rapid. This was the last descent of the Columbia; below it they came to tide-water, and the river began to grow wide.

In passing along they frequently met Indians ascending the river in canoes; some of these canoes bore the figure of a bear in the bow, and that of a man in the stern, both made of painted wood and nearly as large as life. They also held continual intercourse with the natives on the shore, who were usually kind and friendly, but occasionally manifested a disposition to pilfer. They encountered much rainy weather in the lower stages of their journey, so that their clothing was continually wet, and the baggage much injured. On the 7th, they stopped to purchase some food and beaver skins at a village situated at the foot of the high hills on the right, behind two small islands. "Opposite to these islands the hills on the left retire, and the river widens into a kind of bay crowded with islands. We had not gone far from this village when the fog cleared off, and we enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean: that ocean, the object of all our labors, the reward of all our anxieties. This cheering view exhilarated the spirits of all the party, who were still more delighted on hearing the distant roar of the breakers." They went on with great cheerfulness, but the shore was so bold and rocky on the right that they could find no spot fit for an encampment, and after having gone thirty-four miles during the day, they spread their mats on the ground and passed the night in the rain. It rained in the morning; having changed their wet clothing of the day before, they set forward at a late hour, but when they had reached a point eight miles in advance, the waves ran so high, and dashed the canoes about so much that several of the men became sea-sick, and they were compelled to land.

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The situation was extremely uncomfortable, the high hills jutted in so closely that there was not room to lie level, nor to secure their baggage free from the tide, but the waves were increasing at every moment so much that they could not move from the spot in safety. They therefore fixed themselves on the beach left by the ebb-tide, and having raised the baggage on poles, spent a disagreeable night. It rained the whole of the next day; the tide set in, accompanied by a high wind from the south, which shifted and blew almost a gale from the sea. The immense waves now broke over the place where they were encamped, and the large trees, some of them five or six feet thick, which had lodged at the point, were drifted over their camp, and the utmost vigilance of every man could scarcely save the canoes from being crushed to pieces. They remained in the water, and drenched with rain during the rest of the day; their only food being some dried fish, and some rain-water, which they caught. Yet, though wet and cold, and some of them sick from using the salt-water, the men were still cheerful and full of anxiety to see more of the ocean.

On the 10th they were enabled to proceed, but at the distance of ten miles the wind arose, and the heavy sea forced them to seek a place of safety. They made another attempt when the tide fell, but were obliged to put to shore a mile below. They encamped on some drift-logs, with the hills rising steep above their heads to the height of five hundred feet. Every thing was thoroughly wet with the rain, which did not cease during the night, in the course of which the tide reached the logs, and set them afloat. Next day the wind was still high, and drove the waves against the shore with great fury; the rain, too, fell in torrents, and not only drenched them to the skin, but loosened the stones on the hill-sides, which then came rolling down upon them. In this comfortless situation they remained all day, with nothing but dried fish to satisfy their hunger; the canoes in one place at the mercy of the waves; the baggage in another; and all the men scattered on floating logs, or sheltering themselves in the crevices of the rocks, and hill-sides. At three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, a tremendous gale of wind arose accompanied with lightning, thunder, and hail. In a few hours it abated, but a violent rain soon began, and lasted all day. Their situation now became much more dangerous, for the waves were driven with fury against the rocks and trees which till now had afforded them a refuge; they therefore took advantage of the low tide and moved half a mile to the mouth of a small brook which had been hidden by the bushes and drift-wood. Here they were safer, if not more comfortable. On the 14th, three men were sent to try if they could double the point and find some safer harbor. One of them returned next day with information that at no great distance there was a beautiful sand-beach, and a good harbor. Captain Lewis then set out to examine more minutely the lower part of the bay. On the 15th the weather was fair, and enabled them to dry their bedding and examine their baggage. The

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rain, which had continued for the last ten days without an interval of more than two hours, had completely wet all their merchandise, and spoiled some of their fish, destroyed the robes, and rotted nearly one half of their few remaining articles of clothing, particularly the leather dresses. About three o'clock the wind fell, and they instantly loaded the canoes, and left the miserable spot to which they had been confined the last six days.

At the sand-beach below, they met Shannon, who had been sent back by Captain Lewis to meet them. The day Shannon had set out in his canoe, he and his comrade went on till they met a party of twelve Indians, who, having never heard of the expedition, did not know where they came from; they, however, behaved with so much civility, and seemed so anxious that the men should go with them toward the sea, that their suspicions were excited, and they declined going on. The Indians, however, would not leave them, and the men being confirmed in their suspicions, and fearful that if they went into the woods to sleep, they would be cut to pieces in the night, thought it best to remain in the midst of the Indians; they therefore made a fire, and after talking with them to a late hour, lay down with their rifles under their heads. On awaking in the morning they found the Indians had stolen and hidden their guns. Having demanded them in vain, Shannon seized a club and was about assaulting one of the Indians whom he suspected of being the thief, when another Indian began to load a fowling-piece with the intention of shooting him. He therefore stopped, and explained by signs that if they did not give up the guns, a large party would come down the river before the sun rose to such a height, and put every one of them to death. Fortunately Captain Lewis and his party appeared at this time and the terrified Indians immediately brought the guns.

WINTER ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

"*Saturday*, November 16.—The morning was clear and beautiful. We therefore put out all our baggage to dry, and sent several of the party to hunt. Our camp is in full view of the ocean, on the bay laid down by Vancouver, which was distinguished by the name of Haley's Bay, from a trader who visits the Indians here, and is a great favorite among them." Captain Lewis returned on the 17th, after having coasted down Haley's Bay to Cape Disappointment, and some distance to the north along the sea-coast. He was followed by several Chinnooks, among whom were the principal chief and his family. "They made us a present of a boiled root, very much like the common liquorice in taste and size, called *culwhamo;* in return, we gave double the value of their present, and now learned the danger of accepting any thing from them, since no return, even if ten times the value of their gift, can satisfy

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them." Captain Clarke afterward traveled by land around the coast, and climbed Cape Disappointment. This is a circular knob, rising, with a steep ascent, one hundred and fifty feet above the water, and connected to the main land by a neck of low ground, two or three hundred yards wide.

He returned to the camp on the 20th, and found a number of Chinnooks, with whom they held a council. Next day they were visited by various bands of the neighborhood, and a chief from the Grand Rapids, with whom they exchanged articles of trade. After these Indians were gone they were surprised at a visit of a different kind: "An old woman, the wife of a Chinnook chief, came with six young women, her daughters and nieces, and having deliberately encamped near us, proceeded to cultivate an intimacy between our men and her fair wards."

Having examined the coast, it became necessary to decide on the spot for their winter quarters. As they would have to rely chiefly on their arms for subsistence, they were guided in their choice by the abundance of game which any particular place might offer. The Indians said the country on the opposite side of the bay was better supplied with elk, an animal larger and more easily killed than the deer, the latter being most numerous at some distance up the river. The climate here was milder than above the first range of mountains; the Indians went thinly clad, and said they had but little snow. The weather had indeed been very warm since their arrival, sometimes disagreeably so; and dressed, as they were, altogether in leather, the cold would be very unpleasant, if not injurious. The neighborhood of the sea was further recommended by the facility of supplying themselves with salt, and the hope of meeting some of the trading vessels, which might be expected in about three months, and from which they might secure a fresh supply of trinkets for their route homeward. These considerations induced them to visit the opposite side of the bay; and if there was an appearance of much game, to establish themselves there during the winter. Accordingly, on the 25th they left their place of encampment, but the wind being too high they kept along near the shore toward their former camp, and on the following day crossed over to the south side of the Columbia. After going a few miles along the shore they entered a channel which separates the main land from a large, low island, and stopped at a village of the Cathlamah tribe. Here they procured some elk meat, and after dining on fresh fish and roots, which they bought at an enormous price, they coasted along the river toward the south. On the 27th they encamped on a pebbly beach, connecting with the main land a remarkable peninsular knob, which they called Point William. For a week past the weather had been almost incessantly wet, and it had rained hard the whole of this day; "it continued all night, and in the morning began more violently, attended with a high wind from the south-west. It was now impossible to proceed on so rough a sea. We therefore sent several men to hunt, and the rest of us remained during the day in a situation the most cheer-

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less and uncomfortable. On this little neck of land we were exposed, with a miserable covering which did not deserve the name of shelter, to the violence of the winds; all our bedding and stores, as well as our bodies, were completely wet, our clothes rotting with constant exposure, and no food except the dried fish brought from the Falls, to which we were again reduced. The hunters all returned hungry and drenched with rain, having seen neither deer nor elk, and the swan and brant too shy to be approached. At noon the wind shifted to the north-west and blew with such tremendous fury that many trees were blown down near us."

The disagreeable diet of pounded fish and salt water occasioned so much sickness among the men that it became absolutely necessary to vary it. Captain Lewis took a canoe on the 29th, and went down the bay with five men, to hunt elk, and other parties went out by land. On the 3d of December an elk was brought into camp, the first they had killed west of the Rocky Mountains, and after their meager fare it formed a most nourishing food. In the afternoon of the 5th they were rejoiced at the return of Captain Lewis, for whose safety they had begun to be very uneasy. He came in a canoe with three of his men, the other two being left to guard six elk and five deer which they had killed. He had examined the coast, and found a river a short distance below, on which they might encamp during the winter, with a sufficiency of elk for their subsistence within reach. This information was very satisfactory, and they decided on going thither as soon as they could move from the point. This they were enabled to do on the 7th, although the tide was against them and the waves still very high. On reaching the south side of Meriwether's Bay, which they named from Captain Lewis, they ascended the river Netul for three miles, to the first point of highland on its western bank, and formed their camp in a thick grove of lofty pines, about two hundred yards from the water, and thirty feet above the level of the high tides. This seemed the most eligible spot for their winter establishment. In order, therefore, to find a place for making salt, and to examine the country further, Captain Clarke set out with five men, taking a south-western course through thick pine forests and much swampy land, toward the sea. For shelter the first night they stretched the skin of an elk they had killed, but rose in the morning perfectly wet with the rain. Proceeding westward, they had much difficulty in making their way over streams and swamps, and at length met with three Indians, who invited them to their village on the sea-coast. They went thither, and Captain Clarke was received with much attention. As soon as he entered, clean mats were spread, and fish, berries, and roots set before him on small, neat platters of rushes. After he had eaten, the men of the other houses came and smoked with him. They all appeared much neater in their persons and diet than Indians generally are, and frequently washed their hands and faces, a ceremony by no means frequent elsewhere.

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As the captain was walking on the shore next day, one of the Indians asked him to shoot a duck about thirty steps distant. He did so, and having accidentally shot off its head, the bird was brought to the village by the Indians, all of whom came round in astonishment. They examined the duck, the musket, and the very small bullet, and then exclaimed: "*Clouch musket, wake, commatax musket*" ("A good musket, do not understand this kind of musket"). They now placed before him their best roots, fish, and syrup, after which he made a few purchases and returned to the camp through a heavy rain. The whole party had been occupied during his absence in cutting down trees to make huts, and in hunting.

On the 11th of December Captain Clarke says: "The rain continued last night and the whole of this day. We were, however, all employed in putting up our winter cabins, which we are anxious to finish, as several of the men are beginning to suffer from the excessive dampness; four of them have violent colds, one has a dysentery, another has tumors on his legs, and two have been injured by dislocation and straining their limbs." The work went on notwithstanding the rain, and by the 14th they had finished the walls of the huts and completed a house for provisions. The constant rains had spoiled their last supply of elk, but the sick were recovering, although scarcely a man had been dry for a great many days. The hunters were so fortunate as to kill eighteen elk, and on the 15th Captain Clarke set out with sixteen men, who were dispatched for the game in small parties, each man returning with the quarter of an animal. In bringing the third and last load, nearly half the men missed their way and did not return till after night, and five did not find their way till next morning. The rain had poured down upon them all night, as it had upon their comrades in the camp, but in addition to this they had been without fire, and drenched and cold as they were, they presented a most distressing sight when they came in. At length the building was completed, and they moved into their huts on the 24th. Meanwhile, however, their stock of meat was completely spoiled by the incessant rains, and pounded fish became again their chief dependence.

"*Wednesday*, 25. We were awaked at daylight by a discharge of fire-arms, which was followed by a song from the men, as a compliment to us on the return of Christmas, which we have always been accustomed to observe as a day of rejoicing. After breakfast we divided our remaining stock of tobacco, which amounted to twelve carrots, into two parts, one of which we distributed among such of the party as made use of it, making a present of a handkerchief to the others. The remainder of the day was passed in good spirits, though there was nothing in our situation to excite much gayety. The rain confined us to the house, and our only luxuries in honor of the season, were some poor elk, so much spoiled that we ate it through mere necessity, a few roots, and some spoiled pounded fish."

December 30. "We enjoyed the fairest and most pleasant weather

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since our arrival; the sun having shone at intervals, and there being only three showers in the course of the day. By sunset we had completed the fortification, and now announced to the Indians that every day, at that hour, the gates would be closed, and they must leave the fort, and not enter it till sunrise. The Wahkiacums, who had remained with us, and who are very forward in their deportment, complied very reluctantly with this order; but being excluded from our houses, formed a camp near us."

"*Wednesday*, January 1, 1806.—We were awaked at an early hour by a discharge of a volley of small arms, to salute the New Year. This is the only mode of doing honor to the day which our situation permits, for though we have reason to be gayer than we were at Christmas, our only dainties are the boiled elk and Wappatoo roots, enlivened by draughts of pure water." One day a neighboring chief, with a party of Clatsops, brought for sale, besides roots and berries, three dogs and some flesh blubber. "Having been so long accustomed to live on the flesh of dogs, the greater part of us have acquired a fondness for it, and our original aversion for it is overcome, by reflecting that while we subsisted on that food we were fatter, stronger, and in general enjoyed better health than at any period since leaving the buffalo country eastward of the mountains." The blubber had been obtained from the Killamucks, a neighboring nation on the sea-coast to the south, near one of whose villages a whale had recently been stranded.

Two of the men who had been dispatched to make salt, returned on the 15th. They had carefully examined the coast, but it was not until the fifth day after their departure that they discovered a convenient situation for its manufacture. At length they formed an establishment about fifteen miles south-west of the fort, near some scattered houses of the Clatsop and Killamuck nations, where they had erected a comfortable camp and had killed a stock of provisions. The Indians had treated them very kindly, and made them a present of the blubber of the whale, some of which the men brought home. The appearance of the whale seemed to be a matter of importance to all the neighboring Indians, and in the hope of procuring some of it, a parcel of merchandise was prepared, and a party of men held in readiness to set out from the fort in the morning. As soon as this resolution was known, Chaboneau and his wife requested that they might be permitted to accompany the party. The poor woman stated very earnestly that she had traveled a great way with them to see the great water, yet she had never been down to the coast, and now that this monstrous fish was also to be seen, it seemed hard that she should not be permitted to see either the ocean or the whale. So reasonable a request could not be denied; they were therefore suffered to accompany Captain Clarke.

Having reached the salt-makers' camp, "we persuaded a young Indian, by a present of a file and a promise of some other articles, to guide us to the spot where the whale lay. He led us for two and a half miles

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over the round slippery stones at the foot of a high hill projecting into the sea, and then suddenly stopping, explained by signs that we must cross the mountain. This promised to be a most laborious undertaking, for the side is nearly perpendicular and the top lost in clouds. He, however, followed an Indian path which wound along as much as possible, but still the ascent was so steep that at one place we drew ourselves for about a hundred feet by means of bushes and roots. At length, after two hours' labor, we reached the top of the mountain, where we looked down with astonishment on the prodigious height of ten or twelve hundred feet which we had ascended. We proceeded by a bad road till night, when we encamped on a small run: we were all much fatigued, but the weather was pleasant, and for the first time since our arrival here an entire day has passed without rain. On the 8th we set out early and proceeded to the top of the mountain, the highest point of which is an open spot facing the ocean. It is situated about thirty miles south-east of Cape Disappointment, and projects nearly two and a half miles into the sea. Here one of the most delightful views in nature presents itself. Immediately in front is the ocean, which breaks with fury on the coast, from the rocks of Cape Disappointment, as far as the eye can discern, to the north-west, and against the high lands and irregular piles of rock which diversify the shore to the south-east. To this boisterous scene the Columbia, with its tributary waters, widening into bays as it approaches the ocean, and studded on both sides with the Chimook and Clatsop villages, forms a charming contrast; while immediately beneath our feet are stretched the rich prairies, enlivened by three beautiful streams, which conduct the eye to small lakes at the foot of the hills. We stopped to enjoy the romantic view from this place, which we distinguished by the name of Clarke's Point of View, and then followed our guide down the mountain."

The whale had been placed between two Killamuck villages, and nothing more remained than the skeleton, which they found to be one hundred and five feet in length. The natives were all busied in boiling the blubber and preserving the oil. These they parted with reluctantly, and at such high prices that Captain Clarke's whole stock of merchandise was exhausted in the purchase of three hundred pounds of blubber and a few gallons of oil. With these he set out to return, and encamped on the other side of the creek, which he called Ecola, or Whale Creek. Here they were joined by the men of the village, who gave all the information they possessed relative to their country. While smoking with the Indians, Captain Clarke was surprised about ten o'clock by a loud shrill outcry from the opposite village; on hearing which all the Indians started up to cross the creek, and the guide informed him that some one had been killed. On examination, one of the men was found to be absent, and a guard dispatched, who met him crossing the creek in great haste. An Indian belonging to another band, who happened to be with the Killamucks that evening, had treated him with much kindness, and

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walked arm in arm with him to a tent where he found a Chinnook squaw who was an old acquaintance. From the conversation and manner of the stranger, this woman discovered that his object was to murder the white man for the sake of the few articles on his person; and when he rose and pressed the man to go to another tent, where they would find something better to eat, she held M'Neal by the blanket. Not knowing her object, he freed himself from her, and was going on with his pretended friend, when she ran out and gave the shriek which brought the men of the village over. The stranger escaped before M'Neal knew what had occasioned the alarm.

"The month of February and the greater part of March was passed in the same manner. Every day, parties as large as we could spare them from our other occupations, were sent out to hunt, and we were thus enabled to command some days' provision in advance. It consisted chiefly of deer and elk; the first is very lean, and the flesh by no means as good as that of the elk, which is our chief dependence." In March the elk became scarce and lean, and they made use of fish whenever they could catch them, or purchase them from the Indians; but as they were too poor to indulge very largely in these luxuries, their diet was by no means pleasant, and to the sick, especially, was unwholesome. During the greater part of this month, five or six of the men were sick, the general complaint being a bad cold and fever, something like an influenza.

THE RETURN JOURNEY.

"Many reasons had determined us to remain at Fort Clatsop till the 1st of April. Besides the want of fuel on the Columbian plains, and the impracticability of passing the mountains before the beginning of June, we were anxious to see some of the foreign traders, from whom, by means of our ample letters of credit, we might have recruited our exhausted stores of merchandise. About the middle of March, however, we became seriously alarmed for the want of food; the elk, our chief dependence, had at length deserted their usual haunts in our neighborhood, and retreated to the mountains. We were too poor to purchase other food from the Indians, so that we were sometimes reduced, notwithstanding all the exertions of our hunters, to a single day's provisions in advance. The men, too, whom the constant rains and confinement had rendered unhealthy, might, we hoped, be benefited by leaving the coast and resuming the exercise of traveling. We therefore determined to leave Fort Clatsop, ascend the river slowly, consume the month of March in the woody country where we hope to find subsistence, and in this way reach the plains about the 1st of April, before which time it will be impossible to attempt crossing them: for this purpose we began our preparations. During the winter we had been very industrious in dressing skins, so that we had now a sufficient quantity of clothing, besides be-

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tween three and four hundred pair of moccasins. But the whole stock of goods on which we are to depend, either for the purchase of horses or of food, during the long tour of nearly four thousand miles, is so much diminished that it might all be tied in two handkerchiefs. We have, in fact, nothing but six blue robes, one of scarlet, a coat and hat of United States artillery uniform, five robes made of our large flag, and a few old clothes trimmed with ribbon. Our chief dependence, therefore, must be on our guns, which, fortunately for us, are all in good order, as we had taken the precaution of bringing a number of extra locks, and one of our men proved to be an excellent artist in that way. The powder had been secured in leaden canisters, and though on many occasions they had been under water, it remained perfectly dry, and we now found ourselves in possession of one hundred and forty pounds of powder, and twice that quantity of lead, a stock quite sufficient for the route homeward.

"After much trafficking, we at last succeeded in purchasing a canoe for a uniform coat and half a carrot of tobacco, and took a canoe from the Clatsops as a reprisal for some elk they had stolen from us in the winter. We were now ready to leave Fort Clatsop, but the rain prevented us for several days from calking the canoes, and we were forced to wait for calm weather before we could attempt to pass Point William. In the mean time we were visited by many of our neighbors, for the purpose of taking leave of us. The Clatsop Comowool has been the most kind and hospitable of all the Indians in this quarter; we therefore gave him a certificate of the kindness and attention which we have received from him, and added a more substantial proof of our gratitude, the gift of all our houses and furniture. To the Chinnook chief, Delashelwit, we gave a certificate of the same kind. We also circulated among the natives several papers, one of which we also posted up in the fort, to the following effect:

"'The object of this last is, that through the medium of some civilized person, who may see the same, it may be made known to the world, that the party consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, and who were sent out by the government of the United States to explore the interior of the continent of North America, did penetrate the same by the way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the 14th day of November, 1805, and departed the 23d day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States, by the same route by which they had come out.'

"*Sunday*, March 23d, 1806, the canoes were loaded, and at one o'clock in the afternoon we took a final leave of Fort Clatsop. The wind was still high, but the alternative of remaining without provisions was so unpleasant that we hoped to be able to double Point William." Having passed the point in safety, they proceeded up the river without any hinderance until the 1st of April, when they learned from some Indians

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descending the river that there was a great scarcity of provisions in the neighborhood of the Great Rapids. They accordingly decided to remain at their present encampment, near the mouth of the Quicksand River, until they had collected meat enough to last them to the Choppunnish nation, with whom they had left their horses. Parties were accordingly sent out to hunt, and in a week they had collected and dried a sufficient quantity of meat for their purpose.

Meanwhile they heard of a large river which empties into the south side of the Columbia a few miles below, and Captain Clarke set out on the 2d, with one of his informants as guide, to search for it. Proceeding down the south side of the river a few hours, he landed at a house which was recognized as the only remains of a village of twenty-four straw-huts which they had seen the preceding fall. Along the shore were great numbers of small canoes for gathering wappatoo, left by the Shahalas, who visit the place annually, and the inhabitants of the house belonged to a tribe of the same nation. On entering one of the apartments, Captain Clarke offered several articles in exchange for wappatoo, but they appeared sullen and ill-humored, and refused to give him any. He therefore sat down by the fire, opposite to the men, and taking a port-fire match from his pocket, threw a small piece of it into the flame; at the same time he took his pocket compass, and by means of a magnet which happened to be in his inkhorn, made the needle turn round very briskly. The match now took fire and burned violently, on which the Indians, terrified at this strange exhibition, immediately brought a quantity of wappatoo and laid it at his feet, begging him to put out the bad fire; while an old woman continued to speak with great vehemence, as if praying and imploring protection. Having received the roots, Captain Clarke put up the compass, and as the match went out of itself, tranquillity was restored, though the women and children still took refuge in their beds, and behind the men. He now paid for what he had used, and after lighting his pipe, and smoking with them, he continued down the river. He found the mouth of a large river, called Multnomah by the Indians, which a cluster of islands had concealed from them in their passage down and up the Columbia. From its entrance Mount St. Helen's bore north, Mount Hood due east, and Captain Clarke now discovered to the south-east a mountain which he had not before seen, and to which he gave the name of Mount Jefferson. Like St. Helen's, its figure was a regular cone, and it appeared to be of equal height with that mountain. He entered the Multnomah which he ascended several miles, and found to be a fine navigable river, held some intercourse with the natives on its banks, and returned to the camp on the evening of the 3d.

On the 9th they continued their journey and reached the first rapids. During the whole day they passed along under high, steep, and rocky sides of the mountains, which at length closed in on each side of the river, forming stupendous precipices, covered with fir and white cedar.

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Down these heights frequently descend the most beautiful cascades, one of which, a large creek, throws itself over a perpendicular rock three hundred feet above the water, while other smaller streams precipitate themselves from a still greater elevation, and, evaporating in a mist, again collect and form a second cascade before they reach the bottom of the rocks.

Next day the preparations were made for a portage, which was begun on the 11th, by nearly the whole party, who dragged four of the canoes to the head of the rapids with great difficulty and labor. A guard consisting of the sick and lame, remained with Captain Lewis to protect the baggage. They had found the Wahclellahs to be great thieves, and were convinced that nothing but their numbers saved them from attack. These people crowded about them as they were taking up the boats, and in several instances seemed very ill disposed. Shields, one of the men, had stopped to purchase a dog, and being separated from the rest of the party, two Indians pushed him out of the road and attempted to take the dog from him. He had no weapon but a long knife, with which he immediately attacked them both, hoping to kill them before they had time to draw their arrows, but as soon as they saw his design they fled into the woods. Soon afterward it was found that the Wahclellahs had carried off Captain Lewis's dog to their village below, and three men well armed were instantly dispatched in pursuit of them, with orders to fire if there was the slightest resistance or hesitation. At the distance of two miles they came in sight of the thieves, who, finding themselves pursued, left the dog and made off. The Indians were now all ordered out of the camp, and told that whoever stole any baggage, or insulted the men, should be instantly shot. During the day they were visited by a chief of the Wahclellahs who seemed very well disposed and mortified at the behavior of the Indians, which, he said, was chiefly owing to two very bad men belonging to the tribe.

A perioque was lost in the rapids, and to replace it, Captain Lewis procured, on the 13th, two small canoes, in exchange for two robes and four elk-skins. They also purchased, with deer-skins, three dogs, an animal which had now become a favorite food, as it was found to be a strong, healthy diet, preferable to lean dear or elk, and much superior to horse flesh in any state. In the evening he joined the other boats, which had advanced a few miles, and they resumed their journey next morning. On the 18th, they made a portage of seven paces over the rock at the next rapids, then drew up the boats, reloaded, and at the distance of five miles reached the basin at the foot of the long narrows. Captain Clarke had meanwhile been out to procure horses, and having obtained four, they transported their merchandise over the portage on the 19th, and encamped near the Skilloot village above the rapids.

"The whole village was filled with rejoicing to-day at having caught a single salmon, which was considered as the harbinger of vast quantities

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in four or five days. In order to hasten their arrival, the Indians, according to custom, dressed the fish and cut it into small pieces, one of which was given to each child in the village. In the good humor excited by this occurrence they parted, though reluctantly, with four other horses, for which we gave them two kettles, reserving only a single small one for a mess of eight men. Unluckily, however, we lost one of the horses by the negligence of the person to whose charge he was committed."

On the morning of the 21st the canoes were dispatched to the Eneeshur village at the Grand Falls, whither Captain Clarke had preceded them in order to barter for horses. The rest of the party were detained in searching for a horse that had broken loose in the night. In the mean time the Indians, who were always on the alert, stole a tomahawk, which was not recovered, though several of them were searched. Another fellow was detected in carrying off a piece of iron, and kicked out of camp. Captain Lewis then, addressing the Indians, declared that he was not afraid to fight them, for, if he chose, he might instantly put them to death and burn their village; that he did not wish to treat them ill if they did not steal; and that although if he knew who had the tomahawk he would take away the horses of the thieves, yet he would rather lose the property altogether than take the horse of an innocent man. The chiefs were present at this harangue, hung their heads, and made no reply. At ten o'clock the men returned with the horse, and they left these disagreeable people. They found Captain Clarke at the Eneeshur village, and being here joined by the canoes and baggage across the portage, they proceeded a short distance above the town, where they dined on some dogs, and then set forward. They encamped near a village at the Rock Rapids on the 23d, and having assembled the warriors and smoked with them, they entertained them with the violin and a dance by the men. The Indians returned the compliment in a dance that was new to the travelers, and then retired, promising to barter horses in the morning. Three horses were then purchased, and three more hired of a Chopunnish Indian who was to accompany the expedition with his family. They also promised to take the canoes in exchange for horses, but finding the white men had resolved to go by land, they refused to give any thing, in hopes they would be forced to leave them. Disgusted at this conduct, the men began to split them in pieces, on which the Indians gave several strands of beads for each canoe. Having now a sufficient number of horses, they proceeded wholly by land.

As they advanced up the river, they found the inhabitants more kind and hospitable. After a long march on the 27th, they had encamped and were cooking some jerked meat, when they were joined by a party of Wollawollahs, among whom was a chief named Yellept, who had visited them in October. He was much pleased at seeing them again, and invited them to remain at his village three or four days, when he would supply them with food and furnish horses for the journey. After their late experience this kind offer was truly acceptable, and they went

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with him to his village six miles above, and twelve miles below the mouth of Lewis's River. Yellept then harangued his people on the virtues of hospitality, and set them an example by bringing an armful of wood and a platter of roasted mullets. They immediately began by furnishing an abundance of the only fuel they use, the stems of plants. The travelers then purchased four dogs, on which they supped heartily, having been on short allowance for two days past.

The Indians informed them of a route opposite their village to the mouth of the Kooskooskee, much shorter than that by Lewis's River, and passing over a level, watered country, abounding in deer and antelope. As there were no houses on this road, they thought it prudent to lay in a stock of provisions, and accordingly, next morning, purchased ten dogs. Meanwhile Yellept presented a fine white horse to Captain Clarke, expressing a wish to have a kettle; but on being told that they had disposed of the last one they could spare, he said he would be content with any present they should make in return. Captain Clarke therefore gave his sword, for which the chief had before expressed a desire, adding one hundred balls, some powder, and other articles, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied. Fortunately there was here a Shoshonee prisoner, from the south of the Multnomah, who spoke the same language as the Shoshonee woman Sacajawea, and by their means Lewis and Clarke were able to explain themselves intelligibly to the Indians. The latter were inspired with confidence, and soon brought several sick persons requiring assistance. They splintered the arm of one, and administered remedies for various diseases; but their most valuable medicine was eye-water, which was greatly needed: the complaint of the eyes, occasioned by living on the water, and increased by the fine sand of the plains, being now universal.

On the 29th, they crossed the river in the canoes of Yellept. In the course of the day they gave small medals to two inferior chiefs, each of whom made them a present of a fine horse. They were in a poor condition to make an adequate acknowledgment for this kindness, but gave several articles, among which was a pistol, and several rounds of ammunition. They felt indeed that they had been treated by these people with an unusual degree of kindness. They finally took leave of this honest, worthy tribe, and, accompanied by a guide and the Chopunnish family, set off across an open sandy plain, on the 30th. They had now twenty-three horses, many of them young and excellent animals, but the greater part afflicted with sore backs. The Indians in general are cruel masters; they ride very hard, and as the saddles are badly constructed it is almost impossible to avoid wounding the back, yet they continue to ride when the poor creatures are scarified in a dreadful manner.

They reached Lewis's River a few miles above the Kooskooskee, on the 4th of May, and next day continued their journey up the latter river. As they proceeded they frequently met old acquaintances of last

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year, and always found that their kindness had not been bestowed on the natives in vain. On the 5th, an Indian gave Captain Clarke a very elegant gray mare, for which all he requested was a phial of eye-water. In the autumn, at the mouth of the Chopunnish River, a man with pain in his knee was brought to them for relief. He was, to appearance, recovered from his disorder, though he had not walked for some time. But that they might not be disappointed, Captain Clarke, with much ceremony, washed and rubbed his sore limb, and gave him some volatile liniment to continue the operation, which caused, or rather did not prevent, his recovery. The man gratefully circulated their praises, and their fame as physicians was increased by the efficiency of some eye-water which they gave them at the same time. This new resource of obtaining subsistence was not unwelcome, now, when their stock of merchandise was very much reduced. So great was the fame of their medical skill, that when they encamped that evening at Colter's Creek, they soon had nearly fifty patients. A chief brought his wife with an abscess in her back, which Captain Clarke opened and dressed, and then distributed medicines to others. Next day the woman declared she had slept better than at any time since her illness. She was therefore dressed a second time, and her husband, according to promise, brought them a horse which they immediately killed. Their practice now increased so long as they remained. When they had gone a few miles further an Indian brought them two canisters of powder, which his dog had found. They recognized them as the same they had buried last fall, and as he had kept them safely, and had honesty enough to return them, they rewarded him as well as they could.

In crossing the plain they saw that the Rocky Mountains were still covered with snow, which the Indians informed them was so deep that they would not be able to pass before the 1st of June, and some placed the time later. As they were very desirous of reaching the plains of the Missouri, if for no other reason than that of once more enjoying a good meal, this intelligence was most unwelcome, and gave no relish to the remainder of the horse killed at Colter's Creek, which formed their supper, and part of which had already been their dinner.

On the 8th, they met with the Twisted Hair, the chief to whom they had confided their horses, and part of their saddles, but as he received them with great coldness they formed very unfavorable conjectures. They soon found that a violent quarrel had arisen between him and Neeshnepahkeeook, the Cutnose, who now addressed each other in a loud, angry manner. They interposed, and all went forward to a place of encampment; the two chiefs forming separate camps, at a distance from each other. Anxious to reconcile the chiefs, and recover their property, they desired a Shoshonee, who had been with the party some days, to interpret while they attempted a mediation; but he peremptorily refused to speak a word, for fear of meddling in a private

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quarrel where he had no right to interfere. The Twisted Hair was afterward invited to come and smoke with them. He accepted the invitation, and informed them that he had, according to promise, collected the horses, and taken charge of them; but that Neeshnepahkeeook, and Tunnachemootoolt (the Cutnose, and Brokenarm), who had been on a war party against the Shoshonees, returned, and becoming jealous because the horses were confided to his care, were constantly quarreling with him. At length, unwilling to live in perpetual dispute with the two chiefs, he had given up the care of the horses, which had consequently become much scattered. He added that in the spring the earth had fallen away and exposed the saddles, some of which had probably been lost, but that he had buried them in another deposit. Next day he brought in about half the saddles, and some powder and lead which was buried at the same place; and soon afterward the Indians brought in about twenty-one of the horses, the greater part of which were in excellent order, though some had not yet recovered from hard usage. The Cutnose and Twisted Hair seemed now perfectly reconciled, and both slept in the house of the former. The party set forward next morning, and in the afternoon arrived at the house of Brokenarm, where they were received with due form under a flag which they had given him. In the evening the people brought them a large supply of roots, for which they thanked them, but remarked that they were not accustomed to live on roots alone, and therefore proposed to exchange a good horse, which was lean, for one that was fatter, which they might kill. The chief said that his people had an abundance of young horses, and that if their guests were disposed to use that food, they might have as many as they wanted. Accordingly they soon gave them two fat young horses, without asking any thing in return.

During their stay they were visited by several Indians, and on the 11th, finding some of the principal chiefs of the Chopunnish nation present, they took the opportunity to explain the intentions of the government. They drew a map of the relative situation of the country on a mat with a piece of coal, then detailed the nature and power of the American nation, its desire to preserve harmony between all its red brethren, and its intention of establishing trading houses for their relief and support. "It was not without difficulty, nor till nearly half the day was spent, that we were able to convey all this information to the Chopunnish, much of which might have been lost or distorted in the circuitous route through a variety of languages: for in the first place, we spoke in English to one of our men, who translated it into French to Chaboneau; he interpreted it to his wife in the Minnetaree language, and she then put it into Shoshonee, and the young Shoshonee prisoner explained it to the Chopunnish in their own dialect. At last we succeeded in communicating the impression they wished, and then adjourned the council; after which we amused them by showing the wonders of the compass, the spy-glass, the magnet, the watch, and air-gun, each of which attracted

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its share of attention. They said that after we had left the Minnetarees last autumn three young Chopunnish had gone over to that nation, who had mentioned our visit, and the extraordinary articles we had with us, but they had placed no confidence in it till now."

Next day the chiefs and warriors held a council to decide on their answer, and the result was that they resolved to follow the advice of the white men.

The principal chief, Tunnachemootoolt, then took a quantity of flour of roots, and thickened the soup which his people were cooking, and making known the determination of the chiefs, invited all who agreed to the proceedings of the council to come and eat, while those who dissented would abstain from the feast. Meanwhile the women, probably uneasy at the prospect of this new connection with strangers, tore their hair and wrung their hands with the greatest appearance of distress. But the concluding appeal of the orator effectually stopped the mouth of every malcontent, the proceedings were ratified, and the mush devoured with the most zealous unanimity. The chiefs and warriors then came in a body to Lewis and Clarke, and at their instance two young men presented each of them with a fine horse. The latter then gave flags and presents to the chiefs and the two young men, after which the chiefs invited them to their tent to receive their answer, but stated also that many of their people were then waiting in great pain for medical assistance. Captain Clarke, who was the favorite physician, therefore went to visit the sick, while Captain Lewis attended the council.

The meeting was opened by an aged chief, who delivered a long speech in approbation of the advice they had received, expressing their desire to be at peace with all their neighbors. They had fought with the Shoshonees, because the latter had slain their messengers of peace; but now, having avenged the insult, they would receive them as friends. They would send some of their young men with the expedition if they would effect a peace with the Indians on the Missouri, and then the whole nation would go over next summer. They had not yet decided to send a chief with the white men to their country, but would let them know before they left. The whites might depend on their attachment and their best services, for though poor, their hearts were good. Captain Lewis replied at some length. They appeared highly gratified, and after smoking the pipe, made him a present of another fat horse for food. He in turn gave Brokenarm a phial of eye-water for all who would apply to him, and promised to fill it again; at which liberality the chief was much pleased. To Twisted Hair, who had collected six more horses, he gave a gun, a hundred balls, and two pounds of powder, promising the same quantity when they received the remainder of their horses. In the course of the day three more were brought in, and a fresh exchange of small presents put the Indians in excellent humor. Having settled all their affairs, the Indians separated into two parties, and began to play the game of hiding a bone for stakes of beads and other ornaments.

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On the 14th, Lewis and Clarke transported all their baggage and swam their horses across the river, and formed their camp a short distance below, on a spot recommended by the Indians. As they were to pass some time in this neighborhood, while waiting for the snow on the mountains to melt, they sent out a number of hunters in different directions; the rest, who were well, were employed in completing the camp. They secured the baggage with a shelter of grass, and made a kind of tent of part of an old sail, while the men formed very comfortable huts of willow-poles and grass. In a few days it rained, and the flimsy covering of Lewis and Clarke so leaked that they were in water most of the time, and, what was more unlucky, their chronometer became wet and rusted. The men built a canoe, for which the Indians promised a horse when they should set out. The hunters brought nothing but a sandhill crane, and, as they usually met with ill success, the last morsel of meat was eaten. As there was now little hope of procuring a stock of dried meat, they made a division of all the merchandise, so as to enable the men to purchase a store of roots and bread for the mountains. On parceling out the stores, the stock of each man was found to consist of only one awl, and one knitting-pin, half an ounce of vermilion, two needles, a few skeins of thread, and about a yard of ribbon—but slender means of bartering for a subsistence, but the men had been now so much accustomed to privations, that neither the want of meat nor the scanty funds of the party, excited the least anxiety among them.

"Besides administering medical relief to the Indians," says the narrative, "we are obliged to devote much of our time to the care of our own invalids. The child of Sacajawea is very unwell; and with one of the men we have ventured an experiment of a very robust nature. He has been for some time sick, but has now recovered his flesh, eats heartily, and digests well, but has so great a weakness in the loins that he can not walk, nor even sit upright without extreme pain. After we had in vain exhausted the resources of our art, one of the hunters mentioned that he had known persons in similar situations restored by violent sweats, and at the request of the patient we permitted the remedy to be applied. For this purpose a hole, about four feet deep and three in diameter, was dug in the earth, and heated well by a large fire in the bottom of it. The fire was then taken out, and an arch formed over the whole by means of willow-poles, and covered with several blankets, so as to make a perfect awning. The patient, being stripped naked, was seated under this on a bench, with a piece of board for his feet, and with a jug of water we sprinkled the bottom and sides of the hole, so as to keep up as hot a steam as he could bear. After remaining twenty minutes in this situation he was taken out, immediately plunged twice in cold water, and brought back to the hole, where he resumed the vapor bath. During all this time he drank copiously of a strong infusion of horse-mint, which was used as a substitute for the seneca-root, which our informant said he had seen employed on these occasions, but of which

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there is none in this country. At the end of three quarters of an hour he was again withdrawn from the hole, carefully wrapped, and suffered to cool gradually. The next morning he walked about, and was nearly free from pain.

"An Indian was brought in to-day who had lost the use of his limbs, and for whose recovery the natives seemed very anxious, as he is a chief of considerable rank among them. His situation is beyond the reach of our skill." On the 25th, they attempted to sweat him, but found he was too weak, and had to desist. The Indians who accompanied him were so anxious for his safety that they still remained, and on the 27th had the operation of sweating again attempted. The hole was therefore enlarged, and the father of the chief went in with him and held him in a proper position. "We could not produce as complete a perspiration as we desired, and after he was taken out he complained of suffering considerable pain, which we relieved with a few drops of laudanum, and then he rested well. Next morning he was able to use his arms, felt better than he had for many months, and sat up during the greater part of the day. * * * 29th. The Indian chief is still rapidly recovering, and for the first time during the last twelve months, had strength enough to wash his face. We had intended to repeat his sweating to-day, but as the weather was cloudy, with occasional rain, we declined it. This operation, though violent, seems highly efficacious; for our own man, on whom the experiment was first made, is recovering his strength very fast, and the restoration of the chief is wonderful." He continued to improve, and on the following day, after a violent sweating, was able to move one of his legs, and thighs, and some of his toes; the fingers and arms being almost entirely restored to their former strength.

On the 1st of June their stock of merchandise was completely exhausted, and as yet they had no adequate supplies for the mountains. Being anxious to provide against the cold and hunger which they had to encounter on the passage, they created a new fund by cutting off the buttons from their clothes, preparing eye-water, and adding some small articles that had been in use. With this cargo two men set out on the 2d to trade, and brought home three bushels of roots and some bread, which, in their situation, was as important as the return of an East India ship. Another party returned from Lewis's River with roots and salmon, but the distance was so great that most of the fish was nearly spoiled. They continued hunting in the neighborhood, and by their own exertions and trading with the Indians, succeeded in procuring as much bread and roots, besides other food, as would enable them to subsist during the passage of the mountains.

On the 10th, they collected their horses and set out for the Quamash Flats, where they intended to hunt for a few days before proceeding to the mountains. In this they were not very successful; therefore, on the morning of the 16th, they collected their straggling horses and proceeded. On the 17th they found themselves enveloped in snow, from twelve to

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fifteen feet deep, even on the south side of the mountain. The air was keen and cold, no vestige of vegetation was to be seen, and their hands and feet were benumbed. The snow bore their horses, and rendered the traveling far easier than it was during their outward journey. But it would require five days to pass over, the danger of missing the way was great, and during this time there would be no chance of finding either grass or underwood for the horses. They therefore decided to venture no further. The baggage and provisions, together with instruments and papers, were deposited on scaffolds and carefully covered. They then set out at one o'clock, and retracing their steps, encamped on Hungry Creek, at a spot where they found some scanty grass. In the hope of procuring a guide they went back to the Flats on the 21st, and in the evening found themselves at their old encampment, where the hunters had killed a deer for supper. Next day all the hunters were out, and brought in eight deer and three bear.

Having obtained guides, they set out at an early hour on the 24th, on a second attempt to cross the mountains. Pursuing their former route, they arrived at Hungry Creek on the evening of the 25th, and next morning began once more to ascend the ridge of mountains. On reaching the top, they found their deposit perfectly untouched. The snow had melted nearly four feet since the seventeenth. They arranged their baggage, took a hasty meal, and hastened on, as they had a long ride before reaching a spot where there was grass for the horses. They continued their route along the mountain-ridge, where sometimes they were so completely inclosed by mountains that, although they had once passed them, they would have despaired of finding their way out through the snow, but for the Indians. The marks on the trees, which had been their chief dependence, were fewer and more indistinct than they had supposed; but their guides traversed this trackless region with a kind of instinctive sagacity; they never hesitated, were never embarrassed; yet so undeviating was their step, that wherever the snow had disappeared, for even a few paces, they found the summer road. On the 29th, the ridge they had been following for several days terminated, and, leaving the snows, they descended to the main branch of the Kooskooskee.

"July 1.—We had now made one hundred and fifty-six miles from the Quamash Flats to the mouth of Traveler's Rest Creek. This being the point where we proposed to separate, it was resolved to remain a day or two in order to refresh ourselves and the horses. We now formed the following plan of operations: Captain Lewis, with nine men, is to pursue the most direct route to the falls of the Missouri, where three of his party are to prepare carriages for transporting the baggage and canoes across the portage. With the remaining six he will ascend Maria's River to explore the country, and ascertain whether any branch of it reaches as far north as the latitude of fifty degrees, after which he will descend that river to its mouth. The rest of the men will accompany Captain Clarke to the head of Jefferson River, which Sergeant Ordway and a party of

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nine men will descend with the canoes and other articles deposited there. Captain Clarke's party, which will then be reduced to ten, will proceed to the Yellowstone, at its nearest approach to the three forks of the Missouri. There he will build canoes, and go down that river with seven of his party, and wait at its mouth till the rest of the party join him. Sergeant Pryor, with two others, will then take the horses by land to the Mandans. From that nation he is to go to the British posts on the Assiniboin, with a letter to Mr. Henry, to procure his endeavors to prevail on some of the Sioux chiefs to accompany him to the city of Washington."

"July 3.—All our preparations being completed, we saddled our horses, and the two parties who had been so long companions, now separated, with an anxious hope of soon meeting, after each had accomplished the purpose of its destination."

Captain Lewis proceeded down Clarke's River to the mouth of the Cokalahishkit, or, "River of the Road to Buffaloes," by which they ascended to the dividing ridge, and reached the Missouri at Whitebear Island, above the falls, on the 11th of July. They crossed over, and on the 13th formed a camp at their old station, near the head of the Whitebear Island. On opening the deposit, they found the bearskins entirely destroyed by the water which, during a flood, had penetrated to them. All the specimens of plants were lost; the chart of the Missouri, however, still remained unhurt, and several articles contained in trunks and boxes had suffered but little injury. They proceeded to make preparations for transporting the articles, and on the 15th sent M'Neal to examine the deposit at the lower end of the portage. He returned at night, however, without having reached the place. Near Willow Run he approached a thicket in which was a white bear, which he did not discover until he was within ten feet of him. His horse started, and wheeling suddenly around, threw him almost immediately under the bear. He started up instantly, and as the bear was rising up to attack him, struck it on the head with the butt of his musket. The blow was so violent that it broke the musket and knocked the bear to the ground, and before he recovered, M'Neal sprang up a willow-tree, where he remained closely guarded by the bear until late in the afternoon. The beast then went off, and M'Neal, being released, came down, and having found his horse, which had strayed two miles away, returned to camp.

Leaving Sergeant Gass with two men and four horses to assist in carrying the effects over the portage, Captain Lewis, with Drewyer and the two Fields, proceeded, with six horses, toward the sources of Maria's River. After a week's travel they halted at a place ten miles from the foot of the Rocky Mountains, whence they could trace the river to its egress from the mountains, and as this was to the south of west, they concluded they had reached its most northern point. They therefore remained here to make observations. The weather was cloudy, and after waiting a few days in vain, they mounted their horses on the 26th, and

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set out on their return. They had proceeded several miles, and Drewyer had gone forward on the other side of the river, when Captain Lewis, who, with his party, had ascended the hills by the river's side, saw, at the distance of a mile, about thirty horses, half of which were saddled; on an eminence above them several Indians were looking down toward the river, probably at Drewyer. He feared some evil design, but resolved to make the best of the situation, and advanced in a friendly manner. Their attention was so engaged upon Drewyer that they did not at first see the approaching party; when they did they were alarmed, and ran about in confusion. Afterward they collected as if to await them. An Indian mounted and rode at full speed toward them, but after halting for some time he hastened back to his companions. The whole party then descended the hill and rode toward them. When they came near, all the Indians but one stopped. Captain Lewis ordered the two men to halt, while he advanced and shook hands with the Indian, and then with his companions. They now all came up, and the Indians proposed to smoke. Captain Lewis found, by signs, that they were Minnetarees of the north, and that there were three chiefs in the party. Though he did not believe them, yet he thought best to please them, and he gave to one a flag, to another a medal, and to a third a handkerchief. They seemed well satisfied, and now recovered from their alarm, while Lewis's party were equally satisfied that the Indians, only eight in number, were joined by no more of their companions. Being joined by Drewyer, they proceeded to the river, and all encamped together in an Indian tent of buffalo skins, where, by means of Drewyer, the evening was spent in conversation with the Indians.

In the morning the latter watched their opportunity and made off with the rifles of the party. As soon as Fields, who was on guard, perceived them, he called his brother, and pursued the one who had taken both their rifles. In their scuffle he stabbed the Indian, and he fell. Drewyer, being awake, wrested his gun from the fellow who seized it, and Captain Lewis, awakened by the noise, reached to seize his gun, but finding it gone, drew a pistol and followed the Indian who was running off with it. He ordered him to lay it down, which was done just as the others were about to shoot him. Captain Lewis forbid them, but finding that the Indians were now driving off the horses, he sent three of them in pursuit, with orders to fire on the thieves, while he pursued the fellow who had stolen his gun, and another Indian, who were driving away the horses on the other side. He pressed them so closely that they left twelve of their own horses, but still made off with one of Lewis's. As they entered a niche in the bluffs, Captain Lewis called out, as he did several times before, that unless they gave up the horse he would shoot them. As he raised his gun one jumped behind a rock, and Captain Lewis shot the other. He fell, but rising a little, fired, and then crawled behind a rock. Lewis, who was bare-headed, felt the wind of his ball; not having his shot-pouch, he now thought it most prudent to

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retire. The other men pursued the Indians until two of them swam the river, and two climbed the hills, and then returned with four horses. In the contest they lost one horse, but gained four of the Indians', besides which they found in the camp four shields, two bows with quivers, and one of their guns, which they took with them, as well as the flag they had given to the Indians, but left the medal around the neck of the dead man to inform the tribe who they were.

As there was no time to lose, they ascended the river-hill and set off across the level plains toward the south-east, over which they pushed their horses with all possible speed. Fortunately the Indian horses were good, and the road smooth, so that when they halted at three o'clock they had made, by estimate, sixty-three miles. They rested an hour and a half, and then rode seventeen miles further, when, as night came on, they killed a buffalo, and again stopped for two hours. The moon gave light enough to show the route, and they continued along through immense herds of buffalo for twenty miles, when, almost exhausted, they halted at two in the morning. At day-light they awoke, sore and scarcely able to stand, but as their own lives, as well as those of their companions, depended on their passing forward, they mounted their horses and set off. At the distance of twelve miles they came near the Missouri, when they heard a noise like the report of a gun. They quickened their pace for eight miles further, when they heard distinctly the noise of several rifles from the river. They hurried to the bank and saw with joy their friends coming down the stream. Turning loose their horses, they embarked with their baggage, and all proceeded down to the spot where they had deposited some goods. Most of the articles were injured, but they took what was worth preserving, and immediately proceeded to the Point, where the deposits were found in good order. Here they were fortunately joined by Gass and Willard from the Falls, and proceeding down the river together, they encamped fifteen miles below. Sergeant Ordway's party, which had left the mouth of Madison River on the 13th, had descended in safety to the Whitebear Islands, where they arrived on the 19th, and after collecting the baggage, left the Falls on the 27th in a perioque and five canoes, while Sergeant Gass and Willard set out at the same time by land with the horses, and thus fortunately the three parties met at the same time.

On the 29th the united party proceeded with the aid of a strong current, and reached the mouth of the Yellowstone on the 7th of August, where they found a note from Captain Clarke, stating that he would wait for them a few miles below. Not meeting with him next day, they landed, and began to calk and repair their canoes, and also to repair some skins for clothing; for since leaving the Rocky Mountains, they had not had leisure to make clothes, and the greater part of the men were almost naked. On the 11th they went forward rapidly, hoping to reach the Burned Hills by noon, in order to ascertain the latitude, but arriving too late, Captain Lewis went with Cruzatte in pursuit of a herd

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of elk which they saw. Each of them shot an elk, then reloaded and took different routes in pursuit of the game, when just as Captain Lewis was taking aim at an elk, a ball struck him, passing through the left thigh and grazing the right. Being dressed in brown leather, he thought Cruzatte had shot him in mistake for an elk. He called several times, but seeing nothing and receiving no answer, he concluded the shot must be from an Indian, and therefore made toward the boat, calling out to Cruzatte to retreat, as there were Indians in the willows. He then ordered the men to arms, saying that he was wounded by the Indians, and bade them follow him to relieve Cruzatte. They went forward until his wound became so painful that he could go no further. He then ordered the men to proceed, and if overpowered by numbers, to retreat toward the boats, keeping up a fire; then limping back to the boat, he prepared himself with his rifle, a pistol, and the air-gun, to sell his life dearly in case the men should be overcome. In this state of anxiety he remained about twenty minutes, when the party returned with Cruzatte, and reported that no Indians were to be seen in the neighborhood. Cruzatte was now much alarmed, and declared he had shot at an elk after Captain Lewis had left him, but disclaimed every idea of having intentionally wounded his officer. There was no doubt that he was the one who gave the wound, but as it seemed wholly accidental, and he had always conducted himself with propriety, no further notice was taken of it. The wound was dressed, and though it bled profusely, yet as the ball had touched neither bone nor artery, they hoped it would not prove fatal. They then went on till evening, when, as Captain Lewis had a high fever, and could not be removed without great difficulty, he remained on board during the night. Next morning they proceeded with all possible expedition, and soon afterward called at a camp of two Illinois traders, who said they had seen Captain Clarke the day before. While they halted, they were overtaken by two hunters who had been missing since the 3d, and whose absence excited much uneasiness. After making some presents to the traders they went forward, and at one o'clock joined their friends and companions under Captain Clarke.

On taking leave of Captain Lewis and the Indians on the 3d of July, the other division, consisting of Captain Clarke, with fifteen men and fifty horses, set out in a southern direction through the valley of Clarke's River. During the next day, they halted at an early hour to do honor to the birth-day of their country's independence. "The festival was not very splendid, for it consisted of a mush made of roots and a saddle of venison, nor had we any thing to tempt us to prolong it." On the 6th they left the last year's trail and crossed over the dividing ridge to the waters of Wisdom River, and on the 8th arrived at the forks of the Jefferson, where they had deposited their merchandise in August. "Most of the men were in the habit of chewing tobacco, and such was their eagerness to procure it, after so long a privation, that they scarcely took the saddles from their horses before they ran to the cave, and were de-

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lighted at being able to resume this fascinating indulgence. This was one of the severest privations we have encountered. Some of the men, whose tomahawks were so constructed as to answer the purpose of pipes, broke the handles of these instruments, and after cutting them into small fragments, chewed them; the wood having, by frequent smoking, become strongly impregnated with the taste of that plant." They found every thing safe, though some of the goods were a little damp.

The canoes were raised, and the preparations for the journey all made by the 10th, when Captain Clarke divided his men into two bands, the one to descend the river with the baggage, and the other to proceed with him on horseback to the Yellowstone. After breakfast they set out, and at the distance of fifteen miles the two parties stopped to dine, when Captain Clarke, finding that the river became wider and deeper, and that the canoes could advance more rapidly than the horses, determined to go himself by water, leaving Sergeant Pryor with six men to bring on the horses. They reached the entrance of Madison River at noon on the 13th, where Sergeant Pryor had arrived with the horses an hour before. The horses were then driven across Madison and Gallatin Rivers, and the whole party halted to dine and unload the canoes below the mouth of the latter. Here the two parties separated; Sergeant Ordway with nine men set out in six canoes to descend the river, while Captain Clarke with the remaining ten, and the wife and child of Chaboneau, were to proceed by land with fifty horses to Yellowstone River.

They set out at five in the afternoon from the Forks of the Missouri, in a direction nearly eastward. On the 15th, they pursued a buffalo road over a low gap in the mountain, to the heads of the eastern fork of Gallatin River, where they reached the dividing ridge of the waters of the Missouri and the Yellowstone; and on descending the ridge, they struck one of the streams of the latter river. Nine miles from the top of the ridge they reached the Yellowstone itself, about a mile and a half from where it issues from the Rocky Mountains. They pursued their journey down the banks of the river until the 20th, when Captain Clarke determined to make two canoes, which, being lashed together, might convey the party down the river, while a few men should lead the horses to the Mandan nation. The horses were turned out to rest for a few days, but in the morning twenty-four of them were missing, and although the search for them was continued for several days, they were not seen afterward. One day a piece of robe and a moccasin were found not far from the camp, and it became evident that the Indians had stolen the horses.

At length the canoes were finished and lashed together, and every thing being prepared, the parties set out on the 24th. Sergeant Pryor was directed, with Shannon and Windsor, to take the horses to the Mandans, and if Mr. Henry was on the Assiniboin River, to go thither and deliver him a letter, the object of which was to prevail on the most distinguished chiefs of the Sioux to accompany him to Washington.

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Captain Clarke embarked on the little flotilla, and proceeded very steadily down the river.

At 2 o'clock on the 3d of August, they reached the junction of the Yellowstone with the Missouri, and formed a camp on the point where they had encamped on the 26th of April, 1805. The canoes were now unloaded, and the baggage exposed to dry, as many of the articles were wet, and some of them spoiled. Next day they found their camp absolutely uninhabitable in consequence of the multitude of mosquitoes; the men could not work in preparing skins for clothing, nor hunt in the timbered low grounds; in short, there was no mode of escape except by going on the sandbars in the river, where, if the wind blew, the insects did not venture; but when there was no wind, and particularly at night, they could hardly be endured. Captain Clarke therefore determined to seek better quarters, and leaving a note on a pole at the confluence of the two rivers, proceeded down the Missouri.

On the 8th, they were joined by Sergeant Pryor, with Shannon, Hall, and Wilson, but without the horses. These had been stolen from them by the Indians on the second night after they had left Captain Clarke. In the morning they had pursued the tracks five miles, when they divided into two parties. They followed the larger party five miles further, till they lost all hope of overtaking the Indians, and returned to camp; and packing the baggage on their backs pursued a north-east course toward the Yellowstone. Having reached the river, they descended it in two skin canoes, which they made for the occasion.

In proceeding further down the river, Captain Clarke had stopped with Dickson and Hancock, two Illinois traders, on the 11th. The party continued slowly to descend, when, on the 12th, one of the skin canoes was by accident pierced with a small hole, and while they stopped to mend it, they were overjoyed at seeing Captain Lewis's boats heave in sight about noon. But they were alarmed on seeing the boats reach the shore without Captain Lewis, who, they learned, had been wounded the day before, and was then lying in the perioque. After attending to his wound they remained here a while, and were overtaken by their two men, accompanied by Dickson and Hancock, who wished to go with them as far as the Mandans. The whole party being now happily re-united, they all embarked together.

On the 14th, they approached the grand village of the Minnetarees, where the natives collected to view them as they passed. They fired a blunderbuss several times by way of salute, and soon afterward landed near the village of the Mahahas, or Shoe Indians, and were received by a crowd of people who came to welcome their return.

"In the evening we were applied to by one of our men, Colter, who was desirous of joining the two trappers who had accompanied us, and who now proposed an expedition up the river, in which they were to find traps, and give him a share of the profits. The offer was a very advantageous one, and as he had always performed his duty, and his

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services might be dispensed with, we agreed that he might go, provided none of the rest would ask, or expect a similar indulgence. To this they cheerfully answered that they wished Colter every success, and would not apply for liberty to separate before we reached St. Louis. We therefore supplied him, as did his comrades also, with powder and lead, and a variety of articles which might be useful to him, and he left us the next day. The example of this man shows how easily men may be weaned from the habits of a civilized life to the ruder but scarcely less fascinating manners of the woods."

On the 16th the principal chiefs of the Minetarees came down to bid them farewell, as none of them could be prevailed on to go with the party. This induced Chaboneau, the interpreter, with his wife and child, to leave, as he could be no longer useful, and having no acquaintance in the United States nor means of making a livelihood there, he preferred remaining among the Indians. This man had been very serviceable to the expedition, and his wife particularly useful among the Shoshonees. She had borne with admirable patience the fatigue of the long journey, encumbered with an infant who was yet only nineteen months old. They therefore paid him his wages and dropped down to the village of the chief Bigwhite, who was to accompany them with his wife and son. All the chiefs accompanied them on shore, to take leave of him. They found him surrounded by his friends, who sat in a circle smoking, while the women were crying. He immediately sent his wife and son, with their baggage, on board, then, after distributing among his friends some powder and ball, and smoking with the white men, went with them to the river side. The whole village crowded about them, and many of the people wept aloud at the departure of their chief.

On the 3d of September they were delighted by hearing the first news from their country, from a trader who had lately passed through St. Louis, and with whom they encamped for the night. Near the Little Sioux River, on the 6th, they met a trading boat of St. Louis, with several men on their way to trade with the Yanktons at the river Jacques. They obtained of them a gallon of whiskey, and gave each of the party a dram, which was the first spirituous liquor any of them had tasted since the 4th of July, 1805. On the 17th they passed the island of the Little Osage village. Thirty miles below they met a Captain M'Clellan, lately of the United States Army, with whom they encamped. He informed them that the general opinion in the United States was that they were lost; the last accounts which had been heard from them being from the Mandan villages.

At length, as the hunters were not very successful, their stock of provisions became very low, though it was partially supplied by an abundance of papaws; several of the party were also attacked with a soreness of the eyes, which was extremely painful, particularly when exposed to the light. Three of the men were so much affected by it as to

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be unable to row; they therefore turned two of the boats adrift on the 19th, and distributed the men among the other canoes.

"*Saturday*, September 20th. Near the mouth of the Gasconade, where we arrived at noon, we met five Frenchmen on their way to the Great Osage village. As we moved along rapidly, we saw on the banks some cows feeding, and the whole party almost involuntarily raised a shout of joy at seeing this image of civilization and domestic life. Soon after we reached the little French village of La Charette, which we saluted with a discharge of four guns and three hearty cheers. They were all equally surprised and pleased at our arrival, for they had long since abandoned all hope of ever seeing us return. Next morning we proceeded, and as several settlements had been made during our absence, we were refreshed with the sight of men and cattle along the banks. At length, after coming forty-eight miles, we saluted, with heartfelt satisfaction, the village of St. Charles, and on landing were treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness by all the inhabitants of the place.

"*Tuesday*, 23d. Descended to the Mississippi, and round to St. Louis, where we arrived at twelve o'clock, and having fired a salute, went on shore and received the heartiest and most hospitable welcome from the whole village."

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BURCKHARDT'S TRAVELS

IN SYRIA, AFRICA, AND ARABIA

TRAVELS IN SYRIA.

JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT, the most prominent among oriental travelers, the discoverer of the city of Petra, and the first Christian traveler who visited Mecca and Medina, was a Swiss, descended from an eminent family of Basle. He was born at Lausanne, on the Lake of Geneva, in the year 1784. He was the eighth child of John Rodolph Burckhardt, a gentleman of wealth and intelligence, whose prospects in life were early blighted by his adherence to the Austrian faction, during the troubles in Switzerland, consequent upon the French Revolution. He was at one time tried for his life, and was obliged to fly from Basle in order to save his family from total ruin. The future traveler naturally grew up with a detestation of the French rule, and it was his boyish desire to serve in the armies of some nation at war with France. It was his fortune, however, to be destined for a far more useful and heroic career.

Burckhardt's studies were, from various causes, conducted in the manner best calculated to create and nourish restless and adventurous habits. Having received the first rudiments of his education in his father's house, he was removed to a school at Neufchatel, where he remained two years. At the age of sixteen he was entered as a student at the university of Leipzig; from whence, after four years' residence, he proceeded to Göttingen, where he continued another year. He then returned to his parents. The natural firmness and consistency of his character, of which his countenance was strikingly expressive, still taught him to keep alive his hatred to the French; but no continental nation had preserved itself wholly free from the influence of this people; and therefore, rejecting an offer which was made him by one of the petty courts of Germany, desirous of numbering him among its diplomatic body, he turned his thoughts toward England, his father having formerly served in a Swiss corps, in English pay. Accordingly, having provided

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himself with letters of introduction to several persons of distinction, among which was one from Professor Blumenbach to Sir Joseph Banks, he set out for London, where he arrived in the month of July, 1806.

This step was the pivot upon which the whole circle of his short life was destined to turn. His introduction to Sir Joseph Banks, who had long been an active member of the African Association, almost necessarily brought him into contact with several other individuals connected with that celebrated society; and conversations with these persons, whose enthusiasm was unbounded, naturally begot in Burckhardt a corresponding warmth, and transformed him, from a Quixotic crusader against the French, into an ardent, ambitious traveler.

Upon Burckhardt's desire to travel for the African Association being communicated to Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Hamilton, then acting secretary to that body, strong representations of the dangers to be encountered in the execution of the plan were made to the youthful aspirant; "but," says one of his biographers, "such representations, which are a delusive kind of peace-offering placed for form's sake on the altar of conscience, are seldom sincerely designed to effect their apparent purpose; and the actors in the farce, for the most part, experience extreme chagrin should they find their eloquence prove successful."

His offer, which was laid before the association at the general meeting of May, 1808, was willingly accepted; and he immediately commenced all those preparations which were necessary to the proper accomplishment of his undertaking. He employed himself diligently in the study of the Arabic language both in London and Cambridge, as well as in acquiring a knowledge of several branches of science, such as chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, medicine, and surgery: he likewise allowed his beard to grow, assumed the oriental dress, "and in the intervals of his studies exercised himself by long journeys on foot, bareheaded, in the heat of the sun, sleeping upon the ground, and living upon vegetables and water."

On the 25th of January, 1809, he received his instructions, by which he was directed to proceed in the first instance to Syria, where, it was supposed, he might complete his knowledge of the Arabic, and acquire oriental habits and manners at a distance from the scene of his researches, and where he was not likely to meet with any individuals who might afterward recognize him at an inconvenient moment. After spending two years in Syria, he was instructed to proceed to Cairo, to accompany the Arab caravan to Mourzuk, in Fezzan, by the same route traversed by the unfortunate Hornemann, and to make that place the point of his departure for the interior of Africa.

Burckhardt sailed from Cowes on the 2d of March, 1809, in a merchantship, proceeded to the Mediterranean, and arrived at Malta in the middle of April. During his stay at this place he completed his equipment in the oriental manner and assumed the character of an Indian Mohammedan merchant, bearing dispatches from the East India Company to

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Mr. Barker, British consul, and the Company's agent at Aleppo. Meanwhile he carefully avoided all intercourse with such persons from Barbary as happened to be in the island; and when he met parties of them in the street, as he often did, the *salaam aleikoom* (peace be with you!) given and returned, was all that passed between them. There was at this time a Swiss regiment in the English service at Malta, to many of the officers of which Burckhardt was personally known. To be recognized by these gentlemen would at once have proved fatal to his assumed character; he therefore appeared in public cautiously, and but seldom; but had at length the satisfaction of finding that his disguise was so complete as to enable him to pass unknown and unnoticed.

He entered into arrangements with a Greek respecting his passage from Malta to Cyprus; but on the very morning of his expected departure he received information that the owner of the ship had directed the captain to proceed to Tripoli. His baggage was in consequence transferred to another ship, said to be bound to the same island; "but the very moment I was embarking," says Burckhardt, "the new captain told me that he was not quite sure whether he should touch at Cyprus, his ship being properly bound for Acre. I had now the option to wait at Malta, perhaps another month or two, for an opportunity for Cyprus or the coast of Syria, or to run the chance of disembarking at a place where there was no person whatever to whom I could apply for advice or protection. Luckily an Arab of Acre, then at Malta, happened to be known to Mr. Barker, jr.; in half an hour's time a letter from a merchant at Acre, with another in case of need for the pasha, were procured, and I embarked and sailed the same morning in the hope of finding, when arrived at Acre, a passage for Tripoli (Syria), or for Latakia. However, we were no sooner out of sight of the island than it was made known to me that the real destination of the ship was the coast of Caramania, that the captain had orders to touch first at the port of Satalia, then at that of Tarsus; and that if grain could not be purchased at an advantageous price at either of these places, in that case only he was to proceed to Acre. My remonstrances with the captain would have been vain; nothing was left to me but to cultivate his good graces and those of my fellow-travelers, as the progress of my journey must depend greatly upon their good offices. The passengers consisted, to my astonishment, of a rich Tripoline merchant, who owned part of the ship, two other Tripolines, and two negro slaves. I introduced myself among them as an Indian Mohammedan merchant, who had been from early years in England, and was now on his way home; and I had the good fortune to make my story credible enough to the passengers, as well as to the ship's company. During the course of our voyage numerous questions were put to me relative to India, its inhabitants and its language, which I answered as well as I could. Whenever I was asked for a specimen of the Hindoo language, I answered in the worst dialect of the Swiss German, almost unintelligible even to a German, and which, in its guttural

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sounds, may fairly rival the harshest utterance of Arabic. Every evening we assembled upon deck to enjoy the cooling sea-breeze and to smoke our pipes. While one of the sailors was amusing his companions with story-telling, I was called upon to relate to my companions the wonders of the furthest east—of the Great Mogul and the riches of his court—of the widows in Hindostan burning themselves—of the Chinese, their wall, and great porcelain tower," etc.

They sailed along the southern coast of Candia, saw Rhodes at a great distance, and arrived in a few days at Satalia, in Caramania. Here the plague, it was found, was raging in the town; but this circumstance did not prevent the Tripoline merchant from landing and disposing of his merchandise, nor the captain from receiving him again on board. When their business with this town was completed, they again set sail, and after coasting for three days along the shore of Caramania, arrived in the roads of Mersin, from whence Burckhardt and several of his companions proceeded by land on an excursion to Tarsus. Finding here a ship bound for the coast of Syria, the traveler left the Maltese vessel in order to proceed by this new conveyance: "In taking leave of the Tripoline," says he, "I took off my sash, a sort of red cambric shawl, of Glasgow manufacture, which he had always much admired, thinking it to be Indian stuff, and presented it to him as a keepsake or reward for his good services. He immediately unloosened his turban, and twisted the shawl in its stead around his head: making me many professions of friendship, and assuring me of his hospitality, if ever the chance of mercantile pursuits should again engage me to visit the Mediterranean, and perhaps Tripoli, in Barbary."

Burckhardt reached the coast of Syria at that point where the Aasi, the ancient Orontes, falls into the sea; and immediately prepared to depart for Aleppo with a caravan. Having been intrusted with several chests for the British consul at Aleppo, his baggage appeared considerable, and he was consequently sent for by the aga, who expected a handsome present for permitting it to pass. When questioned by this officer respecting the contents of the chests, he replied that he was entirely ignorant of the matter, but suspected that among other things there was a sort of Frank drink, called *beer*, with various kinds of eatables. The aga now sent an officer to examine them. A bottle of beer having been broken in loading, "the man tasted it by putting his finger into the liquor, and found it abominably bitter; such was his report to the aga. As a sample of the eatables, he produced a potato which he had taken out of one of the barrels, and that noble root excited general laughter in the room. 'It is well worth while,' they said, 'to send such stuff to such a distance.' The aga tasted of the raw potato, and spitting it out again, swore at the Frank's stomach which could bear such food." The mean opinion to which these specimens gave rise, inclined the aga to be content with the trifling sum of ten piasters, which he probably thought more than the value of a whole ship's cargo of potatoes and beer.

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Upon the arrival of the caravan at Antioch, Burckhardt, desirous of studying the manners of all ranks of men, took up his quarters in the khan of the muleteers, where, from a suspicion that he was a Frank in disguise, he was subjected to numerous indignities. The aga's dragoman, some wretched Frenchman, or Piedmontese, being sent by his master to discover the truth, and failing to effect his purpose by any other means, determined, as a last resource, on pulling him by the beard, and at the same time asked him familiarly why he had suffered such a thing to grow? To this Burckhardt replied by striking him on the face, which turned the laugh against the poor dragoman, and was an argument so peculiarly Mohammedam, that it seems to have convinced the bystanders of the truth of his assertions.

After a delay of four days he continued his journey with the caravan, with the motley members of which he was compelled to maintain an unceasing struggle in defense of his assumed character; a circumstance which proves one of two things, either that the Sonnees of the west have by intercourse with Europeans been rendered more acute in discovering impostors, than the Sheeahs of Afghanistan and northern Persia, or that Burckhardt was hitherto somewhat unskillful in his movements. On his arrival at Aleppo, he determined, in pursuance of the advice of Mr. Barker, to put off his Mohammedan disguise, though he still retained the Turkish dress; and with the aid of an able master, recommenced the study of the Arabic, both literal and vulgar. He was attacked, however, shortly after his arrival, by a strong inflammatory fever, which lasted a fortnight; it was occasioned, as he conjectured, by the want of sleep, of which blessing he had been deprived by the prodigious colonies of fleas which had established themselves in his garments during his stay at the khan of Antioch. When this seasoning was over, his health appeared to be improved, and he found the climate finer, and more salubrious than he had expected.

During his stay in this city, which was a very protracted one, Burckhardt labored assiduously in fitting himself for the honorable performance of the task he had undertaken. His Arabic studies were uninterrupted. Besides seizing eagerly on every opportunity of improving himself by conversation with the natives, he labored at an attempt to transform "Robinson Crusoe" into an Arabian tale. He moreover succeeded in making the acquaintance of several shekhs, and other literary men, who honored him occasionally with a visit; a favor, he says, which he owed principally to Mr. Wilkins's "Arabic and Persian Dictionary." The ordinary lexicons of the country being very defective, the learned Turks were often obliged to have recourse to Wilkins, whose learning and exactness sometimes compelled them to exclaim, "How wonderful that a Frank should know more of our language than our first ulemas!"

In the month of July, 1810, Burckhardt departed from Aleppo under the protection of an Arab shekh, of the Aneyzeh tribe, who undertook

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to escort him to Palmyra, and thence through the Haurān to Damascus. On the way they were attacked, while the shekh was absent at a watering-place, by hostile Arabs, by whom our traveler was robbed of his watch and compass; after which he pushed on into the desert to rejoin the chief. Contrary to the well-known faith of the Arabs, this man transferred to another the protection of his guest, thereby exposing him to be robbed a second time, at Palmyra, where the bandit in authority, finding that he had no money, contented himself with seizing upon his saddle. Returning from these ruins, he found at Yebrud a letter from the shekh, forbidding him to proceed toward the Haurān, because, as the writer asserted, the invasion of the Wahabees had rendered that portion of the country unsafe, even to himself and his Arabs. In consequence of this fraudulent conduct of the shekh, for the excuse was a fiction, he found himself necessitated to take the road to Damascus; disappointed in part, but upon the whole well satisfied with having beheld those magnificent ruins in the desert which have charmed so many strangers, and with having at the same time enjoyed so many occasions of observing the Bedouins under their own tents, where he was everywhere received with hospitality and kindness.

After proceeding southward to the territory of the Druses, and Mount Hermon, he returned to Damascus; whence, after a short stay, he made an excursion into the Haurān, the patrimony of Abraham, which four years before had been in part visited by Dr. Seetzen, previous to his tour round the Dead Sea. "During a fatiguing journey of twenty-six days," says Burckhardt, "I explored this country as far as five days' journey to the south and south-east of Damascus; I went over the whole of the Jebel Haurān, or mountain of the Druses, who have in these parts a settlement of about twenty villages; I passed Bozra, a place mentioned in the books of Moses, and not to be confounded with Boostra; I then entered the desert to the south-east of it, and returned afterward to Damascus through the rocky district on the foot of the Jebel Haurān, called El Leja. At every step I found vestiges of ancient cities; saw the remains of many temples, public edifices, and Greek churches; met at Shohbe with a well-preserved amphitheatre, at other places with numbers of still standing columns, and had opportunities of copying many Greek inscriptions, which may serve to throw some light upon the history of this almost forgotten corner. The inscriptions are, for the greater part, of the lower empire, but some of the most elegant ruins have their inscriptions dated from the reigns of Trajan, and M. Aurelius. The Haurān, with its adjacent districts, is the spring and summer rendezvous of most of the Arab tribes, who inhabit in winter-time the great Syrian desert, called by them El Hammad. They approach the cultivated lands in search of grass, water, and corn, of which last they buy up in the Haurān their yearly provision."

Having to a certain extent satisfied his curiosity respecting this ob-

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scure region, he returned by way of Homs and Hamah toward Aleppo, where he arrived on the New-year's day of 1811. He now meditated an excursion into the desert toward the Euphrates, but was for some time prevented from putting his design in execution by the troubled state of the country, two powerful Arab tribes, the one inimical, the other friendly to the Aleppines, having been for many months at war with each other. Burckhardt at length succeeded, however, in placing himself under the protection of the Shekh of Sukhne, and set out toward the desert; but his own account of this journey was lost, and all that can now be known of it is to be gathered from a letter from Mr. Barker, the former celebrated British consul at Aleppo. "One hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty miles below the ruins of Membigeh, in the Zor," says this gentleman, "there is a tract on the banks of the Euphrates possessed by a tribe of very savage Arabs. Not far from them is the village of Sukhne, at the distance of five days from Aleppo, and of twelve hours from Palmyra, in the road which Zenobia in her flight took to gain the Euphrates. The people of Sukhne are sedentary Arabs, of a breed half Fellah and half Bedouin. They bring to Aleppo alkali and ostrich feathers. It was upon one of these visits of the Shekh of Sukhne to Aleppo, that Burckhardt, after some negotiation, resolved to accept the protection of the shekh, who undertook, upon their arrival at his village, to place him under the protection of a Bedouin of sufficient influence to procure him a safe passage through the tribes of the country which he wished to explore. Burckhardt had reason to be satisfied both with the Shekh of Sukhne, and with the Arab whom he procured as an escort, except that, in the end, the protection of the latter proved insufficient. The consequence was that poor Burckhardt was stripped to the skin, and he returned to Sukhne, his body blistered with the rays of the sun, and without having accomplished any of the objects of his journey. It was in this excursion to the desert that Burckhardt had so hard a struggle with an Arab lady, who took a fancy to the only garment which the delicacy or compassion of the men had left him."

After his return from this unfortunate journey, Burckhardt was delayed for a considerable time at Aleppo by incessant rains; but at length, on the 14th of February, he bade this city a final adieu, and hastened once more to Damascus. He was desirous, before quitting Syria, of performing another journey in the Haurān. This he completed, and having transmitted to England an account of his discoveries in this extraordinary region, he departed on the 18th of June for the Dead Sea. Having reached Nazareth, "I met here," says he, "a couple of petty merchants from Szalt, a castle in the mountains of Balka, which I had not been able to see during my late tour, and which lies on the road I had pointed out to myself for passing into the Egyptian deserts. I joined their caravan; after eight hours' march, we descended into the valley of the Jordan, called El Ghor, near Bysan; crossed the river, and

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continued along its verdant banks for about ten hours, until we reached the river Zerka, near the place where it empties itself into the Jordan. Turning then to our left, we ascended the eastern chain, formerly part of the district of Balka, and arrived at Szalt, two long days' journey from Nazareth. The inhabitants of Szalt are entirely independent of the Turkish government; they cultivate the ground for a considerable distance round their habitations, and part of them live the whole year in tents, to watch their harvests and to pasture their cattle. Many ruined places and mountains in the district of Balka preserve the names of the Old Testament, and elucidate the topography of the province that fell to the share of the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Szalt is at present the only inhabited place in the Balka, but numerous Arab tribes pasture there their camels and sheep. I visited from thence the ruins of Amān, or Philadelphia, five hours and a half distant from Szalt. They are situated in a valley on both sides of a rivulet, which empties itself into the Zerka. A large amphitheater is the most remarkable of these ruins, which are much decayed, and in every respect inferior to those of Jerash. At four or five hours south-east of Amān are the ruins of Om Erresas and El Kotif, which I could not see, but which, according to report, are more considerable than those of Philadelphia. The want of communication between Szalt and the southern countries delayed my departure for upward of a week. I found at last a guide, and we reached Kerek in two days and a half, after having passed the deep beds of the torrents El Wale and El Mojeb, which I suppose to be the Nahaliel and Arnon. The Mojeb divides the district of Balka from that of Kerek, as it formerly divided the Moabites from the Amorites. To the south of the wild torrent Mojeb I found the considerable ruins of Rabbah Moab; and, three hours' distance from them, the town of Kerek, situated at about twelve hours' distance to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. * * *

"The treachery of the Shekh of Kerek, to whom I had been particularly recommended by a grandee of Damascus, obliged me to stay at Kerek above twenty days. After having annoyed me in different ways, he permitted me to accompany him southward, as he had himself business in the mountains of Djebal, a district which is divided from that of Kerek by the deep bed of the torrent El Ahhsa, or El Kahary, eight hours' distance from Kerek. We remained for ten days in the villages to the north and south of El Ansa, which are inhabited by Arabs, who have become cultivators, and who sell the produce of their fields to the Bedouins. The shekh, having finished his business, left me at Beszeyra, a village about sixteen hours' south of Kerek, to shift for myself, after having maliciously recommended me to the care of a Bedouin, with whose character he must have been acquainted, and who nearly stripped me of the remainder of my money. I encountered here many difficulties, was obliged to walk from one encampment to another, until I found at last a Bedouin who engaged to carry me to Egypt. In his company

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I continued southward, in the mountains of Shera, which are divided to the north from Djebal by the broad valley called Ghoseyr, at about five hours' distance from Beszeyra. The chief place in Djebal is Tafyle, and in Shera the castle of Shobak."

DISCOVERY OF PETRA.

"The valley of Ghor is continued to the south of the Dead Sea; at about sixteen hours' distance from the extremity of the Dead Sea its name is changed into that of Araba, and it runs in almost a straight line, declining somewhat to the west, as far as Akaba, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red Sea. The existence of this valley appears to have been unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers, although it is a very remarkable feature in the geography of Syria and Arabia Petræa, and is still more interesting for its productions. In this valley the manna is still found; it drops from the sprigs of several trees, but principally from the Gharrab. It is collected by the Arabs, who make cakes of it, and who eat it with butter; they call it Assal Beyrook, or the honey of Beyrook. Indigo, gum-arabic, and the silk-tree, called Asheyr, whose fruit incloses a white silky substance, of which the Arabs twist their matches, grow in this valley."

In this valley, about two long days' journey north-east of Akaba, is a small rivulet, near the banks of which Burckhardt discovered the ruins of a city, which he rightly conjectured to be those of Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa. No other European traveler had ever visited the spot, though few places in Western Asia are more curious or deserving of examination. The difficulties and dangers of reaching Petra, a city which had been lost to the world for fifteen hundred years, are thus described by the traveler: "I was particularly desirous of visiting Wady Moussa, of the antiquities of which I had heard the country people speak in terms of great admiration, and from thence I had hoped to cross the desert in a straight line to Cairo; but my guide was afraid of the hazards of a journey through the desert, and insisted upon my taking the road to Akaba, the ancient Ezion-geber, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red Sea, where, he said, we might join some caravans, and continue our route toward Egypt. I wished, on the contrary, to avoid Akaba, as I knew that the Pasha of Egypt kept there a numerous garrison to watch the movements of the Wahabees and of his rival the Pasha of Damascus. A person, therefore, like myself, coming from the latter place, without any papers to show who I was, or why I had taken that circuitous route, would certainly have roused the suspicions of the officer commanding at Akaba, and the consequences might have been dangerous to me among the savage soldiery of that garrison. The road from Shobak to Akaba lies to the east of Wady Moussa, and to have quitted it out of mere curiosity to see the Wady would have

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looked suspicious in the eyes of the Arabs: I therefore pretended to have made a vow to slaughter a goat in honor of Haroun (Aaron), whose tomb I knew was situated at the extremity of the valley, and by this stratagem I thought that I should have the means of seeing the valley on my way to the tomb. To this my guide had nothing to oppose; the dread of drawing down upon himself, by resistance, the wrath of Haroun, completely silenced him.

"I hired a guide at Eldjy, to conduct me to Haroun's tomb, and paid him with a pair of old horse-shoes. He carried the goat, and gave me a skin of water to carry, as he knew there was no water in the wady below. In following the rivulet of Eldjy westward, the valley soon narrows again, and it is here that the antiquities of Wady Moussa (Petra) begin. Of these I regret that I am not able to give a very complete account; but I knew well the character of the people around me. I was without protection in the midst of a desert, where no traveler had ever before been seen, and a close examination of these works of the infidels, as they are called, would have excited suspicions that I was a magician in search of treasures. I should at least have been detained and prevented from prosecuting my journey to Egypt, and in all probability should have been stripped of the little money which I possessed, and, what was infinitely more valuable to me, of my journal. Future travelers may visit the spot under the protection of an armed force; the inhabitants will become more accustomed to the researches of strangers, and the antiquities of Wady Moussa will then be found to rank among the most curious remains of ancient art."

Burckhardt gives as careful a description as his memory afforded of the wonders of the valley—the hundreds of sepulchral chambers, adorned with Grecian sculpture, excavated in the red sand-stone rocks flanking the valley—of the mausolea, some in the Egyptian style, with obelisks, some in the chaste architecture of the Greeks—and especially of the Khasneh, or "Treasury of Pharaoh," an excavated edifice of wonderful beauty; but his account has been superseded by the more complete and elaborate descriptions of Laborde and other late travelers, and need not be quoted entire. "Near the west end of Wady Moussa," he continues, "are the remains of a stately edifice, of which part of the wall is still standing; the inhabitants call it *Kasr Bint Faraoun*, or the palace of Pharaoh's daughter. In my way I had entered several sepulchres, to the surprise of my guide, but when he saw me turn out of the foot-path toward the Kasr, he exclaimed: 'I see now clearly that you are an infidel, who have some particular business among the ruins of the city of your forefathers; but depend upon it that we shall not suffer you to take out a single para of all the treasures hidden therein, for they are in our territory, and belong to us.' I replied that it was mere curiosity which prompted me to look at the ancient works, and that I had no other view in coming there than to sacrifice to Haroun; but he was not easily persuaded, and I did not think it prudent

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to irritate him by too close an inspection of the palace, as it might have led him to declare, on our return, his belief that I had found treasures, which might have led to a search of my person, and to the detection of my journal, which would most certainly have been taken from me, as a book of magic. It was of no avail to tell them to follow me, and see whether I searched for money. Their reply was, 'Of course you will not dare to take it out before us, but we know that if you are a skillful magician you will order it to follow you through the air to whatever place you please.'

"The sun had already set when we arrived on the plain. It was too late to reach the tomb, and I was excessively fatigued; I therefore hastened to kill the goat in sight of the tomb, at a spot where I found a number of heaps of stones, placed there in token of as many sacrifices in honor of that saint. While I was in the act of slaying the animal, my guide exclaimed aloud: 'O Haroun, look upon us! it is for you we slaughter this victim. O Haroun, be content with our good intentions, for it is but a lean goat. O Haroun, smooth our paths; and praise be to the Lord of all creatures!' This he repeated several times, after which he covered the blood that had fallen to the ground with a heap of stones; we then dressed the best part of the flesh for our supper, as expeditiously as possible, for the guide was afraid of the fire being seen, and of its attracting thither some robbers."

In proceeding further toward Akaba, Burckhardt encountered a small party of Arabs who were conducting a few camels for sale to Cairo, and uniting himself to this little caravan, performed the remainder of the journey in their company. "We crossed the valley of Araba," says he, "ascended on the other side of it the barren mountains of Beyane, and entered the desert called El Tih, which is the most barren and horrid tract of country I have ever seen; black flints cover the chalky or sandy ground, which in most places is without any vegetation. The tree which produces the gum-arabic grows in some spots; and the tamarisk is met with here and there; but the scarcity of water forbids much extent of vegetation, and the hungry camels are obliged to go in the evening for whole hours out of the road in order to find some withered shrubs upon which to feed. During ten days' forced marches we passed only four springs or wells, of which one only, at about eight hours east of Suez, was of sweet water. The others were brackish and sulphureous. We passed at a short distance to the north of Suez, and arrived at Cairo by the pilgrim road."

TRAVELS IN NUBIA AND ETHIOPIA.

On his arrival at Cairo, Burckhardt's first employment was to draw up a detailed account of his journey through Arabia Petræa: he then turned his attention to the means of fulfilling the great design of his mis-

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sion; but no opportunity of penetrating into the interior of Africa occurring, he undertook, in order to fill up the interval thus created, a journey into Nubia. During his residence at Cairo, and on his journey up the Nile to Assouan, he beheld the principal ruins of Egypt. His preparations for the Nubian excursion were soon made. He purchased two dromedaries, one for himself and the other for his guide, for about twenty-two pounds; provided himself with letters of recommendation, and a firman from the pasha; and leaving his servant and baggage at Assouan, set out with his guide on the 14th of February, 1813, carrying along with him nothing but his gun, a saber, a pistol, a provision-bag, and a woolen mantle, which served by day for a carpet, and for a covering during the night.

Their road lay along the eastern bank of the Nile; they passed Philæ, and then pushed on with rapidity toward Derr, the capital of Lower Nubia. The Mameluke chiefs, with their desperate followers, were at this period roaming about Nubia, indulging their imaginations in vain projects for the recovery of Egypt. Every person coming from the north was of course an object of curiosity, if not of suspicion, to these baffled soldiers, as it was possible he might be the bearer of tidings of events upon the results of which their fate depended. Such was the state of things when Burckhardt entered Nubia.

Burckhardt arrived at Derr on the 1st of March, and, to his surprise, found two Mameluke beys at the palace of the governor. He had reckoned upon their utter disappearance, and had intended, under these circumstances, to represent himself as the secret agent of the Pasha of Egypt; but learning, upon inquiry, that the pasha and his enemies were regarded with nearly equal dread by the Nubian princes, he changed his resolution, and professed to be guided in his notions by no other motive than pleasure. Ignorant persons find it hard to conceive that men can expose themselves to difficulties and dangers from an enthusiasm for knowledge, or can find pleasure in encountering hardships and fatigue; however, a concurrence of fortunate circumstances extorted from the governor a permission to proceed, and accordingly, having provided himself with provisions for the road, Burckhardt departed for Sukkot.

His guide on the present occasion was an old Arab of the Ababdeh tribe. The branch of the Ababdeh to which this man, whose name was Mohammed, belonged, feed their flocks on the uninhabited eastern banks of the river, and on its numerous islands, as far south as Dongola. Though poor, they refuse to bestow their daughters, who are famed for their beauty, in marriage on the rich Nubians, and have thus preserved the purity of their race. They are, moreover, an honest and hospitable race, and during his journeys in Nubia, Burckhardt was constantly received and treated with kindness by these simple people.*

In pursuing his course up the Nile, he passed a day at Ibreem, a town

* During my travels in Africa I had considerable intercourse with the Ababdehs, and fully concur in Burckhardt's opinion of their honesty and kindness.—B. T.

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inhabited by Turks, where, though quarrels and bloodshed were frequent, property was more secure than in any other town he had visited in the eastern world; the corn was left all night in the field, and the cattle on the banks of the river, unwatched, and even the greater part of the household furniture remained all night under the palm-trees around their dwellings. Indeed, theft here was quite unknown. Proceeding a short distance to the south of this town, he dismounted from his dromedary, and directing his guide to continue his route to the next village, struck off into a narrow footpath along the lofty, precipitous shores of the river. Pursuing this mountain-track, he arrived at an ancient temple hewn out of the rock, in as perfect a state of preservation as when first finished. Sepulchral chambers and mystic sculptures, the usual accompaniments of Egyptian temples, were found here.

The reception which the traveler and his guide met with at the Nubian villages was generally hospitable; as soon as they alighted, a mat was spread for them upon the ground, just before the door of the house, which none but intimate friends are permitted to enter; dhourra bread, milk, and sometimes dates were placed before the strangers, and their host, if earnestly pressed, sat down with them. Straw, when plentiful, was likewise given to their camels; and when the host desired to be particularly hospitable, a breakfast of hot milk and bread was served up before their departure in the morning.

At length, on the 6th of March, they arrived on a sandy plain, sprinkled with rocky points, which thrust up their heads through the sand that concealed their bases. Here they encamped in the evening near one of the islands which are formed by the river. The noise of the cataract was heard in the night, at about half an hour's distance. The place is very romantic: when the inundation subsides, many small lakes are left among the rocks; and the banks of these, overgrown with large tamarisks, have a picturesque appearance amid the black and green rocks; the lakes and pools thus formed cover a space of upward of two miles in breadth.

The Arabs who serve as guides through these wild districts, "have devised," says Burckhardt, "a singular mode of extorting small presents from the traveler: they alight at certain spots, and beg a present; if it is refused, they collect a heap of sand, and mould it into the form of a diminutive tomb, and then placing a stone at each of its extremities, they apprize the traveler that his tomb is made; meaning that henceforward there will be no security for him in this rocky wilderness. Most persons pay a trifling contribution rather than have their graves made before their eyes; there were, however, several tombs of this description dispersed over the plain. Being satisfied with my guide, I gave him one piaster, with which he was content." At the next rocky pass, however, the guide repeated the process, whereupon Burckhardt dismounted, and making another tomb, told him it was intended for his own sepulchre; for that, as they were brethren, it was but just they should be buried to-

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gether. At this, the guide began to laugh; they then mutually destroyed each other's labors, and in riding along, the latter exclaimed, from the Koran, "No mortal knows the spot upon earth where his grave shall be digged."

On his arrival in the territory of Sukkot, he presented to the governor the letter of which he was the bearer; and received from this old savage a scrap of paper, containing an introduction to his son, who was the chief of the southern part of the district. Here the guide, who had been granted him at Derr, reached the extremity of his commission, and announced his intention of returning from thence; four piasters, however, overcame his determination, and he agreed to proceed to Mahass: "If Hassan Kashif," said he, "upbraids me, I shall tell him that you rode on, notwithstanding my exhortations, and that I did not think it honorable to leave you alone." An admirable custom prevails in this and every other part of Nubia: water-jars are placed under a low roof at short distances by the roadside, where the traveler may always quench his thirst; and every village pays a small monthly sum to some person to fill those jars morning and evening. The same thing is practiced upon a much larger scale in Upper Egypt and in Asia Minor.

Upon Burckhardt's reaching the Mahass territory, he suddenly found himself in the midst of the worst description of savages. The governor, a ferocious black, received him in a hut, furiously intoxicated, and surrounded by numerous followers in the same condition. In the midst of their drunken mirth they called for their muskets, and amused themselves with firing in the hut. Burckhardt every moment expected that a random ball would put an end to his travels; but the palm wine at length extended the whole of this atrocious rabble upon the ground, and next morning, when sleep had somewhat restored the tone of the governor's senses, he found time to question the traveler respecting the motives of his visit. The story which he related to them was not believed. "You are an agent of Mohammed," said they; "but at Mahass we spit at Mohammed Ali's beard, and cut off the heads of those who are enemies to the Mamelukes."* These suspicions, although they produced no immediate injury to his personal safety, entirely put a stop to his progress further south; for he was now within two days and a half of the limits of Dongola, where the Mamelukes were lords paramount, and to enter their territories with the character of an agent of Mohammed Ali, would be to court certain death. He therefore turned his face toward the north, and traveled with all possible celerity along the eastern bank of the Nile, until he arrived at Kolbe, where he swam across the

* Thirty-nine years later, in the spring of 1852, I passed alone through the countries of Dongola, Mahass and Sukkot, with the most perfect security. The King of Mahass even embraced me affectionately at parting. This contrast shows how readily the suspicion and mistrust which the first travelers generally have to encounter, on entering a new country, gives place to confidence and kindness.—B. T.

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river, holding by his camel's tail with one hand, and urging on the beast with the other.

Burckhardt now descended the Nile to Abou-Simbel, the vast rocky temple of which he supposed to be of extremely ancient date. He here found four colossal statues of enormous magnitude, which had been hewn out of the rock, on the face of an elevated cliff, with their backs adhering to the precipice. The fine sand of the desert had been blown up into mounds against the rock, and covered two of these statues almost entirely; the rest rose somewhat above the surface. The faces of these colossal statues are turned toward the north. "The head, which is above the surface," says he, "has a most expressive youthful countenance, approaching nearer to the Grecian model of beauty than that of any ancient Egyptian figure I have seen; indeed, were it not for a thin, oblong beard, it might well pass for a head of Pallas."

From Abou-Simbel he continued his journey to Derr, where he parted with his guide, who, on taking his leave, begged as a present the mellaye, or cloak, which the traveler usually wore. To this request Burckhardt replied, "May God smooth your path!"—a phrase usually addressed to beggars when they are civilly told to be gone. "No," said the Arab, who had often employed this phrase when he desired to elude the questions of the traveler, "for once I will beg you to smooth it." "So," says Burckhardt, "I gave him the mellaye, and a small present in money; and am confident that Abou Saad will never forget me."

On his return to Assouan, Burckhardt's first care was to repair, by repose, the inroads which fatigue had made upon his constitution. He then repaired to Esne, where he established his head-quarters. It being his policy to excite but little attention, he very seldom went into company, dressed meanly, and reduced his expenditure to the lowest possible sum. The cheapness of provisions was incredible. His whole expenditure for himself, his servant, his dromedary, and his ass, not exceeding thirty-five cents per day, while his horse cost him no more than thirty cents per month.

Here he remained until the 2d of March, 1814, when he joined himself, as a petty trader, to another caravan, which was proceeding from Deraou to Berber. The caravan, consisting of about fifty merchants, with their slaves and beasts, moved under the protection of about thirty Ababdeh Arabs, who, though no heroes or philosophers, were not remarkably deficient either in courage or humanity. Burckhardt, on this occasion, possessed no command over his own movements. He traveled, halted, ate, slept, in obedience to the fantasy of the caravan-leaders, who were ignorant, however, that the humble trader, whom they regarded at most with compassion, was at that moment forming reflections and bringing observations to maturity, which were destined to affect the opinion entertained by the civilized world of their character and pursuits. Meanwhile the merchants, who were chiefly engaged in the debasing traffic of slaves, and, as may be supposed, cherished no respect for any

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thing but riches, and the power which riches commands, looked upon their humble companion with undisguised contempt. They constantly treated him with contumely, though he professed a belief in the same law and the same prophets; plundered his water-skins, or obstructed his filling them at the wells, thus exposing him to the danger of perishing of thirst; circulated in the towns where they stopped the report that he was a spy; and, in short, put in practice every art which their malice could conceive in order to disgust him with the trade, and thus free themselves from a new competitor.

At the end of a week's journey the caravan arrived at the celebrated wells of El Haimar, in the vicinity of which they found the tomb of a Mameluke chief, who died on this spot. "His companions, having inclosed the naked corpse within low walls of loose stones, had covered it over with a large block. The dryness of the air had preserved the corpse in the most perfect state. Looking at it through the interstices of the stones which enveloped it, it appeared to me a more perfect mummy than any I had seen in Egypt. The mouth was wide open, and our guide related that the man had died for want of water, although so near the wells." Next day they passed Wady Ollaky, a fine valley extending east and west from the Nile to the Red Sea. Here were numerous trees and excellent pasture, advantages which caused it to be regarded with peculiar veneration by the Bedouins; and every man, as he traversed it on his ass or camel, took a handful of dhourra and threw it on the ground as a kind of pious offering to the good genius of the Wady. On the following day, in crossing Wady El Towashy, or the Valley of the Eunuch, Burckhardt saw the tomb of that Mahomet Towash whose body was found on the sands by Bruce three days after he had been murdered by his guides.

Burckhardt gives the following account of the impositions and hardships which he was obliged to endure in the course of this journey: "I was often driven from the coolest and most comfortable berth into the burning sun, and generally passed the midday hours in great distress; for beside the exposure to heat, I had to cook my dinner, a service which I could never prevail upon any of my companions, even the poorest servants, to perform for me, though I offered to let them share my homely fare. In the evening the same labor occurred again, when fatigued by the day's journey, during which I always walked for four or five hours, in order to spare my ass, and when I was in the utmost need of repose. Hunger, however, always prevailed over fatigue, and I was obliged to fetch and cut wood, to light a fire, to cook, to feed the ass, and finally to make coffee, a cup of which, presented to my Daraou companions, who were extremely eager to obtain it, was the only means I possessed of keeping them in tolerable good-humor. A good night's rest, however, always repaired my strength, and I was never in better health and spirits than during this journey, although its fatigues were certainly very great, and much beyond my expectation. The common dish of all the

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travelers at noon was fetyre, which is flour mixed up with water into a liquid paste, and then baked upon the sadj, or iron plate; butter is then poured over it, or honey, or sometimes a sauce is made of butter and dried bamyé. In the evening some lentils are boiled, or some bread is baked with salt, either upon the sadj or in ashes, and a sauce of bamyé, or onion, poured over lentils, or upon the bread, after it has been crumbled into small pieces. Early in the morning every one eats a piece of dry biscuit, with some raw onions or dates."

On the 14th of March, on arriving at the Wady el Nabeh, they found the celebrated wells of that valley insufficient to supply the caravan until they should reach the rocks of Shigre, and as no water was anywhere to be found in the intervening space, they were reduced to the greatest perplexity. "Upon such occasions as these," says Burckhardt, "every man gives his opinion: and mine was, that we should kill our thirty-five asses, which required a daily supply of at least fifteen water-skins, that we should load the camels to the utmost of their strength with water, and strike out a straight way through the desert toward Berber, without touching at Shigre; in this manner we might perform the journey in five forced marches." This plan the Arabs refused to follow. They repaired their water-skins and their sandals, refreshed themselves with bathing in the cool wells, and then set out. But "it was not without great apprehension," says our traveler, "that I departed from this place. Our camels and asses carried water for three or four days only, and I saw no possibility of escaping from the dreadful effects of a want of water. In order to keep my ass in good spirits, I took off the two small water-skins with which I had hitherto loaded him, and paid one of the Ababdehs four dollars to carry four small water-skins as far as Berber; for I thought that if the ass could carry me, I might bear thirst for two days at least, but that if he should break down, I should certainly not be able to walk one whole day without water in this hot season of the year."

Notwithstanding all these difficulties and sufferings, Burckhardt considered the Nubian desert, at least as far south as Shigre, far less terrible than that of Syria or Tyh. Trees and water are much more frequent, and though it is intersected in various directions by mountains of naked rock, the more desolate and awful appearance which it acquires from this circumstance is, in a great measure, compensated for by its consequent grandeur and variety. "Here," says he, "during the whole day's march, we were surrounded on all sides by lakes of the mirage, called by the Arabs Serab. Its color was of the purest azure, and so clear that the shadows of the mountains that bordered the horizon were reflected on it with the greatest precision, and the delusion of its being a sheet of water was thus rendered still more perfect." This appearance, however, only served to heighten the terrors which the scarcity of real water excited. Every man now began to attach the greatest importance to the small stock he possessed. Burckhardt, who possessed but two

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draughts, drank the half of it at once, reserving the remainder for the next day; but, observing the general scarcity, shared the dejection of his companions. At length, their condition having become nearly desperate, they adopted the course recommended by the Ababdeh chief, and dispatched ten or twelve of their companions, mounted on as many camels, to the nearest part of the Nile, which was not more than five or six hours distant; but as its banks were inhabited by fierce tribes, nothing but the fear of instant death could have forced them to this step. They timed their march in such a manner, that they would reach the banks of the river by night; when they were directed to select some uninhabited spot, and having there loaded their camels, to return with all speed. "We passed the evening," says Burckhardt, "in the greatest anxiety, for if the camels should not return, we had little hopes of escape either from thirst or from the sword of our enemies, who, if they had once got sight of our camels, would have followed their footsteps through the desert, and would certainly have discovered us." Many of my companions came in the course of the evening to beg some water of me, but I had well hidden my treasure, and answered them by showing my empty skins. We remained the greater part of the night in silent and sullen expectation of the result of our desperate mission. At length, about three o'clock in the morning, we heard the distant hallooings of our companions; and soon after refreshed ourselves with copious draughts of the delicious water of the Nile."

This was the last of their sufferings on this route; on the 23d of March, they entered on a plain with a slight slope toward the river, which was felt at more than two hours' distance by the greater moisture of the air. The Arabs exclaimed, "God be praised, we again smell the Nile!" and about ten o'clock at night, the caravan entered the town of Ankheyreh, or El Mekheyref, the capital of the country of Berber. Burckhardt's residence at this place was nothing but one continued series of annoyances. The principal delight of the whole population, among whom drunkenness and debauchery were scarcely accounted vices, seemed to consist in deluding and plundering travelers, who on all the envenomed soil of Africa could scarcely be exposed to more irritating insults or extortion than on this spot.

The caravan, now reduced to about two thirds of its original number, several of the merchants having returned to Egypt, while others remained at Berber to dispose of their goods, again put itself in motion on the 7th of April. Burckhardt, who had hitherto attached himself to the merchant portion of the party, several of whom, previous to their leaving Egypt, had received benefits at his hands, was here driven by abuse and contumely to take refuge among the Ababdehs, who not only willingly received him as their companion, but exercised their influence, on more than one occasion, to protect him from violence. Pursuing a southerly direction for three days, they arrived at the town of Damer, which, under the government of a number of religious men, had attained a very

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high pitch of prosperity. Their sanctity, indeed, was considerably aided by their skill in magic, which, as Burckhardt was credibly informed, was so great that, on one occasion, the Faky el Kebir, or Great Fakeer, caused a lamb to bleat in the stomach of the thief who had stolen, and afterward eaten it. As Burckhardt needed a few measures of dhourra for his ass, and found it impracticable to purchase less than a dollar's worth, which would have been more than he could carry, he was under the necessity of imitating his companions, and went from house to house with some strings of beads in his hands, offering them for sale at about four handfuls of dhourra for each bead. "I gained at this rate," says he, "about sixty per cent. above the prime cost, and had at the same time an opportunity of entering many private houses. I repeated these walks every day during our stay. One afternoon, while crying my beads for sale, I was accosted by a faky, who asked me if I could read. On my answering in the affirmative, he desired me to follow him to a place where, he said, I might expect to get a good dinner. He then led me to a house where I found a great number of people, collected to celebrate the memory of some relative lately deceased. Several fakies were reading the Koran in a low tone of voice. A great faky afterward came in, whose arrival was the signal for reciting the Koran in loud songs, in the manner customary in the East, in which I joined them. This was continued for about half an hour, until dinner was brought in, which was very plentiful, as a cow had been killed upon the occasion. After a hearty meal, we recommenced our reading. One of the shekhs produced a basketful of white pebbles, over which several prayers were read. These pebbles were destined to be strewed over the tomb of the deceased in the manner which I had often observed upon tombs freshly made. Upon my inquiries respecting this custom, which I confessed to have never before seen practiced in any Mohammedan country, the faky answered that it was a mere meritorious action: that there was no absolute necessity for it: but that it was thought that the soul of the deceased, when hereafter visiting the tomb, might be glad to find these pebbles, in order to use them as beads in addressing its prayers to the Creator. When the reading was over, the women began to sing and howl. I then left the room, and on taking my departure my kind host put some bones of roasted meat in my hand to serve for my supper."

In proceeding from this place to Shendy the caravan was accompanied by several fakies, whose presence was found to be a sufficient protection against the Nubian Bedouins. They reached Shendy on the 17th of April, and this being, next to Sennaar and Kobbe, the largest town in eastern Soudan, they remained here a whole month, during which time Burckhardt enjoyed an ample opportunity of collecting materials for an account of this and the neighboring countries. Crocodiles are numerous in this part of the Nile. They are much dreaded by the inhabitants, who, when repairing to its banks for water or to wash their

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linen, are in constant fear of these creatures. Burckhardt ate of the crocodile's flesh, which he found of a dirty white color, not unlike young veal, with a slight fishy smell.

At Shendy Burckhardt abandoned all idea of proceeding further south; and, in order to procure himself some little civility from his former companions, circulated the report that he intended to return directly to Egypt, where, by describing to the pasha their conduct toward him during the journey, he might do them considerable injury. This stratagem succeeded. Their civility and affected friendship now surpassed their former insolence. In the mean while, understanding that a caravan was about to set out for Souakin on the Red Sea, our traveler prevailed on the Ababdeh chief to introduce and recommend him as his own friend to its leader. Here he disposed of his merchandise, and purchased a slave-boy to attend upon him on the road; and having laid in the necessary quantity of provisions, joined the Souakin caravan, and departed from Shendy on the 17th of May. "After all my accounts were settled," says he, "I had four dollars left; but the smallness of the sum occasioned me no uneasiness, for I calculated on selling my camel on the coast for as much as would defray the expenses of my voyage to Jidda, and I had a letter of credit on that place for a considerable sum, which I had procured at Cairo."

The road now traversed by the caravan crossed the Atbara, the Astaboras of the ancients, on the banks of which they found numerous groves of trees and the most luxuriant vegetation. At the sight of this the imagination even of the slave-dealers was touched with enthusiasm; and in alluding to the dreary track over which they had traveled, one of them exclaimed, "After death comes paradise!" "There was a greater variety of natural vegetation here than I had seen anywhere on the banks of the Nile, in Egypt. I observed different species of the mimosa, doom-trees of the largest size, whose luxuriant clusters of fruit excited the wishes of the slaves, the nebek-tree, with its fruit ripe; the allobé, of the size of the nebek, besides a great number of others unknown to me; to these may be added an abundance of wild herbage, growing on a rich, fat soil similar to that of Egypt. The trees were inhabited by great numbers of the feathered tribe, whose song travelers in Egypt very rarely hear. I saw no birds with rich plumage, but observed small ones of several different kinds. Some sweet notes struck my ears, which I had never before heard, and the amorous cooings of the turtle-dove were unceasing. We hastened to the river and eagerly descended its low banks to allay our thirst. Several camels, at the sight of the water, broke the halters by which they were led, and in rushing or stumbling down the banks threw off their loads, and occasioned great clamor and disorder."

In the vicinity of Goz Rajeb, on the Atbara, Burckhardt saw on the summit of a hill the ruins of a huge fabric of ancient times, but was deterred from visiting it by the assertion of his companions that it was the

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haunt of banditti. On the 5th of June, while the caravan halted at an encampment of the Hadendoa Bedouins, Burckhardt beheld the effects of a desert storm: "Toward evening we were visited by another hurricane, the most tremendous I ever remember to have witnessed. A dark blue cloud first appeared, extending to about 25° above the horizon; as it approached nearer and increased in height, it assumed an ash-gray color, with a tinge of yellow, striking every person in the caravan who had not been accustomed to such phenomena with amazement at its magnificent and terrific appearance; as the cloud approached still nearer the yellow tinge became more general, while the horizon presented the brightest azure. At last it burst upon us in its rapid course, and involved us in darkness and confusion; nothing could be distinguished at the distance of five or six feet; our eyes were filled with dust; our temporary sheds were blown down at the first gust, and many of the more firmly fixed tents of the Hadendoa followed; the largest withstood for a time the effects of the blast, but were at last obliged to yield, and the whole camp was leveled with the ground. In the mean time the terrified camels arose, broke the cords by which they were fastened, and endeavored to escape from the destruction which appeared to threaten them; thus adding not a little to our embarrassment. After blowing about half an hour with incessant violence, the wind suddenly abated, and when the atmosphere became clear, the tremendous cloud was seen continuing its havoc to the north-west."

Next day they reached Takka, a district famous for its fertility, where hares, gazelles, wolves, giraffes, and lions, as large, it was said, as cows, were found in the woods. Hence, after a stay of several days, they departed for Souakin, and after a not unpleasant journey through a wild, picturesque country, approached the termination of their toils. On the morning of the last day they started before sunrise. "The eastern hills," says Burckhardt, "terminate in this latitude; and the sun was just rising beyond them when we descried its reflection at an immense distance in the sea, affording a pleasing sight to every individual in the caravan, but most of all to me." The whole of the route, from Shendy to Souakin, had never before been traversed by a European. At length, on the 26th of June, they reached Souakin, and pitched their little sheds at about twenty minutes' walk from the town. Next day they were visited by the emir, who, understanding that our traveler's camel was an excellent animal, determined on taking it as a part of the caravan dues; upon which Burckhardt insisted upon referring their difference to the Turkish custom-house officer. His wishes were quickly complied with, but the aga, instead of interfering to protect the stranger, immediately conceived the idea of uniting with the emir in seizing upon the whole of his property; and, therefore, pretending to regard him as a Mameluke spy, began at once to overwhelm him with abuse. To all this Burckhardt returned no reply, but requested the aga to inform him whether the emir was entitled to his camel. "Not only thy camel," re-

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plied the Turk, "but thy whole baggage must be taken and searched. We shall render a good account of them to the pasha, depend upon it. You shall not impose upon us, you rascal; and you may be thankful if we do not cut off your head!" The traveler protested that he was nothing but an unfortunate merchant, and endeavored, by a submissive deportment, to pacify his anger; but "he began cursing and swearing in Turkish," says Burckhardt, "and then calling an old cripple, to whom he had given the title of waly, or police officer, he ordered him to tie my hands, to put me in prison, and to bring my slave and baggage into his presence. I now thought it high time to produce my firmans, which I drew from a secret pocket in my thaboot; one of them was written in Turkish, upon a piece of paper two feet and a half in length, and one foot in breadth, and was sealed with the great seal of Mohammed Ali; the other, a smaller one, was written in Arabic, and bore the seal of Ibrahim Pasha, his son, in which Ibrahim termed me 'Our man, Ibrahim, the Syrian.' When Yemak saw the firmans unfolded, he became completely stupefied, and the persons present looked at me with amazement. The aga could read the Arabic only, but he kissed them both, put them to his forehead, and then protested to me, in the most submissive terms, that it was the good of the public service alone that had led him to treat me as he had done, and for which he begged me a thousand pardons. Nothing more was said about the emir's right to my camel, and he declared that I should pay no duty for my slave, though he was entitled to it."

Burckhardt now disposed of his camel, and took his passage to Jidda in one of the country vessels. After tossing about the Red Sea for nearly a fortnight, visiting Mekouar, and several points of the African coast, he arrived at Jidda on the 18th of July, 1814. His first care now was to present his letter of credit, which, being of an old date, he was refused payment, though the merchant offered him a lodging at his house. This he accepted, but removed two days afterward to a public khan, where he was attacked by a fever, in which he lay delirious for several days. His recovery from this violent disorder, which he attributed to his indulging in the fine fruits of the Jidda market, seems to have been chiefly owing to the kindness of a Greek captain, who, having been his fellow-passenger from Souakin, attended him during one of his lucid intervals, and, at his own request, procured a barber, who bled him copiously.

JOURNEY TO MECCA AND MEDINA.

At Jidda Burckhardt was reduced to the hard necessity of parting with his slave, for whom he obtained forty-eight dollars, of which thirty-two were profit. With this money he dressed himself in the guise of a reduced Egyptian gentleman, and determined to remain in the Hedjaz until the time of the pilgrimage in the following November. However,

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as his funds were far too low to enable him to live independently until that period, he began to turn his thoughts toward manual labor; but first determined upon trying the effect of a direct application to Mohammed Ali, then at Tayf. He accordingly wrote to his highness's Armenian physician, who was likewise at Tayf with his master, requesting him to learn from the pasha whether he would accept a bill upon Burckhardt's correspondent at Cairo, and order his treasurer at Jidda to pay the amount of it. Before the result of this application could be known, he received an invitation to the house of Toossoon Pasha's physician, who, on being acquainted with the state of his finances, kindly offered him the sum of three thousand piasters (about $150) for a bill upon Cairo payable at sight. Mohammed Ali, to whom his condition was accidentally made known, immediately dispatched a messenger with two dromedaries, an order for five hundred piasters, and a request that he would repair immediately with the messenger to Tayf. With this invitation, which was, in fact, equivalent to a command, he thought it necessary to comply, and accordingly set off on the same afternoon (24th August) for the interior of the Hedjaz.

They were accompanied during the first portion of the way by about twenty camel-drivers of the tribe of Harb, who were carrying money to Mecca for the pasha's treasury. The road at first lay over a barren sandy plain, ascending slightly as it receded from the sea; it then entered the narrow gorges of a mountainous country, where they overtook a caravan of pilgrims, who were accompanying a quantity of goods and provisions destined for the army. The pasha, who, no doubt, suspected the sincerity of Burckhardt's creed, had given orders to the guide to conduct him by a by-road to Tayf, which lay to the north of Mecca: "Just before we left Hadda," says Burckhardt, "my guide, who knew nothing further respecting me than that I had business with the pasha at Tayf, that I performed all the outward observances of a Moslem pilgrim, and that I had been liberal to him before our departure, asked me the reason of his having been ordered to take me by the northern road. I replied that it was probably thought shorter than the other. 'That is a mistake,' he replied; 'the Mecca road is quite as short, and much safer; and if you have no objection we will proceed by it.' This was just what I wished, though I had taken care not to betray any anxiety on the subject; and we accordingly followed the great road, in company with the other travelers."

On this occasion, however, Burckhardt saw but little of the sacred city, as the guide, who had no curiosity to gratify, hurried through the streets without allowing him time for observation. Continuing their journey, therefore, toward the east, they arrived, on the 27th of August, at Ras el Kora, where they passed the night. "This," says the traveler, "is the most beautiful spot in the Hedjaz, and more picturesque and delightful than any spot I had seen since my departure from Lebanon, in Syria. The top of Jebel Kora is flat, but large masses of granite lie scat-

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tered over it, the surface of which, like that of the granite rocks near the second cataract of the Nile, is blackened by the sun. Several small rivulets descend from this peak, and irrigate the plain, which is covered with verdant fields and large shady trees, on the side of the granite rocks. To those who have only known the dreary and scorching sands of the lower country of the Hedjaz, this scene is as surprising as the keen air which blows here is refreshing. Many of the fruit-trees of Europe are found here; figs, apricots, peaches, apples, the Egyptian sycamore, almonds, pomegranates; but particularly vines, the produce of which is of the best quality. After having passed through this delightful district for about half an hour, just as the sun was rising, when every leaf and blade of grass was covered with a balmy dew, and every tree and shrub diffused a fragrance as delicious to the smell as was the landscape to the eye, I halted near the largest of the rivulets, which, although not more than two paces across, nourishes upon its banks a green alpine turf, such as the mighty Nile, with all its luxuriance, can never produce in Egpyt."

Upon reaching Tayf, he caused his arrival to be made known to the pasha,who, upon learning his desire to visit the Holy Cities, expressed a wish to see him late in the evening at his public residence, and observed to the Kadi of Mecca, who happened to be present, "It is not the beard alone which proves a man to be a true Moslem; but you are a better judge in such matters than I am." Our traveler, on learning these particulars, affected to be much hurt by the pasha's suspicions, and let the physician, who was the bearer of the message, know that he should not go to the pasha's public audience unless he was received as a Turk. When the physician delivered this message, Mohammed Ali smiled, and said that he was welcome, whether Turk or not. On this occasion he was closely catechized by two experienced teachers of the Moslem faith, who declared to the pasha that he was not only a true Mussulman, but one of great learning and piety. The audience passed off well. But Burckhardt clearly discovered that he was regarded as a spy of the English government; that his conduct was narrowly watched; and that, in being made the guest of the physician, he was a kind of prisoner, whose words and actions were reported to the pasha. This was by no means an agreeable position. He therefore determined to be delivered from it; and, in order to effect his purpose, adopted the most prudent plan that could have been imagined: he rendered himself so troublesome and expensive to his host, that the latter, in order to be freed from him, represented him in the most favorable light to Mohammed Ali, and contrived to obtain him permission to spend the last days of the Ramadan at Mecca.

Accordingly, on the 7th of September, Burckhardt departed in company with the Kadi for the Holy City. On passing Wady Mohram, he assumed the *ihram*, the dress worn by all pilgrims during the Hadji, and consisting of two pieces of linen, woolen, or cotton cloth, one of which is wrapped round the loins, while the other is thrown over the neck and

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shoulders, so as to leave part of the right arm bare. In this dress he arrived at Mecca, on the 9th of September; and, as the law enjoins, proceeded immediately to visit the temple, before he had attended to any worldly concern whatever. The ceremonies practiced on this occasion are long and tedious. Having completed these performances, he hired a ready-furnished lodging in the house of a metowwaf, or guide to the holy places; who, while the poor Hadji was occupied with his devotions, employed his spare moments industriously in stealing whatever he could from his traveling-sack.

Being desirous of completing his traveling equipments before the commencement of the Hadj (pilgrimage), Burckhardt proceeded to Jidda, where such things are more easily procured than at Mecca, and again returned about the middle of October, with a slave-boy whom he purchased. He hired apartments in an unfrequented part of the city, where he enjoyed the advantage of several large trees growing before his windows, "the verdure of which," says he, "among the barren and sunburnt rocks of Mecca, was to me more exhilarating than the finest landscape could have been under different circumstances." The principal curiosity of Mecca is the *beit ullah*, or House of God, a species of quadrangle, in the center of which stands the Kaaba, "an oblong massive structure, eighteen paces in length, fourteen in breadth, and from thirty-five to forty feet in height. It is constructed of the gray Mecca stone, in large blocks of different sizes, joined together in a very rough manner, and with bad cement." "At the north-east corner of the Kaaba, near the door, is the famous 'Black Stone;' it forms a part of the sharp angle of the building at four or five feet above the ground. It is an irregular oval of about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly smoothed. It looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again. It is very difficult to determine accurately the quality of this stone, which has been worn to its present surface by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles, of a whitish and of a yellowish substance. Its color is now a deep reddish brown, approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border, composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel, of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces. It is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails."

On the 21st of November, 1814, the approach of the Syrian caravan was announced by a messenger, whose horse dropped down dead the

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moment he dismounted. Several other persons followed in about two hours after; and during the night the main body, with the Pasha of Damascus at its head, came up, and encamped in the plain of Shekh Mahmoud. Next morning the Egyptian caravan likewise arrived; and at the same time Mohammed Ali, who desired to be present at the Hadj, appeared unexpectedly at Mecca, dressed in an ihram composed of two magnificent shawls of Cashmere. All the hadjis residing in the city now assumed the ihram, with the usual ceremonies, at their own lodgings, preparatory to their setting out for Mount Arafat, and at noon heard a short sermon in the mosque.

The city was now full of movement and activity; all the pilgrims were preparing to set out for Arafat, some running hither and thither in search of lodgings, others visiting the markets or the Kaaba. Many Meccans, engaged in petty traffic, were hastening to establish themselves on the mountain, for the accommodation of the pilgrims. Camel-drivers led their beasts through the streets, offering them to the pilgrims for hire. On the 24th of November the Syrian caravan, with the Mahmal, or sacred camel, in front, passed in procession through the city. The majority of the pilgrims rode in a species of palanquin, placed upon their camels; but the Pasha of Damascus, and other grandees, were mounted in splendid litters, which were borne by two camels. The heads of these picturesque animals were decorated with feathers, tassels, and bells. Crowds of people of all classes lined the streets, and greeted the pilgrims as they passed with loud acclamations and praise. The martial music of the pasha, twelve finely-caparisoned horses led in front of his palanquin, and the rich litters in which his women rode, particularly attracted attention. The Egyptian caravan followed soon after, and, consisting entirely of military pilgrims in the splendid Turkish costume, was no less admired than its predecessor. Both continued, without stopping, their march to Arafat, and were almost immediately followed by the other pilgrims in the city, and by far the greater proportion of the population of Mecca and Jidda, among whom Burckhardt likewise proceeded to the sacred hill.

He reached the camp about three hours after sunset. The pilgrims were still wandering about the plain, and among the tents, in search of their companions, or of their resting-place, and many did not arrive until midnight. Numberless fires glimmered upon the dark plain to the extent of several miles; and high and brilliant clusters of lamps marked the different places of encampment of Mohammed Ali, Soleyman Pasha, and the Emir el Hadj of the Egyptian caravan. Few slept: "the devotees set up praying, and their loud chants were particularly distinguished on the side of the Syrian encampment. The merry Meccans formed themselves into parties, singing jovial songs, accompanied by clapping of hands; and the coffee-houses scattered over the plain were crowded all night with customers. The night was dark and cold. I had formed a resting-place for myself by means of a large carpet tied

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to the back of a Meccan's tent; and having walked about for the greater part of the night, I had just disposed myself to sleep, when two guns, fired by the Syrian and Egyptian Hadj, announced the approaching dawn of the day of pilgrimage, and summoned the faithful to prepare for their morning prayers."

The scene which, on the unfolding of the dawn, presented itself to the eye of the traveler, was one of the most extraordinary upon earth. "Every pilgrim issued from his tent to walk over the plains, and take a view of the busy crowds assembled there. Long streets of tents, fitted up as bazaars, furnished all kinds of provisions. The Syrian and Egyptian cavalry were exercised by their chiefs early in the morning, while thousands of camels were seen feeding upon the dry shrubs of the plain all round the camp." Burckhardt now ascended the summit of Arafat, whence he could enjoy a distant view of the whole, the mountain being an isolated mass of granite, reaching to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the plain. From this point he counted about three thousand tents, but the far greater number were, like himself, without tents. Twenty or twenty-five thousand camels were dispersed, in separate groups, over the plain; and the number of pilgrims of both sexes, and of all classes, could not amount to less than seventy thousand. "The Syrian Hadj was encamped on the south and south-west side of the mountain; the Egyptian on the south-east. Around the house of the Sherif, Yahya himself was encamped with his Bedouin troops, and in its neighborhood were all the Hedjaz people. Mohammed Ali, and Soleyman, Pasha of Damascus, as well as several of their officers, had very handsome tents; but the most magnificent of all was that of the wife of Mohammed Ali, the mother of Toossoon Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, who had lately arrived at Cairo for the Hadj, with a truly royal equipage, five hundred camels being necessary to transport her baggage from Jidda to Mecca. Her tent was in fact an encampment, consisting of a dozen tents of different sizes, inhabited by her women; the whole inclosed by a wall of linen cloth, eight hundred paces in circuit, the single entrance to which was guarded by eunuchs in splendid dresses. Around this inclosure were pitched the tents of the men who formed her numerous suite. The beautiful embroidery on the exterior of this linen palace, with the various colors displayed in every part of it, constituted an object which reminded me of some descriptions in the Arabian Tales of the Thousand and One Nights."

Among the prodigious crowd were persons from every corner of the Mohammedan world. Burckhardt counted forty different languages, and did not doubt that there were many more. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the pilgrims, quitting their tents, which were immediately struck, and mounting their camels, pressed forward toward Mount Arafet, and covered its sides from top to bottom. The preacher now took his stand upon the platform on the mountain, and began to address the multitude. The hearing of the sermon, which lasts till sunset, constitutes

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the holy ceremony of the Hadj, and without being present at it, and at least appearing to hear, no pilgrim is entitled to the name of hadjî. "The two pashas, with their whole cavalry drawn up in two squadrons behind them, took their post in the rear of the deep line of camels of the hadjîs, to which those of the people of the Hedjaz were also joined: and here they waited in solemn and respectful silence the conclusion of the sermon. Further removed from the preacher was the Sherif Yahya, with his small body of soldiers, distinguished by several green standards carried before him. The two Mahmals, or holy camels, which carry on their backs the high structure that serves as the banner of their respective caravans, made way with difficulty through the ranks of camels that encircled the southern and eastern sides of the hill, opposite to the preacher, and took their station, surrounded by their guards, directly under the platform in front of him. The preacher, or khatyb, who is usually the Kadi of Mecca, was mounted upon a finely-caparisoned camel, which had been led up the steps; it being traditionally said that Mohammed was always seated when he addressed his followers, a practice in which he was imitated by all the caliphs who came to the Hadj, and who from hence addressed their subjects in person. The Turkish gentleman of Constantinople, however, unused to camel-riding, could not keep his seat so well as the hardy Bedouin prophet; and the camel becoming unruly, he was soon obliged to alight from it. He read his sermon from a book in Arabic, which he held in his hands. At intervals of every four or five minutes he paused, and stretched forth his arms to implore blessings from above; while the assembled multitudes around and before him waved the skirts of their ihrams over their heads, and rent the air with shouts of *Lebeyk, Allah, huma Lebeyk!*—"Here we are at thy bidding, O God!" During the wavings of the ihrams, the sides of the mountain, thickly crowded as it was by the people in their white garments, had the appearance of a cataract of water; while the green umbrellas, with which several thousand hajjîs, sitting on their camels below, were provided, bore some resemblance to a verdant plain."

Burckhardt was present at all the remaining ceremonies of the Hadj, and after observing whatever was worthy of examination both at Mecca and Jidda, he joined a small caravan of pilgrims who were going to visit the tomb of the prophet, and set out for Medina on the 15th of January, 1815. During this journey he imprudently advanced before the caravan, and was attacked by five Bedouins, from whom he was quickly delivered, however, by the approach of his companions. They reached Medina on the 28th of January. The ceremonies practiced in this city were much less tedious than those at Mecca, and did not occupy him more than a quarter of an hour. Here, shortly after his arrival, he was attacked by an intermittent fever, accompanied by extraordinary despondency. His condition, indeed, was well calculated to inspire gloomy thoughts; for he had no society, and but one book, which was, however, as he observes,

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worth a whole shelf full of others. This was a pocket edition of Milton, which he had borrowed from an English ship at Jidda.

Medina, it is well known, is chiefly indebted to the tomb of Mohammed for its celebrity. This mausoleum, which stands on the south-eastern corner of the principal mosque, is protected from the too near approach of visitors by an iron railing, painted green, about two thirds the height of the pillars of the colonnade which runs round the interior of the mosque. "The railing is of good workmanship, in imitation of filigree, and is interwoven with open-worked inscriptions of yellow bronze, supposed by the vulgar to be of gold, and of so close a texture, that no view can be obtained of the interior except by several small windows about six inches square, which are placed in the four sides of the railing, about five feet above the ground." On the south side, where are the two principal windows, before which the devout stand when praying, the railing is plated with silver, and the common inscription—"There is no God but God, the Evident Truth"—is wrought in silver letters round the windows. The tomb itself, as well as that of Abu Bekr and Omar, which stand close to it, is concealed from the public gaze by a curtain of rich silk brocade of various colors, interwoven with silver flowers and arabesques, with inscriptions in characters of gold running across the midst of it, like that of the covering of the Kaaba. Behind this curtain, which, according to the historian of the city, was formerly changed every six years, and is now renewed by the Porte whenever the old one is decayed, or when a new sultan ascends the throne, none but the chief eunuchs, the attendants of the mosque, are permitted to enter. This holy sanctuary once served, as the temple of Delphi did among the Greeks, as the public treasury of the nation. Here the money, jewels, and other precious articles of the people of the Hedjaz were kept in chests, or suspended on silken ropes. Among these was a copy of the Koran in Kufic characters; a brilliant star set in diamonds and pearls, which was suspended directly over the prophet's tomb; with all sorts of vessels set with jewels, earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments, sent as presents from all parts of the empire. Most of these articles were carried away by the Wahabees when they sacked and plundered the sacred cities.

On the 21st of April, 1815, Burckhardt quitted Medina with a small caravan bound for Yembo, on the sea-coast. His mind was still exceedingly depressed by the weak state of his body; and his gayety and animal spirits, which had supported him through so many arduous scenes, appear to have deserted him at last. Upon his arrival at Yembo, dejected and melancholy, to add to his despondency, he found the plague raging in the city. The air, night and day, was filled with the piercing cries of those who had been bereaved of the objects of their affection; yet, as no vessel was ready to sail for Egypt, he was constrained to remain during eighteen days in the midst of the dying and the dead, continually exposed to infection through the heedlessness and the impru-

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dence of his slave. At length, however, he procured a passage in an open boat bound for Cosseir, many of the passengers in which were sick of a disease which appeared to be the plague, though only two of them died. After remaining twenty days on board, he was, at his own request, put on shore in the harbor of Sherin, at the entrance of the Gulf of Akaba, where he agreed with some Bedouins to transport him and his slave to Tor and Suez. Learning on the way, however, that the plague was at Suez, he remained at a village in the vicinity of the former place, where the enjoyment of tranquillity and a bracing mountain air soon restored his strength, and enabled him, though still enfeebled, to pursue his journey to Cairo, where he arrived on the 24th of June, after an absence of nearly two years and a half. As his health was not yet completely recovered, he undertook a journey into Lower Egypt during the following winter, which, as he seems to have believed, restored his constitution to its former tone.

His time was now entirely occupied in writing the journal of his Nubian and Arabian travels, and in the necessary care of his health, which, notwithstanding his sanguine expectation to the contrary, was still in a somewhat equivocal state. In the spring of 1816, the plague again broke out at Cairo, and Burckhardt, to avoid the infection, undertook a journey to Mount Sinai, intending to remain among the Bedouins until the pestilence should be over. During this excursion he traced the course of the eastern branch of the Red Sea to within sight of Akaba, which he was prevented by circumstances from visiting. On his return to Cairo, he united with Mr. Salt in furnishing Belzoni with money for transporting the head of Memnon from Goorneh to Alexandria. The scheme, it would seem, originated with Burckhardt and Salt, to whom, therefore, the British Museum is chiefly indebted for the possession of that remarkable specimen of ancient art.

On the 4th of October, 1817, Burckhardt, who had so long waited in vain for an opportunity of penetrating with a Moggrebin caravan to Timbuctoo, by way of Fezzan, was attacked with violent dysentery. The best medical advice which an eminent English physician (Doctor Richardson), then at Cairo, could afford was found unavailing. The disease prevailed, and on the 15th of the same month the able, adventurous, and lamented traveler breathed his last at the early age of thirty-three years. As he had lived while in the East as a Mussulman, the Turks, he foresaw, would claim his body, "and perhaps," said he to Mr. Salt, who was present at his death-bed, "you had better let them."—"The funeral, as he desired," says this gentleman, "was Mohammedan, conducted with all proper regard to the respectable rank which he had held in the eyes of the natives." This was honorable to his Cairo friends; and to those who are interested in the history of his manly career it is gratifying to discover how highly he was valued. His remains, unmarked by any memorial, lie somewhere in the Moslem burying-ground on the eastern side of Cairo, where another traveler of equal

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courage, enthusiasm, and energy—John Ledyard—was buried more than twenty years before him. Since Burckhardt's death, others have walked in his steps, and many of the places which he visited with so much difficulty and peril, are now accessible to all travelers, but no one has surpassed him in prudence and intrepidity, no one has lived a life of such romantic interest, or productive of more rich results.

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BELZONI'S

EXPLORATIONS IN EGYPT.

This enterprising traveler and explorer, descended from a respectable Roman family, was born at Padua, whither his relations had many years previously removed. Being designed by his parents for some monastic order, he was at a very early age sent to Rome, the original abode of his ancestors, where he received his education, and spent the greater part of his youth. Here the sciences would appear to have obtained a decided preference in his mind, over every other branch of study; particularly hydraulics, to which he owed much of the reputation which he afterward acquired in the world. The invasion of Italy, and the capture of Rome by the French, disturbed the peaceful but insignificant plan of life which he had traced out for himself. Instead of a monk he became a traveler. Departing from Rome in the year 1800, he for some time wandered about the Continent, deriving his subsistence, as he himself observes, from his own knowledge and industry, and occasional remittances from his family, who, though by no means wealthy, seem to have been generously disposed to afford him a support, which he, in a short time, no less generously refused to accept.

In the year 1803 he arrived in England, where he not long afterward married. In that country he supported himself by performing in public feats of prodigious strength, and by scientific exhibitions; still, with a manly independence, preferring the gaining of a precarious subsistence by these means to the idea of draining the slender resources of his family, or of resorting to those more easy but less reputable sources of gain which too frequently employ the talents of foreigners in England. Having remained nine years in Great Britain, Belzoni conceived the desire of visiting the south of Europe; and, taking his wife along with him, traveled through Portugal, Spain, and Malta. It seems to have been during this part of his travels that he learned, from what he considered unexceptionable authority, that his scientific knowledge might be turned to good account in Egypt, where an hydraulic machine would

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be of the greatest utility in irrigating the fields, which need water only to make them produce at any season of the year.

He accordingly took his passage on board of a ship bound for Egypt, and arrived in the harbor of Alexandria on the 9th of June, 1815. The plague, he learned, was then prevailing in the city, but gradually decreasing in malignity. St. John's day, the 24th of June, was likewise at hand, on which it usually ceases entirely, through the interference, as the vulgar believe, of the saint, but in reality from the intense heat of the sun, which has by that time exhaled the miasmata which are the immediate cause of the plague. Belzoni, who was accompanied by his wife and a young Irish lad, named Curtain, landed, notwithstanding the disease; and having remained secluded in the caravanserai, until after the 24th, set off for Cairo. On reaching that city, where he meant to make an offer of his services to the pasha, to whose principal interpreter he brought letters of recommendation, he obtained lodgings in an old house of vast size and ruinous condition. Though antiquities, as he observes, were not at that time his object, he could not refrain from visiting the Pyramids. He accordingly accompanied an English gentleman to the spot, where they passed the night, and long before dawn had ascended the summit of the highest pile, to behold the sun rise over the land of Egypt.

"The scene here," says he, "is majestic and grand, far beyond description: a mist over the plains of Egypt formed a vail, which ascended and vanished gradually as the sun rose, and unvailed to the view that beautiful land, once the site of Memphis. The distant view of the smaller pyramids on the south marked the extension of that vast capital, while the solemn endless spectacle of the desert on the west inspired us with reverence for the all-powerful Creator. The fertile lands on the north, with the serpentine course of the Nile, descending toward the sea; the rich appearance of Cairo and its minarets, at the foot of the Mokattam mountain, on the east; the beautiful plain which extends from the Pyramids to that city; the Nile, which flows magnificently through the center of the Sacred Valley; and the thick groves of palm-trees under our eyes, altogether formed a scene of which a very imperfect idea can be given by the most elaborate description."

A few days after his return to Cairo he was to have been presented to the pasha, but on the way to the citadel was attacked and wounded by a Turkish soldier in such a manner that he was compelled to defer his presentation for thirty days. Mohammed Ali had not at that time properly established his power; for, when informed of the injury which had been inflicted on his guest, he only observed that such accidents were not to be prevented in cities filled with troops. This point was very soon made still clearer. In a few days the soldiers burst out into open rebellion, pillaged the inhabitants, committed every description of atrocity, and pursued his highness himself into his castle, where they for some time held him besieged. When this storm had blown over,

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Belzoni, whose hydraulic project was highly approved of by the pasha, commenced the construction of his machine in the gardens of the latter, at Shoobra, three miles from Cairo. As Mohammed Ali was not bigotedly attached to oriental fashions, he freely permitted Belzoni to be witness of his amusements, which he was sometimes even called upon to multiply. During his stay at Shoobra, business frequently required his presence at Cairo, where, on one occasion, he narrowly escaped being shot by a Turkish soldier. The ruffian having struck him in the street, he returned the blow; upon which the Turk drew his pistol, fired at him, singed his hair, and killed one of his own comrades who happened to be standing behind the traveler. The man was next day apprehended by the pasha, and never more heard of. When the hydraulic machine was completed, its power was made trial of in the presence of Mohammed Ali, who, perceiving that as an innovation it was regarded with extraordinary dislike by the Turkish and Arabic cultivators, abandoned the project altogether, without even remunerating the traveler for the loss of time and money which he had incurred.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Belzoni found, upon calculation, that his finances would still enable him to ascend the Nile as far as Assouan; and was about to proceed up the country when Burckhardt and Mr. Salt, who had previously discussed the point together, determined upon the removal of the colossal head of young Memnon to England, for the purpose of being presented to the British Museum; and requested Belzoni, as one of the fittest persons that could be found, to undertake the task. The expenses Burckhardt and Mr. Salt were to defray between them. A report was, it seems, circulated even during the lifetime of Belzoni, and previous to the publication of his travels, that in this affair he was merely the paid agent of Mr. Salt (for, as a professed Mohammedan, Burckhardt did not choose to appear). This, however, was clearly not the case. In a letter addressed to the African Association, dated Cairo, February 20th, 1817, Burckhardt says, "You will be pleased to hear that the colossal head from Thebes has at last, after many difficulties, safely arrived at Alexandria. Mr. Belzoni, who offered himself to undertake this commission, has executed it with great spirit, intelligence, and perseverance. The head is waiting now at Alexandria for a proper conveyance to Malta. Mr. Salt and myself have borne the expenses jointly; and the trouble of the undertaking has devolved upon Mr. Belzoni, whose name I wish to be mentioned, if ever ours shall, on this occasion, because he was actuated by public spirit fully as much as ourselves."

Few things are more interesting in themselves, or less captivating in description, than a search after antiquities. Belzoni, after visiting Hermontis and Dendera, arrived at Thebes, which, from the time of Strabo to the present moment, has excited the wonder and admiration of every traveler who has beheld it. "It is absolutely impossible," says Belzoni, "to imagine the scene displayed, without seeing it. The most sublime

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ideas that can be formed from the most magnificent specimens of our present architecture would give a very incorrect picture of these ruins; for such is the difference, not only in magnitude, but in form, proportion, and construction, that even the pencil can convey but a faint idea of the whole. It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proof of their existence."

After a brief examination of these mighty ruins, he crossed to the western bank of the Nile, where, amid the vast remains of the Memnonium, was the colossal head which he was to remove. He found it, he says, near the remains of its body and chair, with its face upward, and apparently smiling on him at the thought of being taken to England. The implements which he had brought from Cairo were sufficiently simple: fourteen poles, eight of which were employed in making a sort of car to lay the bust on, four ropes of palm-leaves, and four rollers, without tackle of any sort. Their boat lying too far to be used as a lodging every night, they established themselves in the Memnonium, where, as the traveler remarks, they were handsomely lodged in a small hut formed of stones. Mrs. Belzoni seems, in fact, to have been as enterprising and romantic as her husband, and made no difficulty about the rudeness of their accommodation. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of his laborious exertions, or those of the Arabs in conveying the head to the Nile. It will be sufficient to state, that after incredible toil and perseverance, it was at length brought to the edge of the stream on the 12th of August, 1816.

This object being effected, he made an excursion to the sepulchral excavations in the mountain of Goorneh, celebrated for the quantity of mummies which they contain. Into this vast labyrinth he entered with two Arabs and his interpreter. They were in search of a sarcophagus which was said to have been discovered by Drovetti, the French Consul at Alexandria; but, in roaming about amid the dreary passages, lost their way, which, without extraordinary good fortune, might have been the first step to losing their lives. In laboring to find a passage out, they came to a small aperture, through which the interpreter and one of the Arabs passed easily, but Belzoni, who was a very large man, found it too small. "One of the Arabs, however, succeeded, as did my interpreter; and it was then agreed," says he, "that I and the other Arab should wait till their return. They proceeded evidently to a great distance, for the light disappeared, and only a murmuring sound from their voices could be distinguished as they went on. After a few moments I heard a loud noise, and the interpreter distinctly crying, 'O mon Dieu! O mon Dieu! je suis perdu!' after which a profound silence ensued. I asked my Arab whether he had ever been in that place. He replied, 'Never.' I could not conceive what could have happened, and thought the best plan was to return to procure help from the other Arabs. Accordingly, I told my man to show me the way out again; but, staring

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at me like an idiot, he said he did not know the road. I called repeatedly to the interpreter, but received no answer. I watched a long time, but no one returned, and my situation was no very pleasant one."

At length, however, by dint of laborious perseverance, they issued into the upper air; and as the sarcophagus, which they had discovered, could not at that moment be removed, Belzoni conceived the design of making a small excursion into Nubia. Accordingly, he proceeded up the river to Assouan, where, after much altercation, he procured a fresh boat to carry him to the second cataract. He admired, in passing, the beautiful island of Philæ, rich in the ruins of antiquity. On the next day several natives, armed with spears and shields of crocodile skins, came in boats to attack them on the river; but observing them, Mrs. Belzoni and all, to be armed with pistols, very prudently retired. At Derr, the capital of Lower Nubia, he purchased, with a small looking-glass, permission to continue his voyage. Previous to this, many of the people of the country had never enjoyed the gratification of contemplating the reflection of their own countenances. On arriving at Abou-Simbel, he saw, with amazement, the great rock-temple noticed by Burckhardt. He immediately conceived the design of clearing away the sand which obstructed the entrance into the temple, and made the proposal to the villagers, promising, in order to excite them to the task, a present in money; but soon found that he had at length arrived in a region where money had ceased to be omnipotent. The people stared at his piasters as they would have stared at a letter in an unknown language, and inquired who would give them any thing for such small bits of metal as those? However, he by degrees succeeded in convincing them that money possessed over civilized men, and all who came within their influence, a mysterious power which they could not resist. This seemed at first to produce a good effect; but the love of money once excited, they knew not where to stop; and their avarice, which he had reckoned his best ally, soon exhausted his means, so that before he had half-completed his undertaking he was compelled to desist, and continue his voyage up the Nile to the second cataract.

Having gratified his curiosity with a glance at these celebrated spots, Belzoni returned to Assouan, and from thence proceeded to Thebes, where he immediately put in train the measures necessary for conveying down the river the Memnon's head, and various other antiquities. The obstacles which were thrown in his way by the obstinacy of the natives, and the intrigues of Drovetti, and other collectors of antiquities, were numerous, and highly disgraceful to their originators. Nevertheless, on the 17th of November, 1816, he succeeded in placing the head on board of a boat, in which he set sail on the 21st for Cairo, where he arrived on the 15th of December, after a voyage of twenty-four days.

From Cairo, Belzoni proceeded with the bust down the Nile to Rosetta and Alexandria; from whence, after having placed his charge in

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the pasha's warehouses, he quickly returned, for the purpose of proceeding on a second voyage up the Nile. It was on this occasion that he had the good fortune to become known to Mr. Briggs, with whom he returned to Cairo. Captain Caviglia had at this period commenced his researches in the interior of the first pyramid of Ghizeh, but was about to discontinue them for lack of means, when Mr. Briggs munificently engaged to furnish funds for the purpose, in which he was seconded by Mr. Salt. It was proposed by this latter gentleman that Belzoni should join Captain Caviglia in his researches; but the traveler, with commendable ambition, preferred some undertaking in which all the credit should redound to himself; and, having left his wife at the house of a friend at Cairo, he once more ascended the Nile, accompanied by Mr. Beechey, to whom he had been introduced at Alexandria.

At Eraramoun, Belzoni obtained intelligence that two agents of M. Drovetti were hurrying on toward Thebes, in the hope of forestalling him in the purchase of antiquities; upon which he hired two asses, and, leaving Mr. Beechey to come up slowly with the boat, hurried off by night. On reaching the ruins, after an incredibly fatiguing journey of five days, he found that, although the agents were not arrived, Mr. Salt's neglect, in not paving the way with a handsome present, had so completely irritated the bey, that he had appropriated to M. Drovetti the very ground upon which Belzoni had commenced his excavations during his first journey. Into the details of these quarrels, which continued to rage during Belzoni's residence in Egypt, it is not necessary to enter.

The most interesting transaction, perhaps, in which Belzoni was anywhere engaged, was his visit to the Necropolis of Thebes, in the mountain of Goorneh. This is a tract of about two miles in length, at the foot of the Libyan ridge. Every part of those rocks is scooped out into a sepulcher, which, however close it may be to other sepulchral chambers, has rarely any interior communication with them. It is impossible, as Belzoni observes, to convey by description an adequate idea of these subterraneous abodes and their inhabitants. No other sepulchers in the world resemble them. There are no excavations or mines that can be compared with those astonishing places, which, when once seen, forever after haunt the imagination, like a glimpse of the regions beyond the grave. Few travelers see more of these catacombs than the exterior chambers, from which the dead have been removed. In the interior sepulchers the air is suffocating, and frequently causes fainting. The dust of decayed mummies, which is so fine that it quickly penetrates in vast quantities to the lungs, and causes a difficulty of respiration; the strong effluvia of decomposed bodies; the dark, dismal, lonesome aspect of the place;—every thing tends to discourage the intruder. Belzoni was not, however, to be deterred. In describing the difficulties which he here encountered, he observes, "In some places there is not more than the vacancy of a foot left, which you must contrive to pass through in a creeping posture, like a snail, on pointed and keen stones that cut

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like glass. After getting through these passages, some of them two or three hundred yards long, you generally find a more commodious place, perhaps high enough to sit. But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies, in all directions, which, previous to my being accustomed to the sight, impressed me with horror. The blackness of the wall; the faint light given by the candles or torches for want of air; the different objects that were around me seeming to converse with each other; and the Arabs with the candles or torches in their hands, naked and covered with dust, themselves resembling living mummies—absolutely formed a scene that can not be described. In such a situation I found myself several times, and often returned exhausted and fainting, till at last I became inured to it, and indifferent to what I suffered except from the dust, which never failed to choke my throat and nose; and though fortunately I am destitute of the sense of smelling, I could taste that the mummies were rather unpleasant to swallow. After the exertion of entering into such a place, through a passage of fifty, a hundred, three hundred, or perhaps six hundred yards, nearly overcome, I sought a resting-place, found one, and contrived to sit; but when my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, it crushed it like a bandbox. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support; so that I sank altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones, rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept me motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again. I could not move from the place, however, without increasing it, and every step I took crushed a mummy in some part or other. Once I was conducted from such a place to another resembling it, through a passage of about twenty feet in length, and no wider than that the body could be forced through. It was choked with mummies, and I could not pass without putting my face in contact with that of some decayed Egyptian; but as the passage inclined downward, my own weight helped me on. However, I could not help being covered with bones, legs, arms and heads, rolling from above. Thus I proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies, piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri, of which I found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, and in the space above the knees, or on the legs, and covered by the numerous folds of cloth that envelop the mummy."

Belzoni continued indefatigably making new researches both at Goorneh and Karnak, but was at length put to flight by the machinations of the French, who had succeeded in gaining over to their party the bey of the province. He then resolved once more to ascend the Nile to Abou-Simbel, and was fortunate enough to meet with two English travelers, Captains Irby and Mangles, who were desirous of performing the same voyage. They hired a boat between them at Philæ, and setting out together in high spirits, visited the second cataract, and

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then returned to Abou-Simbel. Here the wrong-headedness and quarrelsome disposition of the Nubians considerably obstructed their labors in clearing away the entrance to the temple. But at length, having dismissed the native laborers, and undertaken the task themselves, they succeeded, and enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding one of the most perfect and beautiful rock-temples in the world.*

* "About two hours after midnight, I was awakened from a deep sleep by the shock of the boat striking the shore. I opened my eyes and saw, as I lay, without moving my head, a huge wall of rock before me, against which six enormous statues leaned as they looked from deep niches cut in its front. Their solemn faces were touched by the moon, which shone full on the cliff, and only their feet were wrapped in shadow. The lines of deep-cut hieroglyphics over the portal of this rocky temple were also filled with shadow and painted legibly on the gray, moonlit rock. Below them yawned the door—a square of complete darkness. A little to the left, over a long drift of sand that sloped from the summit of the cliff nearly to the water's edge, peered the mitered head of a statue of still more colossal proportions. I gazed on this broad, dim, and wonderful picture for a moment, so awed by its majesty that I did not ask myself where or what it was. This is some grand Egyptian dream, was my first thought, and I closed my eyes for a few seconds, to see whether it would vanish. But it stood fast and silent as ever, and I knew it to be Abou-Simbel. My servants all slept, and the raïs and boys noiselessly moored the boat to the shore, and then lay down and slept also. Still I lay, and the great statues looked solemly down upon me, and the moon painted their kingly nomens and banners with yet darker distinctness on the gray rock. The river made no sound below, the long grass stirred not a blade at the foot of the crags, and the slopes of sand were white and dumb as snow. I lay in too deep a repose for thought, and was not then conscious how grateful was such a silence in Nature, while the moon held up that picture before me. It might have been two minutes or twenty, before the current slowly swung the stern of the boat around, and the picture as slowly shifted from my view, leaving instead the Southern Cross in its shrine of stars.

"The front of the great temple is not parallel to that of the other, nor does it face the river, which here flows in a north-east course. The line of the cliff is broken between the two, so that the figures of the great Remeses, seated on each side of the door, look to the east, the direction of the line of the face being nearly north. Through the gap in front, the sands have poured down from the Desert behind, almost wholly filling up the space between the two cliffs; and though since the temple was first opened, by Belzoni, in 1817, it has been cleared nearly to the base more than once, the rapid accumulation of sand has again almost closed the entrance. The southern colossus is only buried about half way to the knee, but of the two northern ones there is little else to be seen except the heads. Obscured as is the effect of this grand front, it is still without parallel in the world. I had not thought it possible that in statues of such enormous magnitude there could be such singular beauty of expression. The face of Remeses, the same in each, is undoubtedly a portrait, as it resembles the faces of the statues in the interior, and those of the King in other places. Besides, there is an individuality in some of the features which is too marked to represent any general type of the Egyptian head. The fullness of the drooping eyelid, which yet does not cover the large, oblong Egyptian eye; the nose, at first slightly inclining to the aquiline, but curving to the round, broad nostrils; the generous breadth of the calm lips, and the placid, serene expression of the face, are worthy of the conqueror of Africa and the builder of Karnak and Medeenet Abou.

"The great doorway of the temple is so choked up with sand that I was obliged to creep in on my knees. The sun by this time had risen exactly to the only point where it can illumine the interior, and the rays, taking a more yellow hue from the rock and sand on which they fell, shone down the long drift between the double row of colossal statues,

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Having completed this laborious operation, Belzoni returned to his old station at Thebes, where he continued his researches in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Here, among other remarkable antiquities, he discovered one relic of the ancient world, which certainly appears to rank among the most beautiful that have ever been exhumed. "It is," says he, "a sarcophagus of the finest oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches long, and three feet seven inches wide. Its thickness is only two inches, and it is transparent when a light is placed inside it. It is minutely sculptured within and without with several hundred figures which do not exceed two inches in height, and represent, as I suppose, the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies relating to the deceased, united with several emblems, etc. I can not give an adequate

and lighted up the entrance to the second hall of the temple. I sat down in the sand, awed and half frightened by the singular appearance of the place. The sunshine, falling obliquely on the sands, struck a dim reflection against the sculptured roof, and even lighted up the furthest recesses of the grand hall sufficiently to show its imposing dimensions. Eight square pillars—four on either side of the central aisle—seem to uphold the roof, and on their inner sides, facing each other, are eight statutes of the king. The features of all are preserved, and have something of the grace and serenity, though not the majesty of the great statues outside. They look into each other's eyes, with an eternal question on their fixed countenances, but none can give answer. There was something so stern and strange in these eight faces, that I felt a shudder of fear creep over me. The strong arms are all crossed on their breasts, and the hand hold various sacred and regal symbols, conspicuous among which is something resembling a flail, which one sees often in Egyptian sculpture. I thought of a marvelous story I once read, in which a genie, armed with a brazen flail, stands at the entrance of an enchanted castle, crushing with the stroke of his terrible weapon all who come to seek the treasure within. For a moment the childish faith in the supernatural was as strong as ever, and I looked at the gloomy entrance beyond, wishing to enter, but fearing the stony flails of the terrible Remesi on either hand. The faces were once partially colored, and the black eyeball, still remaining on the blank eye of stone, gives them an expression of stupor, of death-in-life, which accounted to me for the nervous shock I experienced on entering.

"There is nothing in Egypt which can be likened to the great temple of Abou-Simbel. Karnak is grander, but its grandeur is human. This belongs rather to the superhuman fancies of the East—the halls of the Afrites—or to the realm of the dethroned Titans, of early Greek mythology. This impression is not diminished, on passing the second hall and corridor, and entering the adytum, or sacred chamber of the temple. There the granite altar yet stands in the center, before the undestroyed figures of the gods, who, seated side by side, calmly await the offerings of their worshipers. The peculiar individuality of each deity is strikingly shown in these large statues, and their attitude is much less constrained than in the sitting statues in the tombs of Thebes. These look as if they *could* rise, if they would. The walls are covered with sculptures of them and of the contemplar deities, in the grand, bold style of the age of Remeses. Some visitors had left a supply of dry palm branches near the entrance, and of these I made torches, which blazed and crackled fiercely, flaring with a rich red light on the sculptured and painted walls. There was sufficient to enable me to examine all the smaller chambers, of which there are eight or nine, cut laterally into the rock, without any attempt at symmetry of form, or regularity of arrangement. Several of them have seats running around three sides, exactly like the divans in modern Egyptian houses. They were probably designed for the apartments of priests or servants connected with the temple."—BAYARD TAYLOR'S "*Journey to Central Africa.*"

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idea of this beautiful and invaluable piece of antiquity, and can only say, that nothing has been brought into Europe from Egypt that can be compared to it. The cover was not there; it had been taken out and broken into several pieces."

Of the tomb in which this extraordinary monument was found a model was many years afterward exhibited in London, and so exceedingly well executed was the representation, that had it not been for the crowds of visitors, one might easily have imagined one's self in the sepulchers of the Egyptian kings. The original tomb at Thebes, which was first opened by Belzoni, bears his name to this day. It had been entered and plundered, probably during the Roman occupation, but again closed in so careful a manner, that it had remained undiscovered for nearly two thousand years. Belzoni wanted but one thing to render him one of the greatest antiquarian collectors in the world: this one thing was money. From the lack of this, many of his most arduous and well-planned enterprises came to nothing.

From Thebes, with which he was now as familiar as he was with London, he some time after this proceeded to Cairo. He had by this time acquired quite a passion for excavations, tomb-opening, and all those other pursuits by which travelers aim at diving into the mysteries of Egyptian manners and arts; and reflecting upon the success of Captain Caviglia in descending into the well of the Great Pyramid, the project of attempting the opening of the second occurred to him. There is not space to describe the difficulties which he encountered and overcame in the execution of this design. His labors were incessant; his expenses considerable; but, at length, after success had frequently appeared hopeless, the entrance to the interior chambers was found. "After thirty days' exertion," says he, "I had the pleasure of finding myself in the way to the central chamber of one of the two great pyramids of Egypt, which have long been the admiration of beholders!"

This object having been happily effected, Belzoni again set out for Thebes. There he was made acquainted with the history of a pretended discovery, which became a motive for a journey to the coast of the Red Sea. The history of this expedition is given in a very few words by a writer in the Quarterly Review. "A French mineralogist, of the name of Cailliaud, had accompanied some Arab soldiers sent by the pasha of Egypt in search of emeralds among the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea. On their return, Calliaud gave out that in this expedition he had discovered the ancient city of the Ptolemies, the celebrated Bernicé, the great emporium of Europe and the Indies, of which he gave a magnificent description. Mr. Belzoni, doubtful of the accuracy of the story, set out from Edfoo, with one of the former party, to visit the supposed Bernicé; where, instead of the ruins of eight hundred houses and three temples, as stated by M. Calliaud, he could find no more than eighty seven scattered houses, or rather cells; the greater number of which did not exceed *ten feet square*, built with unhewn stones, and

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without cement; and the only appearance of a temple was a niche in a rock, without inscription or sculpture of any kind; there was no land for cultivation, nor any water within twenty-four miles; no communication with the sea but by a rough road over the mountains, of twenty-four miles; and the shore was so covered with projecting rocks for twenty or thirty miles on each side, that there was no security even for the smallest boats, much less for ships trading to India. These, therefore, he was quite certain, could not be the remains of Bernicé.

As, however, the site of this celebrated city had been fully described by the ancient writers, Mr. Belzoni determined to prosecute his researches; and at the end of twenty days he discovered, close to the shore, the extensive ruins of an ancient city near the Cape Lepte Extrema, the Ras el Anf (Cape Nose) of the present day; the projection of which forms an ample bay (now named Foul Bay), having at the bottom an excellent harbor for vessels of small burden. These ruins, which are beyond dispute those of the celebrated emporium founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, were four days' journey from the rude cells of the quarrymen or miners, which Mr. Cailliaud is stated to have so strangely mistaken for the magnificent vestiges of the ancient Bernicé. Several wells of bitter water were found among the ruins; and between them and the mountains was an extensive plain fit for cultivation. The remains of more than three thousand houses were counted, about the center of which were those of a temple with sculptured figures and hieroglyphics."

Having made this discovery, he again returned to the valley of the Nile, where he was for some time occupied in the removal of various antiquities. He then descended to the sea-coast, and on the 20th of April, 1819, set out from Rosetta, on an excursion to the district of Fayoum, and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. After roaming about the shores of Lake Mœris for some time, for he had no leisure for making researches, he visited the ruins of Arconde, consisting of a few granite columns, and fragments, and mounds of burned bricks. He then prepared to cross the desert to the Oasis, which was an affair of some difficulty. Nevertheless, he at length succeeded in completing his preparations, and commenced his journey, accompanied by a Bedouin guide, and three or four other persons. Even here, in the desert, ruins of Egyptian edifices, beautifully sculptured with hieroglyphics, were found. The scene at first lay among low rocks, sandy hills, and barren valleys, which were gradually exchanged for a plain of sand, as level as the sea, and thickly strewed with brown and black pebbles. They continued during five days their journey over this dreary waste, at the end of which time they perceived the rocks of the Oasis, and beheld two crows coming, as it were, to meet them. In the afternoon they entered the valley, which is surrounded by high rocks, and forms in the midst a spacious plain, about twelve or fourteen miles long, and about six in breadth. "There is only a very small portion of the valley cultivated

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on the opposite side to that which we reached, and it can only be distinguished by the woods of palm-trees which cover it. The rest of the valley is wholly covered with tracts of sand, but it is evident it has once been cultivated everywhere. Many tracts of land are of a clayey substance, which could be brought into use even now. There are several small hills scattered about, some with a natural spring at the top, and covered with rushes and small plants. We advanced toward a forest of date-trees, and before evening we reached within a mile of a village named Zaboo, all of us exceedingly thirsty: here we observed some cultivation, several beds of rice and some sunt-trees, etc. Before the camels arrived, they scented the water at a distance; and as they had not drank since they left Rejan, they set off at full gallop, and did not stop till they reached a rivulet, which was quite sweet, although the soil was almost impregnated with salt. I observed here a great many wild birds, particularly wild ducks, in greater abundance than any other."

The first man who perceived them after their entrance into the valley evinced a disposition to shoot Belzoni; but, upon the explanation of the Bedouin guide, consented to conduct them to the village. "We advanced," says the traveler, "and entered a lane; and as we penetrated further, we entered a most beautiful place, full of dates, intermixed with other trees, some in blossom and others in fruit; there were apricots, figs, almonds, plums, and some grapes. The apricots were in greater abundance than the rest, and the figs were very fine. The soil was covered with verdure of grass and rice, and the whole formed a most pleasing recess, particularly after the barren scenes of the desert."

His reception at this village was equivocal: there being several shekhs, each of whom made pretensions to authority. Some were disposed to treat him kindly, while others, more morose, kept at a distance; but a few cups of coffee, judiciously distributed, and followed by a sheep boiled in rice, reconciled the whole; although they next morning, when they were again hungry, relapsed into their former rude manners. Like all other ignorant people, they supposed that he must necessarily be in search of treasure, and for some time refused to conduct him to the ruins of which he was in search; but upon being assured that whatever treasures might be discovered should fall to their share, while all he stipulated for were a few stones, they consented to accompany him. The ruins, which he supposed to be those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, now served, he found, as a basement for nearly a whole village, in the vicinity of which he discovered, as he thought, the famous "Fountain of the Sun," which is warm at midnight and cold at noon.* This is a well of sixty feet deep by eight square, which, over-

* In both these suppositions, Belzoni was mistaken. The Oasis which he visited was not that of Jupiter Ammon, now known under the name of Siwah, but was in reality the *Oasis Parva*, or Little Oasis, called by the Arabs the *Wah El-Bahryeh* (Northern Oasis). The Temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the Fountain of the Sun, are to be found in the Oasis Siwah, which is seven or eight days journey north-west of the latter.

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flowing in a considerable rivulet, serves to irrigate some cultivated lands. All around it is a grove of palm and other trees. The temperature of the water, however, continues at all times the same; all its apparent changes being accounted for by the greater or less degree of heat in the atmosphere.

From this excursion Belzoni returned to Egypt, from whence he embarked for Europe about the middle of September, 1819. After an absence of twenty years he visited his family in Italy, whence he departed for England, where he completed and published his travels. A few years afterward this enterprising and able traveler fell in an attempt to penetrate into the interior of Africa.

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CAILLIAUD'S

JOURNEY TO THE LIBYAN OASES, ETHIOPIA, AND SENNAAR.

Frederic Cailliaud, the first modern traveler who made a complete exploration of the ruins of Ethiopia, was a native of Nantes. His taste for archæology and for the natural sciences led him to travel, and on visiting Egypt he found so much to interest and fascinate him, that he remained four years. Early in 1816 he ascended the Nile as far as Wady Halfa, at the second cataract, following in the steps of Burckhardt, and preceding Belzoni by a few months. He also visited the Great Oasis in the Libyan Desert, west of Thebes, and crossed from the Nile to the Red Sea, where he discovered ruins which he supposed to be those of Berenicé—a mistake afterward corrected by Belzoni.

Returning to France in February, 1819, after an absence of nine years, Cailliaud immediately applied to the French government, to be again dispatched to Egypt for the purpose of making more extensive explorations. His application was warmly seconded by the French Institute, and in two months he received the appointment, and his instructions from the Minister of the Interior. After passing a month with his parents at Nantes, he set out for Marseilles, accompanied by M. Letorzec, a cadet of the French navy, who desired to accompany him. Embarking on the 10th of September, he landed at Alexandria on the 1st of October, after a very stormy passage. His plan was, first to penetrate to the Oasis of Siwah, or Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan Desert, a spot which few travelers had ever reached, and which none had ever thoroughly explored. The failure of a recent attempt did not discourage him: he proceeded to Cairo, and after visiting some new mummy pits which had been opened at Sakkara, made his preparations and set out on the 1st of November, accompanied by Letorzec, and Ismail, a French Mameluke.

Ascending the Nile to Benisouef Cailliaud proceeded to the district

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of the Fyoom, lying a day's journey to the west, and was so fortunate as to find the governor, who had just returned from a successful foray among some rebellious desert tribes. The latter sent for an Arab chief named Koroom, and an inhabitant of Siwah, named Youssef, who happened to be in the Fyoom, and requested them to conduct Cailliaud to the Oasis. They made serious objections to the plan, but finally yielded, on condition that the travelers would neither write nor draw, clothe themselves as Egyptians, and assume the character of natives of Cairo. The governor of the Fyoom gave Cailliaud a letter to the chiefs of Siwah, in which he declared that the traveler was sent by Mohammed Ali, and should be treated with the same respect which they owed to the pasha. The camels were brought, and after halting two days at the encampment of Koroom, they commenced their march into the desert. "The two eldest daughters of Shekh Koroom," says Cailliaud, "accompanied us for half a league, wishing us all sorts of benedictions, for the success of our journey. I saw them collect the dust from the places where the feet of the Arabs who accompanied us had left their imprint; this dust they placed in a *takia*, or small Arab cap, which they held in the hand. I was told that this was done to preserve us from accidents; that they were required to collect some dust from the steps of each man and each camel; that, on returning to their tent, they would make a little hole in the top of the cap, and suspend it, in the manner of an hour-glass; and that they would consult it every day to notice the duration of our absence, and calculate the time of our return."

At a village called El Gharak, on the borders of the desert, they were joined by a caravan of inhabitants of the Fyoom, with one hundred camels, bound for Siwah. Some of the native merchants refused to go, through the fear of being compromised by the presence of Cailliaud's party. The travelers were obliged to relinquish the idea of taking meridian altitudes, and could not make the least observation, even by the barometer, except by stealth. They were also exceedingly circumspect in their conversation, taking care to make no remark which might excite the suspicion of the Arabs. In two days they arrived at a mountain called Rayàn el Kasr, at the foot of which, in a little valley, they found a curious well. "The principal spring is a funnel-shaped hole, two feet in diameter at the bottom. Shekh Koroom descended into this hole, and plunged into the center a stout piece of wood, which he moved around in the clay, opening a passage for the water, which instantly began to rise. The shekh then placed his legs in the orifice, and by twisting himself, succeeded in thrusting his body down to the arm-pits. Another man mounted on his shoulders to retain him there, and when the latter quitted his hold the shekh was thrown out of the water by the force of the spring, which is very abundant. The Arabs have the habit of crying aloud during this operation, which appears to them miraculous: they pretend that without doing so, the water would not come."

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The caravan continued its march over plains of sand, alternating with hard tracts covered with agates, and occasionally the remains of petrified forests, among which Cailliaud found the trunk of a sycamore eleven feet in circumference and fifteen feet in length. As they approached Siwah the earth became covered with a crystalization of salt, forming vast incrusted plains. Finally, on the fifteenth day, they saw in the distance a valley fertile in palms and acacias, in the midst of which was a village tributary to Siwah, and distant from it about twenty leagues. The village, called El-Garah, was built on the summit of a steep rock, and appeared to consist partly of the remains of ancient edifices. A curious superstition prevails in this place. A former shekh predicted that the inhabitants of the village—men, women, and children—would never exceed forty. The people declared that the number had sometimes a little exceeded that limit, but that the balance was always speedily restored by the death of the surplus population. When a child is born, they expect a death among the older inhabitants, to make room for it. Cailliaud was not allowed to enter the village on the first day, and on climbing the rock the next morning, the people cried "Christian!"—whence he knew that some of the Arabs of the caravan had betrayed his true character. Youssef of Siwah finally declared that the traveler would instantly write to Mohammed Ali, who was his friend, if they did not admit him, whereupon they allowed him to enter, and presented him with some fine dates.

"On the night of December 8," says Cailliaud, "Shekh Koroom and Youssef came into my tent, and said to me with a very mysterious air, that now was the moment to make use of my sorcery in order to moderate the anger of the people of Siwah. 'I have had several occasions,' said Koroom, 'of knowing how experienced are the Christians in this art. Signor Belzoni, whom I conducted to the Little Oasis, finding himself annoyed by the inhabitants and by a caravan of Siwah which opposed his researches, suddenly began to write mysterious notes; and immediately those who designed to injure him, humiliated themselves before him and kissed his hands, which proved his great power!' I was at first tempted to convince him of his error, but I reflected that in order to encourage him to serve me, I ought, on the contrary, to assure him that I was as skillful as Belzoni, and he might depend on the success of my magical arts." On the evening of the 9th, they discovered in the west the palm-groves of Siwah, and encamped near an old well. Koroom and Youssef set out by night to announce their approach to the shekhs, and Cailliaud was so excited with anxiety and expectation, that he found it impossible to sleep.

"After marching three hours, the next morning, we reached the first grove of date-palms, and the Arabs fired a volley to signalize our approach. Youssef came to me, crying out with joy that we had obtained permission to enter the oasis. We proceeded onward by paths shaded by numerous palm-groves; olive, pomegranate, peach, apricot, and fig-

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trees enriched the landscape. The freshness of the verdure is preserved by tanks and abundant springs; brooks flow in all directions. These gardens appeared to us delicious, and the happiness of having been able to penetrate into this district, separated from the world by a hundred leagues of sand, enchanted me. Every step brought me nearer to a spot almost unknown, and perhaps to the long-sought temple of Jupiter Ammon. Youssef presented me to three chiefs, who saluted me after the manner of the country. They made us encamp in a court under the walls of the town, near a place where dates were exposed for sale. The windows of the houses were crowded with women, curious to see us. The people came in crowds around our tent; there was an excitement in all Siwah. In order to disperse the assembly, the shekhs were obliged to prohibit the inhabitants of the place, Youssef excepted, from approaching us, under penalty of a fine of a hundred and sixty baskets of dates. A much more severe fine was imposed on those who addressed insulting remarks to us. This circumstance gave me an opportunity of judging of the power of the shekhs over the people, for the latter retired suddenly, and we remained entirely isolated."

Soon afterward Cailliaud was called before a grand council of the shekhs and people, and asked by what authority he came. He replied that he was sent by Mohammed Ali. They then demanded the firman, which he had not been able to procure, as the Pasha was absent in Nubia; but he had an old firman, given to him for the purpose of visiting Souakin, on the Red Sea, which he presented. The only shekh who could read, understood "Souakin" to mean "Siwah," and ridiculed the secretaries of Cairo, who could not spell the name correctly. The final decision of the council was that the traveler should be permitted to see the antiquities of the oasis, and on the third day he was furnished with a guide. He was first conducted to the Mountain of the Dead, a small hill of limestone, hollowed out with the sepulchers of the ancient inhabitants. Two leagues west of the town he found the remains of a building, apparently of the Lower Empire, another hill of catacombs, and a beautiful little Roman temple, of the Doric order, in a good state of preservation. Near the latter, on the plain, were the remains of houses, broken columns, and heaps of cut stones, indicating a former town or fortress. The Arabs called the place *beled er-Room*, or the Greek town.

Cailliaud now solicited the chiefs to allow him to visit the ruins of Om Beydah, the most important of all, which he conjectured to be those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He tried both entreaties and presents, but they refused, giving as a reason that his presence there would cause the great fountain to dry up. They stated that immediately after the visit of Browne and Hornemann to Om Beydah, the fountain became dry. The inhabitants were struck with terror, and attributed the circumstance to the fact of the Christians having gazed upon it. The next day, on ascending the mountain of Drar-Abou-Beryk, Cailliaud

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overlooked all the province of Siwah, and, by the aid of a good telescope, saw the ruins of Om Beydah rising above the tufted palms. They appeared to him of gigantic size, and the desire to visit them became stronger than ever. "The sun was on the horizon; my guides had descended. I followed them, but at a distance, feeling myself unable to converse with them. I pondered in my mind what stratagem I could devise in order to visit the temple. I let them all pass on—guides, Arabs, interpreter—and remained in the rear. Reflecting that I was but a quarter of a league from the spot, I determined to make an attempt to reach it. Enveloping myself in my bornous, I approached the palm-grove, but seeing that I was watched by the spies, I felt the impossibility of accomplishing my object, and returned."

During his short stay at the oasis, Cailliaud collected some information regarding the place and people. The principal trade is in dates, which are produced in great numbers, and of excellent quality. The government consists of twelve shekhs, six of whom are elected for life, and the remaining six from year to year. Their deliberations are public, and the people all take part in them. Theft and other minor offenses are punished by a fine of dates; those who are not able to pay, are conducted out of the town, placed upon the ground face downward, and bastinadoed on the naked loins. If a murderer is taken, he is given into the hands of the relatives of his victim, to whom he belongs. According to their caprice they may kill him, torture him, or set him free. The amount received in fines is appropriated to keeping the mosques in repair, to supporting the saints, or holy men, and to assisting strangers who have been pillaged in the desert. As soon as the boys have attained the age of puberty, they are obliged to leave the town and live in a separate village outside of the walls. Each widower is also obliged to leave his house and join the young bachelors; if he marries again, he is allowed to return home. They are permitted to enter the town during the day, to see their relatives and friends, but they must retire before sunset. In spite of their mistrust, obtinacy and superstition, the inhabitants of Siwah are very hospitable. The poor, or strangers, may go to the market of dates and eat to satiety; each one leaves his goods exposed in public with the perfect assurance that no one will touch them.

At last, by means of presents judiciously distributed by the mameluke Ismail, Shekh Ali was induced to second Cailliaud's application to visit Om Beydah. But the other shekhs and the people still refused, until, on the evening of the 21st, the traveler offered to be conducted to the temple with his eyes bandaged, seeing neither the country nor the great fountain. On the same day news had been received of the approach of a large caravan coming from Bengazi, in Barca—a circumstance which would oblige Shekh Koroom to leave with his camels, as there was not pasturage for all in the oasis. In the evening, Shekh Ali came with the permission to visit Om Beydah, but counseled the traveler to act with prudence, and to depart with Koroom immediately af-

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terward. These were also his intentions, and the next morning, at daylight, accompanied by M. Letorzec, Ismail, and four of the shekhs of Siwah, mounted on asses, he set out. Threading the woods of date-palms, watered by little brooks, for half an hour, they emerged from the shade at the foot of the temple. "The ruin, although not extensive, appeared to me imposing from its grand masses, constructed in the Egyptian style. The remembrance of the voyage of Alexander caused me to approach it with a sort of religious respect. My attention was directed to the walls of the temple; I looked for some vestiges of the presence of the Macedonian hero; but I found no inscription, no word in his language. All was mute; his name even was unknown to the inhabitants, and buried in profound oblivion."

The temple consisted of a mass of ruins about three hundred and sixty feet in length by three hundred in breadth. The walls were not more than eighteen feet high, and the roof, a portion of which remained, was composed of blocks twenty-six feet long. After having measured and inspected these ruins, Cailliaud began to make a sketch of them. The people of Siwah, who accompanied him, approached in order to discover what he was doing; but as they saw he drew nothing but stones, omitting the fountains and date-trees, they allowed him to proceed. During this operation, Ismail amused them by playing with a fragment of India-rubber; they could not comprehend how so small a body could prolong itself to such an extent, nor how it could efface the writing on paper. The guides now urged the traveler to depart, and on reaching the town, he learned that the caravan from Barca had arrived. Shekh Koroom was very anxious to set out, and the order was accordingly given to load the camels. They left in the afternoon for the Little Oasis, several days' journey to the south, whither the shekh had promised to conduct them; but this intention was kept secret from the rest of the caravan. During the next day's march, they were surprised by the appearance of another caravan, coming toward them. The camels were arranged in order of battle, powder distributed, guns loaded, and every preparation made to repel an attack, but the strangers fortunately proved to be friends. Shekh Koroom, with two Arabs, and Cailliaud and his party here left the caravan, in spite of the remonstrances of the other Arabs, and set out for the Little Oasis. Their route led them through tracks of salt desert, alternating with mountains of naked rock and sand. On the 27th, they came upon a salt lake, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown. The Arabs called it *El-bahreyn* (the Two Lakes); it was nearly two leagues in length from east to west, by half a league in breadth, bordered on the north by a long, rocky mountain, and on the south by a great bank of sand, behind which was a grove of date and doum-palms.

"On the 1st of January, 1820, we started at half-past nine, following the valley toward the East. The grass, the asclepias, the tamarisks, and some little marshes which we passed, announced to us the proximity

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of the oasis. In a short time we perceived the date-groves. With what pleasure we discovered this rich verdure, in the midst of the sands of the desert, after having undergone so many fatigues, so much care and privation! The vegetation appeared to me still more beautiful when I thought of the signs of winter then prevailing in Europe. At noon, we arrived at El-Kasr, the largest village of the oasis. On approaching it, we met the shekh, who came to offer us the use of his house, whither we repaired." The travelers were very hospitably entertained. Having expressed a wish to visit the antiquities of the place, they were next day conducted to the ruins of a triumphal arch, of Roman time, small, but of graceful design. Near the village of Mendysh were numerous catacombs, and the remains of an old Coptic village, but Cailliaud failed to discover any thing of special interest. There was also a warm spring, probably the same mistaken by Belzoni for the Fountain of the Sun, as the latter supposed this oasis, which he visited, to be that of Jupiter Ammon.

On the 10th, a small caravan arrived from Minyeh, on the Nile, and Cailliaud took the opportunity to send back with it one of his servants in charge of all his unnecessary baggage, and the minerals, shells, and curiosities which he had collected. His contract with Koroom being at an end, he asked the shekh of the oasis to procure him camels for his further journey, and in the mean time employed himself in making a topographical plan of the oasis. In this he was soon embarrassed by the inhabitants, some of whom declared that he was putting their country upon paper, in order to show it to the pasha, and thereby increase their tribute; while others imagined it to be a work of magic, which would cause their springs to dry up. In spite of the firman of Mohammed Ali, which the shekh read aloud, publicly, the opposition was so great that the travelers were obliged to make their observations secretly, but as they were detained several weeks, waiting for camels, they finally succeeded in making a very correct map.

On the 2d of February, however, a complaint was made before the cadi, and the principal inhabitants of the village assembled around Cailliaud's house. The travelers were formally arraigned, and the most profound silence ensued, when an Arab stepped into the circle to denounce them. "I have seen him," said he, pointing to Cailliaud, "stop at a fountain and plunge therein an instrument of glass and of silver. After having withdrawn it, he immediately began to write." These magical proceedings, he said, were made to alarm the inhabitants. There was then a general demand to behold the instrument of sorcery. The thermometer was produced, and Cailliaud endeavored, but in vain, to explain its properties. When he made the column of mercury rise or fall, by applying or withdrawing the ball of his thumb, they looked on with terror, calling the Prophet to their aid. He then showed them a telescope and repeating watch, and exploded some fulminating silver; all of which all the more firmly convinced them of his magical powers. They appointed a man to watch him day and night, but the spy found

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the sorcerer's table so much better than his own, that he soon became a firm friend. Meanwhile the inhabitants busied themselves in procuring camels, in order that the dangerous visitor might be enabled to leave as soon as possible.

The departure took place on the 10th of February. The inhabitants assembled in a crowd to witness it, and Cailliaud judged it prudent to distribute a few parting gifts among them. The cadi gave him a letter of recommendation to the shekhs of the Oasis of Farafreh, which no European had ever visited, and where, consequently, difficulties were to be anticipated. Passing a range of sand-stone mountains, and plains of gravel dotted with isolated peaks, the caravan reached a village called El-Hayz, a dependency of the Little Oasis, after ten hours' march. Near this place are the remains of an ancient Christian church, on the wall of which the travelers noticed a mutilated fresco of St. George and the dragon. After five days' journey over barren deserts, passing many ancient oases which the sands have now completely inundated, they approached Farafreh. "An accident, which might have proved fatal, broke the monotony of our journey. Our camels had been bitten and frightened by a vicious he-camel of the caravan, and my interpreter and myself were thrown upon the bare rock. This fall was terrible; it was impossible for me to rise; my interpreter fell upon his head, and I suffered intense pains in the loins. But we were near Farafreh. The desire of arriving there gave us strength, and at the end of an hour our Arabs assisted us to remount our dromedaries.

"Toward evening we discovered the palms of Farafreh, and arrived there after a march of ten hours. On seeing us, the Arabs flew to arms, and assembled at the gate of their village; most of them mounted on the towers of the Kasr, and all had muskets. These preparations made us fear that they would not receive us. Seeing us advance, they sent two men to parley with us. The greeting of these men was unfriendly; they offered us water and every thing else which we wanted, on condition that we would not approach the village, adding that they had orders to make us continue our route. Our reputation in the Little Oasis had preceded us, and it was known that we were Christians; but I was not in a condition to go further, and my interpreter was scarcely able to speak. I told them I had a firman from the Pasha, which they should see next morning, at the same time ordering the camels to be unloaded, and the tents pitched near the village. They still insisted that we should leave, but I threw myself on my carpet, and listened to no one. When they had been informed of our accident they took pity on us, and allowed us to pass the night tranquilly."

The next day the shekhs of the place came to visit Cailliaud. They paid no attention to the firman of Mohammed Ali, nor to the letter of the shekh of the Little Oasis; but a dish of crows cooked with rice, which was offered to them, secured their good graces—nothing more was said of forcing the travelers to leave, although they were denied en-

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trance into the village. Cailliaud, during the two following days, succeeded in making a plan of the oasis, and in taking a sketch of the village by means of a camera obscura. While he was thus employed the natives thronged around, curious to know what he was doing. He directed M. Letorzec to take a telescope and point it to the sun; the interpreter made the people sit on the ground and observe profound silence. After the magical operation was finished the chiefs were allowed to look through the telescope, and they cried out in astonishment at seeing the sun (through the colored lens) as a ball of purple fire. The people were then allowed to look, and in their gratification, they gave the travelers permission to enter their village. Contrary to Cailliaud's expectation, there were no ruins of importance. The principal building was the Kasr, or Castle, which was about three hundred feet in circuit, and thirty-five feet in height, built of stone and burned bricks. The Oasis of Farafreh is said to have been the first which was conquered by the Moslems from the Christians who formerly inhabited these deserts.

After a stay of four days, Cailliaud set out for the Oasis of Dakhel, which he reached after a journey of three days. On approaching the largest village, called also the Kasr, the principal inhabitants came out to receive him. After he had encamped in a garden of dates and olive-trees, outside of the wall, the shekhs came, bringing a present of dates and dried apricots. When he informed them that he desired to see the antiquities of the oasis, they willingly offered to show them to him. These antiquities, however, are of little importance, consisting of some catacombs, several brick edifices of Roman construction, and a small Egyptian temple which appears to belong to the era of the Ptolemies. Near the town there is a natural warm spring, which the inhabitants have conducted into baths cut in the rock, where they bathe every morning.

Some Arabs, coming from Siout, brought the news that the pasha was preparing an expedition against Dongola, and this news excited in Cailliaud the desire to profit by the occasion, to visit Ethiopia and Meroë. Besides this, his funds were getting low and his party were exhausted by the fatigues of desert travel. Instead, therefore, of remaining to make a careful survey of the oasis, he determined to make a hasty visit to the Great Oasis of El-Khargeh (sometimes called the Oasis of Thebes), and then return to the Nile. After a stay of only two days at Kasr-Dakhel, he set out, journeying through the oasis for the first day or two; the path then led over an elevated desert plateau, crossed by detached mountain chains. "On the morning of the 1st of March, we reached a mountain of sandstone, whence we had the satisfaction of discovering, in the south-east, the palms of El-Khargeh, two and a half leagues distant. It would have been more agreeable to us to have seen the palms of the Nile; my Arabs, above all, would have desired it, as two of them were suffering severely with fever, but we

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were all delighted to reach El-Khargeh, where we should have two days rest. We soon descended into the valley, and encamped near a fine fountain, under some superb acacias. It was a lively pleasure to me to behold again the ruins which had excited my surprise and admiration in April, 1818. The shekh of El-Khargeh, who was soon apprised of the arrival of Europeans, ran to meet me. What was his surprise when he recognized me, after an absence of two years! He no longer considered me as a fool, and was more than ever convinced that I had discovered treasures among the ruins, which I had now come to carry away."

Cailliaud only remained two days, to examine the great temple, which is one hundred and ninety-five feet in length, and then took the direct road to Siout, in Upper Egypt. The journey was very rough and fatiguing; they expected to reach the Nile by the end of the fourth day, but the camels were too much fatigued. The next morning "the camels were very lively; they seemed already to smell the air of the Nile-valley. At the end of an hour, we reached the crest of a mountain, and all at once discovered at our feet the shores of the Nile, which we had quitted four months before. Then, suffering our glances to wander alternately over the desert we had traversed, and the smiling perspective before us, we admired at our leisure this interesting contrast. On one side, the river presented to us, as far as our vision extended, its banks covered with verdure, with flowers, and with harvests; the palms of the Nile, the numerous barks upon the water, and the animals which grazed upon the shores, animated the lovely landscape: on the other hand, the desert still saddened us with the appearance of its vast sea of arid and burning sands."

"On reaching the cultivated lands, we encountered a Bedouin woman, carrying a jar of water upon her head, and begged her to stop. She contemplated our caravan, exhausted with fatigue; our camels, haggard and marching painfully; our own pale faces, our Arabs covered with dust, depressed and shaking with fever—these objects at once told her how much we needed water, and she hastened to offer us all that her jar contained, with some dates. The young woman asked if it had been a long time since we had left the Nile. 'Four months,' replied the Arabs. 'Four months!' she exclaimed, fixing upon us her beautiful dark eyes, with a touching expression of tenderness and pity. Then, by a spontaneous movement, she extended her arms toward us, adding in a plaintive voice, 'O my friends, O my unfortunate brothers!' I presented this charitable creature with a silver coin, and we left her with our benedictions."

Disappointed in finding letters from Europe at Siout, Cailliaud resolved to proceed immediately to Cairo, where he arrived on the 18th. He was not able to see Mohammed Ali, for the plague had broken out in the citadel, and the pasha had shut himself up in his palace at Shoobra. The French Consul, Drovetti, however, presented him to Ismail Pasha, who was about setting out for Upper Egypt, to take command

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of the expedition against Dongola. This prince assured the traveler of his protection, and offered to assist him in the execution of his plans. As it was difficult to hire a vessel for the ascent of the Nile, Cailliaud purchased a boat about twenty-five feet long, with a cabin large enough for three persons, and sailed for Upper Egypt on the 22d of April, accompanied by M. Letorzec, an interpreter, and two Arab servants. On reaching Siout, he learned that the expedition to Dongola had been retarded, and therefore proceeded to Thebes, where he arrived on the 14th of May, designing to occupy himself with archæological studies during the delay. He had a temporary dwelling made from the stones of a ruined temple, at the foot of the mountain of Goorneh; the roof was composed of the lids of mummy-coffins. Here he occupied himself in copying the representations in the adjoining tombs; but the continued delay of the expedition led him to believe that he would have time to return to Cairo, and make an excursion to the ruins of Cyrene on the Libyan coast, before the departure of Ismail Pasha for Dongola.

In consequence of this, he departed from Thebes on the 6th of June, and arrived at Cairo after a voyage of twenty days. Here he visited Ismail Pasha, who renewed to him the promise of his assistance and protection, but added that he intended to set out with the expedition in fifteen days. Cailliaud's voyage was therefore useless, and after visiting the petrified forests near Cairo, he started on his return to Upper Egypt on the 27th of July. After a tedious voyage of twenty-two days he again reached Thebes, but continued his journey without halt—except to purchase four dromedaries at Daraou—to Assouan, where Ismail Pasha was then encamped, on the left bank of the Nile. "The shores were crowded with barks, and covered with troops, tents, camels, cavalry, baggage, ammunition, and artillery; every thing announced the war which was soon to be carried on in Nubia. These preparations had an important aspect: the cries of the animals, the acclamations of the people, the songs of the Albanians, the music of the cymbals and flutes, and the roll of the drums—all contributed to excite the imagination. The camp presented a picture of mirth; each one gave himself up to joy; the soldiers saw pillage in perspective; the pasha flattered himself with the idea of capturing forty thousand negroes; the Europeans were ambitious of reaching Meroë, and in that ambition, exposed themselves to the dangers and chances of an unjust war."

Soon after his arrival, Cailliaud paid a visit to Ismail Pasha, and found him still favorably disposed. He offered the traveler a tent, and the usual daily ration, which the latter declined. Soon afterward, however, he learned that the Greek physicians in the pasha's service were intriguing to prevent him from going; reports were spread that he had a secret commission from the French government to search for gold mines. On visiting the pasha a second time, two days afterward, Cailliaud saw that these intrigues were likely to prove successful. He was coldly

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received, and the pasha stated that, since reflecting upon the subject, he believed that it would be useless for him to accompany the expedition, which was wholly warlike, and would give him no opportunity of examining the antiquities of the country. The traveler presented to him three firmans, which he had received from Mohammed Ali, but as the name of Dongola was not mentioned in them, the pasha made this a pretext for persisting in his refusal, stating that a new firman would be necessary.

Cailliaud had already gone to considerable expense in preparing for the journey, and rather than give up his hopes at this point, he determined to return at once to Cairo. The country was inundated by the rise of the Nile; his progress was tedious and delayed by accidents, and he did not reach Cairo until the 20th of September. Mohammed Ali had gone to Alexandria, whither the traveler followed him. He lost no time in being presented to the pasha, who demanded news of his son Ismail and the army. Cailliaud gave him the desired information, then spoke of Sennaar and the gold-mines which were said to exist in the mountains beyond that country, promising to examine them and report to him whether they could be profitably worked. This proposition was well received, and the pasha promised new firmans for Sennaar and the gold-mines, which were made out and delivered two days afterward. The return voyage was immediately commenced; four days more were spent at Cairo, in procuring additional supplies, and the party, after encountering a violent hurricane in passing Djebel Silsileh, did not reach Daraou until the 19th of November. Here he obtained a guide for Dongola, and learned, from messengers descending the Nile, that Ismail Pasha had gained a victory over the Shygheeas, in Southern Nubia. The messengers carried with them the heads of six shekhs, and the ears of several hundred warriors, which the pasha was sending to Mohammed Ali.

Cailliaud's caravan, consisting of eight persons—including himself, M. Letorzec, and the captain of his bark, a Maltese—left Assouan on the 25th of November. They ascended the western bank of the Nile, devoting very little time to the examination of the Egyptian temples in Nubia, in their haste to overtake the army, and reached Wadi Halfa (the second cataract) on the 8th of December. After being detained in this neighborhood for some days by vexatious disputes in relation to guides and camels, which it is not necessary to describe, they resumed their journey through the Batn el-Hadjar, Sukkot, and Mahass, taking nearly the same route followed by Burckhardt in his return from the latter country. The track sometimes followed the course of the river, sometimes swerved to the right, into the desert, to avoid its windings. On the 3d of January, 1821, they reached the temple of Soleb, the most beautiful of the Egyptian monuments in Nubia, above the second cataract, and remained several days to examine it. Cailliaud considered it of similar style to the Memnonium at Thebes; he gives its length at three

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hundred and fifty feet, and counted the remains of more than ninety columns, some of which, thirty-two feet high, are still standing on their pedestals.*

On the 11th of January, the caravan reached the frontier of Dongola. "Our route was bordered by a grove of tufted acacias, which hid from our view the opposite bank of the river. At a quarter of a league to the west, we saw other acacias, with cultivated fields and the habitations of the Arabs. There, only, I felt that I had quitted Egypt. In Lower Nubia, as in Egypt, the monotonous aspect of the palms, the burning rocks, the sands which threaten to engulf the valley of the Nile, occasion a profound feeling of melancholy; but the region I had reached presented a very different aspect—the palms were there replaced by thick woods of acacias and of nebbuks. This verdure recalled France to my mind; I felt the liveliest emotion in traversing this smiling country. In the afternoon we encamped at the village of Hafyr, where we remained a day, and met with Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury, who came from the province of Shygheea, the limit of their journey, and were returning to Cairo. I flattered myself that this unexpected meeting would procure me the advantage of learning what the antiquities were which, the Arabs had told me, existed in Shygheea; but Mr. Waddington, whom I questioned on the subject, was by no means indiscreet. He suffered me to remain in the most profound ignorance, and my surprise was therefore extreme, when, on arriving at Berkel, I first beheld the grand monuments there."

A few days after this, the caravan began to suffer from a scarcity of provisions. Sheep were to be had, and the travelers shot doves and partridges, but the army of Ismail Pasha had swept away all the grain, so that they had neither bread for themselves, nor food for their camels. Opposite the island of Argo, Cailliaud learned that there was a dépôt of army supplies, but on visiting it, found that nothing was to be had except some dourra (a coarse grain resembling broom-corn), and dried beans, and to obtain even these he must first procure an order from King Tomboul, who lived on an adjoining island. Kafiz Effendi, the commissary, nevertheless received the traveler kindly, invited him to dinner, and offered to allow his caravan to accompany a small military party of his own, which was to leave for Ismael Pasha's camp in a few days. This offer was accepted; a visit to King Tomboul procured two bags of dourra and beans; and Cailliaud then set to work to examine the antiquities of the island.

"We were obliged," he says, "to traverse plains covered with thick woods, where it was often necessary to descend from our horses in order

* The Temple of Soleb, situated in the midst of a landscape which presents the most enchanting forms, stands in a little bay of verdure, inclosed on three sides by the rocks of the Desert. Whether the traveler approaches it from north or south, it appears unexpectedly, and the surprise of the first view tends to heighten the impression of its symmetry and majesty.—B. T.

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to penetrate the little paths, bordered with acacia and arbutus. The charms of these delicious paths made us disregard the obstacles we encountered. Vegetation, on this island, breathes of freshness and life: the trees which have been dried up by age, or choked by the violent embraces of the parasitic vines, still present the appearance of vigor and youth, under the tissue of verdure, with which these gigantic plants embrace them, forming arbors which no art can imitate. We at length arrived at the spot, where lie the two colossal statues of Memnon. A bare space, covered with fragments of sandstone, and two hundred and fifty by one hundred and seventy feet, indicates the extent of the temple, the materials of which have entirely disappeared. Not a single stone of any size, which might have formed part of it, can now be recognized. At the eastern extremity are the statues, overthrown upon the earth. They are of gray granite, and about twenty-two feet high. The execution is not of a very good style; the bodies are too flat, and the nose too depressed; one does not see the correct and beautiful workmanship of the head of the young Memnon, shipped to England by Belzoni—whence I infer that the latter is a more recent work than the colossi of Argos."

After several days' detention on the island, Cailliaud joined a caravan of a hundred and fifty camels, and accompanied it to Old Dongola, which he reached in five days. Here he had his own camels and baggage transported to the eastern bank of the Nile, which was considered more safe, and then devoted two days to an inspection of the town. He found little to interest him except an ancient Coptic convent, built of burned bricks. On the terrace over the upper story were still to be seen the remains of the belfry, while pillars of granite, with the lotus capital, supported the interior. The Mussulmen, although knowing the building to have been erected by the Christians, had nevertheless converted it into a mosque. Dongola, formerly a flourishing city, had been ruined by the incursions of the Shygheeas, and in traversing the streets, Cailliaud only met with two half-naked women, shivering with cold; for the wind was blowing strongly from the north, and the place was enveloped in clouds of sand.

Leaving Dongola on the 3d of February, the caravan continued to ascend the Nile, finding traces of the war in wounded men and devastated villages. In three days they reached the frontier of the Shygheea country, at the village of Karafat. While resting there three quarters of an hour under a large acacia, they were accosted by several Shygheeas, who spoke Arabic. One of them had lost his ears at the battle of Korti, and related to Cailliaud an exciting story of his sufferings and escape. Beyond this were many abandoned villages and deserted fields. In two more days they arrived at Merawe, "and it was not without surprise," says Cailliaud, "that I found here a place of this name. I inquired carefully whether there were any antiquities in the neighborhood, and was informed that at Mount Berkel, a short distance off, there was a 'city of the infidels.' There were the monuments whose existence Mr. Waddington wished to conceal from me. The next morning we set out

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to visit them, across the cultivated fields. Passing the grand pyramidal mansions of the Shekhs of Shygheea, after a short march, we reached a little village called Shibat. What was my joy, when I discovered pyramids to the north, and soon a great extent of ruins at the foot of Mount Berkel! Impatient to arrive, I urged on my dromedary. I then advanced on foot into the midst of those immense ruins; here, the remains of a beautiful temple were exposed to my gaze; there, piled together confusedly, the debris of pillars, temples, and pyramids. Where shall I direct my steps? To which shall I give the preference? I desired to see every thing at once. To the east, on the other bank, I saw the summits of several other pyramids. I ran rapidly around the ancient inclosure of eight temples, and the pyramids; but the day passed away, and I could take but a superficial view of the crowd of objects which surrounded me, before the night constrained us to retire. A Shygheean family gave us lodgings for the night, in a little village near the river. The women only were at home; their husbands, in order to escape from the Turks, to whom they had not yet submitted, were concealed somewhere in the desert."

In the night, while Cailliaud was dreaming of the antiquities he had seen, he was aroused by the trampling of horses, and the voices of men. "I arose, and as our chamber had no door, in an instant I was in the court, where I saw five Shygheeans on horseback. It was the proprietor of the house, accompanied by four friends, who had quitted their retreat, to visit their wives under cover of the night. One of these men accosted me in an angry voice, demanding why the pasha did not choose some other mode of punishment than impalement. I was astounded at this question, the purport of which I could not conceive; but his friends called the man and he entered with them. The rest of my party were already awakened by the noise. The Shygheeans began to drink mareesa, a liquor which sometimes bewilders the head. A slave finally gave me the key to the sanguinary remark which had been addressed to me. The bodies of five of the inhabitants of the place were at that moment exposed near our lodging, upon the stakes of their impalement; they were malefactors, who had been executed in this manner on account of their murders and robberies. This execution, horrible as it was, no doubt contributed to our own safety. We kept guard the rest of the night, but before morning the five Shygheeans hastened to regain the desert."

The next day Cailliaud set out on a visit to Ismail Pasha, whose camp he reached after a march of five hours. The prince was ill, but he was very kindly received by Abdin Bey, to whom he delivered his new firmans, and who, after perusing them, made profuse offers of his services. The army was to set out for Berber and Shendy in three days, and the traveler immediately sent for his companion, M. Letorzec, and the rest of his baggage, in order to be in readiness. Meanwhile, he took occasion to visit the pyramids of Noori, which he had first seen at a distance,

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from the foot of Mount Berkel. These pyramids are fifteen in number, of moderate size, the base of the largest measuring one hundred and sixty feet, but curious from the resemblance of some of them to the terraced pyramids of Sakkara.

On the 18th, Ismail Pasha having recovered from his feigned indisposition, Cailliaud was admitted to see him. He was received with all the political cunning of the Turkish race, but it was decided that he should be allowed to accompany the expedition, although, previous to this interview, it was known that the prince was strongly opposed to it, under the pretense that the firmans of his father were not addressed to him. He had even, as Cailliaud afterward learned, sent a dispatch to the governor at Wady Halfa, to prevent the traveler from going beyond that point, but the messenger, fortunately, did not arrive in time. The army at that time consisted of four thousand men, of whom one thousand eight hundred were cavalry, besides two thousand servants, and three thousand camels. There were also twenty-four pieces of artillery. The pasha had a body-guard of twenty Mamelukes. The diplomatic functions were exercised by three ulemas, who made great efforts to subjugate the people by moral suasion, and avoid the effusion of blood. They often succeeded in this humane intent, and were rewarded with robes of honor, and a sum equal to about one thousand two hundred dollars each.

The camp was broken up on the 21st of February, and the army commenced the march to Berber. One third of the troops were left with the boats, which were obliged to wait for the rise of the Nile, to pass the cataracts; the remainder, headed by the pasha, took a south-east course across the desert, to avoid the great curve of the Nile. At nine o'clock a gun gave the signal for loading the camels, and the march began two hours afterward, with the roll of drums. The route was difficult, on account of the rocky ranges which it was necessary to cross. In order to avoid the mid-day heats, the army traveled mostly by night; fires were lighted along the route, as landmarks, and the troops amused themselves by kindling the dry foliage of the doum-palms. On the fifth night a violent wind arose, which drove the flames among the baggage-camels, and several of Abdin Bey's tents were burned. The ammunition was fortunately in the rear, and escaped. The night-journey was so fatiguing, as it was almost impossible to obtain sleep during the day, that Cailliaud could with difficulty keep his seat on his camel. In the morning the rocky valley they had been following, became more narrow; the presence of palms and acacias was hailed with delight, for it announced the proximity of the Nile. Finally, after a march of fourteen hours, worn out with fatigue, they reached the river. "Like the rest," says the traveler, "I rendered homage to him, in quenching my thirst. In the twinkling of an eye, the banks were covered with soldiers; all desired to drink the water of the river, or to plunge into it. The army appeared to have regained a new existence. The Nile, in fact, gives

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life to every thing which breathes or vegetates in these countries, and the Egyptian who is afar from its creative waters seems to have lost the essential part of his vitality."

The day after the pasha's arrival, a courier brought news that the Shygheeans had rallied and united themselves with the forces of Shendy. Berber was but two days' journey distant, but the cannon had not yet arrived, and a further halt was ordered, until it should come up. Three days afterward, another courier brought a contradiction of the first message, which, it was subsequently ascertained, was only a *ruse* of the pasha, in order to encourage his troops with the prospect of a battle. The march was resumed at midnight on the 4th of March. "Many of the camels, overcome with fatigue, dropped by the way, and the order was given to slaughter them for provisions. One of my own, lying upon the ground, was unable to rise; it was loaded with dhourra, and I should have willingly lost the load if I could have preserved the animal. The final stimulant, which consists in applying a burning torch to the flanks, was then administered; the poor brute rose and ran, but only to fall again, further on."

In approaching El-Mekheyref, the chief city of Berber, the pasha, in order to make a strong impression on the inhabitants, disposed his army in order of battle. The brilliant array of the troops, their rich dresses, and the splendor of the pasha's staff, filled the people with astonishment and admiration; and the chiefs of the country came at once with offers of submission. In order to proceed further, it was necessary first to procure a great number of baggage camels, and expeditions were sent among the Arabs of the surrounding deserts for this purpose. Soon after his arrival, Cailliaud paid a visit to the King of Berber, Nasr ed-Deen, whom he found lying upon his bed, suffering from some wounds which he had received in his wars with the Shygheeans. A low stool, exactly similar to those which are represented in the tombs of Thebes, was offered to the traveler, who was also furnished with coffee, a pipe, and some other refreshments. Five shekhs, tall, athletic men, of noble figure, were seated around the king.

"On the 12th of March, a son of Mek Nemr (King Leopard), the King of Shendy, brought to Ismail Pasha the news of the submission of that country. The latter desired a visit from the Mek himself, who reached the camp on the 22d. He was in a sort of palanquin, carried by two camels. His costume, of an elegant simplicity, consisted of two robes of great fineness; the under one was white, and the other of a rich Indian stuff; a sort of mantle hung from his shoulders, and upon his head was a pointed cap, with long, falling ends. His guard was composed of fifty men armed with lances, shields, and sabers, some of which were adorned with silver; behind him marched two men armed with lances, and two others carrying long wands, tipped with balls of silver. After having several times prostrated himself, with a sad and humiliated air, the unhappy king, on being invited thereto, seated himself upon a carpet

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in front of Ismail Pasha. He took the hand of the latter, kissed it above and below, and placed it upon his head in token of submission. The pasha gave him to understand that his visit was tardy, and the king humbly replied that he was his servant. Neither pipe nor coffee was presented to him. At the end of ten minutes of silence, he took his leave, all the inquietude of his soul painted on his countenance. The next day the pasha showed him more attention, sending him a horse richly caparisoned, a dress, a green tent, and some dishes from his own table."

Reinforcements having arrived from Egypt, the army was obliged to delay its march from the want of provisions. Cailliaud was very impatient, but made the most of his time in endeavoring to ascertain from the inhabitants whether there were any ancient ruins in the province. On the 19th of April, being in the pasha's tent, the conversation turned upon gold mines. The pasha exhibited a large diamond which his father had sent him, and asked Cailliaud in what country such stones were found. The latter answered that all the diamond mines heretofore discovered were situated about the 18th parallel of latitude. He took occasion to say, also, that in order to discover the true diamond soil, it would be advisable to make excursions out of the regular track of the army, and added that the antiquarian explorations which he desired to make in Shendy might be turned to good account, in this manner. After the subject had been fully explained, the pasha stated that as the rainy season would soon commence, the army would not halt at Shendy, but, to Cailliaud's great delight, gave him permission to set out in advance, with a small escort. He insisted, however, that the travelers should pass for Turks, and assume Turkish names, giving to Cailliaud the name of Murad Effendi, and to M. Letorzec that of Abdallah El-Fakeer. When the two conversed in French, the natives supposed the language to be Turkish (and, in fact, there is some resemblance in the sound of the two languages), while their Turkish dresses, their bare legs, their long beards, their shaven heads, and their tanned complexions, made the disguise complete, and caused them to be taken everywhere for good Mussulmen.

Having received firmans from the pasha, they set out two days afterward, and after passing the mouth of the Atbara (the ancient Astaboras), the most northern tributary of the Nile, continued their journey for two days, and then crossed to the eastern bank of the Nile, at the village of El-Bagheyr. Here, Cailliaud had already passed the latitude assigned by the French geographer, D'Anville, to the ancient city of Meroë, and was uncertain what course to take. After sweeping the horizon in vain, for some trace of ruins, he proceeded southward, entering the territory of Mek Nemr, of Shendy. Their appearance called together a crowd of people; the envoys sent by the pasha to Shendy had followed the western bank of the Nile, and they were the first Turks whom the natives had ever seen. They judged it prudent to say that they were only a little in advance of the pasha's army. After the inhabitants had retired, Cailliaud took his guide apart, and began to question

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him concerning what he had heard in Berber, that one day's journey north of Shendy there were a great many *tarabeels*, or heaps of hewn stones. The latter, supposing that the traveler was sent by the pasha to discover hidden treasures, first asked him whether, if he found a great quantity of gold, he would give him a little, that he might get married. To this Cailliaud consented, and he then verified the statement, adding that the *tarabeels* were only four or five leagues distant; that there were a hundred of them, and that it was possible to climb to their summits.

Cailliaud feared that these *tarabeels* were simply heaps of granite boulders, such as are seen at Assouan. His excitement was so great that he could not sleep; rousing his party at one o'clock in the morning, much to their astonishment, he set out. Mek Nemr had passed along the day before, on his return to Shendy; his convoy had plundered the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed, and the people were awake and lamenting over their loss. The travelers feared a reprisal under cover of the night, and did not consider themselves safe, until the dawn appeared, when they entered an open desert plain three miles in length. "The guide then announced to me that we should soon see the *tarabeels*. Imagine the joy which I felt on beholding a crowd of pyramids, the summits of which were splendidly gilded by the rays of the sun, then just above the horizon! Never did he illumine a spectacle more delightful to me! I urged on my dromedary; I would have annihilated the space of a league or two which still separated me from the ruins of the ancient capital of Ethiopia. At last, I arrived; my first aim was to mount an eminence that I might embrace at one glance the whole extent of the ruins. I remained motionless with pleasure and admiration at the sight of this imposing spectacle. I then ascended the most elevated of the monuments. There, wishing to pay a tribute of homage to the illustrious geographer whose genius had directed my steps, I carved upon the stone the name of D'Anville. Again casting my eyes around me, I discovered in the west a second group of pyramids, and, a short distance from the river, a vast space covered with ruins and rubbish, announcing the situation of the ancient city. When the rest of my party arrived, I descended to examine the little sanctuaries attached to the tombs; silence and solitude prevailed everywhere. I saw, to my great regret, the impossibility of establishing my residence in one of these funereal chambers, and therefore sought an abode in the little village of Assour, near the river. In repairing thither, I passed among the other pyramids and the ruins which I had seen, and distinguished there the remains of several temples, with an avenue adorned with colossal rams."

Cailliaud found that the letters of the pasha were not respected by the chiefs of the village. He therefore adopted the more prudent plan of inviting them to dinner, and distributing some beads and other trinkets among the people. This course soon established him in their good graces, and he was allowed to continue his explorations undisturbed, during the fourteen days which intervened before the arrival of the

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pasha and his army. The group of pyramids which he had first seen belonged to the necropolis of the ancient city. They stand upon a low ridge at the foot of the mountain of Mogran. They are all built of fine red sandstone, in regular courses of masonry, the spaces of which are not filled, or cased, as in the Egyptian pyramids, except at the corners, which are covered with a narrow hem, or molding. The stones are about eighteen inches high, and the recession of each course varies from two to four inches, so that the height of the structure is always much greater than the breadth of the base. A peculiarity of these pyramids is, that the sides are not straight but curved lines, of different degrees of convexity, and the breadth of the courses of stone is adjusted with the utmost nicety, to produce this form. The largest of these pyramids has a base of fifty-eight, with an elevation of eighty-five feet. There are twenty-one in all, besides the substructures of sixteen others. To the east are twenty others, more or less ruined, and on the plain nearer the Nile, the remains of a group of forty-six, some of which are very small, having bases of from fifteen to twenty feet. The sites of *one hundred and ninety-six* pyramids, in all, have been discovered. Of this city, nothing remains except mounds of pottery and broken bricks, the foundations of stone walls, fragments of columns and statues, and occasionally the outlines of temples and other public edifices, covering an extent of nearly two miles. From the more recent researches of Lepsius, the age of these ruins is fixed at from two thousand to twenty-two hundred years.

During his stay, Cailliaud was not without considerable anxiety for the safety of his party. Wishing to forward news of his discoveries to Europe, he determined to send one of his Arabs to Egypt, with letters, and engaged one of the men of Assour to accompany him as far as the army. On the return of the latter he learned that his messenger had been waylaid and robbed by the country people, who had destroyed all the letters. The shekh of a neighboring village, who had become his friend, informed him that the soldiers of Mek Nemr intended to seize him, and offered him an asylum in his own house. But the very next day, fortunately, the first of the pasha's boats appeared on the Nile, announcing the immediate approach of the Egyptian army, which arrived two days afterward, on the 8th of May. Cailliaud was now safe, and having completed his drawings and measurements, he followed the troops, and arrived next day at Shendy. On crossing the Nile to visit the pasha, who was encamped upon the western bank, he was informed by the latter that the army would continue its march to Sennaâr—a circumstance which obliged him to postpone an excursion to the valleys of Mesowurat and Naga, south-east of Shendy, where, he was informed, there were many ruined temples.

On the 15th of May, the king of Shygheea came to render his submission to the pasha. He expressed a desire to enter a military life, and was accordingly attached to the army, at the head of four hundred men of his tribe. The same day the camp was broken up, and the army

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commenced its march for Halfay and Sennaâr. As the disposition of the inhabitants of those countries was not known, distributions of ammunition were made, and every one required to be on the alert. The journey was very painful and fatiguing; there were not enough baggage-camels to carry a sufficient supply of grain, and as the country was thinly inhabited, both men and beasts suffered severely from hunger. Many camels perished; the soldiers were reduced to eating the nuts of the doum-palm, and pillage became the order of the day. After ten days the army arrived opposite Halfay, the king of which had announced his submission two days beforehand. Cailliaud crossed the Nile in a canoe and visited the town, which he found almost deserted. He had great difficulty in procuring provisions, as the inhabitants had concealed their supplies. Finding it impossible to return the same night, he was obliged to ask the king's hospitality, which was cheerfully extended to him.

It was Ismail Pasha's intention to make a halt at Halfay, but on arriving there he learned that Sennaâr was in a state of revolution, the legitimate king, who had been held captive for a long time by two usurpers, having succeeded in establishing a party, while a third usurper, who had arisen, was hostile to both. These intestine troubles seemed to the pasha to furnish a favorable opportunity for the accomplishment of his own plans, and he hastened to profit by it. Continuing the march, the army reached the confluence of the Blue and White Niles on the 27th, and encamped on the banks of the latter, at a place called Omdurman, near a wood of large acacias. Here commenced the kingdoms of Sennaâr on the eastern bank, and of Kordofan, on the western. Many of the slaves, who were natives of the latter country, and of Dar-Fur, which lies beyond it, took occasion to escape from the fatigues and brutal treatment to which they had been subjected: among them was one which Cailliaud had purchased in Berber for the moderate price of seventy-five francs.

The passage of the river commenced on the following day. There were only five small boats to be had, which were employed to transport the artillery, baggage, and ammunition. The prospect of approaching battle, pillage, and booty, and the confidence of victory with which their previous successes had inspired them, excited the soldiers to the highest pitch. "During three days, the surface of the river was covered with camels, horses, Turks, and Arabs, who cast themselves into it, some supporting themselves by empty jars, or pieces of wood, others clinging to the tails of horses, or the humps of camels. In this manner passed the army, consisting, with the slaves, of five thousand five hundred men, and three thousand camels and horses. It would be difficult to describe the tumult, the confusion, the cries of men and beasts, and the sound of the blows with which the poor beasts were forced into the flood: one would have said that it was a retreating host, pursued with the sword, rather than troops rushing confidently to victory. Unhappily, this excessive

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zeal occasioned the loss of thirty men, and one hundred and fifty camels and horses."

The point of land between the two rivers, forming the northern extremity of the peninsula of Sennaâr, was called *Ras* (Cape) *el-Khartoum.* Half a league to the eastward, on the bank of the Blue Nile, were the first habitations of Sennaâr.* At the sight of the army the inhabitants took to flight. The embassadors whom the pasha had sent to demand the submission of those who held the reins of government, returned with the information that a large army had collected near the capital, with several pieces of cannon; and the kings had replied that they would wait to see the pasha's army before they decided what they would do. The order was given to continue the march, but as Cailliaud had heard at Halfay that there were ruins at a place called Sobah, on the Blue Nile, he applied to the pasha for a boat to ascend the river, while M. Letorzec followed the army with the camels and baggage.

Cailliaud set sail on the 1st of June, and arrived next day at a town called El-Eylfun, near Sobah. At his appearance, a crowd of people collected, astonished at his Osmanli costume, which they had never before seen. In the habit of touching all that they saw, they passed their hands over his garments; the shawl and shoes attracted them, especially the latter, with the red color of which they were delighted. After having thus examined him they conducted him to the shekh, where a second inspection took place. The shekh, far from suspecting that he was a Christian, received him in the mosque. He asked many questions concerning the Egyptian army, but as Cailliaud was very desirous of visiting the ruins, he gave him a Spanish dollar, and received a horse and guide. The shekh informed him that he had done well to travel in a boat, for the general opinion in the country was that the pasha's army would be cut to pieces at Sennaâr, where there were four large cannon, and eight or ten thousand warriors. Sobah was reached after a ride of an hour and a half, and the traveler saw distinctly that an ancient city had once stood there; but, to his great mortification, nothing was to be found except heaps of earth and gravel—not a single stone of any size, nor the slightest trace of a wall. The only object, which gave any evidence of the ancient character of the place, was a mutilated ram-headed sphinx, about five feet in length.

During the following week the wind was adverse, and the voyage was very slow and tiresome, but the desire of ascertaining the points of junction of the Rahad and the Dender, Abyssinian tributaries of the Blue Nile, induced Cailliaud to continue his journey by water. He had learned, from a courier, that the pasha's army was marching forward without resistance, and soon afterward heard that the king of Sennaâr

* Now the city of Khartoum, a place of from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants, which has been built up entirely under the Egyptian domination. It has become the great trading mart of eastern Soudan, and its rise has therefore been the ruin of both Shendy and Sennaâr.—B. T.

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had submitted quietly; that he had come in great state to visit the pasha, accompanied by his ministers, the principal inhabitants of the capital, and an escort of two hundred men; that he and the pasha had exchanged gifts, and the latter had taken possession of the capital. After passing the mouth of the Rahad, Cailliaud, on the 12th, reached the village of Kourdkeyleh, where the scenery began to assume a very different aspect. "At the dawn of day," says he, "I endeavored to enter the forest of Kourdkeyleh to surprise some wild animals. I saw there many monkeys, the fresh tracks of the elephants, guinea fowls, and birds of brilliant plumage, which uttered harsh cries. Since the Pharaohs, perhaps, no bark had spread its sail on the river which I navigated, and it was not without a keen satisfaction that I saw mine advancing before all others, fighting with the winds in quarters where the gaze of a European had never before penetrated. I felt an involuntary emotion in contemplating those trees, conquerors of Time, which age had not bent; those thick woods, whose eternal foliage never spread for the traveler a protecting shade against the burning sun; those inaccessible thickets where the shepherd never led his flocks. Savage nature alone breathed amid this constantly renewed vegetation; the acacias, the nebbuks, the dead trees themselves, were enlaced in the inextricable convolutions of the parasitic vines, thus forming a compact mass of verdure, through which a few almost impracticable paths allowed the light to enter. The shock of our oars and the sound of the water against our bark alarmed the inhabitants of the flood; the crocodiles forsook the solitary shores, and the frightened hippopotami, swimming in herds around us, seemed by their bellowings to reproach us for having invaded their domain. The river was bordered with the bamboo, the ebony, and other new and precious woods; we saw trees, plants, insects, and shells of unknown kinds, and rejoiced in the distinctive, yet hitherto unknown physiognomy of this virgin soil."

The traveler passed the mouth of the River Dender, and continued slowly to advance until the 21st, when, having arrived within three leagues of Sennaâr, he finished the journey by land. The army had already been encamped there eight days. M. Letorzec and the rest of the party were comfortably established. Cailliaud immediately called upon the pasha, whom he found greatly elated with his rapid successes. He at once began to speak of Fazogl and its rich mines of gold, believing that it was in his power to add still richer and more fertile regions to those which he had already brought under the Egyptian rule. Meanwhile, it was necessary first to arrange the internal affairs of Sennaâr. King Bady, the legitimate monarch, was reinstated, and named shekh of the kingdom; one of the two usurpers had fled into Abyssinia, after having treacherously murdered the other. Cailliaud employed his time in seeking for ancient remains, and having heard that there was a great figure in stone at Djebel-Mouyl, seven leagues from Sennaâr, persuaded the pasha to furnish him with an escort for a journey thither. He

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found, however, that this statue was nothing more than a heap of rough granite boulders, which bore a faint resemblance to a human figure.

"On the 22d of July," says Cailliaud, "I paid a visit to the former king, Bady. I found him seated on a stool, in one of the courts of his residence, where he enjoyed the fresh air, with his ministers and some persons of his suite at his side. He ordered a straw mat to be brought, on which I placed myself. He was dressed in a broad shirt of white linen; his legs were bare, his feet covered with long sandals, and the royal cap upon his head. A servant brought him a pipe of the commonest kind used in the country. Bady is a man of about forty years old, of middling height, robust, of an agreeable figure, with crisp hair and a coppery complexion, which is that of the race of Foungi, to which he belongs. He asked me what difference I found between my country and his, believing me to be from Constantinople, and I drew a picture which threw his own capital quite into the shade. 'At present,' said he, 'Sennaâr is no longer to be recognized; it is very different from what it was in the times of my ancestors.' Then, with a visible emotion, he bade me see all around him the ruins of the palace of his father, which still overlooks the whole city. 'These ruins,' said he, 'are the remains of the power of my ancestors, the limits of whose kingdom once reached to the confines of Dongola.' Having nothing worthy of his rank to offer him, I gave him one of my boxes of oxygenated matches. When he saw one of them ignite in the sulphuric acid, he called upon the name of the Prophet, and exhibited the greatest surprise."

In the beginning of August, the pasha, in a conversation with Cailliaud, praised the climate of Sennaâr, and declared that the contrary accounts given by Bruce were totally false. Only one month of the rainy season had passed; the rain had not been frequent nor the heat excessive, and there was no sickness among the troops. "The rains cease at the end of September. The soil, profoundly saturated, retains here and there pools of stagnant water, which, fermenting by the sudden action of the heat, exhale putrid miasma. These, joined to the not less pernicious vapors of the earth, vitiate the air, and engender a host of maladies; the fevers, above all, prevail until January. At the approach of this disastrous season, the inhabitants of the banks of the river hasten to desert the villages with their beasts, and to fly from the pestiferous atmosphere." Twenty days after this conversation with the pasha, malignant fevers, dysenteries, and affections of the liver, threatening an epidemic, prevailed among the troops. M. Letorzec, the interpreter, and two of Cailliaud's Arab servants, became very ill, and six of the Greek and Italian physicians of the army died. "By the 25th of September, there were six hundred deaths and two thousand sick, in an army of three thousand men, and the number increased every day. During the whole campaign, the army had never before been in so pitiable a condition. The pasha, in despair, drew up an account of his

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situation, and sent it to his father. The soldiers were obliged to eat dourra of a very inferior quality, which was very unwholesome for them; destitute of clothes, almost half-naked, they slept on the damp earth; there were neither physicians nor medicine of the proper kind. Horses and camels died in all parts of the city and its environs, and the police were not sufficiently careful to remove the carcases, which soon infected the air. All these causes contributed to augment the number and intensity of the diseases."

Ibrahim Pasha arrived at Sennaâr on the night of the 22d of October, to the surprise of his brother, who did not expect him so soon. Fearing the contagion with which the city was infected, he only remained there two hours, and encamped about a league to the southward. The arrival of this prince, who was a general favorite, rallied the spirits of the troops. He hastened to supply the sick with rice, flour, and other articles from his own stores, paid the troops their arrears, and furnished them with clothes. His physician conceived the happy idea of transporting the sick several leagues into the interior, and the change of air, with the more careful treatment which they experienced, soon produced a rapid diminution of their number. "For my part," says Cailliaud, "I have experienced many tribulations. The state of M. Letorzec and my interpreter gave me the greatest anxiety, and my Arabs were devoured with fever. For two months, I had been obliged to take care of all the persons who were attached to me, attend to all our wants, prepare our food, wash my own clothes, look after my sick camels, and seek in all directions for the necessaries of life. When I could obtain a little wheat, paying for it at the rate of a franc per pound, I mixed it with three parts of dourra, and made cakes which served us instead of bread. None of the natives would serve us at any price, and it was impossible to find other domestics. All the officers of the army were in the same case. My interpreter gave me the greatest trouble; he became insane, and I was often obliged to bind him fast upon his bed. This state was followed by complete exhaustion, and the unfortunate man at last died."

Cailliaud visited Ibrahim Pasha soon after his arrival. He was very kindly received by the prince, who, after the traveler had expressed to him his desire to explore the White Nile, and to penetrate to Bornou and Timbuctoo, sent for his maps—a fine collection of which he carried with him—and explained the plan of his campaign. Ismail Pasha, with half of the troops, was to follow the course of the Blue Nile as far as Fazogl: Ibrahim advancing toward the south-west, would reach the White Nile somewhere in the territories of the Dinkas. The former, turning westward, was to visit the pretended gold mines of Gamamyl, and then proceed in the same direction, where the abundant rains furnish a number of wells and natural cisterns. Ibrahim would approach his brother until the junction of the two armies should take place, and they would return northward on a route parallel to the two rivers. Af-

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ter this was accomplished, Ibrahim's magnificent plan was to explore the White Nile with well-armed barks and canoes, to its very sources. If the river should communicate with the Niger, the fleet would enter the latter stream; otherwise it would return, and after being reinforced, would march upon Kordofan, Dar-Fur and Bornou, and return to Egypt by way of Tripoli. Such was the ambitious plan of the avenger of Mecca, and the conqueror of the Wahabees; but it was not destined to be carried into effect.

The prospect of exploring the White Nile induced Cailliaud to apply to Ismail Pasha to accompany his brother Ibrahim, but the pasha objected to it on account of his desire that the traveler should examine the gold mines of Gamamyl. In order to induce him to remain, he offered him the use of an armed barque in which he might ascend the Blue Nile, and added that he also intended to make a campaign on the White Nile, at a later day. Relying on these promises, Cailliaud decided to follow him. On the 5th of December, Ibrahim Pasha set out for the country of the Dinkas, with an army of fifteen hundred men. The expedition of Ismail was to consist of fifteen hundred; as many more, the half of whom were ill, were left at Sennaâr. Cailliaud was greatly embarrassed by the want of servants. Some of the inhabitants of the country had promised to go with him, but on the day of his departure, they were not to be found. In addition to this, the man who had charge of his camels, ran off with four of them, but the loss was made good by Ismail Pasha, who presented him with eight others.

The pasha left Sennaâr on the 6th, and commenced his march up the western bank of the Blue Nile. The country became more rough and savage as they approached the mountains of Fazogl, the vegetation was more dense, and the journey more difficult and fatiguing. On the afternoon of the 11th, "while we were traversing a district covered with trees partly dead, and thickets of vines and brush-wood half dry, a conflagration broke out, spreading terror through the army, across the track of which a strong north-west wind drove the flames. Nothing was heard but confused cries; the disorder was at its height; the dispute was, who should save himself most speedily; the frightened camels no longer regarding the voices of their masters, broke into a gallop, cast off their loads, and often blindly ran to seek their own destruction. It was not without trembling that I saw myself obliged to pass this gulf of fire, which soon extended over a distance of half a league. Our first idea was that the natives had maliciously set the woods on fire, but we learned that it was entirely the fault of some stragglers of the army, who, in lighting their pipes, amused themselves with igniting the trees." The same scenes were repeated from day to day, and the pasha did not dare to punish the culprits, on account of the mutinous spirit of the troops. There had been no distribution of grain since leaving Sennaâr, and in order to keep themselves from starving, the soldiers were driven to pillage. "All the villages which we saw," says Cailliaud, "were mercilessly

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plundered by the troops, and I was obliged to follow their example in order to obtain a little dourra, some fowls, the fruit of the baobab, and the fresh pods of the tamarind—the only things left behind by the inhabitants, who fled at our approach."

On the 17th, after passing through a region abounding in wild elephants and giraffes, they reached a village called El-Kerebeen, a dependency of Sennaâr, situated at the commencement of the mountains. The village is built in a group of granite hills, from six to eight hundred feet high. Ibrahim Pasha was at this time encamped four or five miles further to the west. Cailliaud, who went to visit him, found him laboring under an attack of dysentery, and very much dejected. He said to his brother Ismail, who was present, that if he did not find himself better in a few days, he would return to Egypt. "Thus was dissipated, as I could plainly see, the splendid plan of a voyage up the White Nile, and into the interior of Africa! In the evening I returned to my tent with Prince Ismail, who obliged me to dine with him every day. I was the only stranger who had accompanied him in his last campaign; I only could write and make known his exploits in Europe; and I could see that he was as ambitious of glory, as are the Turks ordinarily." On the same day, envoys arrived from the King of Fazogl, to announce that he was ready to give in his submission. There then only remained the Pagan negroes to be conquered, whom the pasha designed to capture and carry off for slaves.

As the army approached Fazogl the country became more densely wooded, and it was a matter of great difficulty to pass through the forests of thorny mimosas. After two days they reached a group of mountains called Agady, on the summit of one of which was a negro village. Many of the inhabitants had fled during the night; the remainder were called upon to pay tribute, which they refused, saying the pasha might do what he pleased with them. The troops were eager for an attack, and the order was at once given. Three hundred men mounted to the village, which became the scene of fire, slaughter, and pillage. One hundred and seventy negroes, mostly women, were taken prisoners, and conducted to the rear of the pasha's tents, with yokes of wood around their necks.

On the 22d, after a difficult march of eight hours through the woods, the expedition reached the mountains of Kilgou, where there was another large negro village. "Ismail ordered the advance-guard to march rapidly upon the place, surprise the inhabitants, and prevent their flight. This order was promptly executed; the rocks were scaled, and a large body of negroes surrounded, who, nevertheless, defended themselves with unexpected obstinacy. The troops had spread their lines in climbing the hill, in order to surround as large a number as possible. But soon the difficulties of the ground broke up the order of march; they could not keep their footing on the masses of slippery granite which barred their path. Finally, taking off their slippers, which they stuck

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into their belts, they reached the first huts, where they found several women, who refused to follow them, and were killed. The men, on the summit of the mountains, rolled down masses of stone and logs of wood upon their enemies. They dashed hither and thither with surprising agility. The Turks compared them to birds, for their feet hardly seemed to touch the surface of the rocks. Many of them hurled their lances from behind trees or masses of granite, and pierced the first troops who ascended the hill. Meanwhile the pasha, tired of the prolonged resistance, mounted the hill with seven of his Mamelukes and some Albanians, but soon had reason to repent his imprudence: the negroes suddenly sallied out of their retreat, and hurled their lances, killing one of the Mamelukes. After firing a volley into them, the pasha returned to the camp. By this time the negroes had cast away all their lances, and sought safety in flight. One fourth of them escaped, and the rest were taken. In this affair the pasha had twelve men killed and forty wounded; of the negroes one hundred and eighty were killed, and five hundred and seventy-five taken prisoners. The latter had crisp hair, thick lips, and prominent cheek-bones; a few of them had flat noses. The men wore only a piece of goat-skin tied around the loins, and the women a piece of cotton which reached to the middle of the thigh. There were none among them who understood Arabic. The pasha allowed me to take two who appeared intelligent and good-tempered, and an Arab of Fazogl, who knew a little of their language, served me as interpreter."

After a rest of three days, the army resumed its march. On the 26th it entered a narrow, rocky valley, on either side of which were many deserted villages. The pasha determined to put himself at the head of the expedition, and asked Cailliaud to accompany him. The latter excused himself on account of his fatigued dromedary, but the offer of a horse obliged him to accept, and having armed himself to the teeth, he followed the commander. "We entered a little valley inclosed between two chains of high hills and overlooked by a mountain, which we proposed to scale, in the hope of surprising the negroes on the opposite side. It was necessary to break a passage through the mimosas and the nebbuks, the thorny branches of which tore our clothes into shreds. The pasha had recommended me, for my own safety, to keep close to him, but this benevolent consideration nearly proved fatal to me. After two hours' march, we had made two thirds of the mountain which was the aim of our expedition. We advanced up a rough and uneven path, with the brink of a precipice on the right, while the peaked summit of the mountain arose on the left. A part of the troops were in advance; the pasha followed them, having behind him one of his slaves, who carried his narghileh; I came immediately after, so near that the head of my horse touched his, and the Mamelukes after me, for the path was so narrow that we were obliged to march in single file. All at once a rock, three feet in diameter, fell between Ismail and myself, hurling

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down the precipice the slave who separated us. Without doubt the blow was intended for the pasha, who was distinguished by his rich costume; but one step more, and I should have received it! Ismail turned immediately, and I could perceive his fright in the pallor of his countenance; I confess, however, that he could justly have made the same remark concerning me. We dismounted, in order to avoid more readily the rocks and pieces of wood which the negroes continued to hurl down upon us. We descended the mountain much faster than we went up, and, having reached a level spot, the pasha played a piece of cannon against the summit; but the balls, passing beyond, almost reached the troops commanded by his physician, who returned in great fear, without having achieved any more valorous exploits than ourselves."

During the next day's march, they saw several enormous *baobab*-trees, one of which measured sixty-two feet in circumference. The country became more open, but a new range of mountains appeared in the south. Although he knew that his army was surrounded by a body of five or six thousand negroes, the pasha neglected to place any sentinels around his camp that night. Favored by this carelessness, the negroes cautiously descended from the mountains: the thickness of the foliage, the darkness of the night, and the color of their skins, even, contributed to conceal their march. They were but a pistol-shot distant, when, owing no doubt to a custom of theirs on attacking, they began to utter loud cries, hurling their lances at the same time. The alarm and confusion was general; no one knew from which side the attack came. The soldiers, hurrying out of their tents, supposed that the negroes were already masters of the camp. A few discharges of musketry sufficed to drive off the foes, and the tumult finally ceased. During the confusion several cannon were fired, but so much at random, that one of the balls passed over Cailliaud's tent, and another struck the earth about fifteen paces off.

Seeing that little was to be accomplished against the negroes, in a country where every mountain or forest was an almost impregnable fortress, the pasha determined to return to Kilgou, and take the direct route to Fazogl. The way was very laborious and difficult; there was no water, except some pools which were corrupt and stagnant; deep, rocky ravines crossed the path, and the army was beginning to suffer greatly from thirst, when a little water was obtained by digging in the dry bed of the torrent. "Having passed these dry water-courses," says Cailliaud, "we made our painful way through a dense thicket of gigantic bushes, acacias and nebbuks; our faces, our hands and feet, were scarred with severe and inevitable scratches, and our clothes were hanging in shreds. At last, toward evening, we found ourselves all at once on the banks of the Nile. The sight of the water restored quiet to the troops, who were becoming discontented and mutinous."

On the 1st of January, 1822, they set out for the great mountain of Fazogl, which they saw in the south-east. The country was covered

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with thick woods; here and there grew tamarinds and doum-palms of much grander proportions than those of Egypt. "This day was for us a day of misfortune. At first I abandoned one of my camels, which died on the route; toward evening two others fell into a ravine, and it was necessary to unload and reload, which consumed much time, besides obliging me to throw away a part of our dourra. Meanwhile the night came, and we were enveloped in gloom. We ceased to hear the footsteps of some stragglers who hurried on to reach Fazogl; the whole army was in advance, and we sought vainly, in the obscurity, to find a trace of its path. M. Letorzec and myself were greatly fatigued and depressed. I went to take a drink of water, but, alas! the water-skin had been burst by the fall of the camel. It seemed now that we must pass the night in the woods, exposed to the danger of being attacked by wild beasts, or by the negroes, in case we should light a fire to frighten away the former. Such was our perplexity, when our Arab said to me that he perceived a light in the distance; we looked but discovered nothing, but finally it increased and we saw it also. This sight revived our courage. We hastened toward it, but cautiously, not knowing whether we were approaching friends or foes. I sent the Arab in advance to make a stealthy inspection, and in a short time we were agreeably startled by his cries of joy. At the same time several soldiers, lost like ourselves, approached, begging us for water. A single bottle of wine, which I had always preserved in case of misfortune, could not be better employed: we drank the half of it, and then resigned ourselves to pass the night with our companions in misfortune. This was the time when M. Letorzec was seized with a fever, which lasted several months. Early the next morning we set out to rejoin the army, which we found at two hours' distance, on the banks of the Nile, near the village of Yara, a dependency of Fazogl, where we remained several days."

On approaching the village of Fazogl, the pasha was received by Hassan, king of the province, who went in advance, accompanied by his ministers, mounted on fine Abyssinian horses, and surrounded by a guard of a hundred men, armed with lances. They met Ismail at five leagues' distance; the king and his ministers dismounted when they perceived him, advanced on foot and prostrated themselves before him. Hassan presented him with two splendid horses; the guards, approaching, ranged themselves in a line, knelt and reversed the points of their lances in token of submission. In recognition of his reception, Ismail prohibited his troops from passing through the villages, in order that they might not be devastated; for it was not always in his power to preserve good order. On the 5th, the expedition advanced to a village called Tourmoga. Having learned that King Hassan was there, Cailliaud paid him a visit. "I entered into an ordinary hut, where I found the king sitting cross-legged upon a mat. He was a handsome man, young, and of an agreeable figure. His costume was similar to that of the kings of Sennaâr, but I remarked with surprise that his sandals terminated in

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curved points, exactly similar to those represented in the Tombs of the Kings, at Thebes. On his knees he held his sabér, in which seemed to consist all his magnificence. The scabbard and hilt were of silver; several heavy silver rings adorned his fingers, and around his neck he wore little leather cases containing verses from the Koran."

The amount of tribute to be paid by Fazogl, was at last fixed at one thousand ounces of gold and two thousand male slaves, and the pasha set out on the 12th for the gold mines of Kasan, lying two or three days' journey to the south-west. To Cailliaud, whose camels were nearly exhausted, he gave a horse, and to M. Letorzec a mule, which enabled them to travel with more ease and rapidity. On approaching the mountain of Agaro, the road was crossed by a precipitous gulley thirty-five feet deep, in passing which many of the camels were hurled to the bottom with their riders, and perished. The next forenoon the army reached the foot of the mountain, and encamped. The negroes, full of audacity, on account of their number and the strength of their position, had sent word to Ismail, before he left Fazogl, that if he came into their mountains, they would break his legs. But, at the sight of the army, they began to change their tune; they sent word to him that they would submit and pay tribute to him. Ismail entered into negotiations with them, in order to gain time until his troops had surrounded the mountain. When the negroes perceived this design, they took to flight. The signal was then given for attack, and after a short struggle the soldiers reached the top of the mountain, where they at once set fire to the village. The inhabitants numbered about three thousand, of whom only about a hundred, mostly women, were taken, at the cost of fifteen lives.

The pasha then determined to make another assault on the eastern part of the mountain, with eight hundred men and a piece of cannon. "This time," says Cailliaud, "I was tempted to accompany him. The troops dispersed themselves over the mountain in the hope of blockading the village, and arrived there without trouble or resistance: it was deserted. In an instant the torch was applied, and five hundred huts were reduced to ashes. Old persons of both sexes, whom age or infirmity prevented from flying, were buried under their blazing roofs; others were conducted to the pasha, who, not knowing what to do with them, allowed them freely to behold the horrible lesson which a more civilized people than they came to teach them." On the 16th the army crossed a river called the Toumat, continuing its course in a south-western direction, and reached the mountains of Khasinkaro, where a deputation of negroes came to meet the pasha. They said that if he would continue his journey without doing them any harm, they would be able to pay him tribute on his return. He placed little faith in their promises, but as he was impatient to reach the gold mines, agreed to what they asked.

Following the course of the Toumat, which furnished an ample sup-

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ply of water, the expedition skirted the mountain of Kasan on the 18th. The inhabitants of a large village on its summit promised the pasha five hundred male slaves, as their tribute. Soon afterward they entered the territory of Gamamyl, and discovered in the west a long chain of mountains called Obeh. The road here was continually crossed by small affluents of the Toumat, which had worn for themselves deep beds in the soil, making the traveling more difficult than any which the army had yet encountered. "The passage of these ravines," says Cailliaud, "was fatal to the camels; the route was strewn with abandoned animals and baggage. The pasha himself had but a single good horse remaining. We were constrained to leave behind us a camel, part of its load, and the mule of M. Letorzec, who then mounted the dromedary which carried my papers and drawings; but the poor animal, exhausted with fatigue, lay down. In vain did we employ every means to raise it, we could not succeed. That part of the forest in which we were was full of small dead trees and dry brush-wood, which was imprudently set on fire by the soldiers at a short distance from us. Soon the flames were ready to envelop us; I resolved to lose the dromedary, but I wished to save its load, which contained all my papers. We had nothing at hand to cut the cords and straps which bound it, and in our anxiety made useless efforts to untie them. All was over: the fruit of so much trouble and peril was about to become the prey of the flames. They cried out to us to save ourselves, but I could not resign myself to sacrifice my treasures. Already the heat scorched us, we felt the approach of the fire; we must leave—I uttered a cry of despair. Meanwhile our camel, feeling the flames, rose, darted forward a little distance, and fell again. We ran to it, tore away the precious load, and placed it on my horse, which I drew by the bridle, while M. Letorzec urged it in the rear. But the wind drove the flames toward us; they advanced nearer and nearer; we were almost overcome with terror, when, oh, joy! the trees became scattering, and we issued from the wood."

Having escaped this danger, the travelers found that they had lost their way, and were in almost equal peril, until they encountered some straggling soldiers. On reaching the camp Cailliaud found that his baggage had not arrived, and was indebted to the charity of some soldiers for a cake of dourra, after eating which he slept upon his saddle-cloth, in the open air. The place where they were encamped was called Abkoulgui, situated, according to Cailliaud's observations, in latitude 10° 38′ north. "The village consists of a few scattered habitations, on an elevated slope, whence the view extends over several other hills more or less wooded, and covered with isolated habitations. In the south one sees the distant mountain of Mafis, and in the west the long ridge of Obeh. Abkoulgui appears to be the central point of the province of Gamamyl, which is two days' journey in extent. It is watered by the Toumat and a great quantity of its tributary torrents; the soil is a clay, full of sand and pebbles, and showing everywhere traces of oxyd of iron.

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This province is reputed to be the richest in auriferous substances, where the negroes have been most successful in collecting gold dust."

The pasha, impatient to test the value of the gold washings, sent Cailliaud the next day to examine them. The negroes had sunk pits eighteen or twenty feet deep, in the bed and banks of the river, and washed out in wooden bowls the earth which they took from these places. The traveler succeeded in getting a few very small grains of fine gold, after washing for some time, but the result was very unsatisfactory to the pasha, who next day sent him to another gold-washing, with several miners and an escort of thirty men. Here he opened new pits, and carefully washed the earth, but the gold was found in quantities so small as scarcely to repay the labor. Finally, in the hope that the natives knew of richer deposits, Ismail sent out an expedition to take some prisoners. Among those captured was a chief, who informed him that during the rainy season, the floods sometimes washed down pieces of gold as large as beans, but that at the present time, it was only found in dust and small grains. He indicated several of the most favorable places in the country, and offered to conduct the pasha to them. Two or three excursions were made in different directions, under a strong armed escort, and the washing carried on vigorously for several days, but with no better success. The pasha at last became disgusted, and gave up the search entirely.

Meanwhile, his situation was becoming insecure. The Gallas, who have overrun all the south-western part of Abyssinia, and who are also enemies of the wild negro tribes, were only five or six hours distant from him; the negroes were collecting for a new assault, and he received word that a convoy of powder and other munitions had been taken by the natives near Fazogl, and an escort of twenty-five men killed. However, being re-enforced by a company of four hundred men who arrived from Sennaâr, he continued to send out parties against the neighboring villages for the purpose of increasing his harvest of slaves. All this region has the general name of Bertât; the inhabitants are of pure negro blood, and wholly savage in their character and habits. Their only religion consists in the worship of large trees, especially the baobab, under which they sometimes sacrifice sheep or goats. Their clothing is scarcely sufficient for description; their bodies are long, and nimble rather than athletic, and they are not wanting in courage, as the Egyptian troops had already learned.

"Seventeen days," says Cailliaud, "had elapsed since our arrival at Gamamyl. I had undergone many fatigues, and yet my health had improved. Every day I mounted my horse to go on the hunt of auriferous sands. We multiplied our trials, weighed the earth, calculated the proportion of the quantity of gold, but never attained any result which could give us the least hope. Those mountains of gold upon which the pasha counted so strongly, vanished like smoke: the thirty thousand negroes, which he intended to capture diminished to a few

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hundreds. It became necessary to try our luck elsewhere, and he gave the order for our departure. From the want of camels I was obliged to leave behind a fine collection of minerals which I had gathered together. M. Letorzec, weighed down by fever, remained in bed during our stay; his strength visibly diminished, day after day. When he learned that we were about to set out for the purpose of penetrating still further southward, his chagrin increased his illness, and he was haunted by the idea that he would never see his native country again. We set out on the 5th of February. Most of the soldiers could not restrain their surprise at seeing that we were still marching to the south. The Shygheeans had made a mannikin resembling a man and dressed in the fashion of their tribe; it is an established custom with them to inter a similar mannikin at the extreme limit which their hostile expeditions reach, in an enemy's country. Some of them walked in order to allow this ridiculous figure to ride on a camel; at which the Turks were greatly amused."

The army encamped near the village of Singué, which was inhabited by Mussulmen. Moussa, their chief, had sent word that he was disposed to pay a tribute, in consequence of which, the pasha prevented his troops from approaching the village, fearing they might commit depredations. Cailliaud visited the place next morning, and found it to consist of five or six hundred houses, scattered along a ridge three or four miles in length. It was almost deserted, and the traveler did not judge it prudent to remain long. The village was sacked by the troops the same day. On the afternoon of the 7th, while the greater part of the Turkish soldiers were asleep, according to their custom, a body of about a thousand negroes descended from the hills to the westward. They were finally perceived, and the pasha and his artillery-men aroused; but before the guns could be brought to bear on them, they had advanced near enough to kill some straggling soldiers. The fear of the cannon caused them to retreat precipitately to the mountains. Five hundred men were sent after them, but not being able to reach them, burned their houses. The negroes renewed their attacks next day, and succeeded in carrying off eight of the pasha's finest horses. One of the savage chiefs who had been taken prisoner, was offered his liberty if he would obtain the animals and restore them; this he swore by the Koran to do, and was accordingly liberated, but neither chief nor horses were ever seen again.

The situation of the Egyptian army was now very critical. There was a general league among all the negro tribes, to repel the invaders. The ammunition was almost exhausted; provisions were rapidly diminishing, and the latest news from Sennaâr stated that the people, persuaded that the pasha and his troops would perish among the mountains, were already beginning to foment a rebellion against the Egyptian rule. The pasha at last made up his mind to submit to circumstances, and order a retreat. "The next day, February 11th," says Cailliaud, "was fixed upon for our departure. Before quitting Singué, I wished to overlook

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at least, as far as my vision might reach, the regions which an inexorable fate prevented us from traversing. I climbed a hill, and there, armed with a telescope, I sought to discover the regions where my imagination had placed the source of the White Nile. Vain effort! I only convinced myself anew how limited is the space which the human eye can embrace. Ceasing to gaze at a horizon which exhibited only vapory and confused outlines, I carved deeply on the rock the name of France, and transported myself, in thought, to that beloved land. The army slowly debouched from the labyrinth of hills which surrounds Singué, cutting for itself a path to the west of that which it had followed in coming. We were still surrounded with enemies, and observed an order of march more regular than usual. This retrograde movement inspired all the men with new energy; even the animals seemed to understand that we were returning, and marched more firmly and rapidly. Joy was painted on the faces of all; the Bedouins and the Albanians manifested theirs by songs; the remembrance of past hardships was banished from memory, and all hopes were turned toward Egypt."

After a toilsome march of four days, the army reached Adassy, on the Nile. The troops rushed to the bank, and precipitated themselves into the river, each anxious to be the first to drink of its waters. M. Letorzec was in such a weak state, that Cailliaud applied to the pasha for a boat, in order to descend the river to Sennaâr, and the latter was so obliging as to give up his own barque, as he intended returning by land with the army. He sent with the travelers a courier to his father, who was intrusted with two quintals of the auriferous sands of Gamamyl, and a report on the gold region, containing the results of the experiments made under Cailliaud's direction. The barque left for Sennaâr on the 18th. "For a long time we had not enjoyed so much ease and tranquillity. We experienced an inexpressible feeling of pleasure in sleeping, without being suddenly called up by the drum-beat; in having to suffer no more from hunger, thirst, watchfulness, alarms; in being relieved from tending, feeding, loading and unloading camels; and, instead of running the risk of being buried in torrents, torn by the thorns of mimosas and nebbuks, or swept by the flames of burning forests, in lying peacefully upon a thick carpet in the shade, all day long. Ah, this new life was too luxurious—it was the height of felicity!"

In passing the cataract of El-Kerr, the boat struck a rock and damaged the bow, occasioning a dangerous leak. It was on the point of sinking; all was terror and confusion; Cailliaud seized his packages of notes and drawings, and leaped upon a rock, and for awhile a complete shipwreck threatened them. Finally, however, the leak was found and stopped, the boat temporarily calked, and the travelers continued their voyage to Sennaâr, where they arrived without further mishap, on the 26th. Cailliaud immediately went to his old residence, where he was received with great joy by his former hosts. In delivering to Divan Effendi, the commander of the garrison, the letters of Ismail Pasha, he learned that the

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latter had ordered that he should be furnished with camels, and with the funds necessary for the expenses of his journey to Egypt. As he expected to receive some money in Dongola, he took but five thousand piasters ($250). As there were symptoms of insurrections in the provinces of Halfay and Shendy, he determined to make no stay in Sennaâr, but to push forward and examine the reported ruins of Mesowurat and Naga, before the country should become insecure. He had desired to explore Kordofan, but the state of M. Letorzec's health was such that he could not have supported the journey. This circumstance, which seemed so unfortunate at the time, was in reality the salvation of the travelers. Had they remained longer they would probably have become involved in the same fate which overtook Ismail Pasha and a great part of his army.

Cailliaud left Sennaâr on the 1st of March, and reached Halfay on the 9th. M. Letorzec was so ill that he was obliged to travel in a litter, fastened on the back of a camel. After resting a day they resumed the route to Shendy, following the eastern bank of the Nile. "On the 14th," says Cailliaud, "after having traveled for an hour over a plain thinly covered with small acacias, I reached some ruins which had attracted my attention at a distance; I recognized the site of an ancient city by the enormous mounds of burned brick, several of which still indicated the outlines of buildings. The place is known by the name of Naga. The most remarkable ruins are those of a typhonium, or temple to the Evil Principle, which is about eighty-seven feet in length." On the 15th they passed a great many villages, announcing their approach to Shendy, where they arrived at noon. They immediately visited the Turkish governor, who procured them a house, as they intended remaining some days. M. Linant, who had returned from Sennaâr with Ibrahim Pasha, was at Shendy.

Before setting out on his return to Egypt, Cailliaud desired to visit the ruins of Naga near Djebel Ardan, and those of Mesowurat. His companion, although convalescent, was not able to support the fatigue. It was, therefore, agreed that he should leave for Egypt in a few days, and journey by short stages until overtaken by Cailliaud. The latter set out on the 22d, accompanied by two guides and two servants. After journeying all day down a long valley extending to the south, he reached the extremity of the mountains, where the ruins were said to exist. "It was already night," he writes, "and my guides did not consider it prudent to go further, for fear of meeting with the Shukorees, who were in open revolt. We unloaded our camels cautiously, and lay down under the acacias which surrounded us. Wrapped in a quilt, with my head on a bundle of papers, I slept soundly, my Arabs watching by turns through the night. I awoke at dawn, and finding every thing quiet, advanced through the trees toward the ruins, which I discovered near at hand. The first object which I saw was a temple covered with Egyptian sculptures, with its pylon, and a portico of Greco-Roman ar-

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chitecture, with Egyptian ornaments. Still further were the ruins of another grand temple, with finely sculptured decorations, and preceded by an avenue of sphinxes; the substructions of several other edifices, and those of a public tank. I recognized here the ruins of an ancient city, the importance of which was attested by the nature of the remains which still existed, and by the extent of territory which they occupied. * * * My guides arrived, and in order that we might not be seen by the rebel Arabs, we established our residence in the western temple. I then began, assisted by my two servants, to make a more careful examination of the monuments."

Cailliaud found the largest temple to be two hundred and seventy feet in length, including the pylon and avenue of sphinxes. "The sculptures of the interior are almost entirely destroyed. This state of degradation is owing, I suppose, to the insignificant height of the walls and the action of the tropical rains. The figures are without the indication of a beard, so common in the sculptures of the Egyptian temples. The peculiar character of their costume, and the *embonpoint* of their figures, give evidence of a people quite distinct from the ancient Egyptians, but who, nevertheless, appear to have had the same symbolic writing and the same religious ideas." For three days and a half the traveler remained among these ruins, sketching by day and writing by night; but his supply of water was getting low, and the desire of examining El-Mesowurat before returning to Shendy, obliged him to leave.

The ruins of Mesowurat are about six hours' travel north-east of Naga. "I was struck with astonishment," writes Cailliaud, "on approaching the immense ruins which were exhibited to my gaze. I wandered from court to court, from temple to temple, from one chamber to another, traversing the corridors and galleries which connect the different structures. In this rapid survey I counted eight temples or sanctuaries, forty-one chambers, twenty-four courts, and three galleries, all surrounded with walls, and occupying a space two thousand five hundred feet in circumference. On returning to my guides, I discovered that we had only water enough for twenty-four hours. My intention was to remain here five or six days. I proposed to the men to go to the Nile and replenish the stock, but was obliged to pay them extravagantly before they would consent. I mounted on the most elevated wall of the central edifice, where my eye overlooked all the ruins. There, carefully studying the distribution of the different edifices around me, I became convinced that they formerly belonged to a college. Were these silent solitudes, I asked myself, ever animated by the boisterous sports of youth? Have these ruins ever resounded with the voices of the professors? Yes, these rude figures of birds and animals traced on the walls, are the work of childish hands; these names, engraved in Ethiopian characters, are those of students; and these others, in Greek, are without doubt those of strangers, whom the celebrity of the institution has attracted.

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"However extensive are these ruins of Mesowurat, nothing had led me to conjecture that the place could ever have been the site of a city. I found neither tombs nor any great number of ordinary habitations. A matter worthy of notice is the small size of the stones employed in the construction of the temples. Taking into consideration this want of strength and solidity in the materials, in a climate where the rain falls for three months in the year, one is led to believe that the ruins which remain have not, like those of Thebes, resisted the injuries of time during a long course of ages. They evidently do not possess a very great antiquity. The tradition of the country is that the name of El-Mesowurat was that of the ancient fakeers who inhabited these vast edifices. This tradition confirms the opinion that the place was devoted to education."

Cailliaud returned to Shendy on the 2d of April, where he found that M. Letorzec had set out for Egypt ten days beforehand. He immediately followed, by way of the Pyramids of Meroë and Damer, and reached El-Mekheyref, in Berber, after a journey of five days. Finding that his companion was still six days in advance, and hurrying toward Egypt, he halted but a day to procure some provisions from the governor (the province having been completely stripped by the army), and then continued his course through the country of Robatat, to Djebel Berkel. Passing Abou-Hammed, at the northern extremity of the great bend of the Nile, and the long island of Mokrat, he at last overtook M. Letorzec on the 18th, at a place called El-Kab. The latter was very much exhausted by the fever, which obliged them to travel with less rapidity, and they were therefore eight days more in reaching Mount Berkel.

Cailliaud remained at this place more than two weeks, in order to make a complete survey of the ruins. "Every morning, at sunrise," he says, "I repaired to the ruins, and I did not leave them until night. In the middle of the day, I occupied myself in drawing the interior sculptures of the typhonium, and the sanctuaries of the pyramids, where I sought a shelter against the excessive heat, which was often 105° in the shade. Mount Berkel, isolated on the desert plain, is a mass of sandstone about three quarters of a mile in circumference. Its southern side is a naked precipice two hundred feet high, at the base of which are the temples, all facing the river. Among the sculptures are two cartouches, which, according to Champollion, contain the name of Tirhaka, the first king of the Ethiopian dynasty who invaded Egypt, in the eighth century before the Christian era. The style of the figures and ornaments is the pure style of the monuments of Egypt and Lower Nubia. That part of the temple which is excavated in the mountain, is in a good state of preservation. East of the typhonium there are many remains of walls and fragments of columns, extending for some distance. Among these I discovered two lions of rose-colored granite, of Egyptian style and beautiful form. * * * Every thing goes to prove that the vast

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ruins of Mount Berkel are those of the city of Napata, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, of which the pyramids of Noori were the necropolis.

"On the 12th of May, my designs and observations being finished, I made preparations for my departure. Knowing that I should find no more antiquities on either bank of the Nile, I resolved to cross the desert in a north-western course, hoping that on the line of communication between Napata and the island of Argo there might be something worthy of notice. We laid in a large supply of water, and on the evening of the 13th struck into the desert. There was no path across the arid plains; the night came, and our guide regulated his march by the stars. About one o'clock in the morning, not being able to conquer our drowsiness, we halted and took two hours' rest. At nine o'clock, the thermometer stood at 108°. We pitched our tent and tried to sleep, but in vain; the intense heat obliged us to drink a little water and bathe our faces every half hour. At one o'clock the temperature inside of the tent was 117°. The desert was an immense plain of naked sand and sandstone rock; some fragments of petrified palms, scattered here and there, seemed to attest that nature was for ever dead in these frightful solitudes, and the rays of a burning sun, reflected from the incandescent sands, pierced our eyes with their terrible power."

The next night they stopped to take two hours' sleep, but were so fatigued that they slept four and a half, which obliged them to travel until eleven o'clock, at which time the thermometer stood at 118° in the shade. The *Khamseen*, or desert-wind, began to blow; the atmosphere was charged with clouds of sand, and the sun gave but a dim and lurid light. This place was called by the Arabs the *Salamàt* (Welcome). They left in the afternoon and made a march of seventeen hours, during which they found it almost impossible to keep their seats on the camels, from drowsiness and fatigue. Owing to the great evaporation and the thirst of the party, the water had diminished so rapidly, that Cailliaud put the Arabs on allowance, "but this precaution was hardly necessary," says he, "for we were near the Nile. Presently we perceived, in the distance, a zone of verdure along the horizon, and at seven in the evening we had completed this inconsiderate journey, for there was no monument of any kind to repay us for our toil and danger. We found ourselves in the province of Dongola, opposite the island of Argo, and had thus, at least, shortened our journey six days."

After passing Tombos, where he found a granite colossus of Egyptian workmanship, Cailliaud conceived the idea of visiting the Oasis of Selimeh, which lies in the Libyan Desert, three days' journey west of the Nile, on the caravan route from Egypt to Dar-Fur. He set out on the 25th of May, accompanied by M. Letorzec and two Arabs. They had a painful journey of thirty hours over the burning desert, and at last came in sight of Selimeh. "Before descending into the valley," says the traveler, "I gazed eagerly over the beautiful verdure of the palms,

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which contrasted so strikingly with the aridity of the sands around them; but I sought in vain for any trace of that beautiful temple, before which, the Arabs said, I should stand in ecstasy. With what bitterness I cursed my blind confidence in men, whom, from long experience, I ought to have known better!" After this disappointment Cailliaud remained two days at the oasis to rest, and then, returning by forced marches, reached the Nile again on the 31st of May.

He paid another visit to the temple of Soleb, examined the insignificant ruins at Amarah, and then continued his route to Wadi Halfa, where he arrived on the 13th of June. While descending the Nile, a week afterward, he met a bark coming up the river, on board of which was Captain Gordon, an English traveler, on his way to Dongola. "His project, like mine, was to explore the White Nile. He was a robust mariner, firmly resolved to undertake this perilous enterprise alone; but he perished like so many others. He began, rather imprudently, too soon to adopt the hard life and customs of the Arabs; like them, a pair of drawers and a shirt were all his clothing; he plunged into the water and swam every hour of the day; he abstained scrupulously from all nourishing food, in order that he might accustom himself to support the privations and fatigues which he expected to undergo. Such devotion and resolution were not rewarded with success. He fell ill, and died before reaching Sennaâr."

On reaching Assouan, Cailliaud sent M. Letorzec with the baggage and collections in a boat to Thebes, and continued his own journey with his camels, in order to visit the ruins of El-Kab, Edfoo, and Esneh by the way. He did not tarry long at any of these places: "On the 6th of July," he writes, "I found myself in the midst of the splendid remains of Medeenet-Abou. With what pleasure and admiration I again beheld those propylons, those immense porticoes and colonnades, which thirty-five centuries have respected! In the afternoon I reached Goorneh, where I found M. Letorzec, quite restored by the air of Egypt. Nothing in my house had been damaged; the Arabs seemed delighted to see us again safe and sound after a journey in which so many others had lost their lives. Thebes was in our eyes almost a French port; no obstacle now separated us from our country."

Cailliaud remained at Thebes until the 15th of September, employing himself in copying the sculptures on the walls of Memnon's tomb. He also made excursions to Ekhmin, Abydos, and other ruins which he had not previously visited, and was about setting out on another trip to the Great Oasis, for the purpose of examining more carefully the ruined temple there, when some Arab burglars, who entered his house at night, carried off all his ready money, and obliged him to give up the undertaking. Leaving Thebes, finally, with his companion, he descended the Nile rapidly and reached Cairo on the 27th. The travelers sailed from Alexandria on the 30th of October, in a Genoese brig bound for Marseilles. The passage was very stormy, and the brig narrowly escaped

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shipwreck off the Sardinian coast, but on the 11th of December anchored in the harbor of Marseilles. The very next vessel which arrived from Egypt brought the news of the terrible fate of Ismail Pasha, his staff, and fifty of his troops, in Shendy. Mek Nemr, who had sworn vengeance against him, persuaded him to attend a festival held in a large building some distance from the Egyptian camp, and having surrounded the place in the night with combustible materials, set fire to it and burned to death all who were within.

Cailliaud's account of his journey, in four octavo volumes, with an accompanying folio containing maps, plans, and engravings, was published in Paris in 1826. It is from this edition that the present abridgement has been prepared.

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FRANKLIN'S

OVERLAND JOURNEY TO THE POLAR SEA.

In the year 1819, the British Government determined to send an expedition by land from Hudson's Bay to explore the northern coast of America from the mouth of the Coppermine River eastward. Captain, afterward Sir John Franklin, was appointed to the command, with Dr. John Richardson, and Messrs. George Back and Robert Hood, midshipmen, as associates. Captain Franklin also took with him John Hepburn, an English seaman; the rest of the party were to consist of Canadian hunters and *voyageurs*. They embarked at Gravesend on the 23d of May, 1819, on board the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Prince of Wales*, and after touching at Stromness, in the Orkney Islands, where they procured four skillful boatmen, reached York Factory, in Hudson's Bay, on the 30th of August, after a very stormy and perilous voyage.

According to the advice of the officers at the Factory, Franklin determined to take the route by Cumberland House, and through the chain of trading-posts to Great Slave Lake. Having procured a boat, with a steersman who acted also as guide, the party commenced their march into the interior on the 9th of September. They made the journey up Hayes and Hill Rivers very slowly, owing to the strength of the current, and were finally obliged to leave part of their supplies behind, in the charge of some of the Company's traders, who promised to forward them the next spring. On passing the White Fall, Franklin slipped into the river and was on the point of being carried over, when he happened to seize a willow branch strong enough to sustain him. They arrived at Norway House, on Lake Winnipeg, on the 6th of October, after which they traveled with more rapidity, and reached Cumberland House, on the Saskatchawan, on the 23d of the same month.

By this time the ice was forming in the rivers, and it was impossible to proceed further by boats. The whole party remained at Cumberland House until the middle of January, accustoming themselves to the life they were thenceforth to lead, and making preparations for the journey

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to Slave Lake. They had also an opportunity of witnessing the habits of the Cree Indians, who had assembled around the Fort. These people were dissipated in their habits, but unusually honest, and very superstitious. They have among them professed conjurors, who take advantage of their fears to tyrannize over them and procure a good living at their expense. One of these conjurors came to Cumberland House during Franklin's residence there. "He immediately began to trumpet forth his powers, boasting, among other things, that although his hands and feet were tied as securely as possible, yet, when placed in a conjuring-house, he would speedily disengage himself by the aid of two or three familiar spirits who were attendant on his call. He was instantly taken at his word, and, that his exertions might not be without an aim, a *capot* or great-coat was promised as the reward of his success. A conjuring-house having been erected in the usual form, that is, by sticking four willows in the ground and tying their tops to a hoop at the height of six or eight feet, he was fettered completely by winding several fathoms of rope around his body and extremities, and placed in its narrow apartment, not exceeding two feet in diameter. A moose-skin being then thrown over the frame, secluded him from our view. He forthwith began to chant a kind of hymn in a very monotonous tone. The rest of the Indians, who seemed in some doubt respecting the powers of a devil when put in competition with those of a white man, ranged themselves around and watched the result with anxiety. In this manner an hour and a half elapsed; but at length our attention, which had begun to flag, was roused by the violent shaking of the conjuring-house. It was instantly whispered around the circle, that at least one devil had crept under the moose-skin. But it proved to be only the "God-like man" (as he called himself), trembling with cold. He had entered the lists stripped to the skin, and the thermometer stood very low that evening. His attempts were continued, however, with considerable resolution for half an hour longer, when he reluctantly gave in. He had found no difficulty in slipping through the noose when it was formed by his countrymen; but, in the present instance, the knot was tied by Governor Williams, who is an expert sailor. After this unsuccessful exhibition his credit sank amazingly, and he took the earliest opportunity of sneaking away from the Fort."

Franklin divided his company, leaving Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood at Cumberland House until the spring, and taking with him only Mr. Back and Hepburn. He set out on the 18th of January, 1820, furnished with two dog-sleds by the Company's agents, and some Canadians whom he had taken into his service. He reached Carlton House after a walk of fourteen days, during which the three Englishmen suffered greatly from the unaccustomed chafing of the snow-shoes. The weather was intensely cold: "Our tea," says Franklin, "froze in the tin pots before we could drink it, and even a mixture of spirits and water became quite thick by congelation; yet, after we lay down to rest, we felt no incon-

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venience." The day before reaching Carlton House, they consumed their last provisions. Here they took a few days' rest, in order to recover from their fatigue, and procure supplies for the further journey.

They started again on the 8th of February, and, with the exception of a short rest at Fort La Crosse, continued their journey to Fort Chipewyan, on Athabasca Lake, where they arrived on the 26th of March. "Thus," says Franklin, "terminated a winter journey of eight hundred and fifty-seven miles, in the progress of which there was a great amount of agreeable and disagreeable circumstances: could the amount of each be balanced, I suspect the latter would much preponderate. Among these, the initiation into walking on snow-shoes must be considered as prominent. The next evil is the being constantly exposed to witness the wanton and unnecessary cruelty of the men to their dogs, especially those of the Canadians, who beat them unmercifully. There are other inconveniences, which, though keenly felt during the day's journey, are speedily forgotten, when, stretched out in the encampment before a large fire, you enjoy the social mirth of your companions, who usually pass the evening in recounting their former feats in traveling."

As Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood were to wait at Cumberland House until the opening of river navigation in the spring, Franklin was obliged to wait at Chipewyan House for their arrival, which did not take place until the 13th of July. He made use of the intervening time in sending messages to the chief of the Coppermine Indians, who professed his willingness to assist him in his explorations, in engaging boatmen and interpreters, and building canoes, and in preparing dispatches for England. Richardson and Hood brought along two canoes, but the pemmican with which they had been supplied by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company proved to be so moldy, that they threw it away, and they had but provisions for one day on arriving at Fort Chipewyan. Franklin obtained all the supplies that could be spared from the fort, but could obtain neither ammunition nor spirits, and but little tobacco. He says: "We then made a final arrangement respecting the voyageurs who were to accompany the party; and fortunately there was no difficulty in doing this, as Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood had taken the very judicious precaution of bringing up ten men from Cumberland, who were engaged to proceed forward if their services were required. These men were most desirous of being continued, and we felt sincere pleasure in being able to keep men who were so zealous in the cause, and who had given proofs of their activity on their recent passage to this place, by discharging those men who were less willing to undertake the journey. When the numbers were completed which we had been recommended by the traders to take as a protection against the Esquimaux, we had sixteen Canadian voyageurs, and our worthy and only English attendant, John Hepburn, besides the two interpreters whom we were to receive at the Great Slave Lake; we were also accompanied by a Chipewyan woman. An equipment of goods was given to each of the men; and when this

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distribution had been made, the remainder were made up into bales, preparatory to our departure on the following day, the 18th of July."

Their stock of provisions was only sufficient for one day's consumption, exclusive of two barrels of flour, three cases of preserved meats, with some chocolate, arrow-root, and portable soup, which they had brought from England and intended to reserve for their exploring tour along the coast next summer. The scarcity of food did not in the least depress the Canadians, who paddled off, singing, into the Slave River. This is a magnificent stream, three quarters of a mile wide, but interrupted by occasional rapids. Their voyage down it was without incident, and in six days they reached the trading post on Moose Deer Island, in Great Slave Lake. Here Franklin engaged St. Germain, an interpreter for the Copper Indians, and obtained five hundred and fifty pounds of dried meat. He then crossed the lake to Fort Providence, on the northern side, where he found Mr. Wentzel, one of the Company's clerks, who intended to accompany the expedition to the Coppermine River, together with Adam, an interpreter, and one of the Indian guides. The chief of the tribe, who was encamped in the neighborhood, was at once sent for, and a grand council was held on his arrival, which terminated in his agreeing to accompany Franklin. His name was Akaitcho, or Big-foot. After the council was over, presents were distributed to him and his braves, and the ceremonies terminated with an Indian dance.

The party left Fort Providence on the 2d of August. "Our stores," says Franklin, "consisted of two barrels of gunpowder, one hundred and forty pounds of balls and small shot, four fowling-pieces, a few old trading-guns, eight pistols, twenty-four Indian daggers, some packages of knives, chisels, axes, nails, and fastenings for a boat, a few yards of cloth, some blankets, needles, looking-glasses, and beads, together with nine fishing-nets, having meshes of different sizes." There were twenty-eight persons in all, including the wives of three of the voyageurs, who went along for the purpose of making shoes and clothes for the men in their winter quarters. Fort Providence is the last trading establishment, and the country beyond it had never before been visited by any European. They ascended Yellow-knife River, which flows into Great Slave Lake from the north-east, a distance of one hundred and fifty-six miles, passing through a chain of lakes, between which there were many rapids, requiring portage of the canoes. They then crossed a barren water-shed for thirty miles, carrying their canoes from lake to lake, until, on the 20th, they reached a river running to the north-west, on the banks of which the chief, Akaitcho, proposed they should establish their winter quarters. "We found that the situation they had chosen possessed all the advantages we could desire. The trees were numerous, and of a far greater size than we had supposed them to be on a distant view, some of the pines being thirty or forty feet high, and two feet in diameter at the root. We determined on placing the house on the summit of the

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bank, which commands a beautiful prospect of the surrounding country. In the afternoon we read divine service, and offered our thanksgiving to the Almighty for his goodness in having brought us thus far on our journey."

Akaitcho, however, broke his promise of accompanying Franklin to the Coppermine River, alleging that the season was now too far advanced, and his tribe were obliged to procure deer-skins for the winter. No persuasion could induce him to change his decision; so, after mature deliberation, Franklin gave up the idea of reaching the sea until the next summer. He thought it prudent, however, to send a party to explore the upper waters of the Coppermine, and ascertain its rapids, etc., and dispatched Back and Hood, with St. Germain, the interpreter, and eight Canadians, on this duty. Soon after they left, he left Mr. Wentzel to superintend the building of the fort, and started with Dr. Richardson on a pedestrian journey to the Coppermine. Both parties were only absent about ten days, and on their return found that the winter-house, which they named Fort Enterprise, was already roofed in.

FORT ENTERPRISE.

"On the 6th of October," says Franklin, "the house being completed, we struck our tents, and moved into it. It was merely a log building, fifty feet long and twenty-four wide, divided into a hall, three bed-rooms, and a kitchen. The walls and roof were plastered with clay, the floors laid with planks rudely squared with the hatchet, and the windows closed with parchment of deer-skin." They now went to work to secure a good supply of provisions for the winter, and, with the assistance of the Indians, had stored away, by the middle of October, one

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hundred and eighty deer, together with one thousand pounds of suet, and some dried meat. On the 18th, Messrs. Back and Wentzel set out for Fort Providence, with two Canadians and two Indians, to attend to the transporting of the stores which Franklin expected to receive from Cumberland House. In the following month one of the Canadians returned, stating that the supplies had not arrived; that Mr. Weeks, the company's agent at Fort Providence, was endeavoring to prejudice the Indians against them, and that Mr. Back would probably be obliged to continue his journey to Fort Chipewyan to obtain supplies. All these disappointments were very embarrassing to Franklin, and they no doubt had an effect on the fortunes of the expedition.

The weather during December was the coldest they experienced. "The thermometer sank on one occasion to 57° below zero, and never rose beyond 6° above it; the mean for the month was —29°.7. During these intense colds, however, the atmosphere was generally calm, and the wood-cutters and others went about their ordinary occupations without using any extraordinary precautions, yet without feeling any bad effects. They had their reindeer-shirts on, leathern mittens lined with blankets, and furred caps; but none of them used any defense for the face, or needed any. The intense colds were, nevertheless, detrimental to us in another way. The trees froze to their very centers and became as hard as stones, and more difficult to cut. Some of the axes were broken daily, and by the end of the month we had only one left that was fit for felling trees. A thermometer, hung in our bed-room at the distance of sixteen feet from the fire, but exposed to its direct radiation, stood even in the day-time occasionally at 15° below zero, and was observed more than once, previous to the kindling of the fire in the morning, to be as low as 40° below zero.

"A considerable portion of our time was occupied in writing up our journals. Some newspapers and magazines, that we had received from England with our letters, were read again and again, and commented upon at our meals; and we often exercised ourselves with conjecturing the changes that might take place in the world before we could hear from it again. We occasionally paid the woodmen a visit, or took a walk for a mile or two on the river. In the evenings we joined the men in the hall, and took a part in their games, which generally continued till a late hour; in short, we never found the time to hang heavy on our hands; and the peculiar occupations of each of the officers afforded them more employment than might at first be supposed. Our diet consisted almost entirely of reindeer meat, varied twice a week by fish, and occasionally by a little flour, but we had no vegetables of any description. On Sunday mornings we drank a cup of chocolate, but our greatest luxury was tea (without sugar), of which we regularly partook twice a day. With reindeer's fat, and strips of cotton shirts, we formed candles; and Hepburn acquired considerable skill in the manufacture of soap, from the wood-ashes, fat, and salt."

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Thus the winter passed away, and on the 17th of March, 1821, Lieutenant Back returned, after an absence of five months, during which time he had traveled eleven hundred and four miles on snow-shoes, with no other covering at night than a blanket and deer-skin, with the thermometer frequently at 40°, and once 57°, below zero. Their provisions now gave out, and the months of April and May were spent principally in replenishing their supplies, in negotiations with the Indians, who, from the refusal of Mr. Weeks to pay Franklin's orders, had become unruly and discontented, and in procuring goods and ammunition for the summer voyage. The season was later than usual, and the expedition was not ready to leave before the beginning of June. Dr. Richardson was sent forward in advance, with part of the stores, to Point Lake on the Coppermine River, and on the 14th of the same month Franklin set out with the remainder of the party. He took the precaution of sending, previously, all his journals, dispatches, and other writings, to England, by way of Fort Providence and the other trading posts.

The first part of the journey was very fatiguing, as the ice on the smaller lakes was rotten, and the men broke through frequently. They traveled thus, without any serious accident, for seven days, when they reached Dr. Richardson's encampment on Point Lake. Here the ice was still six or seven feet thick, with no appearance of melting, and they were therefore obliged to drag the canoes and stores over its surface. The canoes were mounted on sledges, and drawn along by the combined efforts of dogs and men. Four days were required to cross Point Lake, as they did not make more than ten miles a day, and when this lake was passed, a short rapid conducted them to another, frozen in like manner. They were not able to launch the canoes on the Coppermine until the 2d of July, after which their voyage was less fatiguing, but much more dangerous, from the rapids in the stream and the masses of drift-ice. Their supplies of meat, however, which were quite exhausted, were now replenished from the herd of musk-oxen which they met with. On the 9th they passed safely through the Narrows of the Coppermine, a place where the river, for three quarters of a mile, is confined between precipices two hundred feet high, and shoots along in an arrowy mass of foam.

As they approached the mouth of the river, they kept a good look-out for the Esquimaux, whom they expected to find in that neighborhood. In order to secure a friendly reception from them, one of the Indian interpreters, named Augustus, was sent forward to communicate with them. He found some of them near the falls of the Coppermine, and as they seemed considerably alarmed at the news, the boats of the expedition halted a little short of that point on the 14th. "After supper Dr. Richardson ascended a lofty hill about three miles from the encampment, and obtained the first view of the sea; it appeared to be covered with ice. A large promontory, which I named Cape Hearne, bore north-east, and its lofty mountains proved to be the blue land we

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had seen in the forenoon, and which had led us to believe the sea was still far distant."

They succeeded in establishing some intercourse with the Esquimaux, but found them rather shy and suspicious. They were at last able, however, to get upon a friendly footing with an old man named Terregannœuck, who had a fresh, ruddy face, a prominent nose, and a snow-white beard, two inches long. Upon showing him his face in a mirror for the first time, he exclaimed, "I shall never kill deer any more," and immediately put the mirror down. Here Akaitcho and his party left, to return to the grounds of their tribe. The expedition reached the sea on the 19th of July, when Mr. Wentzel left with four Canadians, to return to Fort Providence. The remainder of the party, including officers, now amounted to twenty men. Mr. Wentzel took Franklin's last dispatches to be forwarded to England, and was instructed to take charge of all the journals and collections left at Fort Enterprise, as well as to deposit there a quantity of supplies for Franklin's party, in case they should return by the same route. When his party had been supplied with ammunition, the remaining stock consisted of one thousand balls, with rather more than the requisite quantity of powder.

From this point their discoveries commenced. They embarked on the Polar Sea on the 21st, and turned their canoes eastward, hoping in these frail barks, to solve the problem of a north-west passage. Paddling along the coast, on the inside of a crowded range of islands, they encamped on shore after a run of thirty-seven miles, in which they experienced little interruption, and saw only a small iceberg in the distance, though that beautiful luminous effulgence emitted from the congregated ices, and distinguished by the name of the ice-blink, was distinctly visible to the northward. The coast was found of moderate height, easy of access, and covered with vegetation; but the islands were rocky and barren, presenting high cliffs of a columnar structure. In continuing their voyage, the dangers which beset a navigator in these dreadful polar solitudes thickened gloomily around them. The coast became broken and sterile, and at length rose into a high and rugged promontory, against which some large masses of ice had drifted, threatening destruction to their slender canoes. In attempting to round this cape the wind rose, an awful gloom involved the sky, and the thunder burst over their heads, compelling them to encamp till the storm subsided. They then, at the imminent risk of having the canoes crushed by the floating ice, doubled the dreary promontory, which they denominated Cape Barrow, and entered Detention Harbor, where they landed. Around them the land consisted of mountains of granite, rising abruptly from the water's edge, destitute of vegetation, and attaining an elevation of fourteen or fifteen hundred feet; seals and small deer were the only animals seen, and the former were so shy that all attempts to approach within shot were unsuccessful. With the deer the hunters were more fortunate, but these were not numerous; and while the ice closed grad-

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ually around them, and their little stock of provisions, consisting of pemmican and cured beef, every day diminished, it was impossible not to regard their situation with uneasiness. Rounding Cape Kater, they entered Arctic Sound, and send a party to explore a river upon the banks of which they expected to find an Esquimaux encampment. All, however, was silent, desolate, and deserted; even these hardy natives, bred amid the polar ices, had removed from so barren a spot, and the hunters returned with two small deer and a brown bear, the latter animal so lean and sickly looking, that the men declined eating it; but the officers boiled its paws, and found them excellent.

Proceeding along the eastern shore of Arctic Sound, to which they gave the name of Bankes' Peninsula, the expedition made its painful way along a coast indented by bays, and in many places studded with islands, till, on the 10th of August, they reached the open sea; and sailing, as they imagined, between the continent and a large island, found to their deep disappointment that, instead of an open channel, they were in the center of a vast bay. The state of the expedition now called for the most serious consideration upon the part of their commander. So much time had already been spent in exploring the sounds and inlets, that all hope of reaching Repulse Bay was vain; both canoes had sustained material injury; the fuel was expended; their provisions were sufficient only for three days; the appearances of the setting in of the arctic winter were too unequivocal to be mistaken; the deer, which had hitherto supplied them with fresh meat, would, it was well known, soon disappear; the geese and other aquatic birds were already seen winging their way to the southward; while the men, who had up to this moment displayed the utmost courage, began to look disheartened, and to entertain serious apprehensions for their safety. Under these circumstances, Franklin, with the concurrence of his officers, determined not to endanger the lives of his people by a further advance; and after spending four days in a minute survey of the bay, it was resolved to return by Hood's River to Fort Enterprise. Franklin's researches, as far as prosecuted at this time, favored the opinion of those who contended for the practicability of a north-west passage. It appeared probable that the coast ran east and west in the latitude assigned to Mackenzie's River, and little doubt could, in his opinion, be entertained regarding the existence of a continued sea in that direction. The portion over which they passed was navigable for vessels of any size; and the ice met with after quitting Detention Harbor would not have arrested a strong boat, while the chain of islands afforded shelter from all heavy seas, and there were good harbors at convenient distances. Having, with much severe privation, completed their course, from Point Turnagain, in Melville Bay, to the entrance of Hood's River, they ascended as high as the first rapid, and encamped, terminating here their voyage on the Arctic Sea, during which they had gone over six hundred and fifty geographical miles.

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On the prospect of commencing their land journey, the Canadians could not conceal their satisfaction; and the evening previous to their departure was passed in talking over their past adventures, and congratulating each other in having at length turned their backs upon the sea, little anticipating that the most painful and hazardous portion of the expedition was yet to come. Before setting off, an assortment of iron materials, beads, looking-glasses, and other articles, was put up in a

WILBERFORCE FALLS.

conspicuous situation for the Esquimaux, and the English union was planted on the loftiest sand-hill, where it might be seen by any ships passing in the offing. Here also was deposited in a tin box a letter containing an outline of the proceedings of the expedition, the latitude and longitude of the principal places, and the course intended to be pursued toward Slave Lake. They now proceeded up the river in their canoes, and though upon a short allowance of provisions, the produce of their nets and fowling-pieces furnished for a few days enough to ward off absolute want; but they were often on the very brink of it. Their pro-

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gress was much interrupted by shoals and rapids, and one evening they encamped at the lower end of a narrow chasm, the walls of which were upward of two hundred feet high, and in some places only a few yards apart. Into this the river precipitates itself, forming two magnificent cascades, to which they gave the name of Wilberforce Falls, and the combined height of which they estimated at two hundred and seventy-five feet.

On taking a survey of its further course from a neighboring hill, the river was discovered to be so rapid and shallow, that all progress in the large canoes seemed impossible. Two smaller boats were therefore constructed; and on the 1st of September they set off, with the intention of proceeding in as direct a line as possible to the part of Point Lake opposite their spring encampment—a distance which appeared comparatively trifling, being only one hundred and forty-nine miles. Their luggage consisted of ammunition, nets, hatchets, ice-chisels, astronomical instruments, clothing-blankets, three kettles, and the two canoes, each so light as to be carried easily by a single man. But disaster attacked them in their very first stage. A storm of snow came on, accompanied by a high wind, against which it was difficult to carry the canoes, which were damaged by the falls of those who bore them. The ground was covered with small stones, and much pain was endured by the carriers, whose soft moose-skin shoes were soon cut through. The cold was intense; and on encamping they looked in vain for wood; a fire of moss was all they could procure, which served them to cook their supper, but gave so little heat that they were glad to creep under their blankets.

Having ascended next morning one of the highest hills, they ascertained that the river took a westerly course, and Franklin, thinking that to follow it further would lead to a more tedious journey than their exhausted strength could endure, determined to quit its banks and make directly for Point Lake. Emerging, therefore, from the valley, they crossed a barren country, varied only by marshy levels and small lakes. The weather was fine, but unfortunately no berry-bearing plants were found, the surface being covered in the more humid spots with a few grasses, and in other places with some gray melancholy lichens. On encamping, the last piece of pemmican, or pounded flesh, was distributed, with a little arrow-root, for supper. The evening was warm; but dark clouds overspread the sky, and they experienced those sudden alternations of climate which occur in the polar latitudes at this season. At midnight it rained in torrents; but toward morning a snow-storm arose, accompanied by a violent gale. During the whole day the storm continued, and not having the comfort of a fire the men remained in bed, but the tents were frozen; around them the snow had drifted to the depth of three feet, and even within lay several inches thick on their blankets. Though the storm had not abated, any longer delay was impossible, for they knew every hour would increase the intensity of an arctic winter; and though faint from fasting, and with their clothes stiff-

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ened by frost, it was absolutely necessary to push forward. They suffered much in packing the frozen tents and bedclothes, and could hardly keep their hands out of their fur mittens. On attempting to move, Franklin was seized with a fainting fit, occasioned by hunger and exhaustion, and on recovering refused to eat a morsel of portable soup, which was immediately prepared for him, as it had to be drawn from the only remaining meal of the party. The people, however, kindly crowded round, and overcame his reluctance. The effect of eating was his rapid recovery; and the expedition moved on.

Disaster now crowded on disaster. The wind rose so high that those who carried the canoes were frequently blown down, and one of the boats was so much shattered as to be rendered unserviceable. The ground was covered with snow; and though the swamps were frozen, yet the ice was often not sufficiently strong; so that they plunged in knee-deep. A fire, however, was made of the bark and timbers of the broken canoe; and, after having fasted three days, their last meal of portable soup and arrow-root was cooked. Each man's allowance at this melancholy dinner was exceedingly scanty; but it allayed the pangs of hunger, and encouraged them to press forward at a quicker rate. They had now reached a more hilly country, strewed with large stones, and covered with gray lichen, well known to the Canadians by its name, *tripe de roche*. In cases of extremity, it is boiled and eaten; but its taste is nauseous, its quality purgative, and it sometimes produces an intolerable griping and loathing. The party not being aware of this, gathered a considerable quantity. A few partridges also had been shot; and at night some willows were dug up from under the snow, with which they lighted a fire and cooked their supper.

Next day they came to Cracroft's River, flowing to the westward over a channel of large stones, which rendered it impossible to cross in the canoe. No alternative was left but to attempt a precarious passage over some rocks at a rapid; and in effecting this, some of the men, losing their balance, slipped into the water. They were instantly rescued by their companions; but so intense was the frost, that their drenched clothes became caked with ice, and they suffered much during the remainder of the day's march. The hunters had fallen in with some partridges, which they shot, and they found enough of roots to make a fire; so that their supper, though scanty, was comparatively comfortable. Next morning they pushed forward with ardor, and passed the River Congecathawhachaga of Mr. Hearne. The country which lay before them was hilly, and covered with snow to a great depth. The sides of the hills were traversed by sharp angular rocks, where the drifted snow, filling up the interstices, presented a smooth but fallacious surface, which often gave way and precipitated them into the chasms with their heavy loads. In this painful and arduous manner they struggled forward several days, feeding on the *tripe de roche*, which was so frozen to the rocks that their hands were benumbed before a meal could be collected, and so

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destitute of nutritive juices, that it allayed hunger only for a very short time.

At length reaching the summit of a hill, they, to their great delight, beheld a herd of musk-oxen feeding in the valley below; an instant halt was made, the best hunters were called out, and while they proceeded with extreme caution in a circuitous route, their companions watched their proceedings with intense anxiety. When near enough to open their fire, the report reverberated through the hills, and one of the largest cows was seen to fall. "This success," says Franklin, in that simple account of his journey which any change of language would only weaken, "infused spirit into our starving party. The contents of its stomach were devoured upon the spot; and the raw intestines, which were next attacked, were pronounced by the most delicate of the party to be excellent. A few willows, whose tops were seen peeping through the snow in the bottom of the valley, were quickly grubbed, the tents pitched, and supper cooked and devoured with avidity. It was the sixth day since we had had a good meal. I do not think that we witnessed, through the course of our journey, a more striking proof of the wise dispensation of the Almighty, and of the weakness of our own judgment, than on this day. We had considered the dense fog which prevailed throughout the morning as almost the greatest inconvenience which could have befallen us, since it rendered the air extremely cold, and prevented us from distinguishing any distant object toward which our course could be directed. Yet this very darkness enabled the party to get to the top of the hill, which bounded the valley wherein the musk-oxen were grazing, without being perceived. Had the herd discovered us and taken alarm, our hunters, in their present state of debility, would, in all probability, have failed in approaching them."

On the following day a strong southerly wind blowing with a snow-drift, they took a day's rest, and as only enough remained of the musk-ox to serve for two days, they contented themselves with a single meal. Next morning, though the gale had not diminished, they pushed forward, and notwithstanding their rest and recent supply of animal food, the whole party felt greater weakness than they had hitherto experienced. The weather was hazy, but after an hour's march the sky cleared, and they found themselves on the borders of a lake, of which they could not discern the termination in either direction. In these circumstances they traveled along its banks to the westward, in search of a crossing-place. Credit, one of the Canadians, left the party in hopes of falling in with deer, but did not return; and on encamping in the evening, hungry and fatigued, they had to divide for supper a single partridge and some *tripe de roche.* This weed from the first had been unpalatable, but now became insupportably nauseous, and began in many to produce severe pains and bowel-complaints, especially in Mr. Hood. This solitary partridge was the last morsel of animal food that remained; and they turned with deep anxiety to the hope of catching some fish in

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the lake, but discovered that the persons intrusted with them had improvidently thrown away three of the nets and burned the floats on leaving Hood's River. Things now began to look very gloomy; and as the men were daily getting weaker, it was judged expedient to lighten their burdens of every thing except ammunition, clothing, and the instruments necessary to guide them on their way. The dipping-needle, the azimuth compass, the magnet, a large thermometer, and the few books they carried, were therefore deposited at this encampment, after they had torn out from these last the tables necessary for working the latitude and longitude. Rewards also were promised by Franklin to such of the party as should kill any animals, and in the morning they prepared to go forward.

At this moment a fine trait of disinterestedness occurred: As the officers assembled round a small fire, enduring an intense degree of hunger which they had no means of satisfying, Perrault, one of the Canadians, presented each of them with a piece of meat out of a little store which he had saved from his allowance. "It was received," says Franklin, "with great thankfulness, and such an instance of self-denial and kindness filled our eyes with tears." Pressing forward to a river issuing from the lake, they met their comrade, Credit, and received the joyful intelligence that he had killed two deer. One of these was immediately cut up and prepared for breakfast; and having sent some of the party for the other, the rest proceeded down the river, which was about three hundred yards broad, in search of a place to cross. Having chosen a spot where the current was smooth, immediately above a rapid, Franklin and two Canadian boatmen, St. Germain and Belanger, pushed from the shore. The breeze was fresh, and the current stronger than they imagined, so that they approached the very edge of the rapid; and Belanger employing his paddle to steady the canoe, lost his balance, and overset the bark in the middle of it. The party clung to its side, and reaching a rock where the stream was but waist-deep, kept their footing till the canoe was emptied of water, after which Belanger held it steady, while St. Germain replaced Franklin in it, and dexterously leaped in himself. Such was their situation, that if the man who stood on the rock had raised his foot, they would have been lost. His friends therefore were compelled to leave him, and after a second disaster, in which the canoe struck, and was as expeditiously righted as before, they reached the opposite bank.

Meanwhile Belanger suffered extremely, immersed to his middle, and enduring intense cold. He called piteously for relief, and St. Germain re-embarking, attempted to reach him, but was hurried down the rapid, and on coming ashore was so benumbed as to be incapable of further exertion. A second effort, but equally unsuccessful, was made by Adam: they then tried to carry out a line formed of the slings of the men's loads, but it broke, and was carried down the stream. At last, when he was almost exhausted, the canoe reached him with a small cord of

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one of the remaining nets, and he was dragged to shore quite insensible. On being stripped, rolled in blankets, and put to bed between two men, he recovered. During these operations Franklin was left alone upon the bank, and it seemed a matter of the utmost doubt whether he should be ever rejoined by his companions. "It is impossible," says he, "to describe my sensations as I witnessed the various unsuccessful attempts to relieve Belanger. The distance prevented my seeing distinctly what was going on, and I continued pacing up and down the rock on which I stood, regardless of the coldness of my drenched and stiffened garments. The canoe, in every attempt to reach him, was hurried down the rapid, and was lost to view among the rocky islets, with a fury which seemed to threaten instant destruction; once, indeed, I fancied that I saw it overwhelmed in the waves: such an event would have been fatal to the whole party. Separated as I was from my companions, without gun, ammunition, hatchet, or the means of making a fire, and in wet clothes, my doom would have been speedily sealed. My companions too, driven to the necessity of coasting the lake, must have sunk under the fatigue of rounding its innumerable arms and bays, which, as we learned afterward from the Indians, are extensive. By the goodness of Providence, however, we were spared at that time, and some of us have been permitted to offer up our thanksgiving in a civilized land for the signal deliverance we then and afterward experienced."

On setting out next morning, Perrault brought in a fine male deer, which raised the spirits of the party, as it secured them in provisions for two days; and they trusted to support themselves for a third on the skin which they carried with them. Having ascended the Willingham Mountains, they entered upon a rugged country, intersected by deep ravines, the passage of which was so difficult, that they could only make ten miles with great fatigue. The deer was now picked to the last morsel, and they ate pieces of the singed hide with a little *tripe de roche*. At other times this meal might have sufficed; but, exhausted by slender food and continued toil, their appetites had become ravenous. Hitherto events had been so mercifully ordered, that in their utmost need some little supply of the *tripe de roche* had never failed them; but it was the will of God that their confidence should be yet more strongly tried; for they now entered upon a level country covered with snow, where even this miserable lichen was no longer to be found; and a bed of Iceland moss, which was boiled for supper, proved so bitter that none of the party, though enduring the extremities of hunger, could taste more than a few spoonfuls. Another distress now attacked them: the intensity of the cold increased, while they became less fit to endure it. Their blankets did not suffice to keep them warm, and the slightest breeze pierced through their debilitated frames. "The reader," says Franklin, "will probably be desirous to know how we passed our time in such a comfortless situation. The first operation after encamping was to thaw our frozen shoes, if a sufficient fire could be made; dry ones

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were then put on. Each person then wrote his notes of the daily occurrences, and evening prayers were read. As soon as supper was prepared it was eaten, generally in the dark, and we went to bed, and kept up a cheerful conversation until our blankets were thawed by the heat of our bodies, and we had gathered sufficient warmth to enable us to fall asleep. On many nights we had not even the luxury of going to bed in dry clothes; for, when the fire was insufficient to dry our shoes, we dared not venture to pull them off, lest they should freeze so hard as to be unfit to put on in the morning, and therefore inconvenient to carry."

Hunger, fatigue, and disappointment, began now to have a calamitous effect upon the tempers of the men. One, who carried the canoe, after several severe falls, threw down his burden, and obstinately refused to resume it. It was accordingly given to another, who proved stronger, and pushed forward at so rapid a rate that Mr. Hood, whose weakness was now extreme, could not keep up with them; and as Franklin attempted to pursue and stop them, the whole party were separated. Dr. Richardson, who had remained behind to gather *tripe de roche*, joined him, and on advancing they found the men encamped among some willows, where they had found some pieces of skin and a few bones of deer which had been devoured by the wolves. On these they had made a meal, having burned and pounded the bones, boiled the skin, and added their old shoes to the mess. With this no fault could be found; but on questioning the person to whom the canoe had been entrusted, it was discovered that he had left the boat behind, it having, as he said, been broken by a fall, and rendered entirely useless.

To the infatuated obstinacy of the men in refusing to retrace their steps and fetch it, even in its shattered state, is to be ascribed much of the distress of their subsequent journey. Every argument and entreaty seemed entirely thrown away; and they had apparently lost all hope of being preserved. When the hunters, who had been out for some time, did not make their appearance, they became furious at the idea of having been deserted, and throwing down their bundles, declared they would follow them at all hazards, and leave the weakest to keep up as they best could. The remonstrances of the officers at length opened their minds to the madness of such a scheme; and on encamping in the evening, they found some pines seven or eight feet high, which furnished a comfortable fire, when they made their supper on *tripe de roche*. Next morning a herd of deer came in sight, and they killed five—a supply which, considering the extremity of hunger and despair to which they were reduced, was especially providential.

The Canadians now earnestly petitioned for a day's rest. They pleaded their recent sufferings, and that the enjoyment of two substantial meals, after eight days' famine, would enable them to press forward more vigorously. The flesh, the skins, and even the stomachs of the deer, were accordingly equally divided among the party, and some of

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them suffered severely from too free an indulgence in the use of this food after so long an abstinence. Next morning the party resumed their journey, and after a walk of three miles, came to the Coppermine River. Its current was strong; but with a canoe there would have been no difficulty in crossing; and the reckless folly of the men, in abandoning their only means of transport, was now brought strongly to their mind. No ford could be discovered, and the plan was suggested of framing a vessel of willows, covered with the canvas of the tent; but the most experienced boatmen declared that willows were too small to bear the weight, and no pines could be found. Nothing remained but to resume their march along the borders of the lake; and looking out eagerly, but in vain, for some fordable place, they encamped at the east end. Anxious to adopt every possible means for preserving the party, Franklin sent Mr. Back forward with the interpreters to hunt. He was directed to halt at the first pines, and construct a raft; and if his hunters had killed animals sufficient to provision them, he was to cross immediately, and send the Indians with supplies of meat to the party behind.

At this time it was discovered that two of the men had stolen part of the officers' provision, though it had been doled out with the strictest impartiality, and they saw their leaders suffering more acutely than themselves. To punish this was impossible, except by the threat that they should forfeit their wages, which produced little effect. Despondency had deeply seized upon the party, and in the morning strict orders could not prevent them from straggling in search of the remains of animals; in consequence of which much time was lost in halting, and ammunition in firing guns to collect them. The snow, however, had disappeared, and pressing forward with more alacrity, they came to an arm of the lake running north-east. The idea of making the long circuit round it was distressing; and having halted to consult what was to be done, some one discovered in a cliff the carcass of a deer which had fallen into a chasm. It was quite putrid, but even in that state appeared delicious, and a fire being kindled, a large portion was rapidly devoured; while the men, cheered by this unexpected breakfast, regained their confidence, and requested leave to return to the rapid, insisting on the practicability of making a sufficiently strong raft of willows, though they had formerly pronounced it impossible. Their advice was followed; and having sent off Augustus, one of the interpreters, to inform Mr. Back of this change of plan, they commenced their retrograde movement, and encamped at night in a deep valley among some large willows, where they supped on the remains of the putrid deer.

Next day they regained the rapids, commenced cutting willows for the raft, and a reward of three hundred livres was promised by Franklin to the person who should convey a line across the river strong enough to manage the raft and transport the party. The willows when cut were bound into fagots, and the work completed; but the greenness of the wood rendered it heavy, and incapable of supporting more than one

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man at a time. Still they hoped to be able to cross; but all depended on getting a line carried to the opposite bank, through a current one hundred and thirty yards wide, strong, deep, and intensely cold. Belanger and Benoit, the two strongest men of the party, repeatedly attempted to take the raft over, but for want of oars were driven back. The tent-staves were then tied together, and formed a strong pole; but it was not long enough to reach the bottom even at a short distance from the shore. Dr. Richardson next produced a paddle he had brought from the coast, but which was found not powerful enough to impel the raft against a strong breeze. The failure of every attempt occasioned a deep despondency, which threatened to have the most fatal effects, when Dr. Richardson, with a disinterested courage that made him forget his own weakness, threw off his upper garments, and attempted to swim with a rope to the opposite bank. Plunging in with a line round his middle, he at first made some way, but the extreme cold was too much for him, and in a few moments his arms became powerless; still, being an expert swimmer, he not only kept himself afloat, but made way by turning on his back and using his legs, so that he had nearly reached the other side, when, to the inexpressible anguish of those who watched his progress, his limbs became benumbed, and he sank. All hands now hauled on the line, and drew him ashore almost lifeless; but, placed before a fire of willows and stripped of his wet clothes, he gradually revived enough to give directions as to the mode of treating him. His thin and emaciated limbs, which were now exposed to view, produced an involuntary exclamation of compassion and surprise:—"Ah, que nous sommes maigres!" said the French Canadians; but it is probable that few of them would have presented so gaunt and attenuated an appearance as the brave and excellent man who had thus nearly fallen a sacrifice to his humanity, for it was discovered about this time that the hunters were in the practice of withholding the game which they shot, and devouring it in secret.

Soon after this the party were joined by Mr. Back, who had traced the lake about fifteen miles further up without discovering any place where it was possible to get across; and toward evening Credit, who had been out hunting, returned without any game of his own killing, but brought the antlers and backbone of a deer shot during the summer. These relics had been already picked clean by the wolves and birds of prey, but the marrow remained in the spine; and though completely putrid, and so acrid as to excoriate the lips, it was not the less acceptable. The bones were rendered friable by burning, and the whole eagerly devoured. St. Germain, one of the voyageurs, now suggested that a canoe might be made of the painted canvas used to wrap up the bedding, and offered to construct it upon a framework of willows. For this purpose he and Adam removed to a clump of willows, while another party proceeded to the spot where they had encamped on the 25th, to collect pitch among the small pines to pay over the seams. A

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snow-storm at this moment came on, and the sufferings of the men hourly increasing, a deep gloom settled upon their spirits. Mr. Hood was by this time reduced to a perfect shadow; Mr. Back required the support of a stick; Dr. Richardson was lame; and Franklin so feeble, that, after a struggle of three hours, he found himself utterly unable to reach the spot where St. Germain was at work, a distance of only three quarters of a mile, and returned completely exhausted. The Canadian voyageurs had now fallen into a state of despondency which bordered on despair, and, indifferent to their fate, refused to make the slightest exertion. The officers were unable to undergo the labor of gathering the *tripe de roche*, and Samandré, the cook, sullenly declined continuing his labors. At this miserable crisis the conduct of John Hepburn, the English sailor, was especially admirable, presenting a striking contrast to the gloomy selfishness of the Canadians. His firm reliance on the watchful goodness of God, and a cheerful resignation to His will, never for a moment forsook him; and, animated by this blessed principle, his strength appeared to be preserved as a means of preserving the party. He collected the *tripe de roche* for the officers' mess, cooked and served it out, and showed the most indefatigable zeal in his efforts to alleviate their sufferings.

A gleam of hope at length arose, when St. Germain completed the canoe. It was impossible not to feel that their last chance of escape seemed to hang upon this little bark; would it prove sufficient for its purpose? or, constructed of such wretched materials, would it not at once sink to the bottom? Amid this conflict of contending emotions it was launched on the river, and every heart bounded with exultation when it floated, and St. Germain transported himself to the opposite side. It was drawn back, and, one by one, the whole party were ferried over, though, from the leaky state of the little bark, their garments and bedding were completely drenched. Franklin immediately dispatched Mr. Back and three men to push on to Fort Enterprise in search of the Indians, while he himself followed with the rest.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the Canadian voyageurs at this unlooked-for deliverance. Their spirits rose from the deepest despondency into tumultuous exultation. They shook the officers by the hand, cried out that their worst difficulties were at an end, and expressed a confident hope of being able to reach Fort Enterprise in the course of a few days—a boisterous and sudden confidence, to which the silent gratitude and quiet resolution of the pious Hepburn presented a striking contrast.

Their tents and bed-clothes were so much frozen, and the men, who had kindled a small fire, were so weary, that it was eight in the morning before the bundles were packed, and the party set forward. They traveled in single files, each at a small distance from his neighbor. Mr. Hood, who was now nearly exhausted, was obliged to walk at a gentle pace in the rear, Dr. Richardson kindly keeping beside him; while

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Franklin led the foremost men, that he might make them halt occasionally till the stragglers came up. Credit, hitherto one of their most active hunters, became lamentably weak from the effects of *tripe de roche* on his constitution, and Vaillant, from the same cause, was getting daily more emaciated. They only advanced six miles during the day, and at night satisfied the cravings of hunger by a small quantity of *tripe de roche* mixed up with some scraps of roasted leather. During the night the wind increased to a strong gale, which continuing next day, filled the atmosphere with a thick snow-drift. Having boiled and eaten the remains of their old shoes, and every shred of leather which could be picked up, they set forward at nine over bleak hills separated by equally barren valleys.

In this manner they journeyed till noon, not without much straggling and frequent halts, at which time Samandré came up with the melancholy news that Credit and Vaillant had dropped down, and were utterly unable to proceed. Dr. Richardson went back, and discovering Vaillant about a mile and a half in the rear, assured him that a fire was kindled a little way on, and that he would recover if he could but reach it; the poor fellow struggled up on his feet, and feebly tried to advance, but fell down every step in the deep snow. Leaving him, Dr. Richardson retraced his steps about a mile further in a fruitless search for Credit. In returning he passed Vaillant, who had fallen down, utterly unable to renew his efforts to rejoin the party. Belanger went back to carry his burden and assist him to the fire; but the cold had produced such a numbness that he could not speak or make the slightest exertion. The stoutest of the party were now implored to make a last effort to transport him to the fire, but declared themselves utterly unable for the task. They eagerly requested leave to throw down their loads, and proceed with the utmost speed to Fort Enterprise—a scheme projected in the despair of the moment, and which must have brought destruction upon the whole.

Matters had now reached a dreadful crisis; it was necessary to come to an immediate decision regarding their ultimate measures, and a plan proposed by Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson was adopted. These gentlemen consented to remain with a single attendant at the first spot where there were sufficient firewood and *tripe de roche* for ten days' consumption, while Franklin and the rest were to proceed with all expedition to Fort Enterprise, and to send immediate assistance. This scheme promised to relieve them of a considerable portion of their burdens—for one of the tents and various other articles were to be left; and it gave poor Credit and Vaillant a fairer opportunity, should they revive, of regaining their companions. On the resolution being communicated to the men, they were cheered with the prospect of an alleviation of their misery, and pressed forward in search of a convenient spot for the proposed separation. Near nightfall they encamped under the lee of a hill among some willows, which furnished a small fire, but not suf-

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ficiently strong to thaw their frozen clothes; and no *tripe de roche* having been found during the day, they lay down hungry, cold, and full of the gloomiest apprehensions, while sleep fled from their eyelids, and the images of their dying companions rose before their imagination in colors which made them shudder for a fate that might so soon become their own. Next morning the weather providentially was mild, and setting out at nine they arrived toward noon at a thicket of willows, in the neighborhood of some rocks bearing a pretty full supply of *tripe de roche*. Here Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood determined to remain. The tent was pitched, a barrel of ammunition and other articles were deposited, and Hepburn, who volunteered the service, was appointed to continue with them. The rest of the party now had only to carry a single tent, the ammunition, and the officers' journals, in addition to their own clothes and a single blanket for Captain Franklin. When all was ready, the whole party united in thanksgiving and prayers to Almighty God for their mutual preservation, and separated with the melancholy reflection that it might in all probability be the last time they should ever again meet in this world.

On leaving their friends, Captain Franklin and his party descended into a more level country; but the snow lay so deep, and they were so little able to wade through it, that they encamped, after a painful march of only four miles and a half, in which Belanger, and Michel, an Iroquois, were left far behind, yet still struggling forward. In the evening they came in dreadfully exhausted, and Belanger, till now one of the strongest of the party, could not refrain from tears as he declared he was totally unable to proceed, and implored permission to return to Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood. Michel made the same request, and it was agreed that they should do so. The cold of the night was excessive, and the men were so weak that they could not raise the tent; from its weight it was impossible to transport it from place to place, and it was cut up, the canvas serving them for a covering; but though they lay close together, the intense frost deprived them of sleep. Having no *tripe de roche*, they had supped upon an infusion of the Labrador tea-plant, with a few morsels of burned leather. Michel and Belanger, being apparently more exhausted in the morning than over night, were left, while the rest moved forward. After a very short progress, Perrault was attacked with a fit of dizziness; but on halting a little, again proposed to proceed. In ten minutes, however, he sunk down, and weeping aloud, declared his total inability to go on. He was accordingly advised to rejoin Michel and Belanger—a proposal in which he acquiesced. These examples of the total failure of the strongest in the party had a very unfavorable effect on the spirits of the rest, and the exertion of wading through the snow and crossing a lake on the ice, where they were frequently blown down, was so severe, that Fontano, after having repeatedly fallen, piteously complained that he was utterly unable to go further. Being not two miles from the others, it was thought best that he also should attempt

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to rejoin them; and as he was much beloved, the parting was very distressing. They watched him for some time, and were comforted by seeing that, though his progress was very slow, he kept his feet better than before.

The whole party was now reduced to five persons, Captain Franklin, Adam, Peltier, Benoit, and Samandré, the interpreter Augustus having pressed forward by himself during the late frequent halts. They made that day only four miles and a half, and encamped for the night under a rock, supping again on an infusion of the Labrador tea-plant and some shreds of boiled leather. The evening was comparatively mild, the breeze light, and having the comfort of a fire, they enjoyed some sleep. This was of infinite advantage; it gave them new spirits, which were further invigorated by a breakfast of *tripe de roche*, this being the fourth day since they had a regular meal. On reaching Marten Lake they found it frozen over—a circumstance which they knew would enable them to walk upon the ice straight to Fort Enterprise.

It may be easily imagined what were the sensations of the party in approaching the spot which they trusted would be the end of all their toils and privations. From the arrangements previously made, it was judged certain that they would here find relief, and be able to send assistance to their unfortunate companions. It was a spot where they had enjoyed, at a former period of the expedition, the greatest comfort; but it was possible, though they scarcely permitted themselves to contemplate so dreadful an idea, that circumstances might have occurred to defeat their present expectations. On approaching the house their minds were strongly agitated between hope and fear, and contrary to their usual custom, they advanced in silence. At length they reached it, and their worst apprehensions were realized. It was completely desolate. No provisions had been deposited—no trace of Indians could be discovered—no letter lay there from Mr. Wentzel to inform them where the Indians might be found. On entering, a mute despair seized the party. They gazed on the cold hearth, comfortless walls, and broken sashes, through which the wind and snow penetrated, and awakening to a full sense of the horrors of their situation, burst into tears. On recovering a little, and looking round with more attention, a note was found from Mr. Back, stating that having two days before this reached the house, he had proceeded in search of the Indians; but described his party as so debilitated that it was doubtful whether they would be able to reach Fort Providence. The sufferings endured by this officer and his little party, one of whom was frozen to death, were equally dreadful with those which fell to the share of his commander.

The poor sufferers thus grievously disappointed, now examined the deserted habitation for the means of subsistence, and found several deer-skins thrown away during their former residence at the fort. The heaps of ashes were carefully raked, and a considerable collection of bones discovered, which were hoarded up for the purpose of being pounded and

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manufactured into soup. The parchment originally employed instead of glass had been torn from the windows, and the place was exposed to all the inclemency of an arctic winter; but they succeeded in filling the sashes with loose boards, and as the temperature of the outer air was now from 15° to 20° below zero, this precaution was especially necessary. To procure water, they melted the frozen lumps of snow, and the flooring of the neighboring apartment was broken up for fuel.

Having completed these arrangements, they assembled round the fire, and were busy singeing the hair off a deer-skin, when they were cheered by the entrance of the interpreter, who had made his way to the fort by a different route, through a country he had never traversed before. Though by far the strongest of the party, he was now so enfeebled by famine that he could not follow two deer which he had seen on his way. Next morning there was a heavy gale from the south-east, and the snow drifted so thick that no one ventured abroad. On the evening of the succeeding day, a figure covered with ice, benumbed with cold, and almost speechless, staggered into the house. It was one of the Canadians, who had been dispatched with a note by Mr. Back, and having fallen into a rapid narrowly escaped being drowned. To change his dress, wrap him in warm blankets, and pour some soup down his throat, was their first care; and after a little he revived enough to answer the anxious questions with which he was assailed. From his replies but little comfort was derived. Mr. Back had seen no trace of the Indians, and the messenger's recollection appeared confused with regard to the part of the country where he had left his officer, who, as he stated, intended to proceed to the spot where the Indian chief, Akaitcho, had encamped last summer—a distance of about thirty miles. Thither he proposed to follow when he was a little recruited; and, though dissuaded from the attempt, persisted that as the track was beaten he would be able to make it out, and to convey intelligence of the situation of Captain Franklin's party. Accordingly, the fifth day after his arrival, he departed from the fort with a small supply of singed hide.

Not long after, Adam, one of the five men who now remained with Captain Franklin, became so ill that he was utterly incapable of moving, and it was discovered that he had been for some time afflicted with œdematous swellings in various parts of his body, which he had hitherto generously concealed, from a wish not to impede the movements of his companions. As it was impossible for this poor man to travel, it was necessary to abandon the original intention of proceeding with the whole party to Fort Providence, and Peltier and Samandré, who were in almost as weak a state, having expressed a wish to remain with Adam, Captain Franklin, along with Augustus and Benoit, determined to press on to Fort Providence, and to send relief to their companions by the first party of Indians they should meet.

Having accordingly given directions regarding the journals and charts which were left in their custody, and the best mode of forward-

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ing succor to Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson, Franklin set forward with his two attendants; but so feeble had they become, that the distance accomplished in six hours was only four miles. They encamped on the borders of Round Rock Lake, and, unable to find any *tripe de roche*, made their supper upon fried deer-skin. The night proved intensely cold, and although they crept as close to each other as possible, they shivered in every limb, and the wind pierced through their famished frames. Next morning was mild, and they set out early, but had scarce proceeded a few yards, when Franklin fell between two rocks, and broke his snow-shoes, an accident which incapacitated him from keeping up with Benoit and Augustus. In a very short time his attempt to press forward completely exhausted him; and as the only hope of preserving the lives of the party appeared to rest on their speedily reaching Fort Providence, he determined, rather than retard them, to retrace his steps to the house, while they proceeded for assistance. Calling a moment's halt, he addressed one note to Mr. Back, requesting an immediate supply of meat from Reindeer Lake, and another to the commandant at Fort Providence, with urgent entreaties for assistance. This done, Augustus and Benoit resumed their journey, and Franklin returned to the house.

On arriving, he found Adam, Samandré, and Peltier still alive; but the two first, whose minds seemed quite enfeebled, could not be prevailed on to leave their bed, and their nervous weakness was so great, that they scarcely ceased shedding tears all day. It was even with difficulty that they were prevailed on to take any nourishment; and the labor of cutting and carrying fuel, gathering the *tripe de roche*, and cooking, fell entirely upon Franklin and Peltier. The frost was now so severe, that it was evident this lichen would soon be bound up in ice, and as their strength daily declined, every exertion became irksome. When once seated, it required a painful effort to rise up, and not unfrequently they had to lift each other from their chairs. This miserable condition could not last long. Peltier soon became almost incapable of holding the hatchet; the bone-soup had become so acrid as to corrode the inside of their mouths; the *tripe de roche*, covered with ice, defied all efforts to detach it from the rock; and though the reindeer sported on the banks of the river, no one had strength to go after them, or to hold a gun so steadily as to secure an aim.

Still the hopes and cheerfulness of Franklin did not desert him. From his knowledge of the places most frequented at that season by the Indians, he was sanguine as to the likelihood of their being found; and their speedy arrival formed a constant subject of conversation. At length, on the evening of the 29th, when talking of his long-looked-for relief, and sitting round the fire, Peltier suddenly leaped up and uttered a joyful exclamation, imagining he heard the bustle of the Indians in the adjoining room. It was not the Indians, however, but Dr. Richardson and Hepburn, who came in, each carrying his bundle. The meeting

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was one of mingled joy and sorrow. Poor Hood's absence was instantly perceived, and their saddest anticipations were confirmed by Dr. Richardson declaring that this young officer and Michel were dead, and that neither Perrault nor Fontano had reached the tent, or been heard of. Such news could not fail to create despondency. All were shocked at the emaciated countenances and hollow voices of Dr. Richardson and his companion, while Captain Franklin and his fellow-sufferers, having become gradually accustomed to the dreadful effects of famine upon each other, were not aware that, to the eyes of their friends who had just arrived, the alteration upon themselves was equally melancholy. "The doctor," says Franklin, "particularly remarked the sepulchral tone of our voices, which he requested us to make more cheerful if possible, not aware that his own partook of the same key."

The arrival of these friends, however, was soon attended with a favorable change. Though greatly reduced, they were still in a better condition than their unfortunate companions, and it was not long till Hepburn shot a partridge. Dr. Richardson speedily tore off the feathers, and having held it for a few minutes at the fire, divided it into six pieces. Franklin and his companions ravenously devoured their portions, "being the first morsel of flesh that any of them had tasted for thirty-one days;" and Dr. Richardson cheered them with the prospect that Hepburn might possibly bring in a deer in his next expedition. The counsels and example of this pious and intelligent man produced the best effects on the spirits of the party. He had brought with him his Testament and Prayer-book, and by reading portions of Scripture appropriate to their situation, and encouraging them to join in prayer and thanksgiving, he led them to the only source whence, under the awful circumstances in which they were placed, they could derive hope or consolation. He taught them the necessity of exertion, whatever pain it might at first cost; roused them to pay some attention to the cleanliness of their apartment, and insisted particularly, that during the day they should roll up their blankets, which they had been in the practice of leaving beside the fire where they slept. Their several tasks were now allotted to each: Hepburn and Richardson went out in search of deer; while Franklin, being unable to walk far, remained nearer the house, and digged under the snow for skins, which, during their former happy winter residence at this station, when they killed and ate abundance of game, were thrown away as useless, but now in their almost putrid state formed their principal support. The cutting of firewood was intrusted to Peltier and Samandré; but both were so weak and dispirited, that it was generally performed by Hepburn on his return from hunting; as for Adam, his legs were still so severely swollen that he kept his bed, though an operation performed by Dr. Richardson gave him some ease. In the midst of these necessary cares, all seemed for a while to dread approaching the subject of Hood and Michel's death; but at length one evening, on the return of the doctor from hunting, and after having

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dispatched their usual supper of singed skin and bone-soup, they requested him to relate the particulars; and a more afflicting, or, in some respects, a more terrific story, as it appears in his published narrative, could not well be conceived.

He stated that after being left by Captain Franklin, they remained beside the fire as long as it lasted. Having no *tripe de roche*, they supped on an infusion of the country tea-plant, which was grateful from its warmth, but afforded no nourishment, and retired to rest. Next day proved stormy, and the snow being so deep that a fire could not be kindled with the green willows, they lay in bed reading some religious books with which the party had been furnished before leaving England by the affectionate and pious care of a lady. "They proved," says Richardson, "of incalculable benefit to us. We read portions of them to each other as we lay in bed, in addition to the morning and evening service, and found that they inspired us on each perusal with so strong a sense of the omnipresence of a beneficent God, that our situation in these wilds appeared no longer destitute; and we conversed not only with calmness, but with cheerfulness, detailing with unrestrained confidence the past events of our lives, and dwelling with hope upon our future prospects."

The weather clearing up, Dr. Richardson went out in search of *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood in bed, and Hepburn cutting willows for a fire; but the rocks were covered with ice and snow, and he was unsuccessful. On his return he found Michel, the Iroquois, who delivered the note from Franklin. All were surprised to see him alone; but he stated that Belanger had separated from him, and, as he supposed, lost his way, he himself having wandered far from the straight road. They had afterward good reason to suspect the truth of this story, but believed it at that moment, and were rejoiced to see him produce a hare and a partridge—an unlooked-for supply, which they received with humble thankfulness to the Giver of all good. Franklin's note advised them to advance to a little wood of pines which would afford better fuel; and to this they removed under the guidance of Michel, who led them straight to the spot.

As he had declared himself so little acquainted with the country as to lose his way, it seemed strange that he should at once conduct them to the thicket. This roused their attention, and made them feel rather uneasy as to his honesty; and various circumstances occurred to increase their suspicions. He requested the loan of a hatchet, when any other hunter would have taken only his knife. He remained abroad all day without any definite employment. He brought them some raw meat, saying it was part of the carcase of a wolf, but which they had afterward reason to believe was a portion of the bodies of Belanger and Perrault, whom they suspected him to have murdered. He shunned the society of Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, refusing to sleep in the tent, and preferring to lie alone at the fire. On going out with the purpose of re-

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maining a whole day, he often returned abruptly, and when questioned gave vague answers. In a few days he began to regret that he had left Captain Franklin's party, refused to take any share in the labor of cutting wood, talked in a surly and insolent manner, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to go out and hunt at all. These symptoms of gloomy dissatisfaction increased; he resisted all entreaties, and when Mr. Hood, who was now reduced by famine to the last extremity, remonstrated with him, he flew into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "It is of no use hunting; there are no animals; you had better kill and eat me." He afterward, however, consented to go out, but returned upon some frivolous pretense; and on the succeeding day that dreadful catastrophe took place, which will be best given in the words of Dr. Richardson's journal:

"In the morning," says he, "being Sunday, October 20th, we again urged Michel to go a-hunting, that he might, if possible, leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us; but he showed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire under the pretense of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service, I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fireside arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a small distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of firewood. A short time after I went out, I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterward Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fireside, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when, upon examining the body, I found that the shot had entered the back part of the head and had passed out at the forehead, while the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the nightcap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in the position to inflict such a wound except by a second person. Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking. Hepburn afterward asserted, that previous to the report of the gun, Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated, angry tone;—he added, that Mr. Hood being seated at the fireside, was hid from him by intervening willows; but that on hearing the report he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent-door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go

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to the fire at first; and when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. * * * Bickersteth's Scripture Help was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable he was reading it at the instant of his death."

Such was the melancholy fate of Mr. Hood, a young officer of the highest promise, who, by his conduct, had endeared himself to every member of the expedition, and whose sufferings, as they were more intense, from the peculiarity of his constitution, were borne with a placid and unpretending fortitude, which it was impossible to contemplate without emotion. Both Dr. Richardson and Hepburn were convinced he had met his death from the hands of Michel; but to have accused him at that moment would have been the extremity of rashness. They were so reduced by famine that he could easily have overpowered both. His appearance showed that he possessed secret supplies of food; he was of great bodily strength, and was armed to the teeth, carrying, besides his gun, a brace of pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. To have hinted a suspicion, therefore, might have been instantly fatal, and they affected to consider the death of their companion entirely accidental. As his weakness had been the chief cause of delaying their journey, they now set out for the fort, having first paid the last rites to the dead in the only way which their situation would permit. The ground was so hard, and their strength so exhausted, that to dig a grave was impossible; so they carried the body into the willow grove behind the tent, and returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to their evening devotions.

In the morning, having singed the hair off a portion of Mr. Hood's buffalo robe, they boiled and ate it for breakfast. Meanwhile, the conduct of Michel was so extraordinary, that had they not been already convinced of his guilt, no doubt of it could have remained. Though not a breath of their suspicions reached his ears, he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act; he kept constantly on his guard, appeared fearful of leaving Dr. Richardson and Hepburn alone even for the shortest time, and when Hepburn spoke he listened anxiously, though very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, fixed his eyes keenly upon him, and asked fiercely if he accused him of the murder. He evinced great unwillingness to set out for the fort, and wished Dr. Richardson to proceed to the Coppermine River, where he said the woods would supply plenty of deer. On finding this advice disregarded, his conduct became more and more alarming; he muttered to himself, fell into sullen fits of abstraction, and used those convulsive and abrupt gestures often involuntarily exhibited by a person whose mind is full of some dreadful purpose. Suddenly awakening from this reverie, he again expressed his unwillingness to return to the fort, and renewed his solicitations to Dr. Richardson to repair to the southern woods, where they would find ample subsistence. On being requested to pursue his own plan alone, and leave them to continue their journey,

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he broke into an ungovernable fury, accused Hepburn of having told stories against him, and assumed such airs of superiority as showed that he knew they were both in his power, at the same time giving vent to expressions of hatred against the white people, calling them deadly enemies, and affirming they had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations.

None of these menaces were lost upon Richardson and Hepburn; both felt they were not safe in this man's company; and these dreadful surmises rose into certainty when he threw out hints that he would free himself from all restraint on the morrow. Being now convinced that, as he had cruelly murdered Hood, he was resolved also to sacrifice them, they ascribed his not having already done so to the circumstance of his not knowing the way to the fort, and requiring their guidance. They came to this conclusion without any communication with each other; for their fierce companion would not leave them a moment, watching them with a malignant look, and frequently muttering threats against Hepburn. Toward evening, as they approached the spot where it would be necessary to stop for the night, Michel halted to gather *tripe de roche*, and to their surprise bade them walk on, and he would soon overtake them. Hepburn and Dr. Richardson, now left alone together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, rapidly opened their minds to each other. In addition to the facts already mentioned, others came to light, which left not the slightest doubt as to Michel's guilt; and so convinced was Hepburn of there being no safety for them but in his death, that, though a man of extreme benevolence and deep religious principle, he offered to be the instrument of it himself. "Had my own life," says Dr. Richardson, "alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as intrusted also with the protection of Hepburn's, a man who by his humane attentions and devotedness had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own." Animated by such feelings, and convinced that Michel's death was necessary to self-preservation, he determined that it ought to be by his own and not by Hepburn's hand, and on his coming up shot him through the head with a pistol. It appeared that he had gathered no *tripe de roche*, and had halted to put his gun in order, no doubt with the intention of attacking them when in the act of encamping.

Dr. Richardson and Hepburn now pursued their way to the fort; but fatigue, and want of food and fuel, had nearly proved fatal to them. They remarked, however, that repeatedly when death seemed inevitable, an unexpected supply of provisions again restored them; and the confidence that, when no human help was nigh, they were supported by a merciful God, inspired them with renewed hope. At last they had the delight of beholding from an eminence the smoke issuing from the chimney of the fort, and immediately after, embracing those friends for whose

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fate they had entertained so many melancholy forebodings. So ended this interesting narrative.

The whole party were now once more united, but under circumstances of the most distressing privation; all emaciated to such a degree as to look like living skeletons; their hands shook from weakness, so that to take an aim was impossible; and the reindeer, partridges, and other game, flew or bounded past in joyousness and security, while the unhappy beings who beheld them were gaunt with hunger. The winter was closing in with all its horrors; it became daily more difficult to procure fuel, the labor of cutting and carrying the logs being so grievous that only Dr. Richardson and Hepburn could undertake it; and to scrape the ground for bones, and to cook this miserable meal, was all Captain Franklin could accomplish. On the 1st of November the doctor obtained some *tripe de roche;* and as Peltier and Samandré were in the last stage of exhaustion, it was hoped a little of the soup might revive them. All was in vain; they tasted a few spoonfuls, but soon complained of a soreness in their throats, and both died in the course of the night, apparently without pain. To inter the bodies, or even carry them to the river, was a task for which the united strength of the survivors was inadequate; all they could do was to remove them into an opposite part of the house; and the living and the dead remained in awful contiguity under the same roof.

The party was now reduced to four—Franklin, Richardson, Hepburn, and Adam. The last had become dreadfully low since the death of his companions, and could not bear to be left alone for a moment. Their stock of bones was exhausted, and in a short time it was evident that the severity of the frost must render the gathering of the *tripe de roche* impossible. Under these circumstances, with death by famine approaching every hour, this little band of pious and brave men were supported by an unwavering reliance on the mercy of God. "We read prayers," says Captain Franklin, "and a portion of the New Testament in the morning and evening, as had been our practice since Dr. Richardson's arrival; and I may remark, that the performance of these duties always afforded us the greatest consolation, serving to reanimate our hope in the mercy of the Omnipotent, who alone could save and deliver us." Hitherto Dr. Richardson and Hepburn had been the healthiest of the party, but they had overwrought themselves, and both sank rapidly. Owing to their loss of flesh, the hardness of the floor, from which they were only protected by a single blanket, rendered the whole surface of their bodies sore; yet the labor of turning from one side to the other was too much for them. As their strength sank, their mental faculties partook of the weakness of their frame; and, to employ the candid and simple expressions of the excellent leader, "an unreasonable pettishness with each other began to manifest itself, each believing the other weaker in intellect than himself, and more in need of advice and assistance." During this gloomy period, after the first acute pains of hunger, which lasted

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but three or four days, had subsided, they generally enjoyed the refreshment of sleep, accompanied by dreams which for the most part partook of a pleasant character, and very often related to the pleasures of feasting.

On November 7th, Adam had passed a restless night, being disquieted by gloomy apprehensions of approaching death, which they tried in vain to dispel. He was so low in the morning as scarcely to be able to speak, and Captain Franklin remained by his bedside to cheer him as much as possible, while the doctor and Hepburn went out to cut wood. They had hardly begun their labor when they were amazed at hearing the report of a musket, and could scarcely believe that there was any one near till they heard a shout, and espied three Indians close to the house. Adam and Franklin heard the latter noise, and were fearful that some part of the house had fallen upon one of their companions—a disaster which had been thought not unlikely. The alarm was only momentary; for Dr. Richardson came in to communicate the joyful intelligence that relief had arrived. He and Captain Franklin immediately addressed their thanksgivings to the Throne of Mercy for this deliverance; but poor Adam was in so low a state that he could scarcely comprehend the information. When the Indians entered, he attempted to rise, but immediately sank down again. But for this seasonable interposition of Providence, his existence must have terminated in a few hours, and that of the rest probably in not many days.

The Indians who had been dispatched by Mr. Back, had traveled with great expedition, and brought a small supply of provisions. They imprudently presented too much food at first; and though aware of the effects which might arise from a surfeit, and warned by Dr. Richardson to eat very sparingly, the sight of the venison was irresistible; and it was devoured by them all, not excluding the doctor himself, with an avidity that soon produced the most acute pains, which during the night deprived them of rest. Adam, whose weakness rendered him unable to feed himself, was not subjected to the same inconvenience, and taking moderate meals, revived hourly. All now was thankfulness and cheerful activity. Boudel-kell, the youngest Indian, after an hour's rest, returned to the encampment of Akaitcho, the Dog-rib chief, carying a note from Captain Franklin, and a request for another supply of provisions. The two others, named in their familiar manner Crooked Foot and the Rat, remained to nurse the white men. Under their care the apartment lately so desolate, and something between a sepulcher and a lazar-house, assumed a gladdened look, which had the best effect. The dead bodies were removed, the room cleaned of its filth and fragments of pounded bones, and large cheerful fires produced a sensation of comfort to which they had long been strangers. The poor sufferers had often cast a wishful eye on a pile of dried wood near the river, but were utterly unable to carry it up the bank. When pointed out to the Indians, they fetched it home with a rapidity which astonished their feeble friends. "They

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set about every thing," says Franklin, "with an activity which amazed us. Indeed, contrasted with our emaciated figures and extreme debility, their frames appeared to us gigantic, and their strength supernatural."

Under the care of the Indians, and the blessing of wholesome and regular meals, the strength of the party was so far restored, that, although still feeble, on the 16th, after having united in prayer and thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, they left Fort Enterprise—a spot where, as they had formerly enjoyed much comfort if not happiness, they had latterly experienced a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled. The Indians treated them with unremitting kindness, gave them their own snow-shoes, and walked at their side to be ready to lift them up when they fell. In this manner they pushed forward to the abode of Akaitcho, the Indian chief, who welcomed them with the utmost hospitality. Soon after they received letters from their friends at Fort Providence, and the messenger also brought two trains of dogs, a package of spirits and tobacco for the Indians, and a supply of shirts and clothes for Captain Franklin and his companions. The gratification of changing their linen, which had been uninterruptedly worn ever since their departure from the sea-coast, is described as conveying an intensity of comfort to which no words can do justice. From this spot their progress to Fort Providence and thence to Montreal was prosperous and easy; and thus terminated their long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and by land, including their navigation of the Polar Sea, five thousand five hundred and fifty miles.

Notwithstanding the appalling sufferings which he had endured, Franklin had not been at home a year, before, hearing of the determination of the government to make another effort at discovering a northern passage, he volunteered his services. Dr. Richardson, also, offered to accompany him, and undertake the survey of the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers, while Franklin made the attempt to reach Icy Cape. These offers were accepted, and the expedition was fitted out with a liberality and forethought which secured them against such terrible disasters as had befallen the former. They sailed from Liverpool in February, 1825, and proceeded to the Arctic regions by way of New York, Niagara, Lake Superior, and Lake Winnipeg. They did not reach the banks of Mackenzie's River before the middle of August, where, as it was too late to commence the work of exploration, they established their winter quarters, which they called Fort Franklin. Lieutenant Back superintended the erection of these buildings, while Franklin descended the Mackenzie to the Polar Sea, and Richardson set off on an exploring tour to the head waters of Dease's River. Both parties returned to the fort in September, and there passed the winter in comparative comfort.

They set out on the 15th of June, 1826, and descended the Macken-

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zie River nearly to its mouth, when the two parties separated, Franklin making westward along the coast for Icy Cape, while Dr. Richardson steered eastward, for the mouth of the Coppermine. The former continued to advance along the coast until he had passed the boundary line between British America and the Russian possessions, when he encountered much drift ice. The weather was foggy and cold; his frail boats were leaky and unsafe, and signs of winter began to appear, so that he prudently commenced his return on the 18th of August. At this time Captain Beechey, who had been sent out by way of Behring's Straits, to effect a communication with him, was only a hundred and forty-six miles to the westward, but a large body of ice intervened. Dr. Richardson was more successful. He followed the coast for a distance of five hundred and fifty miles, reached the mouth of the Coppermine River without accident, and returned to Fort Franklin by the 1st of September. Franklin arrived soon afterward, and the united expedition returned to England. They reached Liverpool in September, 1827, having been absent two years and eight months. The most interesting portion of this journey was their intercourse with the various tribes of Esquimaux, on the shores of the Polar Sea; but the limits of this article will not permit us to copy the spirited narratives of the two commanders. They were frequently on the verge of hostilities, but fortunately extricated themselves without the shedding of blood. There was no serious accident during the whole course of the expedition, and if Franklin did not push his explorations as far westward as he hoped, he had certainly cause to be grateful to the Providence which preserved him and his party from the perils and sufferings of his first journey.

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MEYENDORFF'S

JOURNEY TO BOKHARA.

The commercial relations which have for a long time existed between Russia and the Kingdom of Bokhara—the most powerful state of what is called Independent Tartary—have been greatly extended during the present century. Envoys from the Khan of Bokhara had occasionally visited St. Petersburg, and when, in the year 1820, one of them expressed a desire, on the part of his master, to see a Russian embassy in Bokhara, the Emperor Alexander determined not to neglect so favorable an opportunity of developing more fully the commerce which was springing up between the two countries, as well as of obtaining information concerning a region which had rarely been visited by Europeans. He therefore appointed M. de Négri, acting Counselor of State, as Envoy to the Khan of Bokhara, accompanied by Baron Meyendorff, who was charged with the task of collecting geographical and statistical information concerning Tartary, Dr. Pander, naturalist, and three interpreters of Orenbourg. After the return of the mission, Baron Meyendorff wrote in French an account of the journey, which was published in Paris in the year 1827. The following abridgment is given in the author's own language, omitting merely those portions which are of little general interest:

We received orders to make our preparations in the month of June, 1820, and by the following August were in Orenbourg, a city fifteen hundred miles distant from St. Petersburg. As we were to traverse immense steppes, frequented only by wandering hordes, the government furnished us with an escort consisting of two hundred Cossacks and two hundred infantry, to which were added twenty-five Bashkir troopers. We took with us two pieces of artillery; three hundred and fifty-eight camels carried the baggage; altogether we had four hundred horses. It required six weeks at Orenbourg to make preparations for the journey and to supply our troop with every thing necessary for the passage of the desert. It was decided that the provisions should be transported on camels, and that but twenty-five chariots would be taken

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along, for the men who might fall sick or be wounded on the route. Each chariot was drawn by three horses, and driven by a Bashkir. As we would have to cross some rivers in the steppe of the Kirghizes, we were furnished with two boats.

A two-month's march in the desert would require for each soldier one hundred and five pounds of biscuit, and for each horse four quintals of oats, besides the oatmeal for the troops; a double supply of ammunition for our two pieces of artillery; fifteen *kibitkas* or felt tents; two hundred casks for carrying water in the deserts; and finally, several kegs of brandy. Three hundred and twenty camels were loaded with the provisions of the escort, and thirty-eight with the baggage and provisions of the persons attached to the embassy. The export of Russian money being prohibited, it was necessary to procure ducats; but the merchants of Orenbourg had not a sufficient quantity of them; search was then made in Troïtsk, a city four hundred miles distant; but this attempt failing, a courier was finally dispatched to Moscow, who obtained the required sum at the exchange in that city, after an additional journey of a thousand miles.

Many unforeseen delays thus combined to prevent our departure until the fine season was past, and now the frosts appeared, the bad weather began, and rain, snow, and hail succeeded each other. We had several conferences with the Kirghizes, for the purpose of fixing the route we were to take, and learning the difficulties we might expect to encounter. Five of these people were selected as our guides. Finally, on the 10th of October, the whole escort, collected on the great square of Orenbourg, was reviewed by the Governor-General, who caused mass to be said, and gave the travelers a parting benediction. The solemnity of the religious ceremonies was heightened by a presentiment of the dangers to which the expedition might be exposed. It was possible that the Kirghizes, always eager for pillage, always dissatisfied at seeing the Russians explore their deserts, might attack us by night, or at least destroy all vegetation upon our route across the steppe. But the Khivans, who occupy a part of the territory south of the Aral Sea, were more to be feared than the Kirghizes themselves, for, not less adroit, and more united, they sometimes made excursions to the number of four or five thousand. Although such a mass of cavalry could inspire but little fear in our infantry, yet the escort would find it impossible to defend a convoy of seven hundred camels, including those of the Bokharian merchants which were placed under our protection. These people, in their sudden and unforeseen attacks upon caravans, endeavor, by cries and shouting, to terrify the camels, which, once dispersed, easily fall into their power. Besides the danger of the route, we might run some risk in Bokharia itself, a country inhabited by a barbarous and warlike people. Before our arrival at Orenbourg, some Bokharian merchants had said confidentially to their friends: "Perhaps none of the Christian travelers will return home. Should even the Khan of Khiva let them pass, our

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khan will not commit the fault of allowing them to return. Why do you wish the Christians to become acquainted with our country ?"

From Orenbourg to the mountains of Mughodjar the appearance of the country is mostly uniform. The surface is undulating and broken by chains of hills, whose slopes often extend from ten to fifteen miles. The absence of wood and the slight elevation of the hills, expose to view a widely-extended horizon, where the eye seeks in vain for some object on which to rest. Aridity, uniformity, and silence characterize a steppe. Toward the end of May the rays of a burning sun have scorched the vegetation of these regions, and thenceforth the ground becomes of a dirty yellow color.

On arriving at the banks of the Ilek we saw, for the first time, a large village or *aoul*, formed of Kirghiz tents. Flocks of sheep, numbering from five to six thousand, first attracted our attention. In approaching this village we saw tents of white or brown felt, of every size; there were about fifty of them, placed irregularly in groups of three, four, and even six. We soon learned that this was the camp of the sultan, Haroun Ghazi, one of the principal Kirghiz chiefs. He was awaiting our arrival in order to accompany us to the Sir, and, by this act of kindness, to give evidence of his attachment to the Russian government, whose assistance in fact he greatly needed, on account of his quarrels with the Khan of Khiva. The day following our arrival the sultan came on horseback to visit M. de Negri. He was surrounded by a hundred Kirghizes, and wore a turban, which is not customary in this desert, but is regarded as a sign of piety on the part of a Mohammedan, who wishes to be distinguished from the mass of the Kirghizes. All these nomadic people wished to penetrate into the tent of the Chargé d'Affaires; in fact they crowded in while there was any room to be had, and immediately squatted upon the ground.

The interior of the tent, filled with these ill-looking figures, presented a strange scene. The sultan alone had a fair complexion, with large and beautiful black eyes; his bearing was mild but serious. We readily perceived that he was a man of very good sense. His visit lasted an hour and a half. On the morrow I went to see him; meeting with an assembly of about fifty Kirghizes on my way, I approached them and soon learned that they had assembled to execute the sentence pronounced by the sultan against one of their fellow-countrymen who had stolen a horse. He was condemned to death according to the laws of the Koran, but some of the older Kirghizes prayed the prince to pardon him, in order that Providence might favor the expedition he was about to undertake, and that his clemency might be a happy augury for their reunion with the Russians. The sultan yielded to this appeal, and the penalty was mitigated. The thief, half-naked, with a piece of black felt around his neck and hanging upon his shoulders, was forced, by two men on horseback armed with whips, to run to the next tent, where his figure was blackened with soot, after which he was again driven through

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the crowd of Kirghizes. They then fastened to the tail of a horse a rope which the thief was compelled to hold in his teeth, and he ran thus behind the horse while two men made it trot; others followed, striking the thief heavy blows with whips. The greater part of the Kirghizes who assisted in this punishment laughed aloud, while others swore. Finally, after a race of several minutes, they desisted; he went to thank the sultan, who had not witnessed the castigation, and promised him never to commit theft again. Meanwhile the horse of the thief suffered the fate which had been destined for his master. His throat was cut, and he was instantly dismembered and divided, not without loud shouts and uproar, and the cracking of whips.

After witnessing this scene I went to the sultan, who obliged me to wait a few minutes while he had his tent decorated. At length I entered and found him seated near the middle of a large round tent; his friends were sitting in a semicircle on one side, while on the other were places prepared for us. The sides of the apartment were adorned with tapestry; suspended to a cord were articles of clothing, some tiger-skins, exposed for sale, a rich diadem of gold set with turkoises and rubies, and the head-dress of a Kirghiz female. There were likewise dried meats, large skin bags of mare's milk, and wooden vessels. Objects of luxury were thus mingled with those of necessity, giving evidence of a love of display, combined with savage tastes and customs.

After leaving the waters of the Ilek we crossed the summit of the Bassagha range and then forded the Kubleïli-témir, after having broken the ice with hatchets. I was walking along the bank, sometimes on the ice and sometimes on land, looking for petrifactions or curious conglomerates, when suddenly I perceived in the air a large animal which had leaped from the top of the hill, and seemed about to precipitate itself upon me. I retreated and it fell at my feet upon the ice, which it broke, at the same time shattering its bones. It was a saïga, a species of antelope, the first that I had ever seen. It had been chased by some Cossacks of the convoy, who had pursued it over the plain to the brink of the precipice. In escaping them it had run upon its own destruction, through the effect of that blind terror which characterizes the saïgas, and which often delivers them up to the hunters. I have been assured by people worthy of credit that in the mountains of Guberlinsk and Ural, toward the month of June, the season of the great migrations of the saïga, they have seen flocks of eight or nine thousand of these antelopes. Their flesh is delicious, and their skin is made into garments. It is generally very difficult to approach them, except during the great heats of summer; this animal then seeks the shade, and frequently a score of saïgas stand behind each other with the head down, while the foremost of the flock conceals its own in a hole, or behind a rock. In this position they can easily be surprised; the hunter kills the foremost, the second usually takes its place and presents itself to his blows, until he kills several in succession.

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From the Témir we bore toward the heights of Mussevil which resemble those of Bassagha, and we could see the Mugodjar Mountains, distant about forty miles. These mountains, which rise up majestically, and present a bold outline on the horizon, produce a very picturesque effect. Nevertheless, we had a great desire to see them behind us, that we might be no longer exposed to the great cold and the storms: for, from what the Kirghizes say, the southern slope of these mountains offers a much less rigorous climate. Thus far, however, the weather had been quite favorable. On leaving them, we first passed through a level country, afterward through deserts covered with moving sand, and over mountains naked and destitute of vegetation. If the reader will imagine several salt lakes and some level plains, the soil of which, formed of a soft blue clay, yields under the feet of the traveler, and which shows the ordinary indications of the diminution and retreat of the waters of the sea, he will have a sufficiently correct idea of the nature of the surface of this country.

On the 2d of November our chief guide, Emantchi-Bey, who had not for ten years traversed the country through which we were passing, advised us that after we had gone fifteen miles we should stop at Kaunjur, as he was confident that we would find water only in the Khoja-kul, a lake situated more than twelve miles further. We were unwilling to believe him, for the Kirghizes, who were interested in obstructing our march, had already frequently deceived us. We then continued our journey; the day was declining and nothing as yet indicated the proximity of the lake; the night surprised us, and as it was now the season when the nights are darkest, it was very difficult to find the way through the steppe, which presented no traces of a road. We could no longer distinguish the summits of the mountains, nor the hills, nor the tombs by means of which the natives direct their journey, and without which it would be very easy to go astray. Some prudent Kirghizes advised us to halt, to spare ourselves useless fatigue, and to sleep instead of searching for something to drink. But as we had announced that we would go to the lake, we determined to persevere. Several Kirghizes gave themselves all imaginary trouble in order not to lose the direction. Always on horseback, they dispersed themselves before us and sought to discover some little path, a certain index of the vicinity of water. A well, a hole filled with water, or a lake, are points of meeting for the wanderers of these deserts, and thus the paths are naturally formed. After having traveled several hours of an obscure night, we began to be tormented with the fear of losing our true route, when suddenly a Kirghiz struck a light a mile in advance of the column and produced by the sparks a magical effect—an expedient employed by the Kirghizes when, during the night, they are about to unharness their horses, and one of them, having found the true road, wishes to assemble his comrades there. We followed our new guide for two or three miles, and finally arrived, at eight o'clock in the evening, upon the banks of the Khoja-kul.

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On leaving Khoja-kul we directed our course toward Cul-kuduk—the slave's well—situated on the edge of the desert of Borzouk. This desert is composed of moving sand, which is formed by the wind into steep hillocks, and is continually changing. We found it the more difficult to convey our chariots over these deep sands because the horses had been much enfeebled by poor feed. Arrived at Cul-kuduk we burned ten of our carriages, which kindled very easily and made so little smoke in comparison with the brambles which we had habitually used, that we loaded our camels with the wheels and planks, in order to prolong, for a few days, at least, the pleasure of enjoying a good fire.

We reached the hill of Sari-bulak on the 9th of November, and from the summit I perceived, fifty miles distant, the heights of Kuk-ternak, whose base is washed by the waters of the Aral. I spoke to our Kirghizes of the traces of water upon the Sari-bulak, and they assured me that their fathers had seen the Aral Sea extend to the foot of this hill, now forty miles distant. So large a number of Kirghizes have affirmed the same thing that I consider it as certain, which proves how considerable and rapid is the diminution of the Aral Sea.

Before arriving at the Sea of Aral we entered the desert of Kara-kum, or Black Sand. All these sandy deserts present nearly the same aspect. The Kara-kum is abundantly supplied with fresh water, which may be found nearly always at the depth of one or two fathoms. When we came to Camechlu-bash, a bay adjoining the Sir, I set out with a company of friends and a few Cossacks to visit the mouth of the Sir. The river expands as it approaches the Aral, and the whole delta thus formed is covered with reeds: the water is not more than four feet deep, while the river itself is navigable above, as far as Kokand, and is several fathoms deep throughout all this extent. In the neighborhood of the Sir are several canals from five to six feet deep, made at an epoch anterior to the dominion of the Kirghizes, whom I believe incapable of so laborious an undertaking. Here we saw very large fields in which the Kirghizes cultivate wheat and barley; they have also some fields of melons. They preserve their crops in little holes in the ground. The provision for the few horses and animals which they possess consists of the leaves of young reeds, the growth of which is accelerated by burning the plants the preceding year.

The embassy arrived on the 19th of November, after forty-one days' travel, at the banks of the Sir-déria, opposite the heights of Kara-tepéh. The sands of the Kara-kum, which reach almost to the Sir, and extend a hundred miles along its course, were now again visible. Near Sir-déria, the ordinary retreat of the poor, misery has multiplied the number of robbers, and in traversing these regions we observed on the summit of the hills some natives who seemed watching an occasion to seize upon a straggler or horse. The countries watered by the Sir form the paradise of the steppe of the Kirghizes, who are proud of possessing so large a river in their territory. The object of their most ardent desire

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is to winter with their herds upon its borders, where the cold is less severe than on the banks of the Ilek, the Or, the Irghiz, or upon the mountains of the Mughojar and Durgatch, or among the sands of the Kara-kum. Along the Sir the frosts are never so severe as to destroy the animals, or incommode the people in their huts of felt; but for six years past the rich Kirghizes have been deprived of the pleasure of passing the winter upon these fortunate shores, for their enemies, the Khivans, come thither to plunder them whenever they find an opportunity.

The Kirghizes delight to winter among the reeds which are thick enough to form a shelter against the storms. These wandering people appear to have a tendency to melancholy, and the murmur of the rapid waves of the Sir charms their frequent leisure hours. Nothing, indeed, contributes more to reverie than the sound of the waters of a river which flows, like time, with a monotonous rapidity. The Kirghizes often pass half the night seated upon a stone looking at the moon, and improvising sad words, set to airs as sad. They also have historical songs which recount the high deeds of their heroes; but this sort of poem is sung only by professional minstrels. I very much regret not having heard any. I often said to the Khirgizes that I listened to their songs with pleasure; their impromptus were merely compliments, and were scarcely worth retaining, yet there remain a few fragments of songs in my memory. A Kirghiz bey, a rich and intelligent man, the head of a numerous family, sang to me these improvised words: "You who wish that I should sing to you a song, I will tell you that a bey, poor, but good, is better than a despised khan." These words perfectly expressed his thought, for he was the declared enemy of the Khan of the Kirghizes. The same bey, passing by us one day while we breakfasted, hummed these words: "See these Russians who breakfast in eating the flesh of swine, and drinking brandy. Ah! what men!"

A young Kirghiz one day chanted the following song, composed by a young girl: "Seest thou this snow? Ah, well! my body is more white. Seest thou flowing upon this snow the blood of this slaughtered sheep? Ah, well! my cheeks are more red. Pass this mountain, thou wilt there behold the trunk of a burned tree. Ah, well! my tresses are more dark. With the sultan there are scribes who write much. Ah, well! my eyebrows are darker than their ink." Another Kirghiz sang to me: "Behold this village of tents which belongs to a rich man; he has but one daughter, who remains at home by day; at night she walks forth, and has only the moon for her companion."

This is a sample of the ideas of the Kirghizes, the children of the desert, who, except as regards religion, have remained independent of all the influences of foreign civilization. After having seen them, we have a correct picture of a wandering people, cherishing their liberty, and despising all which tends to impose upon them any restraint. Unsubdued, warlike, ferocious, the Kirghiz, alone, and on horseback, courses through

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the desert, and traverses hundreds of miles with astonishing rapidity, in order to visit a relative, or a friend belonging to a strange tribe. On the way he stops at every village; he there tells the news, and, always sure of being well received, even when not known, he partakes the food of his host. This consists usually of cheese, curdled goat's milk, meat, and, when it is to be had, *koumiss*, a drink extracted from the milk of mares, much esteemed in the desert. He never forgets the aspect of the country through which he has passed, and returns home after some days' absence, rich in new information, to repose among his wives and children. His wives are his only servants; they cook his food, make his clothes, and saddle his horse, while he with perfect coolness limits his labors to the quiet care of his flocks. I have seen the brother of a sultan, very much esteemed among the Kirghizes, tending his sheep, on horseback, dressed in a coat of red cloth, and traveling thus for a fortnight without thinking his dignity lowered thereby.

The Kirghizes are governed by elders, heads of families, beys, behadirs, sultans, and khans. The title of bey is properly hereditary, but if the possessor can not sustain it by his character and merits, he soon loses it; while he who is able to make himself esteemed obtains it, either from the custom which insensibly arises, of calling him sultan, or because an assembly meets expressly for the purpose of conferring upon him this honorable title. The Kirghizes are very irascible; the slightest cause, often merely a disappointed hope, is sufficient to spur them on to the most cruel revenge. A few years ago these people, having been several times disturbed by the Khivans, solicited the aid of the Bokharians, whose caravans had also been plundered by these robbers. The Kirghizes believed that the government of Bokhara could not refuse their assistance; disappointed in their hope, they became furious, and resolved to pillage the Bokharian caravans on the first opportunity. One of their chiefs cut off the tail of his horse, carried it to Bokhara, to the chief vizier, and said to him: "As this tail has been separated from this horse, so do I separate myself from you; henceforth I will be your implacable enemy." He left immediately with two or three friends, and carried off eight camels and two men. Such were the first hostilities of a war which he alone had declared against all Bokharia. The ferocity and violence of this man may give an idea of the untamed character of these people. I will conclude this digression upon the Kirghizes, by remarking that they never give themselves this name; they designate themselves by that of *Kasak*, which signifies 'man on horseback,' according to some, and 'warrior,' according to others. They say that the Bashkirs call them Kirghizes, but they do not know whence the name is derived, and they give it only to the wandering tribes of the great horde. The latter are in great fear of the Chinese, whose severe, or rather cruel policy, is nevertheless justified by necessity. A caravan having been pillaged not far from the frontiers of Tsungari, the Chinese, guarded by the Manchoo outposts, made reprisals, and thousands of Kirghizes, guilty or not, paid

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with their lives for this aggression. A few examples of this sort put an end to the incursions of the Kirghizes who live near the frontiers of the Chinese Empire.

At the time of our journey the river was frozen, and we crossed it with the greatest care; the ice was so brittle that it cracked upon the passage of our two cannon. A camel broke through by its weight, and was drawn out only with much difficulty. The Kirghizes burned some reeds, and spreading the ashes upon the ice, finally prevented the camels from slipping. After much exertion we crossed the Sir, celebrated in antiquity under the name of Jaxartes. On our return, the crossing was more difficult and slow. Two boats which we took with us were made into a raft, upon which the artillery and our company passed from one shore to the other, while the horses and camels crossed by swimming. It was a curious spectacle to see a dozen of the latter animals attached one behind another, and conducted by Kirghizes. The conductors, naked, and remarkable for their athletic forms, sometimes clung closely to the camels, and sometimes swimming beside, urged them on by shouting. Three of these animals being drowned, were cast upon the banks. The natives turned them toward Mecca, and having cut their throats, reciting meanwhile the accustomed prayer, devoured them immediately.

In the plain bordering on the Jan-déria there are numerous groves in which various kinds of animals, such as wolves, wild cats, and even tigers, have their retreat. In hunting the tiger a score of men, armed with match-locks, surround the thicket in which he is concealed; they then set fire to it on the windward side, when the heat and flames drive the animal from his retreat and expose him to the balls of the hunters. We employed this method in hunting the wild boar near the shores of the Kouvan, and succeeded in killing a number of them. This hunt presented a singular spectacle. From the midst of a plain covered with burning reeds arose whirlwinds of smoke. Across the flames a hundred Cossacks were seen, galloping with us to the right and left; our horses carried us sometimes in advance, sometimes in the rear, and often very near the furious animals which were bounding through the marsh, disappearing at one moment, and dashing suddenly into sight the next. On all sides were heard the shots of pistols and guns: here lay wounded horses, there the furious Cossacks strove to pierce the wild boars with their spears. An officer of the Ural Cossacks, stung by hearing another say that he was afraid, dismounted and seated himself upon an enormous wounded boar, which he seized by the ears as it ran; then, to finish the exploit, he shot it through the head with a pistol. If one can imagine all these various objects he will have a good idea of our wild boar hunts in the desert. In this plain we perceived some traces of ancient canals, which prove that this country was once more populous than it is at the present day.

Leaving the Jan-déria on the 3d of December, we proceeded by the highway toward Bokhara; I say highway, for it was a road of about

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three fathoms in width and much worn by frequent travel. It is the route of the caravans from Bokhara to Orsk and Orenbourg, and of the Kirghizes from the western part of the steppe, who take animals to the bazaars of the former place. This route leads across the desert of Kizil-kum (Red Sand), which is remarkable for its sterility; nor water nor springs are anywhere to be seen. It is said that formerly there were three wells near the road which we followed, and that they were filled up, in order that they might no longer be used by the robbers who usually kept themselves concealed among the neighboring hills. These brigands have been effectively expelled from the Kizil-kum, but now they hide in the gorges of the Bukhan Mountains, and when they have sufficient force make a descent upon the travelers and pillage them, or even kill them in case of resistance. In approaching this region we therefore kept strict guard and sent patrols into the defiles of the Bukhan. Happily the dangerous passage was made without accident, but ten days afterward a caravan of Bokharians and Kirghizes was pillaged by the Khivans, who fell upon them at the wells of Bukhan, and pursued the fugitives into the Kizil-kum, where, having encountered a troop of Kirghizes, they gave battle to them. On our return we found on the route more than a hundred dead bodies which were the food of dogs and a multitude of birds of prey. Fragments of china and porcelain ware, broken boxes and vases of bronze, scattered about on the sand, showed where the fugitives had been overtaken and defeated.

After leaving the borders of the Jan-déria we entered a vast uninhabited region which continued until within thirty miles of Bokhara, and which extends from the banks of the Sir-déria, opposite Turkestan and Tashkend, to the borders of the Amou-déria; this space, comprehending from eight to nine degrees of latitude, separates Bokharia from the steppe of the Kirghizes, and the Khanate of Kokand from that of Khiva. On the north of Bokharia we find habitable lands, but the fear of the Khivans, a bold and cruel race, prevents all settlers from establishing themselves there, while at the same time Bokharia itself offers better pastures. Every year several Khirgiz families, chiefly of the poorer classes, leave their native soil in order to settle in the deserts of Bokharia, where the undisturbed quiet and the milder climate promise them a happier fate.

Beyond the Jan-déria we traveled, as I have said, upon a much frequented route; almost every day we met Kirghiz caravans which were returning from Bokhara, and which, after having sold their sheep, carried back from that city barley, oatmeal, tobacco, cotton and linen clothing. We took great pleasure in talking with these Bazartchi—men returning from market—in asking the news from Bokhara, and when they had left the capital; we felt happy in the prospect of soon terminating a journey so long and toilsome, which was beginning to weary us very much. Our horses, which found but a very miserable living in the Kizil-kum, grew thinner every day; the Bashkir horses were emaciated;

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they were no longer able to draw the six chariots which remained of the twenty-five with which we set out from Orenbourg. It became necessary to replace them with Cossack horses which had hitherto carried the pack-saddles. All our people were extremely weak, especially the infantry; in a word, we were all in the greatest need of reaching the end of our journey. We took ice and water from the Jan-déria in leather sacks and casks; yet it was very difficult to carry with us water enough to supply so many men and horses for four days and a half.

After having passed the Kizil-kum, we traversed, for thirty miles, a plain covered with worm-wood, bounded on the right by the mountains of Bukhan. The Bokharians who accompanied us, fearing a surprise on the part of the Khivans, persuaded us to avoid the wells of Bukhan, which were very dangerous. At Kapkantash are several sulphur springs, fetid and very salt. Our horses scarcely tasted the water; but on our return in March, a horse drank five buckets of this tainted water. As the weather was by this time very warm, every body was thirsty, and we had much difficulty in restraining our soldiers a few minutes before permitting them to drink this wretched water, which was, however, very cool. Fifteen miles from Kapkantash we entered the sands of Batkak-kum, which extended for twenty miles; after leaving these we again entered a mountainous country, called Susiz-kara, or black without water, and at length arrived at Kara-aghatch. Before reaching this place, four Bokharian custom-house officers came to meet the embassy, and after saluting us with the usual formula of *Khosh amedid* (be welcome!), informed us that the khan, their sovereign, had sent provisions for us, to Aghatma, twenty-eight miles from Kara-aghatch. M. de Négri politely expressed to them our gratitude, and we proceeded with them to the former place.

As we drew near Aghatma a Bokharian *youz-bashi*, or centurion, followed by a score of horsemen, came to announce to the Chargé d'Affaires that the khan had sent him to receive the embassy and supply it with what provisions were needed; then several horsemen approached M. de Négri, took his hand in the oriental manner, and all repeated "*Khosh amedid*," after which the little party set off in a gallop. The greater part of the horses were very beautiful, large, light, and full of fire, and they vanished like lightning. At Aghatma we found fresh white bread, delicious grapes, water-melons, and pomegranates. One may judge of the pleasure which each of us experienced in eating this bread and fruit, by remembering that for seventy days we had lived on biscuit alone, which became harder every day. Our horses had now nourishing hay and *jugara*, a sort of white grain of the size and shape of lentils, which is given to beasts instead of barley.

About twelve miles from Odun-kuduk, we passed for a short distance through a range of sandy hills, among which we saw the remains of earthen walls and buildings. After having crossed these mounds, we entered, to our great surprise, a country entirely different; we might

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have supposed ourselves a thousand leagues distant from the monotonous regions which we had been traversing for the last seventy days. The desert ends at these sandy hillocks, beyond which we were surrounded by fields and water-courses and avenues of trees. On all sides were houses, villages, gardens, vineyards, mosques, and minarets; in a word, one might believe himself transported into an enchanted land. We found ourselves in a country scarcely known to Europeans; every thing excited our curiosity. Let one imagine the interest with which we contemplated the thousands of Orientals, clothed in blue garments and white turbans, running to meet us, some on foot, others riding on horses or asses, but all pressing around us and saluting us in their manner. Many testified their joy by addressing friendly words to us in Russian; their signs of astonishment, their cries, and finally the tumultuous movement which animated all the crowd, gave to our entrance into Bokharia the aspect of a popular festival, the joy of which we should have shared, if the presence of the police, whose voices resounded above all this noise, and who with large clubs struck right and left indiscriminately to make way for us, had not reminded us that our own arrival had caused all this confusion, and that the eagerness to see so many Russians carried the people beyond the fear of the blows.

We were touched with sadness to see in the midst of this Asiatic populace a few Russian soldiers reduced to the condition of slaves. The greater number were aged and infirm, and at the sight of their fellow-countrymen they could not restrain their tears; they stammered a few words in their maternal language; they attempted to precipitate themselves into our midst, so lively an emotion did the pleasure of seeing our soldiers again create in them. These touching scenes, which rent the soul, can not be described.

At Khatun-kuduk we had learned that one of the principal officers of the Bokharian government was awaiting us at the next village. We had passed through a short stretch of cultivated country, when a *penja-bashi* (captain of five hundred men) came to meet us with two hundred cavalry. He conducted us through the crowd, and our infantry marched, beating the drums, toward the tent of the *cush-beghi*. At the distance of fifty yards from the tent we dismounted in order to advance between two files of foot-soldiers seated upon the ground, who rose when the Chargé d'Affaires passed. Many tents of different colors were to be seen; a great many horses richly caparisoned were attached by the head and hind feet to pickets. Numerous slaves and officers surrounded the tents; in a word, every thing around us added to the solemnity of this first interview.

The *cush-beghi*, named Hakim-bey, was seated in his tent with four Bokharian noblemen; when M. de Négri had taken the place reserved for him, this officer, addressing the persons attached to the embassy, said: "Be seated. You are strangers; I am much pleased to see you." M. de Négri having spoken afterward of the ceremonial to be observed

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when he should be presented to the khan, did not entirely agree on this point with the *cush-beghi*. The audience had commenced under favorable auspices, but before it was terminated the Bokharian character disclosed itself. The *cush-beghi* had the indiscretion to ask M. de Négri to make the khan a present of the two cannon which we had with us. When he saw that he should not be able to obtain them, he made no scruple of demanding for the khan the carriage of M. de Négri. All this time he was not ignorant that we had many camels loaded with presents for the Court of Bokhara. This officer was about fifty years of age; his long brown beard was beginning to whiten. He was tall, his countenance was agreeable and full of goodness; he expressed himself in Persian with great facility. He wore a turban formed of a white cashmere shawl, and a robe of sable ornamented with striped cashmere.

We passed the night of the 17th of December near Wafkend, a small city, after having passed through a populous and well-cultivated country. On the 18th we traveled through an equally fine district in order to reach Bazartchi, a large village situated a mile and a half from Bokhara. Since our interview with the *cush-beghi* we had traveled thirty miles; during these two days we were incessantly surrounded by a considerable crowd; the police scattered them with the strokes of their clubs; the curious suffered themselves to be beaten, fled, and returned. Our soldiers advanced in the greatest order; they were in complete uniform; the sound of the drum, which was heard from time to time, occasioned cries of surprise from the multitude. We advanced thus in the midst of the tumult and the public demonstrations of joy excited by our arrival.

After thirty-six hours of discussion on the ceremonial to be observed, we finally came to an agreement; the khan consented that M. de Négri should sit in his presence. At noon, on the 20th of December, we made our solemn entry into Bokhara, preceded by a detachment of Cossacks, and by the presents, which consisted of furs, porcelain, crystals, watches, and fire-arms. Other Cossacks and a party of infantry closed the procession. An Ouzbek nobleman, a very important personage, who spoke Persian perfectly, conducted the embassy to the palace. Advancing slowly with this procession, we passed under a large gate, and after having marched through a narrow, winding street, bordered by miserable clay houses with flat roofs, we finally arrived at a large square surrounded by mosques and colleges or *medresses*, where we saw the gates of the palace.

After having alighted, we ascended into a vaulted corridor, built of bricks. On each side was a file of soldiers to the number of nearly four hundred, armed with muskets of different dimensions. Thence we entered a small court, and afterward a passage, where there were a dozen unmounted cannon, and then a square court surrounded by walls, along which were seated three or four hundred Bokharians, wearing white turbans and vestments of gold brocade; then, turning to the right, we

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passed into an antechamber, and finally into the hall of reception, where the khan was seated upon cushions covered with a carpet of red cloth richly embroidered with gold. On the floor was a Persian carpet of inferior quality; the walls were plastered, and the ceiling was covered with painted boards. This hall was in the form of a parallelogram. The khan sat near the wall opposite the entrance; on his left were his two sons, of whom the elder was probably fifteen years old, and on his right the *cush-beghi*. On each side of the door were five noblemen. Two chamberlains supported M. de Négri, who advanced within ten paces of the khan, addressed him in Persian, gave his credentials to the *cush-beghi*, and took his seat. The persons attached to the embassy remained standing against the wall on each side of the door. The *cush-beghi* at once presented the emperor's letter to the khan, who read it aloud; he then begged M de Négri to allow a few soldiers to enter the antechamber, where they were ordered to lay down their arms. The khan, having seen them, began to laugh like a child. He was about forty-five years of age, not very intellectual in appearance; he had a beautiful beard, black eyes, an olive complexion, and appeared to be exhausted by the pleasures of the harem. He wore a vestment of black velvet, ornamented with precious stones, and a turban of muslin, surmounted by a heron's plume. A master of ceremonies held a kind of halberd, terminated above by a silver hatchet. The presents were carried to another chamber, in the presence of the khan. The audience lasted about twenty minutes; when it was ended, we rejoined our escort, which soon afterward returned to Bazartchi, where it bivouacked for the rest of the winter. M. de Négri and the persons attached to the embassy were lodged at Bokhara, in a large house belonging to the *cush-beghi*.

From what information I could gather, the Bokharians give to Chinese Turkestan the name of Alti-Shahar, or the country of the six cities. These are Cashghar, Yarkend, Khoten, Aksou, and the two cities of Ilch. Cashghar is a large city, guarded by a Chinese garrison, and is very difficult of access. It is situated on the Cashghar, a branch of the Kizil-sou (red water), which flows between Cashghar and Yarkend. In going from Cashghar to Cashmere, one passes Yarkend, where the Tartar language is still spoken; then by the cities of Great and Little Thibet. The country being mountainous, the caravans proceed only by short stages, and as it is impossible to employ camels, the journey is made altogether on horseback. Yarkend is distant four days' journey from Cashghar, and Great Thibet is thirty-five or forty days. Cashmere is twenty-two days from the latter city, and midway one passes Little Thibet. The river which bathes the walls of the latter, flows to the north of Cashmere, or rather, empties into the Cashmere River.

It is probable that the cities named Thibet are the same that were known by the name of Ladak and Draouse, or Dervazéh, yet it is remarkable that no Bokharian is acquainted with these names, while different merchants with whom I have spoken, called them Great and Little Thibet. The

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Russian merchants who have gone from Semipalatinsk to Cashmere, give them the same name. Between Cashghar and Cashmere, there are no other cities than those I have mentioned; near them there are a few villages scattered upon the declivities of the mountains. Great and Little Thibet are surrounded with gardens; I am told that the houses are of wood, as in Russia, and have very steep roofs. The inhabitants are believers in the Lama, and worship idols.*

* The manuscript of this work had been completed a long time, when I found, at St. Petersburg, in June, 1823, the account of a journey to India, by Raphael Danibeg, a Georgian gentleman, dedicated to his Majesty the Emperor Alexander, translated from Georgian into Russian, and printed in 1815. This work contains nothing of interest until the author's arrival in Cashmere; but the account of his journey from that city to Semipalatinsk, in Siberia, passing through Cashghar, surprised me the more agreeably that the information it contains very nearly agrees with that which I had obtained. The following is an extract of this account:

"From Cashmere I proceeded to Thibet, where I arrived after having traveled about a hundred and fifty miles in a march of twenty days. The city is built on hills, and surrounded with stony mountains, upon which nothing grows but a little oats. The inhabitants mix the oatmeal with milk, and cook it with the addition of butter. So poor are they that this food forms their only nourishment. I observed a custom here which is very discreditable and contrary to good sense: if there are several brothers in a house, a single woman will be the wife of them all; if a boy is born, he takes the name of the eldest. A large quantity of tea is consumed in this place; the wool for the shawls is brought from Lassa. All the merchandise is transported on the back of sheep, which are loaded with as much as they can carry; from this place to Cashmere the transportation is made with horses. These people bring from Lassa a large quantity of goat's wool, which is forwarded to Cashmere. It required three months to go from Thibet to Lassa.

"I stopped forty days to make an excursion from Thibet to Yarkend. The journey was very tedious; the sterility of the soil, the great depth of the precipices, the excessive height of the mountains, among which glaciers were seen, occasioned a sense of sadness which was augmented by the continual solitude of these uninhabited places. At length we perceived Yarkend; this city, surrounded by thick woods, presents a very pleasant aspect.

"The Chinese garrison consists of more than two thousand men, whose chief is termed Amban; beside these there are three thousand Chinese in Yarkend, engaged in commerce. The climate of this city is salubrious, but the water is bad. There are no fine edifices to be seen; the inhabitants enjoy a degree of competency. Although I have said that the climate is healthy, I must except the autumn; in no place have I ever found it worse. During the whole season the sky was covered with clouds. The great humidity of the atmosphere often produces a kind of red insect called *karbites*, whose sting is almost always fatal. A singular dust, from some unknown source, falls like rain, and renders this season very disagreeable. Where this dust falls, instead of rain, the people expect a good harvest, while they look for a bad one if they have only ordinary rain. This dust is so thick that the sun can not penetrate it; it sometimes continues thus for seven or eight days, and is so fine that it enters the smallest crevices.

"Beside Yarkend, the Chinese are masters of Khoten, Cashghar, Aksou, Duroban, and Ileh. They are very numerous in Ileh, or Kulja; there are supposed to be more than ten thousand of them. They are very proud and very indolent, and spend their time in smoking tobacco. No inhabitant is permitted to leave the city without a passport; it is difficult to escape this regulation, for the surveillance of the authorities is very active. This is one of the means which the Chinese have adopted to prevent disorders of all kinds.

"Thirteen days after leaving Yarkend, I arrived at Aksou. This city, which is not

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In the mountainous country east of Bokharia and north of Hissar are the Ghaltchas, a poor and independent people. They are Sunnite Mohammedans; some Russian travelers have called them Oriental Persians; their complexion is very tawny, and even more brown than that of the Bokharian Arabs. They live in miserable cabins, built in the low lands between the mountains; are all cultivators of the soil, and have some cattle and a very few horses. Going further east we enter a country which becomes more and more mountainous and is very little known. There is said to be a people here called Kafir or infidel, who are represented as very ferocious. The formidable Kafirs inhabit the city of Kaleï-khum, also called Derwazéh, situated upon a river of the same name.

Gold is found in the waters of the Derwazéh; these riches excite the cupidity of the Bokharians, who, from time to time, risk their lives to procure a few particles of the precious metal. This is the manner of obtaining it: in Bokhara it is customary to carry water in skins, which preserve the form of the animals from which they were taken; the best are the skins of sheep and wild-goats. The mouth of this vessel corresponds to the neck of the animal. The Bokharians attach these skins to a cord and throw them into the Derwazéh; the furious river soon fills the skin with mud, sand, and gold, the last of which it is afterward easy to extract from the mixture; but as it is never without foreign matter, its value is to that of pure gold as eighteen to twenty-one. May not this process throw light upon a passage of Herodotus, in which the historian describes the means employed by the Indians in extracting gold from sand?

Bokharia lies between forty-one and thirty-seven degrees north latitude, and sixty-one and sixty-six degrees thirty minutes east of Paris, comprising a surface of about ten thousand square leagues. The eastern part is mountainous; all the western part is a plain extending as far as the eye can see, upon which small isolated hills rise to the height of ten or fifteen feet; these hillocks are of a clayey nature like the rest of the desert; above this clay the sands are moved by the winds, and formed into ridges. The oases of Bokharia present a most pleasing and cheerful aspect. There is no country better cultivated than these plains; they are covered with houses, gardens, and fields divided in small squares called *tanab*, the sides of which are raised a foot with turf, in order to retain the water which is conveyed thither for the purposes of irrigation.

large, contains many well-built houses; it is situated in a valley, and is divided into two parts, one inhabited by Chinese, the other by Mohammedans, who carry on an active trade with each other.

"Three days after leaving Aksou, I arrived at Turfan, an unsightly little town. As the inhabitants are very poor, nothing interesting is to be found here. Fifteen miles thence are the frontiers of the country of the Kirghizes.

"Leaving Turfan, I passed through many wandering tribes of Calmucks, Kirghizes, Kaïsaks, and finally reached Semipalatinsk, after a journey of three months."

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Thousands of water-courses intersect the plain, and like the roads, which are very narrow, they are usually bordered with trees. The waters of these canals not being all upon the same level, they are connected together by small cascades, which soothe the ear with an agreeable murmur. The great quantity of trees planted on every side form screens which prevent the view from extending to a distance.

The multiplicity of dwellings indicates a numerous population; perhaps it is too great to admit of a general competency. These dwellings usually form villages, which are half concealed by the fruit-trees of the gardens. I saw villages entirely surrounded by walls; they were a kind of fortresses; others are open, the gardens only being inclosed; and these walls, often indented and flanked with small turrets, add to the picturesque appearance of the country; they also indicate that the people are afraid of being pillaged; and the frequent incursions of the wandering tribes, lead us to suppose that the existence of these fortifications is a result of a sad necessity.

A Bokharian village usually contains a hundred houses, built of earth, and separated from each other by streets which are no narrower than those of the cities. In the center of the village is frequently a well, or a small reservoir, in which the water is replenished by means of a ditch. Each village is situated near a canal, by which means the gardens can be watered.

The climate of the mountain-regions of Bokharia is of course different from that of the western part of the country, which is mild and even: I shall here speak only in reference to the plains. The seasons there are very regular; by the middle of February the fruit-trees begin to bloom; the forest-trees put forth in the early days of March. Then the beautiful season begins, and the heavy rains cease, after having lasted nearly three weeks. Soon the heat becomes oppressive; it is the more perceptible as the atmosphere is rarely refreshed by storms. The fine season continues until October, when the rains usually prevail for two or three weeks. In November and December, slight frosts, and sometimes a little snow, announce the approach of winter; on the 20th of December we found melons still in the fields, which showed that the frosts could not have been heavy. The month of January is more rigorous; the usual degree of cold is about twenty-seven degrees Fahrenheit; it is sometimes as low as fourteen degrees, and water freezes from three to four inches thick. Snow has been known to remain a fortnight on the ground without thawing.

The winter which we passed at Bokhara was very mild; during four or five days only, the cold was so severe as to freeze the water two inches, and then the people hastened to break the ice and pile it in large heaps, which were covered with earth for preservation. The rains commence between the 7th and 15th of February, and continue until the close of the month. Every thing becomes green and flourishes in a few days. Nothing proves the warm climate of Bokhara better than the

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heat of the sun; in the month of January we dined in the open air, when the temperature in the shade was fifty-five degrees, and ninety in the sun.

Violent winds prevail in winter and summer; they raise to a great height a fine dust, which hides every thing from view, and imparts a gray tint to the atmosphere. These clouds of dust, which spread over a whole district, may be seen more than fifteen miles distant. The climate of Bokhara is generally healthy; the winter and the rainy seasons refresh and purify the atmosphere, which is not vitiated by any noxious exhalations. The rheumatism which prevails is produced by the dampness of the houses, and the frequent sore eyes may be caused by those violent winds and the dust they raise. Blindness must be common in this country, for the father of the reigning khan erected in Bokhara the *fathabad*, a hospital, or rather monastery, of the blind, where about fifty of these unfortunates are lodged by twos and threes in small cells arranged around a mosque.

All the cities in Bokharia are built near the rivers, and consequently surrounded by cultivated fields; the drought is frequently so great in summer that the inhabitants can procure water only by digging holes; the plain of Bokhara is so low that water is found everywhere at the depth of from five to eight feet. This stagnant water produces worms which the people drink without perceiving it; from this results a malady named *rishta* by the Bokharians. The whole body becomes covered with pustules which occasion very painful sores. From these pustules come worms of the class *annelides*. The Bokharians know no remedy for this evil. A Russian prisoner, a slave in Bokhara, in speaking to me of the scarcity of water which was experienced there, said in a tone of vexation, "It is a country that God created in his anger."

Ourghenjè is a small fortress which I saw on our return to Russia. I could not obtain permission to enter the city; they closed the gates upon us, probably by command of the superior powers. It has the name of fortress because it is surrounded by an earthen wall about twenty feet high. We passed near Ourghenjè on the 25th of March; the wind was high, but not violent. But scarcely had we quitted the clayey soil when we found ourselves among sandy hillocks and the wind became more furious; the sand rose in whirlwinds and penetrated everywhere. I wore spectacles made expressly to keep off the dust, which I dreaded, but they protected my eyes but imperfectly. The sand produced a kind of cloud which so vailed the light of day that we could see but a short distance, and our Kirghiz guides no longer knew the route. Happily a Bokharian trooper of the garrison of Ourghenjè followed us to find out whether any Russian slave were mingled with our escort; we compelled him, by holding a pistol at his throat, to act as our guide; although he rendered us this service much against his will, he prevented us from going astray. Nothing can be more disagreeable than this sand; although coarse, it penetrates the eyes, the

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mouth, and the ears; all our eyes were inflamed, and I can easily conceive how the army of Nadir-shah, when crossing the deserts west of the Amou during a storm, lost a number of men from the effects of ophthalmia. It is thus that the deserts near Bokharia are a natural defense. The sand, driven by the winds, fills up the ditches, drifts against the walls, and soon rises to their level, fills the streets, and covers the houses, like the ashes of Vesuvius which buried Herculaneum and Pompeii.

Having spoken of several cities of Bokharia, I will describe the capital of that country. The oases of the surrounding region being covered with avenues of trees and numerous gardens, the view can not extend very far, hence Bokhara can be seen only within about two miles distance, in coming from Wafkend. The view is striking to a European. Domes, mosques, high gables, colleges, minarets, palaces rising in the midst of the city, the surrounding walls with their battlements, a lake near the walls, bordered by houses with flat roofs, or by neat country-houses within embrasured walls—finally, the fields, the gardens, the trees, and the activity which reigns everywhere in the vicinity of a capital, all contribute to produce a very agreeable effect; but the illusion ceases as soon as we enter the city, for with the exception of the baths, the mosques, and the temples, we see only dingy earthen houses, thrown beside each other without order, forming narrow, crooked streets, which are filthy and difficult to traverse. These houses, which front on courts, present to the streets only smooth walls, without windows, or any thing to relieve the eye of the passenger. Every thing we meet in this populous city seems to hint of mistrust; the countenances of the people are scarcely ever animated by an expression of gayety; there are no noisy festivals, no songs, and no music; nothing indicates that they sometimes amuse themselves there, nothing shows that the city is inhabited by a people enjoying an agreeable existence. Therefore the curiosity and the interest which we felt on first seeing edifices of oriental architecture, was soon followed by an impression of sadness and melancholy.

The houses are built of clay, mixed with cut straw. In order to give more consistence to this mixture, wooden posts are placed in the walls, and especially at the corners. The ceilings are usually of hard wood; they are covered with earth, and form the roofs, which are flat. In the handsomer houses the ceilings of the principal apartments are covered with boards, painted with different colors. The floor is of glazed earth among the common people, and brick among the rich. The front and the windows open upon the court, and a single door leads to the street. The windows are sometimes openings, closed simply with wooden shutters; sometimes they are arched openings which are never closed, and are covered only with a trellis of plaster. The latter kind of windows yield only an indifferent light; and in order to see distinctly it is necessary to open the shutters. But in winter the cold is often fifteen degrees above zero, so that the apartments without stoves, from

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which the external air is not excluded, are cold and damp. It is not surprising then that rheumatisms prevail in this city, especially among the poor. In order to protect themselves from the cold, the Bokharians make use of braziers, above which they place, like the Turks, a small wooden table, covered with a wadded carpet; upon this they seat themselves and envelop themselves with it up to the chin. The heat of the burning charcoal effectively preserves the body from cold, but one can not write without having the hands frozen.

The city is about ten miles in circumference, and is said to contain almost eight thousand houses, and very nearly seventy thousand inhabitants. Three fourths of these are Tadjiks, the most part artizans. The remainder of the population is composed of Ouzbeks, Jews, Tartars, Afghans, Calmucks, Hindoos, merchants from neighboring cities, pilgrims, Persian and Russian slaves, and a small number of negroes. The Jews occupy eight hundred houses; they say they came from Samarcand about seven hundred years ago, after having left Bagdad. Of all the cities of Central Asia, Bokhara contains the greatest number of this race. They are permitted to inhabit only three streets in the city; among them there are two rich capitalists, the others are mostly in easy circumstances, and are generally manufacturers, dyers, and silk-merchants. They are prohibited from riding on horseback in the city, and from wearing silken garments; their caps must have a border of black sheepskin, which may be only two inches in width. They are not permitted to build a new synagogue, and have the right only to repair the old one.

These people are remarkable in their personal appearance, for a handsome beard, a countenance somewhat lengthened, a very fair complexion, and eyes which are large, lively, and full of expression. Having learned that the government feared the arrival of the embassy with its numerous escort, they regarded us as messengers from heaven, who came perhaps to alleviate their sufferings. They were fearful of compromising themselves in the eyes of the Bokharians; when they met us they saluted us in a friendly and propitiatory manner, but nevertheless with a sentiment of fear. The rabbi of Bokhara who was a native of Algiers and knew a little Spanish, told me that on his arrival in Bokharia he had found his brethren sunk in the most profound ignorance; only a very small number knew how to read. They possessed but two copies of the Holy Scriptures, and their manuscript contained only the first three books of the Pentateuch. This Algerine Jew, an intelligent old man, who almost wept for joy at again seeing Europeans, has neglected no means of disseminating instruction among the people of his religion. He has founded a school and procured books from Russia, Bagdad, and Constantinople; at present all the Jews of Bokhara know how to read and write; they study the Talmud.

The most remarkable edifice of the city is the palace of the khan; the Bokharians call it *Arck*. It is said to have been built more than ten

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centuries ago, by Arslan-Khan; it is situated upon an eminence, and is surrounded by a wall about six feet high, which has but a single gate. The entrance is of brick, and has on each side a tower about ninety feet in height, formerly ornamented with green glazed tiles, some remains of which are still to be seen. From this gate leads a large corridor, the vaults of which have the appearance of being very ancient. Following this corridor, we arrive at the summit of a hill upon which are situated some clay houses which are inhabited by the khan and his court. Within this inclosure are a mosque, the dwellings of the khan and his children, the harem, surrounded by a garden and concealed by trees; a house in which the *cush-beghi* transacts his business and receives audiences, another one in which he dwells—this being a high mark of favor—and finally the apartments for the people and the slaves, the stables, etc. Some storks have built their nests upon the summit of the towers.

In Bokhara we see streets half a mile long, covered, and bordered on each side with shops; one row containing women's slippers only, another supplied with drugs and aromatics which perfume the air, a third with jewels, usually of little value, for example, turkoises of Persia, Tartar rubies from the lake of Badakhshan and from Arabia; diadems of gold ornamented with inferior turkoises, for the Kirghiz women. Large vaults are filled with nothing but dried fruits and tobacco; others with pistachios preserved in manna, with prunes, rose-colored or green, grapes, pomegranates, and melons suspended along the walls on cords; among these magazines are eating-houses in which are prepared rice cooked with butter or mutton-fat, and often colored yellow with saffron, and another dish consisting of hashed meat.

During my stay at Bokhara, six robbers, Persian slaves by birth, and two Tadjiks, were hung upon the gallows; some heads of Khivans, of Ouzbeks, from Kokand, and the environs of Balkh, and others, were set up on posts, or exposed upon the ground near the gibbet. The populace, accustomed to this spectacle, continued their traffic upon the square, without casting a look of compassion upon these terrible pictures; it was not thus with our soldiers, who looked upon these scenes for the first time in their lives.

Every thing in Bokhara shows that the city was formerly more flourishing than it is now;—the colleges and mosques are partly fallen, or are badly preserved. I saw large crevices in the arches of a temple entirely new; these accidents are attributed to earthquakes, but I think they may be charged to the ignorance of the architects. Nine or ten miles from Bokhara, in the direction of Wafkend, there has been a very ancient bridge, built of bricks, in a single arch across the Zer-afshân; it is fallen, and has not been reconstructed; the stone steps which lead to the wells are impaired, and no one thinks of repairing them. They no longer know how to make the blue tiles which adorn the public edifices; they construct no new buildings which indicate either taste or riches. A portion of the most beautiful street of Bokhara is encumbered with stones which

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formerly composed the pavement. Even the private houses, of which only the ancient ones have basements of stone, prove that this capital is not so rich nor so well governed as it was in former times.

It is very difficult to estimate the population of a country inhabited by so many different nations, of which a part is nomadic, and where an enumeration has never been made. In order to present something satisfactory in this respect, we consulted in Bokharia all who could give us any certain information on the subject. The cultivated portion of the khanate may be estimated at twelve hundred square leagues, or three hundred thousand square miles. If we suppose each of these square miles inhabited by five thousand souls, as in the richest countries of Italy, we have as a result, in Bokharia, one million five hundred thousand inhabitants, living by agriculture, or semi-nomadic, and living in the cities, and by adding nearly a million of the wandering tribes, we find that the population of Bokharia is more than two millions of souls.

This population may be subdivided as follows:

Ouzbeks,	1,500,000
Tadjiks,	650,000
Turcomans,	200,000
Arabs,	50,000
Persians,	40,000
Calmucks,	20,000
Kirghizes and Kara-kalpaks,	6,000
Jews,	4,000
Afghans,	4,000
Lesghizes,	2,000
Bohemians,	2,000
Total,	2,478,000

The Khanates of Asia carry on with the Kirghizes and the Turcomans a trade in slaves, which is chiefly supplied by the robberies of these wandering tribes, and by the wars with the Persians. The taking of Mervé added twenty-five thousand to the number of Persian slaves in Bokharia, which is estimated at forty thousand. Five or six hundred Russians are held in slavery; they have been sold by Kirghizes, by Turcomans, who seize fishermen wrecked upon the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, or by Khivans.

Among the slaves of Bokharia there are likewise Chetrars, Siapooshes, Hezaréhs, and even Georgians. The number scarcely diminishes, for they have Persian wives given to them, and their existence and well-being is connected with the interest of their masters. The price of an able-bodied man ranges from forty to fifty tellas ($130 to $160). If he is an artisan, for instance a joiner, a furrier, or a shoemaker, he brings as much as one hundred tellas ($320). The women usually sell higher than the men, at least if they are young and beautiful; they are then worth from one hundred to one hundred and fifty tellas ($320 to $480). The condition of the slaves in Bokharia is horrible. The Russians nearly all

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complain of being badly fed and most cruelly beaten. I saw one whose master had cropped his ears, pierced his hands with a nail, cut the skin upon his back, and poured boiling oil upon his arms, in order to make him confess by what route his comrade had escaped. The *cush-beghi* finding one of his Russian slaves intoxicated, had him taken next day to the Registan to be hung. On reaching the gallows, the unhappy man was solicited to abjure his religion and become a Mohammedan, in order to obtain pardon, but he preferred to die a martyr to his faith. The greater part of the Russian slaves in the vicinity of Bokhara were locked up, and worked with irons upon their feet during the last weeks of our stay in the city. A single Russian slave succeeded in rejoining us seventy miles from Bokhara, after having wandered eighteen days in the desert; during this time he had subsisted on water and meal only. He expressed, in a most simple and touching manner, the alarms he had experienced on seeing us (for he feared lest we might be Kirghizes, Khivans, or Ouzbeks), and the extreme joy he felt when he recognized our Cossacks. I can not describe the unbounded happiness of a dozen Russian slaves whom we purchased in Bokharia, and during the journey. They shed tears of joy. The Bokharian government would have been so cruel as to prevent these Russians, who had been purchased, from returning to their country. It even forbade its subjects from selling any Russians to us, under the pretext that they would thereby diminish the number of proselytes which it might make.

In their salutations the Bokharians bend forward a little, place the right hand upon the heart, and pronounce the word *khosh*. This civility is often exaggerated in a most ridiculous manner, especially by the slaves; they make the accompanying gesture by turning the head several times, inclining it toward the left shoulder, raising the elbows, holding the two hands upon the heart, smiling in a silly manner, and pronouncing the word *khosh* with emphasis, as if they would split their sides with laughing.

In the streets the women wear a long mantle, the sleeves of which are connected behind, and a black vail which completely conceals the face. They see badly through this vail, but the greater part of them would slyly lift up one corner when they met one of us; the Tadjik women also took pleasure in allowing us to see their beautiful eyes. It became fashionable among the ladies of Bokhara to go and look at the Franks; the extremity of the roof of our house was a place of meeting for them, and the limit which decorum imposed upon their curiosity. There, less observed by the Bokharians, a few pretty women presented themselves to our gaze, and we frequently admired eyes full of fire, superb teeth, and a most beautiful complexion. The Bokharian severity soon put an end to this too worldly procedure; the police took measures for preventing the women from ascending our roof, and we lost the pleasure of a scene which enlivened our repasts.

We remained in this city from the 20th of December, 1820, until the

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10th of March, 1821: the weather having become very fine we then repaired to Bazartchi. The bivouac in the gardens of that place appeared to us far preferable to the sojourn in the gloomy houses of Bokhara.

On the 22d of March we set out from Bazartchi; on the 25th we left Bokhara, well pleased to have seen the country, but still better satisfied to get away from it.

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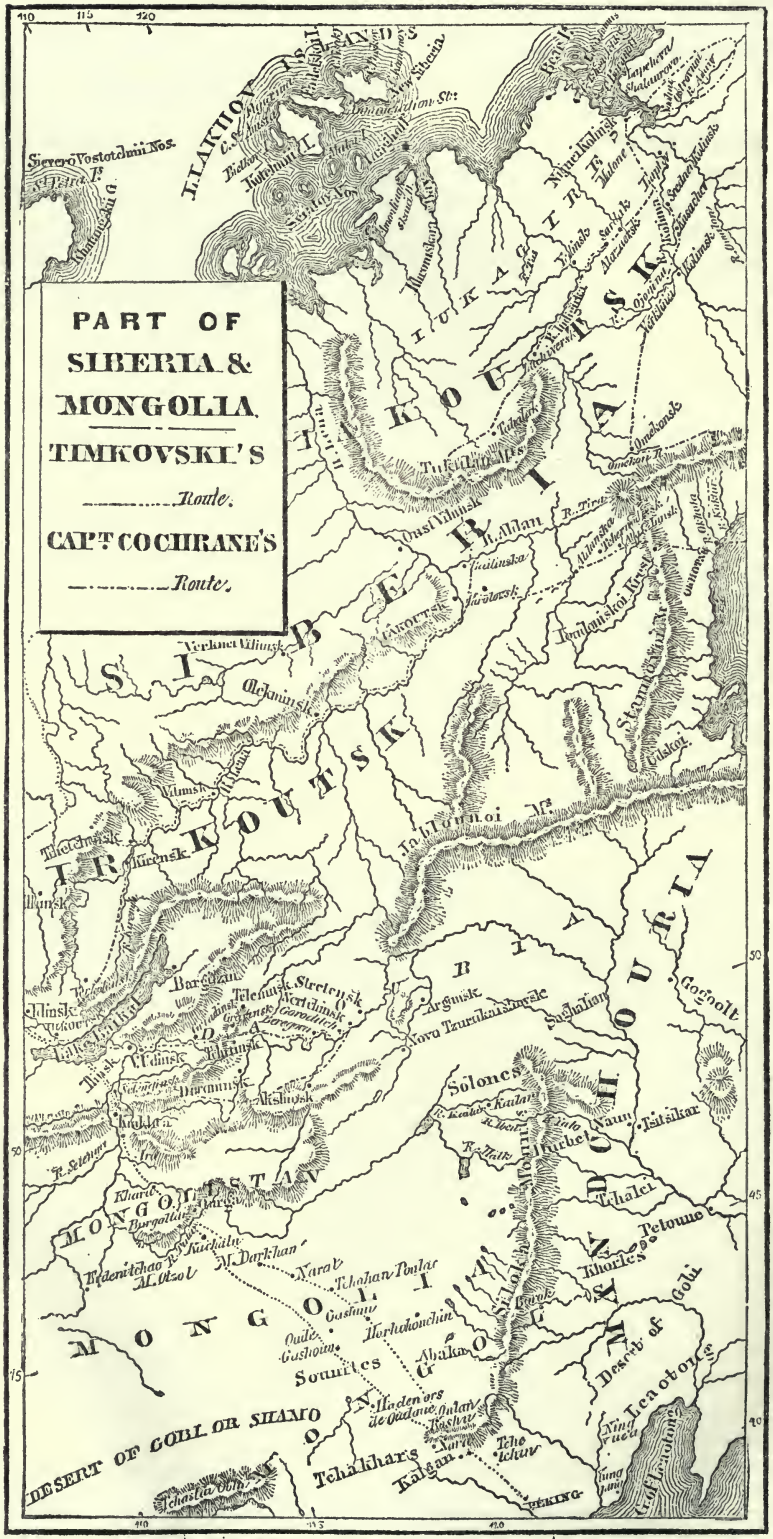

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TIMKOVSKI'S

JOURNEY FROM SIBERIA TO PEKIN.

For more than a century Russia has maintained at Pekin a convent and a school for the instruction of interpreters in the Chinese and Manchoo languages. Every ten years the persons composing these two establishments are renewed, and new monks and pupils are sent from St. Petersburg to the capital of China. This little caravan is conducted by a Russian officer, commissioned to take charge of it, to install it upon its arrival in Pekin, and then to lead back to their country the monks whose term has expired and the pupils who have completed their studies. It was on a mission of this kind that Timkovski, Attaché of the College of Foreign Affairs, set out in 1820 from Kiakhta, a fort situated on the frontiers between the Russian possessions and those of China. He traversed Mongolia, passed the Great Wall, and arrived on the 1st of December at Pekin, where he remained until the 15th of May in the following year.

All the European embassies which have gone to Pekin have made but a very short stay in the capital of the Chinese empire, and have been continually subjected to a most annoying surveillance, prompted by the distrust which the Chinese exhibit toward strangers. M. Timkovski visited Pekin under much more favorable auspices; like all Russians he enjoyed full liberty, being allowed to pass through the various quarters of that immense city and to visit all its monuments and curiosities. Hence he was enabled to make more accurate observations than the travelers who had previously visited China; besides which, he had at his disposal several interpreters who were perfectly acquainted with the language of the country; consequently his remarks are worthy of greater confidence than those of the travelers who, being unacquainted with either Chinese or Manchoo, could not enter into conversation with the inhabitants of the empire.

On the 14th of June, 1728, a treaty of peace was concluded between Count Vladislavitch, embassador extraordinary of Russia, and the ministers of China. The fifth article is as follows: "The Russians shall

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henceforth occupy in Pekin the *kuan*, or court, which they at present inhabit. In accordance with the wishes of the Russian embassador a church shall be erected, with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who resides at Pekin, and the three others who are expected, according to the articles of agreement, shall be lodged in the kuan, or court, above-mentioned. These three priests shall be connected with the same church, and receive the same provisions as the present priest. The Russians will be permitted to worship God according to the rites of their religion. There shall likewise be received into this house four young students, and two of a more advanced age, conversant with the Russian and Latin languages, whom the embassador is desirous of leaving in Pekin in order to learn the languages of the country. They shall be supported at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their country as soon as they shall have completed their studies."

In accordance with this treaty, the Russian mission, consisting of six ecclesiastical members and four laymen, was established in Pekin. The lay members were young men engaged in the study of the Manchoo and Chinese languages, and in acquiring correct information respecting the country. The usual sojourn of the mission at Pekin is fixed at ten years, but the correspondence between the Russian minister of foreign affairs in the name of the controlling senate, and the tribunal of Pekin, is subject to so many delays, that the stay of the mission usually continues for a longer period. In conformity with the fifth article of the treaty a new mission set out from St. Petersburg in 1819 to replace that which had been in Pekin since the 10th of January, 1808. It arrived at Irkoutsk in February, 1820, and on the 15th of July at Troitsko-savsk, a fortress better known under the name of Kiakhta, where it made preparations to pass the frontiers within a month.

M. Timkovski was ordered to accompany the new mission from Kiakhta to Pekin, and to bring back the one which had been there since 1808. His retinue was composed of an inspector of baggage, an interpreter of Mongolese and Manchoo, and a detachment of thirty Cossacks. The latter were to escort the baggage. From the time the mission passed the Russian frontiers, it was under the protection of the Chinese government.

The mission prepared to leave Russia as early as possible, in order to avoid the difficulties inseparable from a journey in the latter end of autumn across the cold and arid steppes of Mongolia, and especially in the desert of Gobi. The Chinese conductors did not arrive until the 27th of August at Maimatchin, which is the Chinese port of Kiakhta, situated immediately on the frontier, three miles from Troitsko-savsk. M. Timkovski repaired thither and hastened the preparations for the journey. The staff of the Chinese conductors consisted of an inspector and a *boshko*, or sergeant-major. The former, named Tsching, was a *bitkheshi*, or secretary of the seventh class, and was sixty years of age;

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he wore upon his cap, but only out of the capital, a white button of opaque stone, which gave him the rank of mandarin of the sixth class. He was accompanied by Chackdor, a Mongolese interpreter aged twenty years, and two *nerbs*, or servants, father and son. Gurgentai, the boshko, was forty-seven years of age; out of the capital he wore on his cap a gilded button indicating the seventh class, and was attended by a servant. There was yet one important affair to be attended to before setting out. It was necessary to bestow a few presents upon the conductors to induce them, as the season was so far advanced, to provide the mission without delay with *yourtes*, or *kibitkas* (felt-tents), and other objects indispensable to so long a journey.

On the 30th of August the festival of the Emperor Alexander was celebrated by a *Te Deum* chanted in the church of Kiakhta. It was followed by a dinner given by the counselor of chancery, commissioner of the frontier, at which were present the Tsargoochee of Maimatchin, the boshko, the principal Chinese merchants, and the conductors of the mission. They drank to the health of the emperor and of the Bogdokhan (emperor of China), and to an eternal friendship between the two empires. These toasts were drunk to the sound of volleys of artillery and the ringing of bells; the soldiers of the garrison, in full parade, made the air resound with songs of rejoicing. The joy and freedom which reigned in this little festival of the Russians made a lively impression on the minds of their guests.

The preliminary arrangements being finally all completed, the mission set forward on the 31st of August. The baggage went in advance to the first station, about five miles from Kiakhta. The mission was accompanied by the dignitaries and principal citizens of Troitska-savsk to Kiakhta, where they all repaired to church, after which they were entertained at a dinner by the merchants of the place. After dinner they went to thank God once more upon the soil of their country; then, accompanied by the clergy of Kiakhta, preceded by crucifixes, and attended by the ringing of bells, they arrived at the frontier. Notwithstanding the rain a large concourse of curious Russians and Chinese was assembled. After stopping awhile at the house of the Tsargoochee, they entered the Chinese empire at six o'clock in the evening, accompanied by the custom-house director, and the counselor of chancery. Arriving at some tents which the Chinese had erected at the distance of two miles, the Tsargoochee offered them tea; they then took leave of their fellow-countrymen and proceeded on their journey through a heavy rain. A detachment of twenty Mongolese troopers formed their advance-guard. Toward seven o'clock they halted, after having gone about three miles. They found four yourtes prepared for them; one was for the clergy, another for the students, the third for M. Timkovski and suite, and the fourth for the Cossacks. The baggage had already arrived; the horses and oxen fed; as to the camels, they were prepared for the journey by depriving them of food and drink for twelve days.

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The horses which had been employed in transporting the baggage were deprived of food all night, in order to strengthen them, according to the custom of the Mongolese and the inhabitants of Siberia.

They made preparations for departing at an early hour next morning, but a long time passed before the camels were caught and loaded, as they were very wild; one of the horses started to run toward the frontier so swiftly that the Cossacks and Mongols could not recapture it. At length they succeeded in getting under way; the baggage went in advance, then the camels and the vehicles, an arrangement which was observed throughout the journey. The members of the mission then proceeded in equipages, and the horses followed slowly, in order to husband their strength. The oxen were left under the safeguard of a Mongolese, with five soldiers under him; at night three Cossacks watched alternately. In order to have an eye over all, M. Timkovski made the whole journey on horseback, having under his orders an inspector of baggage, the interpreter, and a Cossack. The summer having been rainy, the plain was covered with water and extremely muddy; after having traveled two miles they reached a more elevated place, whence they beheld Kiakhta; the church, the houses of their friends and other places which were known to them, were the last objects which recalled their country, suggesting the hope of one day returning to it.

The koudoni of their next station, situated upon the right bank of the Ibitsykh, came to meet them, and saluted them in the manner of the horsemen of the steppes; he dismounted from his horse, bent the left knee before Timkovski, rested his right arm upon his side, and supporting it with the left hand, cried, "*Amour!*" (peace). He then remounted and conducted them by a ford to the tents, where the mission arrived at four o'clock in the evening. During the night, the thermometer indicated twenty-five degrees Fahrenheit. In the valleys, surrounded by high mountains, the air is always cold; beyond Kiakhta, which is quite elevated, there is a considerable ascent to the desert of Gobi; this they perceived in the continually increasing cold of the atmosphere. M. Struvé, who was in the southern part of the country of the Khalkhas, on the 20th of December, 1805, states that at twelve miles from Kiakhta, the great elevation of that part of Mongolia obliged him to take a large quantity of hot tea; and yet his health did not suffer in consequence.

They found their linen tents quite useless, the texture not being compact enough; and they could not kindle a fire in them. Having no yourtes, which are so serviceable to those who traverse the steppes, and deprived of the time and means of obtaining water and argal, or fuel, which is used in the desert, they were sometimes obliged, by the habitual indolence of their Chinese conductors, to have recourse to the inhabitants for aid, especially in obtaining good pastures for their animals. M. Timkovski testified their gratefulness to the people for these favors by small presents. In the morning their departure was again delayed by the difficulty in harnessing the horses of the steppes, which were not ac-

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customed to drawing carriages. The Mongolese admired the dexterity and courage of the Cossacks, who managed three wild horses at a time.

At a short distance a mountain rose on one hand, and on the left extended a deep valley in which they saw some scattered yourtes and a few solitary birch-trees. They descended thither by a narrow path along the steep rocks of the Isagan-oola, or White Mountain, whose base was carpeted with luxuriant herbage. The rocks were covered with woods, chiefly of birch, whose yellow-tinted leaves announced the approach of autumn. The heat of the day frequently obliged the camels to stop, and greatly retarded their journey. From the summit of the mountains lying midway between the Ibitsykh and the Irô, they perceived a plain of a few miles circuit, surrounded by mountains, and sprinkled over with fields of millet and other grain. On approaching this plain a lama of a very advanced age, who was going on horseback to visit his fields, accompanied them for a long time. He held in one hand a string of beads, which he raised toward the sky. This priest of Buddha was continually repeating these words: *Om ma ni bat me khom;* he accompanied them with deep sighs, and pronounced them in the tone adopted for the prayers, which greatly resembles the sound of a double-bass, or the humming of bees. Every follower of Buddha is obliged to recite this prayer as often as he can, while devoting himself to pious meditations. In order that it may not be forgotten, it is written upon linen, paper, wood, and stone, in the temples, in the tents, and by the wayside. The Mongolese lamas pretend that these words: *Om ma ni bat me khom*, to which they ascribe a mysterious and supernatural power, exempt the faithful from suffering in a future life, increase their good qualities, and bring them nearer divine perfection.

The inhabitant of these steppes, convinced of the existence of a supreme, incomprehensible, and all-powerful Being, whose power extends over all nature, believes that his beneficent spirit manifests itself most willingly in objects which appear in colossal forms. For this reason a huge rock, a lofty mountain, a large tufted tree, or a great river, is an object of reverence to a Mongolese. Before this he raises, with reverence, according to the direction of a lama, an abo, or altar of stone, sand, earth, or wood, before which he prostrates himself to adore the divinity. In time of war he desires aid to vanquish his enemy and to defend his country; he addresses it when sickness afflicts his family or his cattle, and in all misfortunes. A Mongolese who meets with an abo, descends from his horse, places himself on its southern side, turning his face toward the north, and, prostrating himself many times upon the earth, deposits something upon the altar. They often saw locks of hair upon the aboes, these being the votive offerings of wandering horsemen in behalf of their cattle, their inseparable companions.

Leaving the plain by a narrow passage between the hills, they descended to the meadows of the Irô, and reached the banks of that river

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in the evening. A great number of the inhabitants, and the people attached to the service of the priests, were assembled there to aid the mission in crossing. The continual rains of summer had swollen the waters of the river, and increased the rapidity of the current. The most important effects were transported on *komygas*, or large beams of hollowed pines, somewhat resembling canoes, which were lashed together in pairs, for passing the water. The camels forded the stream higher up. With all their exertions, the transportation was not completed by ten o'clock. The people forded the stream next day, and one of the Cossacks caught a fever, from which he suffered a long time. In the evening, the *tsanghin* of the place called upon M. Timkovski, and entreated him to exercise his authority in forbidding the students to continue the amusement of fishing, in which they were engaged. He hastened to comply with the wishes of the Mongolese, who regard the fishes as sacred, in accordance with their belief in metempsychosis, a dogma of their religion.

The night was mild, and the mission set forth early on the morning of the 3d. As soon as they had left their camp, some Mongolese women who had charge of the domestic affairs, came to fold up the tents; in a very short time they finished this work, loaded the camels, and retired. Throughout the journey the yourtes for the guides were prepared in advance, but those of the mission were borrowed from the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and mostly from the poorer classes. After traveling fifteen miles, they reached an elevation, upon which stood a colossal rock; to the right, rose the summit of Nareen Koundoo, covered with lofty pines; westward, near the mouth of the Selby, which empties into the Ockhon, Mount Mingadara reached the clouds. Near this mountain there are said to be a great number of temples, in the largest of which nearly four thousand lamas assemble on the days of solemn festivals. Descending by a narrow and difficult path, they reached a contracted gorge; thence proceeding by a short ascent, they came to the banks of the river Sharà, where they halted in a spot surrounded by mountains. Here they found four excellent yourtes all prepared; those for the abbot and Timkovski were hung with nankeen, with a colored border; the floor was covered with a felt carpet. For these attentions they were indebted to Idam Tsap, a venerable Mongolese who accompanied them. By his orders, some bricks of tea were prepared for the Cossacks.

The Mongolese, and the greater part of the wandering tribes of Middle Asia, make great use of this tea; it takes the place of both victuals and drink with them. The Chinese, who carry on a considerable trade in it, never drink it. In preparing the tea, they lay aside the leaves that are dried up, dirty, or spoiled, as well as the stems, and having mixed with them a glutinous substance, they inclose the mass in oblong molds, and dry them in ovens. The Mongolese, the Buriates, the inhabitants of Siberia, beyond Lake Baïkal, as well as the Calmucks, take a lump of this tea, pound it in a mortar, and then throw the powder into a bronze vessel filled with boiling water, which they leave upon the fire for some

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time, adding to it a little salt and milk; they sometimes mix with it some flour fried in oil.

On encamping, the second evening afterward, a crowd of Mongolese immediately surrounded their equipages, the ironed wheels especially attracting their attention. The Mongolese carriage is usually constructed with two wheels, which turn with the axle. The wheel is formed of two small square blocks of wood, placed across each other, and having the angles rounded off. Next day, they crossed the Tumerkay, whose summit was crowned by a colossal abo of stones, and then passed by a rapid descent through the gorges of that mountain, and continued their route through narrow defiles where lofty mountains towered up on one hand, while on the other enormous rocks hung over their heads. Emerging from these, they passed over a dangerous declivity, and entered a plain which led to the Kharâ (black) River, on whose banks they encamped. It rained all night; the weather was continually cloudy. For the first time they were obliged to make use of their four yourtes and their tents, in order to shelter the baggage from the rain. After dinner they fished in the Kharâ. This exercise, unknown to the Mongolese, attracted a crowd of spectators. They were richly rewarded for their pains, but their venerable Mongolese friend, Idam Tsap, a zealous believer in metempsychosis, soon came with his nephew, and entreated them to throw the fish back into the water; which they thought it best to do.

It may be well to observe here in explanation of this circumstance that the moral code of Buddha reckons ten mortal sins, or *black actions*, divided thus:

Sins of the body:—Assassination, theft, fornication.

Sins of speech:—Lying, calumny, obscene words, and threatening expressions.

Sins of the soul:—Vengeance, envy, the abandonment of the true doctrine.

The ten supreme virtues, or *white actions*, consist in every thing which is opposed to these sins. Homicide alone is not the greatest sin, but, according to the ideas concerning the transmigration of souls, it is a sin to kill the smallest animal. No lama, no pious Mongolese, will take the life of an insect: still it is permitted to eat the flesh of animals slaughtered by another. This is probably because many of the steppes, not being adapted to tillage, offer only flesh for nourishment.

Toward evening several Mongolese, attracted by the singing of the Cossacks, gathered near to listen to them, and even the guides heard them with pleasure. It was evident that the melody was to their taste. Meanwhile the boshko was resting in the tent of the abbot and attempting to learn by heart some Russian words, such as: *Baran* (ram), *ovtsa* (ewe), *kon* (horse), *votka* (brandy), *riumka* (glass of wine), etc. As to *verbliud* (camel), and others like it, he could not pronounce them because of the accumulated consonants. For the rest, the Manchoos and

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the Mongolese have much greater facility than the Chinese in pronouncing foreign words.

In the evening of September 10th, they encamped at the foot of Mount Noin, on the banks of the Boro. South-west from their tents rose a mountain which presented the appearance of a vast rampart, abruptly terminated by a steep rock, called Khorimtû, or the place of arrival. Westward a ravine formed a passage for the Boro, from a lake of the same name, and southward was seen the summit of Mount Ourghemyl, crowned by an abo. A few persons of the caravan, attracted by the beauty of the evening, started out with the intention of walking in the neighboring woods of Mount Noin. The tussulakhchi soon came to M. Timkovski, and begged him to prevent them from going, as the forest was infested by bears. He at once sent word to them by a Cossack, and they presently returned. It afterward came to light that the entrance to the forests of Mount Noin was prohibited to every body, except the *küun-vang*, and *amban* of the Ourga, who with their train come thither in the autumn to hunt.

In the morning they proceeded along Mount Ourghemyl, and continued their journey through a wild mountain region, frequently ascending and descending by toilsome and dangerous passes. In the afternoon they crossed by a long but easy ascent over Narassotú, or the mountain of pines, which derives its name from a tall pine upon its summit, greatly venerated by the Mongolese. This tree was decorated with pieces of linen, strings of beads, and all sorts of things, which the devotees suspend upon it. At three o'clock they arrived at a station in the midst of a marshy plain, surrounded by mountains which are partly covered with groves of birch-trees. Great numbers of sheep and buffaloes were scattered over the plain, among its rich pastures. The singular appearance of the latter animals, their black color and bushy hair, greatly terrified the horses of the caravan. They continually met with Mongolese returning from the Ourga, or residence of the Gheghen-khûtûkhtû, or grand-priest. A lama, aged a hundred years, came to see them; he was so feeble that he could hardly retain his seat on horseback, and was supported by two servants. Supposing M. Timkovski and the Cossack officers to be students, he wished them much success in the sciences, on their arrival at Pekin.

Among other adorers of the khûtûkhtû, or highest Buddhist priest, they met the lama of Ibitsykh, before alluded to. He was returning from the Ourga, where he had been to pay homage to the deified child. As soon as he came near he leaped from his horse and drew from his bosom a khadâk, in which was enveloped a paper-box containing small Chinese cakes which he presented to them and wished them a prosperous journey, and the blessings of the khûtûkhtû for life. In return for this kindness, M. Timkovski presented to him a knife. He was delighted with this mark of attention, and highly applauded their intention of seeing the temple of the khûtûkhtû, in passing the Ourga.

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The khadâk is a yellow or pearl-colored band of silk, ornamented with small figures of the same color. The Mongolese and Thibetans suspend these khadâks before their idols to decorate their offerings, and attach their prayers to them. The young people present them to the more aged, as a proof of esteem and devotion, and they are exchanged by persons of the same age in token of friendship. They place a large arrow, enveloped in a khadâk, on the places where the remains of their relatives and friends repose. The khadâk must be blessed by a lama; it is only after this ceremony that it acquires supernatural virtues.

In the evening of the 13th, the north-west wind, the harbinger of a rainy season, began to blow with force. Several of the Mongolese sentinels sang their national songs. M. Timkovski called two of them to him and gave them some brandy, to induce them to continue singing. The airs of their songs resemble each other; they are generally plaintive and harmonious. The horse, the friend and companion of the inhabitant of the steppe, always takes a prominent place in these songs. Timkovski gives the following translations of some songs which he heard. "In this vast plain was born the dun-colored charger, swift as the arrow, the ornament of the herd, the glory of the whole tribe. Called to the chase by the ruler, Idam flies to the forest of Kharatchin, overthrows the goats and the stags, and fells the fierce wild boars and the terrible panthers. Every one admires the boldness of the rider and the fleetness of his steed."

"Behold the young Tsyrèn, armed for the service of the khan; he flies to the Russian frontier to guard Mendzin; he addresses his prayers to the household divinities; he takes leave of his father and mother: with sadness his wife saddles his black horse. With a sad and dreamy air the cavalier speeds away toward the north. The wind of the desert scarcely moves the plumes of his arrows, and his elastic bow resounds upon his saddle. Tsyrèn rides through gloomy and unknown forests; in the distance he beholds blue mouutains which are strange to him; the friendly words of the Cossacks, his valiant companions, cheer his saddened soul; but his thoughts ever return to the paternal mountains."

"With unquiet soul, with a spirit bowed under an unknown weight, the young Mongol sees in his dreams the shades of warriors, his ancestors, pass before his eyes."

"Where is our Genghis-khan, menacing and fearless? His high deeds resound in melancholy songs amid the rocks of Onon and upon the green banks of Khérulun. * * * Who advances upon the pleasant road beside the Sharà, singing in a low voice some cherished words? Whose is this bay-brown courser that runs so swiftly? What seek the eyes of this brave youth, passing before the white tents? his heart knows well who is she that dwells there. Soon will he cease to traverse these mountains; soon will his fiery courser win for him a bride. * * * This bay steed, this steed like a whirlwind, he is prepared for the course. * * * The abo is covered with spectators.

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He neighs; with his light feet he grazes the pointed flints. The signal is given, all rush toward the goal. Clouds of dust cover the racer; and the bay charger, always victorious, arrives first, leaving his rivals in the distance."

On the 14th of September, at the break of day, the rain fell abundantly; the summits of the mountains were concealed in a thick mist. In passing over the heights of Mount Nareen they met a number of lamas and Mongolese of inferior rank, returning from the Ourga; among them was a wealthy old officer, the commander of a body of wandering Mongolese. His tent, which was well-finished, was carried by several camels, surrounded by saddle-horses; his wife was seated in a chariot, drawn by one horse. For a long time the rain fell incessantly, accompanied by a cutting wind from the north; and at length a damp snow completely spoiled the roads. The camels slipped and fell. Finally they reached a station on the banks of the Arashân, where they halted at two o'clock. Shortly afterward the boshko set out for the Ourga, to announce the arrival of the mission.

Meanwhile the tussulakhchi, Idam, told them he had received official intelligence of the death of the Emperor of China, who had died on the 23d of August, aged sixty-one years. This news was alarming to M. Timkovski; the death of the emperor might prevent the continuation of their journey. He hastened to inform the chief of the mission of this circumstance. The abbot recalled to mind, among others, a Chinese dignitary, who was accompanying an embassy of Tsungarian Calmucks, and who, hearing by the way of the death of the Emperor Khang-hi, was so much afflicted by it that he retired into the mountains in order to mourn the great loss, and at the same time conceal his grief from his fellow-travelers, and who did not leave his retreat until he had received from the new emperor, Yung-ching, the order to continue his route to Pekin. They observed that the silk tassels and the balls were removed from the caps of the Chinese and Mongolese dignitaries; even the servants had taken off their silk tassels. All were obliged to clothe themselves in white, and suffer their hair to grow. This was in token of mourning, which continues one hundred days.

The inhabitants of this region were poor; the travelers were beset by a crowd of beggars, who ate with avidity the bread and meat which they gave them. These miserable creatures came from the most remote countries to adore the Grand Lama. When at length the caravan set out the rays of the sun were melting the snow, and the road became muddy and slippery. Their route led over Mount Guntoo, the highest they had yet passed in their journey. The passage of the mountain was very fatiguing. The camels slipped and fell continually; it was only with the greatest difficulty that the carriages were drawn up. The summit bears a colossal abo, raised by the devotion of the pilgrims who go to adore the Grand Lama, and small columns of stone and wood, with inscriptions in the Thibetan language upon them. These were unintelli-

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gible to the Russians, and even to the Mongolese lamas; probably they contained the mysterious prayer before alluded to. On the mountain they met a young man of rank, who had been at the Ourga, adoring the lama. He was surrounded by Mongolese followers, armed with bows and arrows; while his family and kindred and a numerous retinue accompanied him, all mounted on beautiful black horses. This troop was distinguished by its luxury and wealth; the women were especially remarkable for their fine forms, painted complexions, and for the splendor of their attire. Their robes were of fine blue satin, their caps of sable, their silken girdles interlaced with silver and adorned with cornelians. Even their saddles were ornamented with these stones. These beautiful amazons approached the strangers without timidity, and seemed willing to honor them with their attention. The descent from the mountain was steep and difficult. They followed the course of the Selby, a small but rapid stream, which led through a narrow defile between two lofty mountains. Within five miles of the Ourga they passed some small temples, and further on a very large one, of Thibetan architecture, in the midst of an amphitheater of mountains. Upon the highest rocks around they read several characters of colossal size, carved in the Thibetan language upon the white rock. The Mongolese conductors said they contained the celebrated prayer: *Om ma ni bat me khom.*

It was sunset when they arrived at the Ourga and entered the Russian court, situated eastward of the residence of the Gheghen-khûtûkhtû, or Grand Lama. The Ourga consisted of yourtes. The Mongolese sentinels who guarded the doors, armed with bows and arrows, restrained the people who gathered in crowds to seen the Russian travelers. On the morning of the 16th, the Tsargouchee Hoai came from the Mai-machin, or mart of the Ourga, to present the compliments of the *vang* and the *amban* to the abbot and M. Timkovski, on their happy arrival. He was introduced by the Mongolese conductors, and accompanied by two Manchoo bitkhechis, members of the yamoun or tribunal of the Ourga, and another public functionary. Hoai and the two former were clothed in deep blue robes, above which they wore the white robe of mourning, and a short cloak of lambskin, with large sleeves. These personages were followed by a numerous train of domestics. They conversed with the Russians in Mongolese by the aid of the interpreter, and after inquiring if their journey had been pleasant, they asked if they intended to make a long stay at the Ourga. Timkovski replied that, considering the lateness of the season, and the liability of encountering delays, they would remain but four or five days at furthest. The dignitaries kindly replied by inviting them to take the time needed for rest. They likewise announced that the vang and the amban would be ready to receive the mission on the morrow, to which Timkovski replied that they would be glad to avail themselves of this permission, and stated further that he was authorized by the governor of Irkoutsk to tender his respects in connection with some presents, to the authorities of the Ourga. The interview

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was continued with many civilities, and after their departure other visitors were presented, when at length Khartsagai, a kinsman of the vang, entered to announce that he had been commissioned to aid them in passing the time pleasantly, which might otherwise seem tedious among strangers. He informed them, among other things, that when intelligence of the emperor's death was received, the vang had at first intended to suspend their jonrney, and even send them back to Kiakhta; but, considering the fatigues they had already undergone, and the expense their government had incurred, he had concluded, on his own responsibility, to allow them to proceed. They learned, however, from Idam, that the vang had sent a courier to Pekin, to know what he should do, and that they would be obliged to remain at the Ourga until the decision of the court should arrive. Such were the real motives of the repeated invitations they received to be at their ease in Ourga.

Kartsagai left them an instant, then returned with Idam and Demit (the latter one of the inspectors appointed for the mission during its stay), and inquired what were the presents which they had brought. Timkovski replied that he did not know, and expressed the desire of presenting these gifts himself to the vang and the amban. The Mongolese approved of his intention. They afterward questioned him with interest concerning the countries bordering on Russia; they wished to know if the terrible war with the French was terminated; if England was very far from Russia.

On the 17th, the mission visited the vang and the amban, the highest dignitaries of the Ourga. Twelve Cossacks mounted on Mongolese horses, and advancing two by two, opened the procession; M. Timkovski followed on horseback, with the inspector of baggage and the interpreter on either side; next came the carriages of the clergy, accompanied by the students and other priests; a centurion, followed by two Cossacks, closed the march. The public functionaries of the Ourga walked before the procession, and at the sides the conductors and other employées with their suite. The difference in features and costume between the Mongolese and the Russians, and even the dissimilarity of their horses, gave to this train a singular appearance, which was not without interest: on one hand the white plumes of the Cossacks waving in the air, their glazed belts, and the blades of their sabers glittering in the sun; on the other, the bright colored satin robes of the Mongolese, and the ribbons of their caps flowing in the wind. They alighted at the dwelling of the vang, a modest wooden structure in the Chinese style, and entered the court. The entrance was protected by twenty of the prince's body guard, clothed in white robes; they were without belts, and held their swords in their left hands.

Hoai came to meet them, and placing himself on the left (the place of honor in China), conducted the abbot; Timkovski followed, accompanied by the bitkheshi; Tsing, and the rest of the company came after them. After traversing a court, they passed into a kind of corridor,

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very narrow, which was the hall of reception. One side of the apartment was taken up with a large window, trimmed with white paper, in the middle of which was a large glass plate. Near the window the vang and the amban were sitting cross-legged upon a common sofa. They wore short cloaks, white, and trimmed above with lambskin. Upon a small table near the window were some English clocks, which were not wound up. After the ceremonies of introduction, M. Timkovski, through the interpreter, addressed the governors of Southern Mongolia, then the boxes containing the presents were brought in, and, according to custom, placed before the vang and the amban; the former thus expressed his thanks: "The custom of exchanging gifts between neighbors and friends is very ancient among us; therefore, when you return to your country, we will also give you some presents for the governor of Irkoutsk." He then caused them to be seated before him, and calling the other persons of the mission to approach him, he addressed them successively as follows: "These are the khara-lamas (black priests, the monks); these are the students. He advised the latter to be diligent to overcome all obstacles and fulfill the wishes of their government; to conduct themselves as people well-born, respectable, and worthy to do honor to their country." Each one was then served with a cup of tea with sugar. Afterward, the vang complimented the abbot, adding that he still remembered having seen him among the young students on the way to Pekin. When he had thus severally greeted and addressed the travelers, M. Timkovski and the abbot proffered him and the amban some presents of Russian manufacture, which he politely accepted, and appeared much pleased with them.

An hour after their return the vang sent to the abbot and Timkovski seventeen trays of sweetmeats, three flagons of Chinese wine, called *chaoussin*, made of rice, six pounds of black tea, and to each two pieces of silk stuff. The other members of the mission received each one piece of the same stuff. Each present bore his address. The Cossacks received two boxes of tea in cakes, containing thirty-six cakes in each. The vang was a Mongolese prince, descended from Genghis-khan, and was a near relative of the late Emperor Kia-khing, by his wife. He was amiable and intelligent, polished in his manners, and appeared to be a lover of the arts and sciences, and literature. Having lived a long time at the court of Pekin, he had often held intercourse with Europeans, and had acquired a decided predilection for every thing European. The amban was a subordinate officer, sent out from Pekin to assist the vang during a term of three years.

On the 18th the mission visited the Mai-ma-chin, or mercantile quarter, and the Tsargoochee; the clergy riding in carriages, the rest on horseback. On their arrival the crowd pressed around them in spite of the cries of two civil officers, who, in conformity with the custom in China, drove back the intruders with heavy blows of the whip. They dined with the Tsargoochee, who received them with great civility, and

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entertained them kindly. In the course of conversation they remarked that they wished to prepare for their departure in four days, upon which he counseled them anew to rest awhile, adding that the weather was cold and rainy, and that by the rules of Chinese astrology he had selected a propitious day for their departure, concerning which he would speak to the governors of the Ourga. They thanked him for this proof of his good intentions toward them.

On their return they saw a number of tents, newly erected; these belonged to some Mongolese, who were going to worship the new khûtûkhtû, or lama, and more were expected to arrive. An idea of the festival celebrated by the Mongolese on the manifestation of the new Gheghèn-khûtûkhtû, may be obtained from the following details, given by Pallas, of the one which took place in 1729, in the ancient Ourga situated on the Iben, a tributary of the Orkhon:

On the 22d of June, at the second hour of the day, that is, at sunrise, the chief temple of the Ourga was decorated for the festival. Opposite the entrance was placed the idol *bourkhan ayûcha;* to the left a throne, adorned with precious stones and rich stuffs, had been erected, and wooden seats had been arranged in the temple for the lamas. The sister of the deceased khûtûkhtû, three Mongolese khans, an amban who wore a peacock feather in his cap, and was sent from Pekin by the Emperor Yung-tsing, the father of the new khûtûkhtû, the three khans of the Khalkhas, and several other Mongolese of distinction, were present at the festival. The number of lamas amounted to nearly twenty-six thousand, and of the people, men, women and children, to more than one hundred thousand. When the most important personages had entered the temple, two hundred lances with gilded points and adorned with bronze figures of wild beasts, were placed in two rows before the door. At the same time a line of two hundred Mongolese was formed, bearing drums and large copper trumpets. When all was ready, six lamas were seen to come out from the temple, bearing upon a chair the sister of the deceased khûtûkhtû; she was followed by the khans, the vangs, and all the dignitaries, very richly clothed. The cortège moved in silence to the tent of the new khûtûkhtû, who was living with his father, Darkhan-chin Chan-vang, at the distance of a mile from the temple. An hour afterward the regenerated khûtûkhtû appeared, conducted by the principal Mongolese nobles and the oldest lamas, who held him by the hands and under the arms. They seated him on a horse magnificently harnessed: the bridle was held on one side by a khubilgan, or priest of high rank, and on the other by the ta-lama or senior lama. When the khûtûkhtû came out of the tent, the lamas began to sing hymns in his honor, accompanied by the sound of instruments. Then the nobles and the people bowed down very low, and raised their hands toward heaven. The train of the khûtûkhtû advanced slowly toward the temple; the sister of the deceased khûtûkhtû, whom the newly chosen also called his sister, followed him in a sedan chair. Then came the

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most aged lama, Nomeen-khan, the Chinese amban, all the lamas, the vang, and the other Mongolese of distinction. The people followed on both sides.

The inclosure before the temple contained six tents, ornamented on the top with gilded points from which hung rich stuffs of different colors. The cortège stopped at the entrance; the lamas lifted the khûtûkhtû from his horse with tokens of the most profound reverence, and took him into the inclosure by the southern gate. After having remained there half an hour, the most aged lamas led him by the hand into the temple, where his sister and all the dignitaries likewise entered. The deputy of the dalay-lama, Nomeen-khan, assisted by the persons of his suite, seated him on the throne, after which the amban announced to the people the emperor's order that the khûtûkhtû should receive the honors due to his rank. Then the whole assemblage prostrated themselves three times upon the ground; after which they placed on a table before him several khonkhôs, or small silver bells, which the lamas make use of during the religious ceremonies. Care had been taken to keep back the bell which the khûtûkhtû had used before his regeneration, in order to see whether he would perceive that it was not among them. The khûtûkhtû, after having cast his eyes over the bells, said to the lama who was next to him: "Why have you not brought me my own bell?" These words being heard, the khans, the vangs, the lamas, and all the people, cried out: "He is the true head of our religion; he is our khûtûkhtû!"

On the 23d of June, one hour after midnight, the amban and the other nobles returned to the temple, around which the people were already assembled. At the third hour (sunrise), the khûtûkhtû was conducted thither by the most aged lamas and seated upon his throne. The amban offered him the presents of the emperor, which consisted of a plate of gold, weighing about twenty-eight pounds, in the middle of which eight precious stones were set. On the plate were placed some khadâks, worth two thousand rubles, and eighty-one pieces of gold and silver cloth. A note written upon each indicated that the manufacture had cost six hundred rubles. Finally, the amban presented eighty-one trays loaded with sweetmeats, and various other things. While offering these things he showed the most profound tokens of reverence to the khûtûkhtû, and accompanied them with felicitations in the name of his sovereign. He concluded by soliciting the benediction of the khûtûkhtû, in the name of the emperor, and addressed him with these words: "Great pontiff, thou who art incorruptible as gold, and whose splendor equals the sparkling of diamonds, protect the empire as thou didst in the time of my father, and shed thy grace and thy protection over my reign."

The khûtûkhtû accepted the presents of the emperor and gave him his benediction by placing his hands upon the head of the amban; afterward he gave his blessing to the lamas and the people; each one, pene-

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trated by the consoling idea of receiving it from the deity himself, advanced one after the other, and manifested a reverence, fervor, and awe, which were most exemplary.

In the afternoon four large tents and an infinite number of small ones were erected a few hundred yards from the temple, inclosing a large space for the exercise of wrestling. The large tents were occupied by the khans and other nobles; the combatants numbered two hundred and sixty-eight on each side, and the struggle continued until evening; the names of the victors were proclaimed, and the vanquished were obliged to leave the inclosure. In the end there remained but thirty-five victors. The wrestling recommenced on the 27th. The weather was extremely warm and the combatants were exhausted with fatigue. Then the khans prayed the lamas to cause it to rain. In half an hour the sky became overcast, and a few drops of rain fell. The faithful attributed this to the power of the lamas, although the heat was but little abated thereby. The wrestling was continued every day until the 3d of July, when the khans and the other nobles, accompanied by the people, repaired with the thirty-five victors to the district of Ourakhoo, on the banks of the Orkhon, thirty-five miles distant.

On the 5th of July there was a horse-race on the banks of the Orkhon, which passed over a distance of twelve miles. There were eleven hundred and ten horses on the course at one time, of which one hundred were declared the best. They received distinguished names, and their masters obtained presents and some privileges. Next day there was at the same place a race of sixteen hundred and twenty-seven horses, six years old. The goal was but ten miles distant. The owners of the hundred which first arrived in like manner received presents. On the 7th a third race took place between nine hundred and ninety-five horses, four years old. They had to pass over a space of eight miles. The owners of the first hundred were likewise rewarded. These three thousand seven hundred and thirty-two horses all belonged to Mongolese of the tribe of Khalkhas. On the same day, after the race, the thirty-five victors of the wrestling-match divided into two parties and contended with each other. The seven best among these were conducted back to the Ourga.

During these contests three hundred archers shot with arrows at a target one hundred and fifty feet distant. Each one shot four times in succession; twenty-five who hit the mark every time, or even three times only, were declared excellent archers. The victors had a contest among themselves next morning. On the 8th they erected, near the dwelling of the khûtûkhtû, a richly-decorated tent, into which he was conducted by the hand. They then brought in several idols and placed before him, and burned perfumes in silver censers. He was seated on his throne and the others took their seats around, when tea was served. After the khûtûkhtû had tasted it, it was poured out in silver cups to the rest; all who had no cups received it in the hollow of the hand.

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Each one drank it with intense satisfaction, as holy water, actually received from the hands of the khûtûkhtû. Afterward the seven wrestlers recommenced their combat, which lasted from ten in the morning until midnight. A Mongolese, named Bahay Ikaidzan (the great solid elephant), of the troop of the vang Tsétsen, was the final victor. The wrestling ended, the khûtûkhtû was conducted back to his habitation with the same ceremonies by which he had been taken to the tent; then every one retired to his home.

On the 11th of July, at four o'clock in the morning, the khans and the other nobles assembled in the dwelling of the khûtûkhtû and deliberated until evening upon the names to be given to the victors in archery and wrestling, names destined to make them known to the nation and to preserve their glory for posterity. The name of *Lion* was unanimously given to the first wrestler, who already bore that of *great solid elephant;* the others in like manner received, in order, the names of courageous animals or birds. The first wrestler received a gun, a coat of mail, fifteen oxen and cows, fifteen horses, a hundred sheep, a camel, a thousand bricks of tea, some pieces of satin, and several skins of foxes and otters. The others had gifts proportioned to their strength and agility. Similar prizes were distributed among the archers; the last wrestler and the last archer each received two cows and two sheep. The festival terminated on the 12th of July.

M. Timkovski applied to be presented to the khûtûkhtû, but was informed through his messengers by the vang that the pontiff was too much fatigued by the long journey he had just completed, during which he had given his benediction to more than a hundred thousand of the faithful. At the same time Timkovski requested that the mission be furnished with four yourtes, and with wood and water, at each place of encampment between the Ourga and Khalgan; but the request was not granted. When Idam came in afterward he explained that the vang had neither the power nor the right to order that the mission be furnished with yourtes, first, because they traveled by a route upon which there were no fixed stations; secondly, because his authority as governor-general of Khalkha did not extend beyond the territory bordering on the Russian frontier. Idam assured them, however, that they should not be in want of yourtes on the route. As to the interview with the Ghegèn-khûtûkhtû, he said it was not forbidden to strangers, but they were aware he was only a child without experience, who knew only his native tongue; how then would they render their homage to him? Besides, this divine child, like all the people, was in mourning for the emperor. Next year, on their return, they might see him; he was now occupied in receiving the faithful, and the offerings which they brought.

On the 20th, the travelers of the mission went to see the city, mounted on Mongolese horses, and accompanied by their friends of the place. They

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first visited the temple and the habitation of the khûtûkhû. The inclosure was so high that it prevented them from seeing the structure of the buildings. The temples were built in a north and south direction, and the roofs were painted green; one of them was surrounded by gilded palissades. At some distance from the temples was a large wooden edifice, the school in which the lamas learn to read Thibetan, and to play upon the instruments employed in their religious music. These temples and other public edifices are on a large square. The inhabitants of the city live in yourtes, some of which are shaded by willow-trees. The streets are so narrow that two men on horseback can scarcely pass each other. On the 24th, the conductors came to them from the yamoun, or tribunal, with the information that the vang, on consideration that they had entered the Celestial Empire in virtue of an inviolable treaty, made under the reigning dynasty, had resolved to let them continue their journey, and that in case he should receive from Pekin any orders concerning them, he would make them known to them on their route. This intelligence was received with great joy; M. Timkovski immediately gave orders that all preparations should be made for setting out on the morrow.

From Kiakhta to the Ourga they seemed to be still in the provinces bordering on the Russian frontier, from the great similarity in the scenery and productions, but as soon as they had passed the Tola, they found themselves on a different soil. They here drank a glass of fresh water, the last that was to moisten their lips in the vast space to be traversed before reaching the Great Wall of China. They were now in the arid and gloomy deserts of Mongolia. They left the Tola by a valley ascending between high mountains, from which they emerged on an elevated position commanding the view of an immense plain, covered with stones. To the left, rose the naked rocks which border on the Tola. The Mongolese believe that one of the caverns of these mountains contains immense treasures of gold and silver, which the robbers concealed there in former times; but that frightful precipices and noxious vapors effectually cut off all approach. As they advanced, the mountains became lower and less difficult; they no longer saw deep precipices or lofty heights; every thing indicated the vicinity of the plain of Gobi, the most extensive of Middle Asia.

In the evening of October 1st, Idam visited them at their tent, and in the course of conversation related some events of the life of Khung-ming, a famous Chinese general. The kingdom of Chu being invaded by the enemy, Khung-ming erected a statue of stone, which held a sword in one hand, and in the other a book with poisoned leaves. The hostile general, on arriving at the statue, went to it and began to read the book, which he found interesting. As he frequently touched his fingers to his mouth, to moisten them with saliva in order to turn the leaves more easily, he soon felt the effects of the poison. When he wished to go away he could not, his coat of mail being attracted by the pedestal, which

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was of loadstone. Enraged at his embarrassing situation, he laid hold of the sword which the statue held in the other hand, and struck it. This act was still more disastrous to him; the blow struck out sparks, which set fire to some combustible matter in the statue, and the explosion killed him. His affrighted army was forced to retreat.

On one occasion, Khung-ming was in front of the enemy, from whom a river separated him. His camp being up the stream, he sent down in the night, in boats, some straw mannikins of natural size, each of which held a kindled match in his hand. The boats were borne by the current to the camp of the enemy, who, seeing them filled with armed soldiers, made such haste to attack them with arrows, that they soon emptied their quivers. Khung-ming, who had foreseen this, passed the river and gained a complete victory over the troops which no longer expected an attack.

October 3d, at three o'clock, they reached the station of Boro khujir, situated among narrow defiles near Mount Darchan. The weather being fine, M. Timkovski determined to visit this mountain, which is associated, by the Mongolese, with the memory of Genghis Khan. He set out at six o'clock, accompanied by monk Israel and a Cossack officer. On leaving the station, they followed with much difficulty some ravines formed by the rains, and then passed over immense beds of granite blocks to the summit. This mountain extends from north to south, and its lofty back is composed of steep rocks of red granite, among which grow the altagan (*robinia pygmæa*) and other shrubs. Upon its southern height, to the foot of which they had ascended, stood an *abo* of stones, built by the Mongolese, who repair thither every summer to celebrate the memory of Genghis Khan. From this point the view was very extensive; to the eastward were eight salt lakes, and beyond them rose the blue mountains of Kherrulun; on the west, was an immense extent of country, covered with pointed elevations.

On the afternoon of the 10th, M. Timkovski visited some ruins of ancient Mongolian architecture, near the station of Tsulghetoo, where they had encamped for the night. Having gone two miles across a plain opening to the east they reached a mountain whose declivity, for the space of a mile and a half, was covered with the ruins of stone edifices. Idam informed them that three hundred years ago or more, a Mongolese Taidzi, or descendant of princes, named Saïnkhung (beautiful swan), inhabited these places. These remains had been his temples. Several altars and other edifices of colossal dimensions, indicated the wealth and magnificence of that prince. These crumbling structures were covered with moss and weeds; the foundations were granite, the walls of sun-dried bricks, cemented with clay mixed with gravel, instead of lime. The changes of heat and moisture had worn away the clay while the gravel remained. One building, of a circular form, was ornamented with a stone cornice, composed of three rows. In a large temple, and in other edifices were vaulted niches, probably destined for

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the reception of offerings. In the court, which was paved with stone, they saw broken tiles of a green color, and a stone vat. These ruins, once inhabited by some descendant of Genghis Khan, now served as a retreat for herds of cattle; the subjugated Mongolese rarely visit these places, which remind them of their ancient splendor and independence.

On the 15th of October they encamped at Soumé, that is to say, the Temple on the Mountain of Serpents. To the left of the station was a temple upon the declivity of the Abourgà (Serpent). It is said that these reptiles were formerly found there, but they saw none. They visited the temple which, according to the rules of Thibetan architecture, fronted the south. The nephew of Idam, who was our guide, sent for the warden, who conducted them by the principal entrance into the vestibule, where they saw four wooden idols of colossal size. Two were covered with armor, like warriors; the first was red, and held in his hands a twisted serpent; the second was white, having in his right hand a parasol, which in China distinguishes rank, and in the left a mouse; the third had a blue face, and held in his hand a sword; the fourth which was yellow, played upon the lute. These were *Tengrees* or Maharansa khans, who live two thousand and five hundred years. They are seven hundred and eighty feet in height; they watch over the happiness of men upon the earth, and dwell in four different regions of Mount Soumé, which is the center of the universe and the abode of tutelary divinities. This mountain has seven gilded summits and extends seventy thousand miles toward each of the four quarters of the world.

On the 19th they reached Erghî, the last station of the country of Khalkha. Toward evening Idam came to give notice of his departure for the Ourga. They experienced a deep regret at parting with a man who by his zeal in their behalf had acquired a claim upon their gratitude. Before their departure on the 21st, the bitkheshi begged M. Timkovski to prevent his people from shooting the crows, as they had done on their arrival at Erghi, pretending that the storm of the preceding day had been caused by this slaughter. In order to satisfy this old man they promised to kill no more, although these birds were very annoying to the camels, for when they saw from a distance the blood that came from the wounds caused to these animals by the rubbing of their burdens, they straightway descended upon their backs. The wind still continued to blow so hard that they could not remain on horseback. On approaching Mount Argali they saw on the heights a troop of gazelles. The ascent was through deep ravines, amid bold mountain scenery, but when they had attained the heights they saw the steppe spread out before them as far as the eye could reach. The places which were more than twenty miles distant presented a blue appearance, so that the plain bore some resemblance to an agitated sea. They had before them the ascent to the highest plateau of middle Asia, which properly

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bears the name of Gobi. The rainy summer of this year had caused a little herbage to grow upon this steppe, usually naked and sterile; but in a time of drouth, it is truly the country of affliction; the cattle die of hunger and thirst.

On the 27th M. Timkovski visited Mount Bathkai, near the station of that name. From its summit, as from that of Darkhàn, were seen on all sides vast plains upon which numerous herds were pasturing; in some places they saw black yourtes, like islands on an immense lake. In looking over these deserts it is difficult to believe that the inhabitant of the Gobi enjoys a tolerable existence; he is deprived of wood, and has not the things most necessary to the simplest wants of life. At the beginning of summer he prays heaven to grant him rain, which rarely waters the steppes. During that season the drouth destroys his cattle, his only resource. The same misfortune threatens him in winter; snow and frost cover the earth and deprive his animals of the only herbage which can furnish them the means of subsistence. The Mongolese informed them that five years before, the whole steppe of Gobi was afflicted with a mortality among the cattle so great that many proprietors saved but twenty-five horses out of five hundred, and four oxen out of two hundred. The inhabitants had not yet recovered this unusual loss.

This unpleasant passage continued for seven stations, or one hundred miles; until reaching the dwellings of the Tsakhar Mongolese, they saw on all sides nothing but a sea of sand and pebbles. Such is the steppe of Gobi; like the African desert of Sahara. The road passed over on the 1st of November was the most fatiguing of the whole journey. The country was mountainous; the surface, formed of mingled sand and clay, was almost impassable on account of the rain; the mountains were covered with snow; the horses and camels were so fatigued by the violence of the wind, by the cold, the long stages, the bad food and briny water, during the eleven days' passage across the territory of the Sunites, that six of the camels sunk beneath their loads, and six draught-horses were entirely worn out. The cold still increased; the mercury sank to zero on the morning of the 3d, and on the 4th it was two degrees below. They crossed a sandy mountain this day, over which the road was uneven and toilsome. They frequently saw yourtes by the way, and a great many cattle; they also met large caravans, loaded with tea, on their way to Kiakhta.

One day they were much surprised to find lying in the road, in a leather sack, the body of an infant one year old. Upon the sack was a small piece of sheepskin, a little millet, and a small loaf of bread. This was an ordinary mode of burying the dead among the Mongolese. The priests of Buddha, to subjugate the minds of their followers, have represented death under a frightful image. The dying devotee sends for a lama, to secure the welfare of his body and the salvation of his soul; the priest, after making inquiries respecting the day and the hour of the pa-

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tient's birth, the accompanying circumstances, and all the events of his life, pronounces, according to the sacred books and the laws of astrology, whether the body shall be burned or cast into the water; whether it shall be exposed in a kind of cage, or covered with stones, etc. There are some exceptions: for instance, they do not bury a man who has been hung; whoever dies in consequence of tumors, can not be burned; they do not cast into the water those who have been drowned in an inundation, or struck by lightning, or devoured by the flames; they do not bury upon a mountain any one who has died of a contagious disease; in a word, one can not without a reason, throw wood into the fire, fire and earth into water, carry wood upon a mountain or into a forest. Such are the laws of the Buddhists. The most usual manner of disposing of the dead is to transport them into a steppe, and there leave them, abandoned to wild beasts and birds of prey. But even in this case the lama decides which quarter of the world the head must be turned toward; a weather-vane is planted in the ground, and the direction given to it by the wind determines that in which the deceased shall be placed. For the rest, every thing depends wholly upon the lama, who prescribes in like manner how the corpse must be buried, whether it shall be clothed or left naked, placed in the open air or in an old tent, and determines which of his effects or what objects should be added as offerings.

In the night of November 13th two of their horses perished with cold and fatigue. On the summits of the chain of Khinkhan-dabagan mountains, in the south, they could distinguish towers; these were on the frontier between China and Mongolia, which they now perceived for the first time, and with extreme satisfaction. At ten o'clock they reached a small, half-ruined fortification, called Tsagàn-balgassoo, or white-walled city, where they rejoiced in having happily passed over the steppes, with their snows and sands and impetuous, icy winds. Here they made inspection of their horses, camels, and oxen, a part of which were to be left until March, in the following year. On the morning of the 16th they entered a deep valley among the Khinkhan mountains, and passed a fort on a small elevation. The animals went on with great difficulty; the cold became so intense that it was impossible to keep warm, even by walking. Still they had fifteen miles to go before reaching a station. Their embarrassment increased when a few miles further they were obliged to cross over mountains where their animals slipped and fell at every step on the ice, or plunged into deep snows. At this place they passed a post of Mongolese sentinels, in several yourtes. They began to see indications of the vicinity of a commercial city; they continually met caravans, chariots, and riders mounted on camels and horses. Soon afterward they reached the chain of mountains which separates Mongolia from China. On their summits extends a stone rampart, with square brick towers at equal distances from each other.

From this point China appears in colossal forms. Southward, eastward, and westward, nothing was seen but snow-covered mountains,

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whose pointed summits reached the clouds. The descent for three miles to the Chinese village of Nor-tian, is by a narrow road which was very dangerous at that season; beyond that village the traveler sees high mountains whose threatening summits give a wild character to the district. Such is the aspect of the country at the place where they descended from the high steppes of Mongolia to the lower heights of China. They halted at the first Chinese village; it was with pleasure they entered a house, having seen nothing since leaving the Ourga, a journey of more than seven hundred miles, that reminded them of the customs of sedentary life.

It is about fifteen miles from the first Chinese village to Chang-kia-khéou, or Khalgan. The road is at first narrow and intersected with hills, which are rather steep. The boldness and indefatigable activity of the Chinese laborers attracted the attention of the travelers; the summits of the highest mountains were covered with cultivated fields, and the naked and inaccessible rocks seemed to have been rendered fertile. There were villages and temples on the declivities of the mountains, and several cabins were built against the rocks like birds' nests.

They first saw Khalgan when they arrived at the Great Wall, which is built of bricks between two steep rocks, and is now half-ruined.

At Khalgan, as at the Maimatchin of Kiakhta and the Ourga, it was the custom to fire a cannon at six in the morning and nine in the evening; at the former report every inhabitant is allowed to leave his home, and even, if necessary, to go and see the city authorities, but at the latter this right ceases, except in extraordinary cases. A river divides the city into two parts, the upper and lower town; the former is on the Mongolian frontier, and has its gates in the great wall, which extends across the mountains. Khalgan is not large, and has no remarkable edifices, but is very populous. The inhabitants appeared to have a great curiosity to see the strangers: all day they besieged the doors of their house, and the neighboring roofs were covered with spectators.

On the route from Khalgan to Pekin they gained a good idea of the people of China and their industrious habits. At every step they met people transporting cut straw on mules and asses. Sentinels are placed at regular intervals in a kind of watch-houses which rise like towers, near five small conical columns upon which the distances are marked. The exterior of the watch-towers is embellished with paintings, representing horses, guns, bows and quivers of arrows. These watch-towers serve likewise as telegraphs: if the northern frontier of China is threatened the news is immediately transmitted to Pekin, and the army is at once marched against the enemy. The route led southward, along the banks of the Yang-ho, a shallow river with a very rapid current which, except at the rapids, was now bound in with ice. A portion of the way passes through rugged rocks, which often rise abruptly from the river, whose waters leap tumultuously down the precipice below, while other rocks from the opposite side threaten to crush the traveler. Beyond the

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river rises the Whang-yang-chang, a granite mountain whose pointed peaks are lost among the clouds. The wild and majestic aspect of this region is most impressive to the traveler who has just left the dry and desolate steppes.

After passing the town of Yu-lin-fu on the 28th, the ground was covered with stones and no cultivated fields were seen. They arrived at the foot of high mountains, where they saw a number of ruined tombs. On the summit of the mountains, which rose nearly to the clouds, the great wall appeared. This grand monument, unique in its kind, produces an imposing effect, when we consider that it has existed for several centuries, and that it extends to a great distance over inaccessible mountains.

Two miles from Chah-tao they came to the Great Wall, which they inspected. After passing an arched entrance in the principal tower, they entered a large court, from which they ascended by steps to the top of the Wall. Notwithstanding the centuries which have passed since this structure has been in existence, it is built with such skill and care, that instead of falling in ruins, it is like a stone rampart raised by the hand of nature to protect the northern provinces of China from the invasions of the Mongols, who have not yet wholly lost their warlike character. The Great Wall is composed of two parallel walls with embattled tops, and the interval is filled with earth and gravel. The foundations consist of large rough stones; the rest of the wall is of bricks. It is twenty-six feet high and fourteen wide. The towers, in which there are several brass guns, are about one hundred paces apart. The great tower is falling into decay; the entrance is much damaged, as well as the adjoining wall. There is no longer any thought of repairing it. To give a just idea of this immense structure, it may not be amiss to refer to a calculation of Mr. Barrow, who visited China with Lord Macartney in 1793 and 1794. He reckons the number of houses in England and Scotland to be eighteen hundred thousand. Estimating the mason-work of each at two thousand cubic feet, he supposes that they do not contain as much material as the Great Wall of China, which he says would be sufficient to construct a wall that would reach twice around the earth.

They descended from the mountains on the 30th, and entered the well-cultivated plains of Pe-chee-le, over which they proceeded toward the capital. After passing the suburban city of Cha-ho, the opulence indicating the approach to a large city, began to appear. For several miles before reaching the market-town, Tsing-ho, they passed pleasant country-houses, and the cemeteries of persons of distinction in Pekin. These were characterized by elegant simplicity rather than grand luxury; everywhere they saw the white trunks of cypresses, thick groves of aged willows, and of junipers, which attain the height of the tallest pines. They saw by the way, fifty Mongolese camels, which were carrying butter to the Imperial Court; the foremost camels were ornamented with small strips of yellow cloth fastened to sticks, like flags.

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At nine o'clock next day, they set out from Tsing-ho for Pekin. For nearly four miles they followed an avenue of ancient willows, passing villages and cemeteries on the right hand and left. They soon reached the suburbs of Pekin. Two students of the old mission came to meet them, with four Chinese calashes for the new members, and a saddled horse for M. Timkovski. In the suburbs the noise, the tumult, and the crowd, announced the vicinity of the most populous city of the globe. They soon came out on a large plain, and the walls of Pekin in their full extent lay spread out before them. "Finally, the immense distance between St. Petersburg and the capital of China was passed over. At once forgetting all our fatigues," observes Timkovski, "we, inhabitants of the shores of the gulf of Finland, fancied ourselves transported in an instant, by some supernatural power, to this city which had so long been the object of the dreams of our imagination, and the aim of our desires. With a sentiment of joy each one of us cast his eyes upon the embrasured walls, whose origin is enveloped in the thick shadows of antiquity."

Northward of the plain, they saw the red walls of a temple of Fohi, and at a short distance observed the funeral of a rich Chinese. Two miles from the entrance to this plain they passed the Russian cemetery, where the members of their mission, who die in Pekin, are interred. A little further on, the mission entered with ceremony by the gate Ngang-ting-meng into the capital of China. A crowd of gazers surrounded them. They followed the broad street leading from the gate for a mile and a half, then proceeded by a cross-street to the street Ta-fo-szu, which they traversed in a southern direction two miles to a triumphal arch of wood; thence to the right, along the street Chang-ngang, they passed the temple of Manchoo worship on the left, and the tribunal of foreign affairs on the right. They then crossed the canal, or small river, Yu-ho, on a marble bridge called Pe-khiao, passed the Imperial Palace on the right, went southward along the canal for nearly a mile, then crossed the bridge Chung Yu-ho-khias, turned up the street Tung-kiang-me-kiang, and, at noon, finally entered the Russian court, where they were received by several members of the old mission.

After their arrival, M. Timkovski's health was impaired, partly from the dampness of the house of the embassy, and the exhalations of the coal burned in the apartments; the abbot therefore gave him a room in the convent, which he occupied during the cold weather. The chambers of the convent were heated from beneath the floor; the occupants lived very warm, but the continual heat injured the feet.

All the dwellings of Pekin, from the cabin of the artisan to the palace of the rich man, are of one story, and built of bricks; the court is surrounded by a high stone wall, so that from the street one can see nothing but the roofs. The shops, however, have large paper windows, which occupy nearly the whole front. In most of the houses, in all the shops, and even in the palace of the emperor, remarkable sentences from the philosophers or the celebrated poets are written upon the tapestry of the

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windows, as well as upon paper of various colors. Among the rich the partitions and doors are of precious wood, as camphor, cypress, etc., and adorned with sculptures. Beside the agreeable impression which they make upon the sight, they diffuse a pleasant odor through the apartments. All the roofs are of tiles, green, red, or yellow, which are arranged, like every thing in this country, by fixed rules. Thus the imperial edifices and the temples can alone be covered with yellow tiles; green is for the palaces of personages of high rank; gray tiles are used for other houses.

The Manchoo language is not difficult to learn. Like other Asiatic languages it has its alphabet and grammar; the former resembles the Mongolese; the pronunciation is much more sonorous. The Manchoos, after the conquest of China in 1644, were obliged to complete their language, hitherto poor, as that of a nomadic people, and to perfect it according to the rules of Chinese literature. After two hundred years of sojourn among a numerous and partially civilized people, the Manchoos have become accustomed to their manners and customs, and their language; so that, at present, all classes of them speak Chinese. Even in Pekin there are but few people who understand the Manchoo language; it is employed only in the affairs of state.

On the 3d of January, 1821, the travelers visited the shops of the merchants, situated mostly in the suburb called Vai-le-ching. At the commencement of the street Leoo-le-chang, which is very short and very filthy, there are several book-stores, which sell Chinese and Manchoo books, all bound and well arranged; but on examining them we soon find that many of them are very defective. The Chinese booksellers have a habit of asking five times as much as the books are worth; they endeavor to sell copies in which leaves are missing, or books which are composed of the leaves of three or four different works. One must be wide awake if he would not be cheated by the rascality of the Chinese booksellers; and in fact this distrust is equally necessary in the purchase of other goods. The best books, and principally the historical books, are issued from the imperial press, where the booksellers of Pekin and other cities buy them at a price fixed by government. This press also publishes every other day a gazette containing the extraordinary events which happen in the empire, the ordinances, and especially the list of promotions, the favors granted by the emperor, such as yellow robes and peacock feathers (equivalent to the orders of knighthood, etc., in Europe), the punishment of delinquent mandarins, etc.

Further on, in the same street, are jeweler's shops, where pictures and objects carved out of jasper, ivory, and precious woods, for the decoration of apartments, are sold. The work is well finished. They have also glassware, glazed porcelain, etc., all of the best quality. In like manner one meets with a quantity of articles from the imperial palace, which the eunuchs have the dexterity to carry off, and sell at a mean price to the merchants; they likewise saw English goods, which came by way of Canton.

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Near each of the city gates donkeys are kept saddled for public service. The Chinese mount these animals in order to go from one gate to another; light burdens are also transported upon them. In winter they also pass upon the canal, which is covered with ice. Several persons take places on a kind of sleigh, made of boards, and drawn by a man. It is said that even in summer one can pass from Pekin to the southern provinces in small chariots drawn by men. The vaults near the city walls are inhabited by the poor. It is impossible to form an idea of the miserable and disgusting aspect of these unfortunate beings: almost naked, or covered with matted rags, they drag themselves about among the shops of the commercial quarter to beg alms; after having received a few *chokhi* they return to conceal themselves in their caves.

The Chinese army is composed of four divisions corresponding to the nations which the empire contains. The division composed of Manchoos, numbering nearly sixty-eight thousand men, occupies the first rank. The second division embraces the Mongolese, who entered China with the Manchoos at the epoch of the conquest; it numbers twenty-one thousand. The third division is composed of the Chinese who joined the Manchoos toward the close of the last Chinese dynasty, and numbers twenty-seven thousand. To this division belongs the artillery of the company, consisting of four hundred cannon. These three bodies, numbering over one hundred thousand men, form the Manchoo army, properly speaking, the principal part of which is cavalry. The fourth division is composed of other Chinese, recruited annually; it occupies the garrisons of the interior, and comprises about five hundred thousand men. There are besides nearly twenty-five thousand men of irregular troops, or militia; making a total of six hundred and twenty-five thousand men, of whom nearly one hundred and seventy-five thousand are cavalry. The Chinese soldiers are all married. Their sons are, at their birth, enrolled on the army list; when they are of age they fill the vacant places in the companies.

One day a soldier of the corps of Ojen-chokha, of Pekin, called on the chief of the new mission. He was about forty years of age, the son of a poor soldier, and brought up at the convent of French Jesuits in the city. The latter, who destined him to the station of a Roman Catholic preacher, in the interior provinces of China, wished to send him to Europe to complete his studies, as had been done with his uncle, who had become a distinguished priest among his fellow-countrymen. But during the last persecution of the Jesuits he renounced his calling as priest, believing it his duty to return to his regiment. Besides Chinese, he spoke and wrote Latin and French well, and was otherwise well educated. It was singular to hear a Chinese, clothed and armed in the style of the country, speaking French with fluency. The students of the new mission employed him as private tutor in Chinese, because he spoke Latin well. M. Timkovski presents to his readers a long letter in Latin, written by this soldier to the abbot, in which he transcribes some Chi-

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nese rules of hygiene, containing directions for preserving and prolonging life.

On the 11th of January they visited the temples of Whang-szu. They first passed the temple of the Earth, in a large inclosure surrounded by high walls, where the emperor repairs at the summer solstice to give thanks to the Supreme Being, and to pray for a good harvest. Then they came to the grand central temple, near which were a number of convents, or residences of the priests, and many smaller temples. In the vicinity of the temples stands an obelisk of white marble, which, from the sculptures on its sides, drawn from the history of Buddha, or Fohi, appears to have been raised in honor of that prophet, whose doctrines are followed in Thibet, China, Mongolia, and by the Buriates and the Calmucks. It is an octagonal tower, ninety-four feet high. The top is slender, and is surmounted by a large cap of massive gold, which resembles the hat of the dalai-lama. On the four sides are sculptured marble columns. The obelisk is a beautiful work and cost a large sum of money. Near it is a small château where the emperor rests when he goes to bear his offerings to the temple of the Earth.

In the night preceding January 22d, the dull sound of kettle-drums in the temples announced the new year of the Chinese, which begins with the new moon. In the temple in the Russian court torches of odoriferous wood were kindled, and a lama recited prayers, beating the while on a copper vessel. Toward midnight the princes of the blood and the most distinguished personages assembled in the palace. At sunrise they followed the emperor to the temple of his ancestors, where he performed his devotions according to the prescribed ritual, then returned to the palace to receive the felicitations of the grandees of the empire, and the members of the tribunals of Pekin. On the occasion of the new year the tribunals throughout China are closed for a month, and the great seal of the empire is locked up during the time.

The festival of the new year continues till the middle of the first month. During this time a bell of extraordinary size is exhibited; it is in a convent of the *ho-changs*, or priests of Fohi, two miles south of Pekin. Curious to see all that is permitted to a stranger in this distant country, M. Timkovski, with several of his countrymen, repaired to the convent on the 5th of February. A great number of men and women assemble there during the festival. The inquisitive crowd pressed around the strangers on all sides; happily the soldiers of the police, by the aid of whips, opened the way. Passing a two-story building containing the apartments of the monks, they came to the belfry, in which hangs the bell so renowned in China. It is of copper, and quite blackened by time; its height is thirteen feet, its form conical. It is covered with Chinese characters and weighs about a hundred thousand pounds. The ascent to it is by a rude, dark stairway. Near the top is a small orifice through which the devotees throw copper coins; he who succeeds in passing them through this hole, finds a happy presage in the circumstance. The

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pieces fall on the floor beneath the bell, and during the festival amount to a considerable sum.

They returned by the imperial court of elephants, which a hundred pieces of copper, applied to the sentinels, enabled them to see. The court is very large, and contains a temple, a well, four large buildings for the elephants, and several houses inhabited by the employées of the establishment. The elephants are employed in transporting the vessels with which the emperor performs the sacrifices. These vessels are placed on very large litters, made for the purpose. Four elephants are also taken daily to the court. One of them, in obedience to the voice of his leader, strikes with his trunk upon the floor as many times as he is ordered, another makes a rumbling like the muffled sounds of a drum and utters piercing cries. The greater part of these animals are aged and infirm; many are so gentle that they walk peaceably about the court. The elephants of Pekin are usually brought, at a great expense, from the Birman empire.

On the 12th of February, the abbots Hyacinth and Peter, accompanied by M. Timkovski and a party of Cossacks, proceeded on horseback to visit the Portuguese missionaries, of the convent of the south. Father Ribeira, the superior of the convent, entertained them kindly, and showed them the chapel and other apartments. They had just entered the hall of reception when an officer of the Manchoo police rushed in with a terrible outcry; without waiting for an invitation from the superior he sat down, and addressing the bishop reproached him bitterly for having received visits, although he well knew the access to the convent was forbidden to strangers. The bishop having replied that this did not concern him, the officer, who was much excited, blamed the superior for having exposed him to the danger of losing his place, for the populace, in their curiosity to see the Russians, had assembled before the convent; the crowd had become so great that it was impossible to pass along the street, and disagreeable consequences might result if one of the attorneys-general should be informed of it. Ribeira, mortified at being treated thus in the presence of his guests, after having invited them, in a manner, to show the inhabitants of Pekin how the Portuguese are esteemed by the other Europeans, attempted to calm the officer, but without success. The Manchoo seized a Franciscan monk and led him off to the police to answer for the disorder which the visit of the Russians had caused. Seeing the audacious effrontery of the Manchoo, and the low credit of the Catholics in China, the visitors rose and asked leave to retire and return at a more favorable moment; but the bishop begged them to remain, saying that the Manchoo was drunk, and that such vexations on the part of the Chinese happened frequently.

The 21st of March was the first day of the third moon, in the Chinese calendar; the weather was very bad. Spring, in Pekin, is usually accompanied by impetuous winds. The winter which had just closed,

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and the beginning of the spring were unusually cold for the climate. On the 23d, a great concourse of devotees assembled in the temple to celebrate the first day of the festival of spring. The priests carried the idols to their places and burned perfumes before them, reciting meanwhile the prayers established for the ceremony.

On the 25th of April M. Timkovski sent to the tribunal of foreign affairs a petition relative to their departure from Pekin. They had fixed it, at the latest, on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth moon (15th of May). The petition was taken by the inspector of baggage and the interpreter, accompanied by M. Sipiakov and two Cossacks. It was graciously received by the members of the tribunal, who promised a prompt and favorable decision. After some delays the permission was accorded, and the mission proceeded at once to make preparations for their departure. These were at length completed, and on the 14th of May they were wholly occupied with the final arrangements for setting out; they had now spent five and a half months in the capital of the Chinese Empire.

The climate of Pekin, as described by M. Timkovski, is similar to that of America in the same latitude. The air is salubrious, even for strangers. Epidemic diseases are rare, and the ravages of the pestilence are unknown; every year the waters are covered with ice, from the middle of December until March, sometimes for a shorter period; but the cold is never very severe. When the thermometer ranges from ten to five degrees above zero, Fahrenheit, one suffers less than at St. Petersburg with the same temperature. Spring is the season of squally winds; the heats of summer are oppressive, chiefly in the months of June and July; these heats are accompanied with abundant rains, which moisten the soil, composed of clay and sand; sometimes the waters, in sweeping down from the mountains, destroy villages and commit great ravages. The autumn is the most agreeable season, especially in the months of September, October, and November; then the air is mild, the sky serene, and the weather calm.

Pekin is divided by a high wall into two parts, called King-ching, or Imperial City, and Vai-lo-ching, or southern suburbs. The entire circumference is about fifteen miles. The walls, which are built of bricks, are forty feet high including the battlements, which are about five and a half feet. The thickness of the walls is twenty-one feet, and they are arranged to admit horsemen to ride upon them. There are sixteen gates, nine leading into the Imperial City, and seven to the Chinese town.

The streets are long, wide, and straight; they are not paved, but the earth is solid. The principal ones are about one hundred and twenty-five feet wide; the street named Chang-ngang-kiai, or Great Street of

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Tranquillity, is full one hundred and eighty feet in width. It is the most beautiful street of Pekin; it runs from east to west, and is bordered on the north, in part, by the walls of the imperial palace, on the south by several palaces and tribunals. The houses of the city are very low, often containing only the ground floor; they are of bricks and covered with gray tiles. The tribunals and the palaces of the princes are elevated on a base, and have beautiful entrances; the palaces are covered with green-glazed tiles. The most beautiful edifices of Pekin are the temples; they are large and magnificent, ornamented with columns and covered with superb roofs of white marble. The streets are bordered with shops finely decorated; the splendor and variety of merchandise exposed to the public eye present, in many quarters of the city, a very agreeable sight. It is almost impossible for a stranger to know any thing positive in regard to the population of the capital of China, or that of the empire itself, for the government does not keep correct lists of births and deaths, as is done in Europe; but from various means of information which he obtained, and from his own observations, M. Timkovski estimates the population of Pekin at two millions.

On the 15th of May, 1821, the travelers left Pekin on their return home. The thermometer indicated eighty-four degrees, Fahrenheit, and next day the heat was very great. As they proceeded they perceived mountains in the distance, especially the heights of Kiang-ching, occupied by a brigade of artillery from Pekin; they likewise saw the white walls of the castle of Ming-yuan, and the pyramid near the fountain at which water is drawn for the emperor.

On their journey to Pekin they had seen an ancient temple situated on a mountain near the fortress of Kee-ming, to which the access was very difficult; but as it was near the road, and the weather was now pleasant, they determined to visit it. They accordingly set out from the fort under the guidance of a peasant, but lost their way, and were soon stopped by precipices and rocks. M. Timkovski with several of his companions took a road to the east, and after great difficulties finally reached the temple. The rest of the party, who took a southern route, returned without seeing any thing. The steepness of the mountain, the projecting rocks, the numerous precipices, and the violence of the wind, made them almost despair of attaining their object. Overcome with fatigue they took each other by the hand and were thus continuing their ascent, when the barking of a dog apprised them of their approach to habitations. After another difficult passage, by a route which led to other temples further up, they finally reached the one they were seeking. This temple, like all others, is built of bricks, and composed of several chapels separated from each other and filled with idols; near it was a garden. A gigantic rock seemed ready to fall down upon the temple and crush it. They met with no one but the guardian, who spoke a little Mongolese. A steep, winding path, cut in the rock, led to the top of the mountain. It is difficult to conceive the motives which led to the

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erection of such a monument upon this narrow ledge of the mountain, surrounded by precipices and exposed to tempests. The transportation alone of the materials from the foot of the mountain, two miles distant, would cost a vast amount of labor and enormous expense.

The travelers met with poor lodgings at Khalgan; their neighbors were playing cards and making a great deal of noise. Here they likewise received the disagreeable intelligence that for want of orders from the tribunal of Pekin for the continuation of their journey they would be obliged to remain three or four days. On the 24th of May, having received their permission, they set out upon the route by Nor-tian. They crossed over mountains where there was still a quantity of snow, which had fallen in abundance a few days before. It was still cold on the heights; the wheat and rye had only just sprouted from the ground, while at Pekin the wheat was already in bloom. When they left Nor-tian next morning a thick fog obstructed the view; it cleared away toward noon, and the steppe lay spread out before them. The freshness of the atmosphere and the song of the larks revived in them the hope of soon beholding their native country again.

On the 4th of June they emerged from the high mountains and entered a sandy plain which forms the commencement of the steppe of Gobi. At daybreak next morning the wind blew from the north, and the cold was perceptible, the thermometer indicating forty-three degrees. At the station of Khujir, which they reached on the 9th, the sandy steppe terminated; it has an extent of eighty miles. Beyond this for fifty miles the surface is gravelly and sterile. On the steppe the cold was at times keen and cutting, and at others the heat was oppressive; they sometimes passed over stony heights, sometimes through small valleys inclosing the bed of a dried-up stream. After some days of this kind of traveling they came, on the 19th, to Mount Oolan-khadah, which separates the country of the Sunites from that of the Khalkas. Just before reaching the station of Gashoon that evening they were met by their old friend, the Tussulakhchi Idam.

At length they approached a chain of mountains which seemed to bar up the way before them. At the extremity of a defile they found, on the 21st, the station of Oudé, situated in a stony valley, surrounded by mountains. Oudé, in Mongolese, signifies gate; the name of the defile by which one enters the mountains. North of this defile the desert of Gobi is said properly to begin: a steppe devoid of water, of wood, and of vegetation, which extends two hundred miles, to the habitations of the wandering Tsakhars. After pursuing their route for nearly a month through this desolate region, where the surface is often interrupted by granite hills and stony valleys, they finally, on the 14th of July, discovered the summit of Mount Khan-oola. This mountain is remarkable as the last one in Mongolia, going southward, and the first in returning, that is covered with woods. A few miles further they reached Mount Seoudji, one of the highest of the chain, which they

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ascended with much difficulty by a steep and rocky road; thence by a dangerous descent they came to the station of Seoudji.

It was with extreme satisfaction that they beheld the rapid current of the Tôla, upon whose banks they arrived next day; it formed the boundary of the desert steppes which they had been so long traversing. At five in the evening they arrived at the Ourga. Here they rested a while from the fatigues of the journey, and were meanwhile received in a friendly manner by the vang.

On the 19th of July, they continued their journey. As an especial honor they were escorted to the first station by a dzanghin and ten Mongolese, armed with bows and arrows. The mountains and valleys near the banks of the Burgultai were carpeted with flowers and beautiful verdure; a sight which they had not beheld south of the Ourga. They crossed the Mantagai Mountains, whose rocky sides are covered with pines, birch, aspen, and a variety of shrubs, and came to the Bainoola River on the 25th. Mount Ouloú, which they passed on the 27th, is very picturesque. Its sides are covered with pines, birch and aspen trees, wild roses, etc. The Sharà-gol bathes its foot; the neighboring plain abounds in luxuriant vegetation, sprinkled with elms. Beyond, they saw a temple with its red roof, above which rose a chain of mountains, crowned with forests of pine. In all Mongolia they saw no district so well adapted to agriculture.

On the 31st they reached Ghilan-nor, the last station before Kiakhta. At the extremity of a forest they came in sight of the town. This view made them forget all their toils. The weather was becoming very warm; the mountains around were covered with wheat ready for harvest. Arrived at the station, two interpreters of the custom-house of Kiakhta, in behalf of the director, brought them bread and salt, in congratulation of their happy arrival.

At eight o'clock on the morning of August 1st, they were visited by M. Goliakhovski, the director of the custom-house, and other employées, the ataman of the Buriate light-guard, and two taïdzi of Sélenghinsk, in company with whom, at ten o'clock, they finally entered Kiakhta, and found themselves again on Russian soil.

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CAPTAIN COCHRANE'S

PEDESTRIAN JOURNEY THROUGH SIBERIA.

In the month of January, 1820, Captain John Dundas Cochrane, of the British navy, addressed a letter to the secretary of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, offering to undertake a journey into the interior of Africa, which should have for its object the ascertaining of the course and termination of the Niger. Captain Cochrane had already traversed France, Spain, and Portugal, on foot, and had been for years accustomed to undergo great fatigues and privations, among which he enumerates two trips from Quebec to Lake Ontario in company with six hundred seamen, whose wry faces and swollen feet told him that he was more of a pedestrian traveler than they. He was therefore confident of success in his undertaking, in which he intended to go alone, requiring only to be furnished with the countenance of some constituent part of the government.

The answer from the Admiralty was unfavorable, but the captain, who thought his plan more than ordinarily feasible to one "who had been roasted in some of the worst corners of the West Indies, during a period of nearly ten years' service, without so much as a headache," was not wholly disheartened. "Finding, however," says he, "that a young commander like myself was not likely to be employed afloat, much less ashore, I determined to undertake a journey, varying only the object and the scene, similar to that of the unfortunate Ledyard, viz., to travel round the globe, as nearly as can be done by land, crossing from Northern Asia to America, at Behring's Straits; I also determined to perform the journey on foot, for the best of all possible reasons, that my finances allowed of no other. Having procured two years' leave of absence I prepared to traverse the continents of Europe, Asia, and America."

Having filled his knapsack with such articles as seemed requisite to enable him to wander among the wilds of three quarters of the globe, he left London in the packet-boat for Dieppe, and on the 14th of February set forward through France and Germany, toward St. Peters-

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burg, where he arrived on the 30th of April (O. S.) His route lay through Paris, Frankfort, Leipsic, Berlin, Dantzic, Königsberg, and other important cities, in which he halted to repose from the great fatigues of the journey, and to examine the objects of interest that were to be seen. His clothes were in tatters, and his shoes worn out by this trip of sixteen hundred miles, during an inclement season, yet on his arrival at the Russian capital he cheerfully continued the arrangements for pursuing his journey into the remotest wilds of that empire.

Through the influence of Sir Daniel Bailey, the British Consul General, who was an able advocate of his plans, Captain Cochrane gained the favor of Count Nesselrode, the Foreign Minister, and of Count Kochoubey, to whom his affair was intrusted. He not only obtained the customary passport and a letter to the Governor General of Siberia, but also two official documents signed by the minister, calling upon the authorities of all the towns and provinces lying on his route from St. Petersburg to Kamtchatka, to aid him on his journey, and afford him lawful defense and protection in case of need. The emperor likewise offered him pecuniary assistance in the outset, which he declined.

On the 24th of May (O. S.), he set out from St. Petersburg. He carried a letter of introduction to Prince Theodore Galitzin, who occupied the Imperial Palace at Tzarsko Selo, but on his arrival at midnight, he found the palace wrapped in flames. After mingling awhile with the crowd in extinguishing the conflagration, he retired to the gardens, and spent a few hours of the first night of his journey lying in the open air upon the grass. Having breakfasted with Prince Theodore, he proceeded toward Tosna, where he arrived at seven in the evening. He thus continues the narrative of his adventures next day: "I passed the night in the cottage of a farmer, resigning myself to the attacks and annoyance of such vermin as generally haunt impoverished dwellings, and was therefore proportionably pleased in the morning to pursue my journey. My route was toward Liubane, at about the ninth mile-stone from which I sat down, to smoke a segar or pipe, as fancy might indicate; I was suddenly seized from behind by two ruffians, whose visages were as much concealed as the oddness of their dress would permit. One of them, who held an iron bar in his hand, dragged me by the collar toward the forest, while the other, with a bayoneted musket, pushed me on in such a manner as to make me move with more than ordinary celerity: a boy, auxiliary to these vagabonds, was stationed on the road-side to keep a look-out.

"We had got some sixty or eighty paces into the thickest part of the forest, when I was desired to undress, and having stripped off my trowsers and jacket, then my shirt, and, finally, my shoes and stockings, they proceeded to tie me to a tree. From this ceremony, and from the manner of it, I fully concluded that they intended to try the effect of a musket upon me, by firing at me as they would at a mark. I was, however, reserved for fresh scenes; the villains, with much *sang froid*, seated

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themselves at my feet, and rifled my knapsack and pockets, even cutting out the linings of the clothes in search of bank-bills or some other valuable articles. They then compelled me to take at least a pound of black bread, and a glass of rum, poured from a small flask which had been suspended from my neck. Having appropriated my trowsers, shirts, stockings, and English shooting shoes, as also my spectacles, watch, compass, thermometer, and small pocket-sextant, with 160 roubles (about £7), they at length released me from the tree, and, at the point of a stiletto, made me swear that I would not inform against them—such, at least, I conjectured to be their meaning, though of their language I understood not a word.

"Having received my promise, I was again treated to bread and rum, and once more fastened to the tree, in which condition they finally abandoned me. Not long after, a boy who was passing heard my cries, and set me at liberty. I did not doubt he was sent by my late companions upon so considerate an errand, and felt so far grateful; though it might require something more than common charity to forgive their depriving me of my shirt and trowsers, and leaving me almost as naked as I came into the world.

"To pursue my route, or return to Tzarsko Selo, would, indeed, be alike indecent and ridiculous, but being so, and there being no remedy, I made therefore 'forward' the order of the day; having first, with the remnant of my apparel, rigged myself *à l'Ecossoise*, I resumed my route. I had still left me a blue jacket, a flannel waistcoat, and a spare one, which I tied round my waist in such a manner that it reached down to the knees: my empty knapsack was restored to its old place, and I trotted on with even a merry heart."

Within a few miles he passed between files of soldiers, employed in making a new road, under the orders of General Woronoff. The general received him with kindness, administered food and refreshments, and then offered him clothing, but the captain declined and soon afterward proceeded on his journey. He rode in the general's carriage, which was directed to take him to the first station, but finding carriage-riding cold he preferred walking, barefooted as he was, and in this manner he approached Novgorod next day, passing by the way through many large villages and a fertile and populous country. "Crossing the bridge," he continues, "I entered the city at two o'clock, and immediately waited on the governor. He would have provided me with clothing on the instant; I was, however, hungry, and requested food. The governor smiled, but assented, and I then accepted a shirt and trowsers." Meanwhile he obtained good quarters at the house of a merchant to whom he had a letter of introduction, and who kindly furnished him with a complete refit. As he was pursuing his journey, a few days afterward, he received two rubles as charity from the master of a post-house, from whom he had also received refreshment gratis. "Knowing as I did," says he, "that assistance was at hand, I declined

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the money, although my then distressed state might have warranted my open acceptance of it. I continued my route, and upon my arrival at the next station I found the money in my cap.

"I entered Moscow at eight o'clock on the morning of June 5th, the last stage being distressingly fatiguing. Much rain fell and I was not a little happy to reach the hospitable abode of Mr. Rowan in time for breakfast. The last thirty-two hours I warrant as bearing witness to one of my greatest pedestrian trips—the distance is one hundred and sixty-eight versts, or about ninety-six miles; I have, however, done the same in Portugal."

After leaving Moscow he sometimes traveled by night to avoid the heat of the sun. His way of life seems to have excited an interest among the peasants, who frequently divided their meals and shared their dwellings with him, with the most cordial good will. When he showed them his passports they thought such a favor had never before been granted. At one time we find him washing his linen by the wayside, and then lying down under a bridge to enjoy a sound sleep, while his clothing was dried in the sun; at another sleeping contentedly in the open air, or under such shelter as he chanced to find, after having spent the day without food. Once he halted at midnight near a pretty village on the banks of a lake, where he was greatly charmed with the singing of some boys and girls, accompanied by a simple two-stringed instrument; "but," he continues, "the beauty of the night prompted me to continue my route, and I left the happy villagers for Pogost, twenty-four miles, where I arrived half famished and quite fatigued, not having tasted food during twenty-four hours, and a march of forty miles. Being too jaded to proceed further I thought myself fortunate in being able to pass the night in a *cask;* nor did I think this mode of passing the night a novel one; often, very often, have I, in the fastnesses of Spain and Portugal, passed the night in a similar style. Here I usurp the place of crockery, there I usurped that of wine; here in the land of liberality, there in that of nonentity."

At Lower Novgorod he was entertained by Baron Rode, to whom he carried a recommendatory letter. "He received me kindly," says Captain Cochrane, "placing me for board in his own house; while for lodging I preferred the open air of his garden; there, with my knapsack for a pillow I passed the night more pleasantly than I should have done on a bed of down, which the baron most sincerely pressed me to accept. His excellency the governor received me with customary attention; but I was not so fortunate as to meet his amiable lady, an Englishwoman. The truth was, her servant would not admit me, judging, no doubt, from the length of my beard and the shabbiness of my dress, that I must be a Jew, or something worse. Thus denied, I embarked, in a freak of fancy, on board a lighter bound to Kazan, the better to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the Volga." The captain en-

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tered as one of the crew, working his passage, and arrived at Kazan on the 22d of June, after a passage of twelve days.

On the 25th he set forward in a vehicle furnished by the governor, which conveyed him to Perm in four days. He was so thoroughly fatigued by the jolting, and was, moreover, so little pleased with the severity of the postillion toward the peasantry, that he was glad to resume his journey on foot. In a few days he reached the Ural Mountains, and crossing the boundaries between Europe and Asia, arrived at Jekatharinenburg.

"On reaching the Asiatic side of the Ural chain," he observes, "I could not help remarking that the inhabitants of all the villages were much more civil, more hospitable, and more cleanly dressed; and in no one instance would they accept of money for the food I had occasion to procure. I never entered a cottage but *shtshee* (a cabbage soup), with meat, milk, and bread were immediately placed before me unasked; nor could any entreaty of mine induce them to receive a higher reward than a pipe of tobacco, or a glass of *vodka* (whisky). In short, to prevent uselessly troubling the inhabitants, I was obliged to consign my nearly exhausted purse to the care of my knapsack, renouncing the hackneyed and unsocial custom of paying for food. Among other proofs of their civility, or rather of the interest which Russians take in foreigners, as well as the means they have of making themselves understood, one very strong one occurred to me in a small village. I had learned so much of the language as to know that *kchorosho* is the Russian word for *well*, but not that *kchudo* was the translation for *bad*. My host being a good sort of a blunt fellow, was discoursing upon the impropriety of traveling as I did. As I could not comprehend him, I was impatient to go, but he persisted in detaining me till he had made me understand the meaning of *kchudo*. My extreme stupidity offered a powerful barrier to his design; but a smart slap on one cheek and a kiss on the other, followed by the words *kchudo*, and *kchorosho*, soon cured my dullness, and I laughed heartily in spite of this mode of instruction."

After reaching Tobolsk, he resolved to make an excursion, by way of Omsk, to the Chinese frontier. The Governor General accordingly supplied him with a Cossack, as well as a special order for horses, if he should deem them necessary, and for every assistance he might require. At the Tartar villages beyond Tobolsk, he was hospitably received, but after he had advanced into the steppe he met with an unpleasant incident, which he thus relates: "At Toukalinsk, I had the misfortune to lose what was to me my all—my passport, papers, and every protection in Siberia. In vain I addressed the commissary; in vain I offered a guinea for their recovery; in vain I pointed out the rogue who had taken them in the tin case from the seat while I was at dinner. I begged, intreated, insisted, threatened, abused; all was to no purpose; and I was finally constrained to go without them. By this terrible disaster I

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was entirely deprived of all testimony of myself, my connections, or the object of my journey, and lay at the mercy of any one who might choose to provide me with large but cheap lodgings.

"On my arrival at Omsk, I of course presented myself to the ispravnick, or head commissary, and made known my loss in as good language as I could. I failed in making him understand me, but he humanely gave me good lodgings until he could procure the presence of one of the military officers, to act as an interpreter. This was done the next day. In the mean time, I addressed a letter to the Governor General and governor of Tobolsk, requesting an attested copy of the documents I had lost, and which I had taken the precaution to have made there. The police-master invited me to dine with him, though he confessed he could not understand either my object or character. He was, however, soon satisfied by the arrival of an express with my passports, etc., all complete. Thus was I, from a state of suspicion and surveillance, again restored to society. I should be very ungrateful, were I not to do justice here to the conduct of the commissary, who kindly went eighty miles, upon my account, to enforce the return of the papers, which, being in a tin case, induced the party to suspect money was there. All that I had, was, however, in my knapsack, and that did not amount to £5.

"Omsk is situated on the eastern bank of the Irtysch, at the junction of the Om. The surrounding country is a vast, level plain, the soil of which is fertile, though not extensively cultivated. Opposite, is the territory of the wandering Kirghiz; presenting no appearance of cultivation or dwellings. A considerable trade is carried on with them, as also with the Calmucks to the south, which consists in the barter of cattle, etc., for tobacco and spirits. Several children of each of these tribes are to be seen in Omsk, who are slaves, having been sold by their parents for a pound of tobacco or a glass of spirits.

"The Calmucks, who, like the Kirghiz, make no scruple to dispose of their children upon any momentary distress or want of spirits, are yet a different race, both with respect to features and origin. They are, however, their equals in idleness, and filth, and follow the same vagabond way of life. The Calmucks are, notwithstanding, the direct descendants of the Mongolese, who emigrated hither after the destruction of their empire. Very few are subject to Russia, a great part of them living in Chinese Mongolia, while the rest of them, under the protection of Russia, roam about the countries situate between the Don and Volga and the Ural mountains. Their features will forever mark them, in whatever part of the world; the flat face, small and elongated eyes, broad nose, high cheek bones, thick lips, and brownish yellow complexion, are sure signs of their Mongolian descent. They are obliging, but inquisitive and dishonest; yet, with a little Russian education and discipline, they make good servants. I ate and drank with them, as also with the Kirghiz, upon roasted meat, without bread, or any thing else, save a glass of spirits and a pipe of tobacco."

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Leaving Omsk, Captain Cochrane, attended by a military Cossack, proceeded southward by the line of fortresses on the right bank of the Irtysch, and in a few days reached Semipalatinsk, a fortress with nearly one thousand soldiers. "I quitted Semipalatinsk late in the evening," he writes, "and directed my steps for Ubinsk, along the banks of a little stream which gives name to the fortress, and which unites with the Irtysch. I had entered a kibitka which was passing the same way, and at some distance observed the postilion turn off suddenly to the right. My mind misgave me, because in no instance before had I deviated from the high-road. I recollected, also, that the Cossack and postilion were both half drunk, and had been in earnest and secret conversation; I therefore determined to quit by a short movement. It was ten at night, and we were in a low thick brushwood, when, taking my knapsack, I suddenly quitted the vehicle, informing them, as well as I could by signs, and an obstinate persistence not to go their way, that if they were bound as they had pretended they would follow me. I continued alone, and regained the main road; the vehicle also tacked and came after me, but I refused to re-enter it, and marched on to the next station, keeping them at a respectful distance all the way. On my arrival I discharged the Cossack, without, however, reporting his conduct to the German commandant, as I perhaps ought to have done."

At Bukhtarminsk he procured a guide and went on toward the boundary. Having arrived at Macaria, he thus proceeds: "The night was so beautiful, the moon just ascending above the hills, that, in spite of a good supper which was ready and inviting my attack, I resumed my journey on horseback, in company with the landlord, to Malaya-Narymka, the last Russian spot on the frontier. An officer and a few men placed here, are all that are left to mark the boundaries of two such mighty empires as Russia and China. I forded the little stream which forms the actual limit, and seating myself on a stone on the left bank, was soon lost in a reverie. It was about midnight; the moon, apparently full, was near her meridian, and seemed to encourage a pensive inclination. What can surpass that scene I know not. Some of the loftiest granite mountains spreading in various directions, inclosing some of the most luxuriant valleys in the world; yet all deserted!—all this fair and fertile tract abandoned to wild beasts, merely to constitute a neutral territory! To the first Chinese settlement it is eighty miles; I would fain have visited it, but durst not without previous notice, and for this ceremony could ill spare the time."

Returning, he embarked on the Irtysch and descended the river by stages to Udinsk, whence he proceeded, with a Cossack, to Barnaoul. On his arrival he found great preparations for receiving the Governor General Speranski, whom he was anxious to meet. His excellency arrived on the second day, and Captain Cochrane met him at the public dinners given in his honor, where he himself became a conspicuous object. His hair and beard were long, he wore a long swaddling gray

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nankeen coat, and a silken sash around his waist: "Indeed," remarks the captain, "so great a buck had I become of late that I hardly knew myself." Having laid his plans before the Governor General, the captain continues: "He told me that there was an expedition on the river Kolyma, fitted out purposely to solve the question regarding the north-east cape of Asia; and his excellency kindly offered me his permission to proceed with it. Too glad to accept a favor of the kind, I instantly closed with the offer, and determined not to wait a moment in Irkutsk and Yakutsk beyond the necessary time, but to proceed immediately to the Frozen Sea, either to share the fortune, good or bad, of the expedition, or, in case of any impediment from jealousy, to withdraw and follow some other plan. The Governor General supplied me with various orders and recommendations for whatever places I should visit."

With this valuable recommendation he hastened forward, attended by a Cossack. At Tomsk, the governor presented him with fifty rubles, a watch, a pair of spectacles, and a few articles of wearing apparel, making part of the effects of which he had been robbed near St. Petersburg. Beyond Tomsk, the route lay through a dreary, woodless waste, where the villages were numerous, but miserable in the extreme, excepting those inhabited by Tartars; and afterward, as the country became more hilly, the roads grew worse, until on approaching Krasnojarsk they were so nearly impassable that he preferred walking. In the government of Irkutsk the road improved, and the country appeared more fertile.

On arriving at Irkutsk, he was received in a flattering manner by the commandant of the navy, and was induced to take up his abode with him. "Having made myself as decent as my limited wardrobe would allow," he continues, "I called on the vice-governor, who made great promises, and exceeded them in performance. Upon quitting his excellency, I made some visits, and delivered my letters of recommendation, made inquiries as to my future movements, and then returned to an elegant dinner with my host, who had invited a party of twenty persons to meet me.

"Next morning, in company with Captain Koutigin, I left the Admiralty House, which is two miles from the city, to view whatever is notable in Irkutsk. Fifteen thousand inhabitants, including three thousand of the military, are said to compose the population. Irkutsk indeed scarcely deserves the name of city, except for its public buildings, which are good; yet, though I confess it is upon the whole a fine town, I could not but feel disappointment from its total want of original plan, as well as its present want of regularity, which must retard its advancement for a long time to come. Tobolsk is certainly its superior in every thing except its situation, and the singularly fine appearance of a few buildings, public and private.

"My stay in Irkutsk was but a week, when, being furnished with a fresh Cossack, and with every assistance I desired to enable me to reach the river Lena, I set out, a little melancholy at parting with such kind

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friends. At seven miles I had a last view of the city. The country became very elevated, and the road lay over hill and dale as far as the fifth station. With the exception of some little corn, the land is one uninterrupted pasture. The inhabitants, Russians, are pretty numerous, and their villages, though small, occur at frequent intervals. The post-houses are good and convenient halting-places.

"I soon reached Vercholensk, a large and populous town, distant one hundred and fifty miles from Irkutsk. The road is by dangerous precipices, and at this place the communication by land ceases, a circumstance at which I was not a little rejoiced, longing to be again upon my own element. I soon procured a canoe and a couple of hands, who, with the Cossack and myself, paddled down the stream. Proceeding day and night in my open canoe, I generally made one hundred to one hundred and twenty miles each day, and wherever I went, fared well from the hospitality of the Russian colonists, as well as from that of my friends at Irkutsk, who had provided me, according to the Russian proverb, with plenty of *bread and salt.* This simple sounding provision also included some fine partridges, a hare, a large piece of roast beef, and a quantity of meat pies; not omitting wine and rum. A traveler in Russia, whether native or foreigner, on taking leave of his friends previous to his departure, uniformly finds at his lodgings all the provisions requisite for his journey, with another lodging pointed out at some friend's upon his next route, for as long as he pleases. Indeed I have no doubt, as the sequel will justify the assertion, that a man may travel through the Russian Empire, as long as his conduct is becoming, without wanting any thing—not even horses and money; excepting only the *civilized* parts between the capitals.

"Pursuing my voyage, I reached Vittim, which is half way to Yakutsk, upon the eighth day. Here I was first overtaken by the ice floating down the river, yet not so as to incommode me, and I had enjoyed the luxury of fine autumnal, though cold, weather. Sometimes the boat was so much entangled in the ice, that the poor fellows were compelled to strip and track her, up to their waists in water, while the atmosphere was twenty-five degrees of Fahrenheit; I could perceive that they suffered a good deal in consequence, for upon their return to the boat, they could not tell which part of their body to restore first to proper animation. Their great resort, I invariably found, was to take a mouthful of smoke from their pipe—not, however, of tobacco; the greater part at least being birch-wood dust, or fine shavings, mixed with a very scanty portion of tobacco, the latter article being extremely dear: if to this luxury can be added, however small, a drop of brandy, they will cheerfully, and even thankfully, undergo the repetition of the suffering. At one of these villages, I resumed my knapsack, and in three days reached Olekminsk, the last thirty miles on horseback.

"From Olekminsk to Yakutsk is about four hundred miles, which, except the two last stages, I completed in the canoe. It was on the 1st of

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October that I left, and the 6th when I arrived. The weather proved very cold, and snow fell heavily; the atmosphere dark, and having every appearance of winter: yet, upon the whole, the season is considered backward, as on the 1st of October the Lena is generally frozen over, and in three weeks more admits of travelers with sledges; but at this time I was enabled to reach within fifty or sixty miles by water, although with some risk and difficulty.

"Yakutsk, although a considerable place of trade, and a great pass for the American Company, is ill built, and more scattered even than Irkutsk, in the most exposed of all bleak situations, on the left bank of the Lena, which is in summer four miles, and winter two miles and a half, wide, appearing, as it really is, one of the finest streams in the world, running a course of more than three thousand miles from its source, near Irkutsk, to the Frozen Sea, which it enters by several mouths. There are seven thousand inhabitants in the city, of whom the greater part are Russians, and the rest Yakuti. Half a dozen churches, the remains of an old fortress, a monastery, and some tolerable buildings, give it some decency of appearance, yet I could not help thinking it one of the most dreary-looking places I had seen, though I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, and therefore the less disposed to complain.

"I remained in Yakutsk three weeks, making the needful preparations for my journey during so severe a season of the year. In particular I looked to the nature of my dress, for the accounts of the cold which I should have to encounter were such, that I considered myself exposed to death, without even the satisfaction of expecting to be buried, from the eternal frost that prevails here. Could, however, this feeling be gratified, the satisfaction would be materially increased by the knowledge that the body itself would enter the next world in the same state that it left this; for everywhere to the north of Yakutsk, the earth, two feet and a half below the surface, is perpetually frozen; consequently a carcase buried in it at that depth must remain perpetually the same.

"The way I passed my time at Mr. Minitsky's was sufficiently regular; I rose early, and always went early to bed; occupied, while daylight lasted, with bringing up my journal; then at a game at billiards; afterward at dinner, always on the most excellent fare, with wine, rum, and other delicacies. In the evening, with a party of the natives, male and female, at the house of the chief; the ladies to all appearance dumb, not daring to utter a word, and solely employed in cracking their nuts, a very small species of the cedar-nut, which abounds in such quantities as to be made an article of trade to Okotsk and Kamtchatka. I am not exaggerating, when I say that half a dozen of females will sit down and consume each many hundreds of these nuts, and quit the house without having spoken a word—unless a stolen one, in fear it should be heard. While the ladies are thus cracking their nuts, staring, and listening, and speechless, the gentlemen are employed in drinking rum or rye-brandy punch, as their tastes may dictate. Nor is even good rum a scarce

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article here, coming as it does by way of Kamtchatka. I was one feast-day on a visit to a respectable old gentleman, one of the council; there were no chairs, but a long table was spread, with fish pies, a piece of roast beef, boiled deers' tongues, and some wild berries in a tart. The first thing presented is a glass of brandy, which I refused, knowing the chief to have sent some good wine; this I was offered, and accepted, when I was told by my friend the chief, that it was not the custom to accept any thing of that kind the first time, but to await the third. Relying upon the chief's better knowledge of the Siberian world, I refused the next glass of wine, which was offered me twice, and need not say I ultimately lost it, probably from the practice of economizing good wine in a place where it can seldom be purchased.

"My dresses completed, and the river having, according to custom, been passed and declared closed, I packed up my knapsack and other baggage, as I was provided also with a couple of bags of black biscuit through the kindness of my host, with a piece of roast beef, a few dried fish, half a dozen pounds of tea, and twenty pounds of sugar-candy, besides fifty pounds of tobacco, and a keg of vodkey (corn-brandy), a most indispensable article on such a journey, whether for my own or others' consumption. I had besides a pipe, flint, steel, and ax, and, what was of most importance, a Cossack companion, who indeed proved invaluable to me. My destination was Nishney Kolymsk, distant about one thousand eight hundred miles, which were to be traveled over in the coldest season of the year, and in what is esteemed the coldest part of the north-east of Asia."

He left Yakutsk on the last day of October, the thermometer being at twenty-nine degrees below zero, and after a wearisome journey of two days, alternately walking and riding, alike to escape the fatigue and the cold, he arrived at the banks of the Aldan, where he thus proceeds with his narrative: "On the 6th of November I crossed the Aldan, and breakfasted at a solitary yourte (at ten miles), completing in the evening thirty miles, where we halted in a cabin about ten feet square. Had it, however, been much worse or smaller, I must have felt thankful, for I had been severely pinched by the effects of the cold and the wind in my face. A good fire, a cup of tea, and a sound slumber, with pleasant dreams, perfectly refreshed me by the ensuing morning. The country had of late been level, but at twenty miles I became enveloped in a lofty chain of mountains, which I had been for some time gradually ascending, and which are called the Toukoulan chain, from the word Touku, which, in the Yakut language, signifies "noisy;" as indeed the river of that name does roar down its precipitous banks. We halted for the night at the foot of a mountainous peak, sheltered from the cold north wind; and as this was the first night which I was to pass in the open air, I shall describe the manner of it, in order that it may be known how far (contrary to my calculations) our situation was susceptible even of comfort.

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"The first thing on my arrival was to unload the horses, loosen their saddles or pads, take the bridle out of their mouths, and tie them to a tree in such a manner that they could not eat. The Yakuti then with their axes proceeded to fell timber, while I and the Cossack, with our lopatkas, or wooden spades, cleared away the snow, which was generally a couple of feet deep. We then spread branches of the pine-tree, to fortify us from the damp or cold earth beneath us: a good fire was now soon made, and each bringing a leathern bag from the baggage, furnished himself with a seat. We then put the kettle on the fire, and soon forgot the sufferings of the day. At times the weather was so cold that we were almost obliged to creep into the fire; and as I was much worse off than the rest of the party for warm clothing, I had recourse to every stratagem I could devise to keep my blood in circulation. It was barely possible to keep one side of the body from freezing, while the other might be said to be roasting. Upon the whole, I passed the night tolerably well, although I was obliged to get up five or six times to take a walk or run for the benefit of my feet. While thus employed, I discovered that the Yakuti had drawn the fire from our side to theirs, a trick which I determined to counteract the following night. I should here observe, that it is the custom of the Yakuti to get to leeward of the fire, and then, undressing themselves, put the whole of their clothes as a shelter for the outer sides of their bodies, while the inner side receives a thorough roasting from exposure to the fire; this plan also gives them the benefit of the warmth of their own bodies. The thermometer during the day had ranged from fifteen to twenty-five degrees below zero, according to the elevation of the sun.

"The following day, at thirty miles, we again halted in the snow, when I made a horse-shoe fire, which I found had the effect I desired, of keeping every part of me alike warm, and I actually slept well without any other covering than my clothes thrown over me, whereas before I had only the consolation of knowing that if I was in a freezing state with one half of my body, the other was meanwhile roasting to make amends. On the third night I reached the foot of the mountainous pass which may be said to lead to Northern Siberia. My route had hitherto lain generally on the banks of the Toukoulan, which runs along a picturesque valley on the western range of the mountains, and is well wooded with fir, larch, and alder. Upon reaching thus far, I looked up at what I had yet to perform, and, I confess, felt astonished, not at the height, but how it could be practicable to get up a slippery and almost trackless road. However we commenced, and mainly by preferring the deep snow, as I uniformly did, at last gained the summit, but not without great fatigue; a horse could not carry a person up under a considerble time, and it took me two hours at least. We sat down, my Cossack and I, to gain breath and wait for the Yakuti with the baggage, in the mean time smoking a pipe; but it was too cold to remain; we therefore prepared to descend. As to keeping my feet, however, that was impos-

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sible; I therefore laid down, and slid to the bottom of the most dangerous part, a feat for which I had nearly paid dear, by coming in contact with a horse which had taken the same expeditious mode of descending. The path was so narrow, that one error would have pitched me forever into the abyss of snow beneath; and, although not deep, would have prevented a return, unless I had fortunately fallen with my feet downward; the half-frozen surface of the snow serving in some manner to bring the person up: falling on one side I found very dangerous, unless somebody was near to render assistance. I soon reached what I may term a charity yourte, being erected by the community in general for the accommodation and preservation of travelers. It consists of a twelve feet square room, with a small ante-room which serves as an entry, and may be properly termed a log-house, having no window, unless a large opening in the roof may be so termed."

In this manner they arrived at Baralass in six days by a route leading through magnificent scenery, but a dreary and desolate region, "where," observes Captain Cochrane, "there is not an individual dwelling in the whole extent from Aldan to Baralass, a distance equal to half the length of England." They reached Tabalak on the sixth day from Baralass, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles. "The third day," he writes, "was the coldest I had experienced, the thermometer ranging from thirty to thirty-five degrees below zero, attended with some show. We passed several habitations of the Yakuti, who invariably offered us a lodging and provision for the day; and always appropriated to me the best berth, which is in that corner of the room under the image, and opposite to the fire.

"At Tabalak I had a pretty good specimen of the appetite of a child, whose age (as I understood from the steersman, who spoke some English and less French) did not exceed five years. I had observed the child crawling on the floor, and scraping up with its thumb the tallow-grease which fell from a lighted candle, and I inquired in surprise whether it proceeded from hunger or liking of the fat. I was told from neither, but simply from the habit in both Yakuti and Tongousi, of eating whenever there is food, and never permitting any thing that can be eaten to be lost. I gave the child a candle made of the most impure tallow, a second, and a third—and all were devoured with avidity. The steersman then gave him several pounds of sour, frozen butter; this also he immediately consumed; lastly, a large piece of yellow soap;—all went the same road; but as I was now convinced that the child would continue to gorge as long as it could receive any thing, I begged my companion to desist as I had done.

"For an instance in confirmation of this, no doubt, extraordinary statement, I shall refer to the voyages of the Russian admiral, Saritcheff. 'No sooner,' he says, 'had they stopped to rest or spend the night, than they had their kettle on the fire, which they never left until they pursued their journey, spending the intervals for rest in eating, and, in

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consequence of no sleep, were drowsy all the next day.' The admiral also says, 'That such extraordinary voracity was never attended with any ill effects, although they made a practice of devouring, at one meal, what would have killed any other person. The laborers,' the admiral says, 'had an allowance of four poods, or one hundred and forty-four English pounds of fat, and seventy-two pounds of rye-flour, yet in a fortnight they complained of having nothing to eat. Not crediting the fact, the Yakuti said that one of them was accustomed to consume at home, in the space of a day, or twenty-four hours, the hind-quarter *of a large ox, twenty pounds of fat, and a proportionate quantity of melted butter for his drink.* The appearance of the man not justifying the assertion, the admiral had a mind to try his gormandizing powers, and for that purpose he had a thick porridge of rice boiled down with three pounds of butter, weighing together twenty-eight pounds, and although the glutton had *already breakfasted*, yet did he sit down to it with great eagerness, and consumed the whole without stirring from the spot; and, except that his stomach betrayed more than an ordinary fullness, he showed no sign of inconvenience or injury, but would have been ready to renew his gluttony the following day.' "

After nine days of this toilsome kind of traveling, they at length got clear of the desert of snow, and descended from the hills; then passing along a well-wooded valley to the Indigirka, they entered the town of Zashiversk. "Of all the places I have ever seen, bearing the name of city or town," observes Captain Cochrane, "this is the most dreary and desolate: my blood froze within me as I beheld and approached the place. All that I have seen in passing rocky or snowy sierras or passes in Spain, in traversing the wastes of Canada, or in crossing the Cordilleras or Andes in South America, the Pyrenees, or the Alps, can not be compared with the desolation of the scene around me! The first considerable halting-place from Yakutsk, the half-way house, is nine hundred or one thousand miles removed from a civilized place. Such a spot gives name to a commissariat, and contains seven habitations of the most miserable kind, inhabited severally by two clergymen, each separate, a non-commissioned officer, and a second in command; a postmaster, a merchant, and an old widow. I have, during my service in the navy, and during a period when seamen were scarce, seen a merchant ship with sixteen guns, and only fifteen men, but I never before saw a town with only seven inhabitants.

"On the 23d of December, I quitted the *town* of Zashiversk, not ungrateful for the hospitality of its poor inabitants, who had supplied me with plenty of fish, here eaten in a raw state, and which to this hour I remember as the greatest delicacy I have ever tasted. Spite of our prejudices, there is nothing to be compared to the melting of raw fish in the mouth; oysters, clotted cream, or the finest jelly in the world is nothing to it; nor is it only a small quantity that may be eaten of this precious commodity. I myself have finished a whole fish which, in its

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frozen state, might have weighed two or three pounds, and, with black biscuit and a glass of rye-brandy, have defied either nature or art to prepare a better meal. It is cut up or shaved into slices with a sharp knife, from head to tail, and thence derives the name of Stroganina. My first day's journey made me better acquainted with the power and use of dogs; water or ice, fish, firewood, travelers and their goods, and every thing, being here drawn by these animals. I continued over a flat country, and lakes communicating with one another by small streams, suffering much at times from the cold, especially in the knees, which, although not sensibly cold, had a feeling of deadness and painful fatigue which I could not account for, till a peddler explained to me, by signs and words, that, if I did not alter my plan, I should certainly lose both my legs above the knees. They appeared indeed a little inflamed, owing, as he said, to the inadequate protection of the knee-joints, which, on horseback, are more than ordinarily exposed, all the defense they had being a single leather, in sometimes sixty-eight degrees below zero, Fahrenheit. I considered that I was still bound to the northward, and that the extreme of winter had not yet come upon me, and therefore thought it better to accept a pair of souturee (knee-preservers, made of the skins of reindeer's legs), which he very kindly offered. The service they did me is astonishing; from that moment I had less pain and more heat, and became fully satisfied that the extremities are alone to be taken care of."

At length the traveler's eyes became painful from the effects of the snow on the eye-lashes, but he still pushed on over a miserable road, the fatigues of which need not be repeated, and on the eighth day reached Sordak, three hundred and twenty miles from Zashiversk. In the few wretched abodes which they passed on the route, they sometimes found the occupants in a state of starvation. "Having well refreshed ourselves with the flesh of a wolf and a horse, which had the day before fought each other to death," continues the captain, "we departed on the 14th toward the Kolyma. The first night we put up at a yourte, forty miles, encompassed by squalling children, growling and howling dogs, and a scolding and tyrannical hostess. Having procured wood for the night, on the morrow we departed, but not before I had got into a scrape, for hanging my cap and gloves upon the pins which bear the images of worship. The infuriated woman complained to the Cossack of the insult. The Cossack told her I was an English pope, or priest, and that I was privileged; the length of my locks, as well as beard, was proof positive, and thenceforward I was called the English priest.

"On the 19th of December, I reached Sredne Kolymsk. The priest having, with the commissary and principal people of the place, paid me a visit, the former entered my habitation crossing himself, as is customary; then advancing to me, who stood offering him my hand in the English style, I was honored with his blessing, which I acknowledged by an exchange of the compliment. The old gentleman retreated in astonishment, and, demanding who and what I was, my Cossack answered that

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I was an English priest; upon which the reverend gentleman observed he was in error, as one priest could not give benediction to another. He then shook hands, and expressed his friendship for me. Another instance of the effects of my beard, and of more value to me, though less to the priests of Siberia, arose from the circumstance of the Yakuti coming to me frequently with the right hand open, and supported by the left, which I interpreted into an asking of alms, and accordingly gave them something to eat. This, however, they evidently declined, and still continued their supplicating posture. My Cossack afterward gave me to understand that I was mistaken, for that they were begging a blessing. I therefore determined to satisfy the next Yakut who appeared during one of my rambles along the river; and when a well-dressed Yakut knez, or prince, demanded my blessing in passing, I gave it to him in the Russian style, as well as to his family. When I left them the prince began to unload a sauma, or leathern bag, and following me, kissed my hand, and insisted upon my accepting a couple of sables; nor could all my entreaties induce him to take them back, that being considered the greatest insult; nor, indeed will any return be received for a religious offering on the spot; afterward, a little tobacco, a knife, or flint and steel, is considered an acceptable present.

On Christmas day he set forward, and after a journey of five days over a flat country, with the temperature at from forty-five to fifty degrees below zero, he arrived at the station called Malone. On the last day he traveled sixty miles, "although," he observes, "I was obliged from the cold to dismount at least twenty or thirty times to take a run for mere self-preservation. At Malone the track for horses is in general finished, though they do sometimes go as far as Nishney Kolymsk, and even to the Frozen Sea, in search of sea-horse and mammoth's tusks. I was now provided with thirteen dogs and a driver, and a vehicle covered over with a sort of frame and oil-cloth, to keep out the cold, as it was thought too great for me to withstand. A bear-skin and warm blanket and pillow were also placed in it, in such a manner that I might lie down, be warm, and sleep at my pleasure. I got in, and it was closed after me; not a breath of air could enter; so that, notwithstanding the intense cold prevailing on the outside, I was obliged to make my escape from the suffocation within, by taking out my knife and cutting a way through to gain fresh air.

"We reached fifty-five miles with the same dogs, and put up for the night at a Yukagir hut. Resumed next morning, with increased cold, though calm weather, and reached Nishney Kolymsk at noon, amid a frost of sixty-two and a half degrees below zero, according to many spirit thermometers of Baron Wrangel's, on the last day of December, 1820, after a most tedious, laborious, and to me perilous, journey of sixty-one days, twenty of which were passed in the snow, without even the comfort of a blanket; nor had I even a second coat, or parka, nor even a second pair of boots, and less clothing than even the guides and

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attendants of the poorest class. I met, at Nishney Kolymsk, the Baron Wrangel, and his companion, Mr. Matiushkin, a midshipman. It was the last day of the old year, and in the present enjoyment of a moderate meal, a hearty welcome, and excellent friends, I soon forgot the past, and felt little concern for the future. Quarters were appropriated me in the baron's own house; and with him, on the shores of the Frozen Sea, I enjoyed health and every comfort I could desire.

"On the morning after my arrival at Nishney Kolymsk, and while at breakfast I received, as a new year's gift, a couple of large fish in a frozen state, weighing each five or six poods, or about two hundred pounds weight. I inquired for what they were intended, and learned, that I could not be supposed to have brought fish with me for subsistence; and that, as the season had already passed for laying in a stock, the inhabitants of course knew that I must be in want. During the forenoon I also received a parka, or leather frock, to be worn during my stay in the Kolyma. It was a handsome one, mounted with sables and martins. To these were added trowsers, cap, boots, and leather hose; in short, every article of dress that could be desired, and sufficient to have served me at least a twelvemonth. Besides these articles, I was also provided with a bear's skin for a bed, and a leather covering for a blanket, lined with hare's skins.

"Baron Wrangel's expedition I found in a state of much forwardness, great exertions having been used in collecting dogs and drivers, and provisions, as well as in making new nartes, or sledges. I learned that it would depart from the Kolyma in the month of March, in two divisions—one having for its object the solution of the question regarding the latitude and longitude of the north-east cape of Asia; and the other, a journey due north from the mouth of the Kolyma, in search of a real or supposed continent, or rather the continuation of Asia to where it was imagined by some to join the continent of America. I did not hesitate to volunteer my services; but in consequence of my being a foreigner, I found my services could not be accepted without special permission from the government. I therefore made up my mind to set out for the fair of the Tchuktchi, and to try my fortune in getting a passage through their country, and so to cross over Behring's Straits for America.

"Nishney Kolymsk may be termed a large town in this part of the world, containing, as it does, near fifty dwellings and about four hundred people (or eighty families), which is three times the number of any place betwixt it and Yakutsk. No cultivation can of course be expected in a climate wherein scarcely a blade of grass is to be seen; the horses, which do sometimes tarry in its vicinity for a few days, feeding upon the tops, stumps, and bark of the bushes, or upon the moss. The inhabitants manage, notwithstanding, with great labor to feed a couple of cows; though to do this they are obliged to bring the hay eighty miles."

The town and district of Kolyma are subject to the ravages of many

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diseases, such as leprosy, apoplexy, scurvy, and others, which the captain enumerates, and then proceeds as follows: "The complaints called *diable au corps*, and imerachism, must also be specified; the former is a most extraordinary one, and consists in an idea that the body of the patient is possessed with one or more devils, attended with incessant hiccoughs. The parties afflicted with it are generally most delicate and interesting in their appearance; and it is seldom indeed that any individual is cured. In females it prevails to such an extent as utterly to prevent pregnancy. I have seen them hiccough to so great an extent, as to induce me to strike them on the upper part of the spine, in the hope of relieving them from the pain by a surprise of the moment. They persist in believing that a devil is in the body of the person afflicted, and that, until he be removed, the person will never regain health. The complaint, whatever it may be, the natives consider as an inheritance from their fathers. Imerachism, to which not only the people of the Kolyma, but those also of more southern countries are subject, is equally unaccountable. Instead of exciting serious fits, like the last-mentioned disorder, it carries with it an air of merriment, as it by no means affects the health of the person, though it subjects him to the most violent paroxysms of rage, fear, and mortification. Whatever is said or done in the presence of an imerach, will be repeated by him at the moment, however indecorous, improper, or violent the act may be. I have seen the dog-master of Baron Wrangel's expedition commit acts sufficient to frighten the person in company with him. While in an adjoining room conversing on points of duty, a slight knock at the bulkhead was sufficient to set him a pummelling the person with him merely from a principle of self-defense. Of this same dog-master, by the way, a highly amusing anecdote is related, and which was confirmed to me, not only by himself personally, but also by Mr. Gedenstrom, of Irkutsk, who commanded the expedition. The theater was the Frozen Ocean, and the imerach's dogs and narte were the headmost. One forenoon they encountered a large white bear; the dogs immediately started toward the animal, and the driver, being the dog-master of whom I am speaking, steadfastly kept his place, prudently remaining by those who only could assist him. In the eagerness of the dogs, sharpened probably by hunger, they became entangled with one another, and were almost rendered useless. The driver seeing the state to which he was reduced, resolved to attack the bear with his ostol (a stout ironed stick with small bells, which serves to stop the narte), and accordingly presented himself to the enraged bear, who immediately raised himself upon the hind legs, and began to cry and roar most bitterly; the imerach followed his example. The bear then began to dance, and the driver did the same, till at length the other nartes coming up, the bear received a blow upon the nose and was secured. Two old ladies in Kamtchatka, one, the mother of a Mr. Tallman, an American, who had married a Russian girl, the other, the wife of a Russian, who were both afflicted with the disease,

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were sitting at tea opposite to one another, when Mr. Tallman, in a gentle manner, put his hands behind their backs, propelling the old ladies toward each other, upon which they instantly exchanged tea-cups and saucers, while the really offending party stood enjoying the mischief."

Captain Cochrane remained at Lower Kolymsk during the months of January and February. The weather was exceedingly cold. Meanwhile the preparations for the expedition were completed, and Baron Wrangel and his party set out on the 27th of February. On the 4th of March, the Captain left the Kolyma on a visit to the Tchuktchi. He traveled in company with Mr. Matiushkin, the midshipman, and some merchants, whose nartes were loaded with tobacco and iron utensils for the fair of the Tchuktchi, to be held at the fortress of Ostrovnaya. The weather was fine, being but twenty-five degrees below zero. On the 8th they reached the fortress, situated on the Aniuy, one hundred and fifty miles from the Kolyma.

"Having settled ourselves in a small Yukagir yourte," continues the captain, "Mr. Matiushkin and I received a visit from one of the Tchuktchi, a most empty countenanced and wild looking savage. He entered the room where we were, tumbled himself down upon a stool, smoked his pipe, and then quitted the room, without once looking at, or taking the least notice, either of us or any thing about us. The commissary having made his appearance, it was determined to commence the fair, by first installing two of the chiefs with medals and swords, baptizing them, and receiving a nominal tribute. The morning was ushered in by the arrival of these persons in state, dressed in their gayest apparel, and seated in a beautiful narte drawn by two rein-deer, the whole forming a cavalcade of twenty-five or thirty pairs. Having reached a large storehouse, to which the altar and images were carried, the priest proceeded to baptize the two men, their wives, and three children; but instead of being merely sprinkled with water, they, men and women, were obliged one and all to strip, and to be three times plunged into a large iron caldron of ice-water, with the thermometer on the spot at forty-seven degrees below zero, with no part of their dress on except their trowsers; and were afterward directed to bathe their feet in the same cold water. I could not help pitying the women and children, the former of whom, having long hair, became, as it were, enveloped in icicles. A small cross suspended round the neck, with many difficult and almost useless injunctions how to pronounce their newly-acquired names, completed the ceremony. A quantity of tobacco was then given as a present to each of the new converts, by way of inducing others to follow the example.

"I next day visited their camp, distant about two miles and a half. It consisted of three large and three small tents. The former contained the bulk of the Tchukskoi people, and the latter were appropriated to the chiefs and more considerable people. The large tents were disgustingly dirty and offensive, exhibiting every species of grossness and in-

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delicacy. But the smaller were, on the contrary, very neat, clean, and warm, although without a fire, at forty-seven degrees below zero. Indeed they were to me almost suffocating, being only eight feet long, five broad, and about three feet high; and containing three or four people huddled together in one bed, which is made of rein-deer skins, and the coverings lined with white foxes'. The small tents are made also of the old and hard skins doubled, so that the hair is both on the inside and out; a large lamp, with whale oil or fat, which serves them for a light, communicates also considerable warmth. On entering one of these small dwellings, I found the chief and his wife perfectly naked, as was also a little girl, their daughter, of about nine years old—nor did they seem to regard our presence (Mr. Matiushkin was with me), but ordered the daughter to proceed and prepare some rein-deer's meat for us, which she did, in that state of nudity, by a fire close to the tent. Having lolled upon the bed about a quarter of an hour, we were treated with the rein-deer meat half boiled, of which we of course partook of our complement. I was, however, obliged to cut short my visit, from want of air and the most offensive smell I had ever endured for so long a time.

"The toion, or chief, was a little angry with me for quitting him, and imputed it to his having the previous day opposed my design of going through his country. Their furniture consists of a large kettle, knife, wooden bowls, platters, spoons or ladles, and an ax, with flint and steel. Having thus informed myself of the savage state in which they live, I returned to the fortress, driven by one of the chiefs in a neat narte, drawn by a couple of rein-deer in a pretty style. They use regular reins, made of leather thongs, and a long springing cane with an ivory nob to it, of the tooth of a sea-horse; the latter is exercised occasionally upon the rump of the animal, on which it is capable of inflicting a pretty severe blow. I must, however, do justice to the Tchuktchi for their very kind treatment and conduct to their brutes, whether dogs or rein-deer—appearing quite to consider them as pets. Nay, to so great a degree is this feeling carried, that among this savage nation it is considered unmanly even to ride; in all ordinary cases they prefer to walk, and in every other way appear solicitous to lessen the labor of the animal, permitting only the women and children to sit in the nartes when upon a journey. The persons of the Tchuktchi are not peculiarly large, though their dress, which is clean but of enormous size, gives them almost a gigantic appearance. They have fair or clear skins, but ordinary though masculine features. In conduct they are wild and rude. They have no diseases, and live to a great age; two of the chiefs at the fair being past seventy, as calculated by the number of voyages they had made ere they accompanied Captain Billings."

The fair at length finished, Captain Cochrane prepared to depart for Nishney Kolymsk. "My return to the Kolyma," he writes, "occupied me only two days, partly from the lightness of the carriage, and partly from the hunger of the dogs, there being little or none of their

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common food offering for sale on the banks of the Aniuy. I was most happy to meet with the Baron Wrangel, who had returned from his expedition around Skelatskoi Noss."

Captain Cochrane now prepared for the journey to Okotsk. He had attempted to persuade the Tchuktchi to convey him through their country, but failing in this, he resolved to proceed by the direct route, which was most difficult and dangerous, rather than retrace his steps a long distance, and follow a monotonous road by the more circuitous one. The commissary, Cossacks, and Yakuti, who were ordered to attend him, all remonstrated; the latter were so fearful of a journey of the kind that they even attempted to bribe him by presents to take another, but the captain was resolute. "To me," he remarks, "the hardest day's work was followed by the happiest evening and the soundest sleep as I lay down on my snow pillow."

He left Lower Kolymsk on the 27th of March in a narte drawn by thirteen dogs, who took him eighty miles a day, and on the fifth day he arrived at Sredne, or Middle Kolymsk. Here he remained two days awaiting a fresh Cossack, who was to attend him to Okotsk. "I felt most happy," he observes, "in preparing once more to tread a new road, and throw aside the difficulties which were forever thundered in my ears." Finally they set out; on the second day they were thrown into a snow pit, and the horses becoming disengaged from their burthens, scrambled up the pit, leaving the travelers and baggage to shift for themselves. After ten miles' walk they reached a yourte, whose owner sent for the baggage, the Yakuti having gone for the horses.

At Verchne (Upper) Kolymsk he left the Kolyma, and at length reaching the Zyzanka, pursued his route through the defiles of a mountainous region. The party subsisted on partridges and hares found in traps by the wayside. "We at length entered upon the Hokusolbetie and Bochiera, two rivers, which, entering the Zyzanka at a narrow defile, form a sort of frozen torrent, over which the horses had great difficulty to pass, as piles of ice lay in every cross direction. The Cossack and guide now began also to suffer, while I was gaining ground from habit and superior strength of constitution. The guide was almost blind, while the Cossack was afflicted with a severe diarrhœa arising from want of food, for our game had failed us, and he was too much a Greek to eat horse-meat. It was, however, his own fault, for he always ate voraciously whenever an occasion offered.

"The snow was deep but soft, the noon-day heat melting the surface, and the night's frost again freezing it, just sufficiently to bear a man with snow-shoes; so that, in addition to our other difficulties, the horses began to fail. We nevertheless continued our route, gaining the Zyzanka, and laterally crossing the mountains which confine it. We then entered the most dismal, dreary, and inhospitable valley I have ever seen; not a blade of grass, nor moss, not a shrub, tree, nor even a morsel of drift wood, to be seen, but one tremendous slate mountain

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valley. We encamped on the banks of the stream, faring upon our frozen horse-flesh and a little biscuit; our stock of spirits was all consumed, and I longed to reach some habitation. My poor Cossack now grew worse, having been three days without food, and so weak that it was necessary to lash him to the horse. The guide was almost blind, being unable even to bring the horses in from the pasture. I was thus compelled to perform the functions of ostler, wood-cutter, guide, doctor, cook, and traveler; regretting only the necessity that compelled me so to act, for otherwise I took so little heed of it, that I slept the sounder.

"I remained at a miserable yourte five days, to see what I could do in restoring the Cossack, but in vain, and departed with a Yakut, six feet high, and stout in proportion, the largest I have ever seen. He was, however, a mere brute, not knowing a word of the Russian language, a great glutton, stupid, obstinate, and immovably lazy. On the fifth day after starting again we ascended a stupendous path, which overlooks not only the surrounding country but also the other mountains; it is almost a bare rock, and was so slippery that the horses got very severe falls in the ascent, rolling back in one moment as much as it had taken ten minutes labor to achieve. I almost despaired of gaining the summit, but we at length succeeded, and then the horses actually slid down the opposite precipice of one hundred feet high, the rock being covered with frozen snow. For myself I considered it, as it really was, an ice mountain, and desiring the guide to follow, passed down without any accident. I was now indeed in a desperate dilemma; but Providence, which ever watches the wants of all creatures, sent to my assistance the sick Cossack, who, having got better, and being without baggage, had followed our track with a couple of horses. He came in time also to tell us that we had mistaken the route. His duty pointing out the necessity of seeing me safe to Okotsk, I did not feel so thankful as I else should, because I suspected that most of his illness was pretended, and that conscience had told him he was acting wrong, or he might not have returned, having already received permission from me to proceed to the Kolyma.

"We passed the night in a dreary situation, without any fire. My tea and bread were both consumed; nothing in short remained but horseflesh, which I found very good. The Cossack had brought a few birds, but as I knew that such dainties were all he could, or would eat, of course I gave them up to him. Next day we considered how to ascend the mountain; the snow was solid and slippery, and there appeared no other mode than the one which we adopted—creeping up the side, and chopping the surface with a hatchet, at frequent intervals, to obtain some sort of footing. In this manner I and the Cossack ascended, and making all the leather thongs fast together, we hauled up the baggage and let it down on the opposite side; thus placing ourselves between it and the horses. To get up the latter required more management; for,

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accustomed as the horses are to the most laborious and dangerous journeys, and with all their sagacity and tameness, I found they could not ascend above half the mountain, the fatigue was too great; in short, they were compelled to give it up, and recoil once more to the base in a state of perfect agony. Thus passed the day! Our situation now seemed desperate; the horses had received no food for two days, with more than ordinary hard work, during which we had enjoyed no fire; yet still "neboice avoce lebo" (fear not—perhaps) were the rallying words, and these alone served us for supper. Our monster of a guide was quite insensible to our situation, and sat grumbling that he had not more than twenty pounds of meat a day, with such hard work.

"This night was passed even more miserably than the last, as we had not even the benefit of our bedding or clothing, both of which had been hurled down the opposite valley, without respect to whom they belonged. We rose the third morning, prepared for hard work; and our first attempt was to haul the horses up the precipice. We in part succeeded, as the strongest were actually received, and cast adrift on the opposite side to feed. This occupied us all day, and the third night was passed with the cheering hopes of resuming our journey the following day; but these were frustrated, as it was not until late in the evening that we succeeded in passing all the horses we designed to keep; one we were obliged to kill and carry with us as food. Our bully-headed Yakut, too, became wonderfully alert on this occasion, knowing he should receive an extra allowance of meat, were it for no other reason than to lighten the other brutes. I, however, determined to make some reserve, and accordingly taking a quantity of the slaughtered animal, sufficient to serve the Yakut on his return, I buried it in the snow, which I thought would continue unmelted for ten or twelve days, and marked the place with a cross. This precaution I considered was more than ordinarily necessary with my gigantic companion, who had infinitely less concern toward the prevention of future starvation than to the support of present gluttony.

"The only mode of passing the last three horses was by making a regular staircase up the hill, by means of axes, and strewing it with earth; myself and the Cossack, who were on the hill, holding a rope attached to the horse's head, while the guide behind, whose task it was to flog the beast, had no sinecure, as from his immoderate size he was almost himself incapable of moving. The result of the last five days was that we had lost five days' traveling, five days of the best season, and five days which were worth fifty of those which followed: the fault was not mine! The weather was still very cold, and I felt some relief in getting close to a cheerful fire. Next day I directed my course by a compass, for the guide knew nothing about west-south-west, intending, if possible, to gain the river Indigirka."

By continual exertions, walking, wading across streams, and sometimes swimming the rapid currents of rivers, he at length reached the

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Omekon district, where he again entered an inhabited region. "We were now," he observes, "renewed with fresh courage, and my Cossack particularly inspirited with a regale of beef which had been given him at the first yourte. For myself I preferred to partake of the old horse-meat I had still left; having a mind to shame the Cossack and show him that he ought to eat any thing when necessity dictated. I had passed twelve days without any other food than the horse-meat we had brought, generally eaten in a raw state, and a small part of the animal we had killed; yet I was never in better health. I remained three days at the Omekon, and was again obliged to leave my Cossack, from ill health and fatigue. Having procured in his stead a young lad, born in the valley of Omekon, with him, and four of the native princes in my train, I departed along the banks of the river."

Following this stream to its confluence with the Indigirka, he then crossed the mountains to the country watered by the Tourrourak, and halted at the last yourte in the government of Yakutsk. Here he applied to a prince of the wandering Tongousi, for reindeer and further assistance on his journey. After some delay the prince finally consented to take him, and on the third day they set out with fifty head of reindeer. They made good progress for a few days, but at length the reindeer began to lag and droop, the weather became bad, and the prince having lost several of his animals, threatened to leave the captain or carry him back. To this the latter was not disposed to submit. They had reached an elevated pass in the mountains, leading to the vicinity of Indgiga, but were unable to cross it, owing to the state of the snow. On the sixth day they renewed the attempt, but were obliged to give it up, three laden reindeer being dead and the rest too weak to convey the carcases or the baggage. They remained three days to recruit the reindeer, and then resolved to return to the Omekon and attempt the long passage with horses. The prince now complained that he had not force sufficient to carry the baggage, and Captain Cochrane was obliged to destroy the greater part of it. When the Tongousian saw what he was about, he remonstrated, asking why he did not give the things to him. As it was evident, however, that the prince had been duping him, and, as he thought, compelling him to forsake his baggage, the captain reluctantly persisted in burning his clothing and bedding, in spite of the violent demonstrations of the latter, who brought forward the image of the virgin and his patron saint, and spit, swore, stamped, and crossed himself like a madman. At length he told the captain it had been previously arranged that the latter should return to the Omekon, to which place he actually returned on the eighteenth day, recrossing the Tourrourak and Boulabot rivers with much difficulty.

Procuring fresh horses the captain again left the Omekon. The snow was now softened by heavy rains; but was still so deep as to impede their progress and to deprive the horses of their accustomed nourishment. "The Yakuti," says the captain, "put on long faces at the ob-

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structions we met with, never having witnessed such deep and difficult roads, for in ordinary times good pasturage is to be had in this part of the valley. The horses having to contend with such difficulties, our journey was continued on foot. My snow-shoes I gave up to one of the guides, in consideration of his being very heavy, while, for myself, with a quick motion, my weight was not sufficient to permit my sinking in the snow;—in case I had, the guide with snow-shoes was near to render me assistance. We were now frequently compelled to wander about on the borders of precipices, directing our route by the shade or appearance of the snow; habit having accustomed me, as well as the people of the country, to a pretty accurate calculation whether or not the snow would bear me. I have even seen the horses refuse to proceed, their sagacity in that case being equal to man's; nor will the leading dog of a narte, if he is good, run the vehicle into a track where there is deep snow or water.

"At length, by great labor, we reached the fording-place at the Okota. It was, however, impossible to attempt it, the guides observing that the horses might pass the river, but not loaded. We therefore halted, and next morning found a place where there was a canoe on the opposite bank. Thereupon unloading the horses, we turned them into the river, and they all reached the opposite bank in safety. The question then was how to get the canoe over; I was the only person who could swim, but the water was still so cold that I felt no preference to that mode. Necessity at last compelled me, and having procured a short stout piece of drift wood, which was very buoyant, I crossed at a narrow part of the stream, with a leather thong fast to my waist. The rapidity of the stream carried me down above a hundred yards, but the Yakuti, keeping, by a sort of run, in a parallel line, were ready to haul me back, if necessary. I, however, reached in safety; and, instantly throwing off my clothes, took violent exercise. The breadth of the swimming part might only have been fifteen or twenty yards, and across the strength of the stream possibly not more than four or five yards; yet I barely accomplished it. The feat was thankfully acknowledged by the astonished Yakuti when I returned with an excellent canoe."

The Okota was so much swollen by the rains, that the Captain left a Yakut with the horses, and decided to take to the water. "To starve on one side of the river, be drowned in it, or die upon the other side, appeared alike to me," he says, "and I accordingly embarked our little baggage upon the raft, composed of ten logs of trees about fifteen feet long, crossed by five others, and again crossed by two more, to form a seat for the person taking charge of the baggage, which was lashed to the raft.

"It was with difficulty we moved our vessel into the main channel, from the number of eddies; but having once reached it, we descended in a most astonishing manner, sometimes actually making the head giddy as we passed the branches of trees, rocks, or islands. No accident hap-

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pening, and the river widening, I began to congratulate my companions on the probability of breakfasting the next day in Okotsk; but as yet I had not got upon the proper side of the stream, the islands and shoals perpetually turning us off. The Cossack and Yakut continued in a state of alarm, not entirely without cause, for upon rounding a point of land, we observed a large tree jutting into the river, with a tremendous and rapid surf running over it, the branches of the tree preventing the raft from passing over the body of it, which was so deep in the water as to preclude a hope of escaping with life—it was at least impossible to avoid being wrecked. The Cossack and Yakut crossed themselves, while I was quietly awaiting the result in the bow. We struck, and such was the force of the rebound, that I was in hopes we should have been thrown outside the shaft in the subsequent approach. I was, however, disappointed, for the forepart of the raft was actually sucked under the tree, and the afterpart rose so high out of the water, that it completely turned over, bringing the baggage under water; the whole then, with the Yakut and Cossack, proceeded down the stream, and fortunately brought up upon an island about one hundred yards below. In the mean while my situation was dangerous; being in the bow, I could not hold on the raft as my companions had been able to do, for fear of being jammed in between the raft and the tree. I therefore quitted my hold, and, with infinite difficulty, clung to the outer branches on the rapid side of the tree; my body was sucked under, and no part of me was out of the water but my head and arms. I could not long remain in such a state; and making, therefore, one vigorous effort, on the success of which it was clear my life depended, I gained the top of the tree. I was throwing off my upper parka, when the branch gave way, and I dropped down, half drowning, to the island. It was a fortunate circumstance that the raft upset, as otherwise it could not have brought up at the island; which it did in consequence of the baggage lashed to the raft being so deep in the water.

Our situation, notwithstanding, upon the island, was by no means pleasant. On either side of us was a rapid channel, and I was as far as ever from accomplishing the object I had in view; which was that of getting upon the right bank of the river; for then I might expect to reach some habitation, there being none upon the left bank nearer than six hundred miles, half way to Idgiga. My first care was to change my wet clothes, and warm myself by exercise; the next was to unlash and land the baggage, and to save as much of the raft as possible, our deliverance depending upon it. By hard work we accomplished it ere the sun had set; after which it soon began to be very cold. The appearance of the night was unfavorable, as it foreboded rain; it would therefore have been highly indiscreet to remain longer than necessary; as the river might, in one night, so increase as to cover the island.

To launch a raft into the channel I could not attempt, as by that time it would be dark, and we should certainly meet with the same accident, and probably worse results. I therefore walked toward the end

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of the island, till I came opposite to a large tree which had fallen from the continent nearly half way across the narrowest part of the channel, which might be about fifty or sixty feet. To swim through the central part of it was impossible; but it appeared to me probable, with the help of nautical ingenuity, to save not only ourselves, but also the baggage; and this I accomplished in a true sailor-like fashion."

He constructed a floating bridge from the timbers of the raft, by first fastening some of the pieces to the shore, and securing the outer ends against the current by means of lines fastened up the stream, then lashing other pieces to the ends of these and securing them in the same manner, until the third course rested against the tree. Over this rude structure he passed in safety, followed by the Cossack, but the Yakut would not venture. The captain then returned, and making a raft of the bridge, ferried over the Yakut, baggage, and lastly himself, assisted by the Cossack with a line from the opposite shore. On the last passage the raft upset, and the captain was pulled ashore with his clothes surrounding him in a casing of ice.

A fire was now kindled, but the height of the grass and the dryness of the wood was such that the whole forest was soon enveloped in flame, and they were obliged to work hard to prevent it from being fatal to them. The great fire induced the other guide to swim the horses across to their relief. All were now reunited, and after spending the night in drying their clothes, they resumed the journey next morning. This was the third day without food, and on the sixth, with little else than berries to keep their spirits up, they arrived at the habitation of a Yakut prince, upon an island in the Okota. "My host," says the captain, "was neither civil nor hospitable; but by a sort of force I got some horse-meat from him, and which I considered, at that time, a great delicacy, added to some bread which I procured from the sailors and carpenters employed in felling timber for the dock-yard of Okotsk.

"Fresh horses were given to me at this station, and I proceeded on to Okotsk. The route lay through some fine park-like scenery, and then over a thick sandy forest of tall pine-trees; the weather was most unfavorable, as it rained hard. At length I reached the eastern sea-coast, that is, the North Pacific Ocean, and was compelled to halt at a miserable hut, affording scarcely a shelter from the elements. The following morning, to assist the Yakuti, who begged of me to leave their horses in the pasture, I paddled along the stream to the old town of Okotsk; and calling on the police-master, was by him, in the government boat, carried over, with all the formality and respect due to my rank, to the abode of the chief of Okotsk, Vladimir Ushinsky."

It was on the 19th of June, 1821, that Captain Cochrane arrived at Okotsk. His object in undertaking this long and painful journey, had been first to ascertain the situation of Skelatskoi Noss, then to trace the American continent as far as possible to the north-east. But the first problem being solved by Baron Wrangel's expedition, and a fleet hav-

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ing already gone to America, he accordingly gave up his design and resolved to retrace his steps to Europe, after spending a winter in Kamtchatka. He embarked on the 24th of August, and in two weeks arrived in the harbor of Petropaulovsk. While in Kamtchatka he married a native, and after a stay of eleven months, during which he made the circuit of the peninsula, he embarked with his wife for Okotsk, on the 5th of July, 1822, on his homeward journey.

After a toilsome return journey he reached Irkutsk in the beginning of December, and remained there until the 7th of January, when he set out on an excursion along the Chinese frontier. He was absent a month on this journey, and on the 11th of February took his departure from Irkutsk. His homeward route was over the same ground which he had traversed on his outward journey, and was marked by few adventures. "Descending the western branch of the Ural Mountains," he says, "I soon found myself again in Europe: the land of malt, the fire-side home, again had charms for the traveler. The sensations I experienced upon quitting the most favored quarter of the globe, were nothing when compared to the present. Then I thought I was going only to the abode of misery, vice, and cruelty, while now I knew I had come from that of humanity, hospitality, and kindness. I looked back to the hills, which are, as it were, the barrier between virtue and vice, but felt, in spite of it, a desire to return and end my days. And so strong is still that desire, that I should not hesitate to bid adieu to politics, war, and other refined pursuits, to enjoy in Central Siberia those comforts which may be had without fear of foreign or domestic disturbance.

"At length I arrived safely in St. Petersburg, from which I had been absent exactly three years and three weeks, and to which I had returned in infinitely better health than when I left it."

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GOLOWNIN'S

CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

Captain Wassili Golownin, while commanding the Russian sloop-of-war *Diana*, lying in the harbor of Petropaulovsk, in Kamtchatka, received an order from the Russian Minister of Marine, directing him to make a minute survey of the Southern Kurile Islands and the coast of Tartary, from latitude 53° 38′ north, to Okotsk. He accordingly sailed on the 4th of May, 1811, and after a voyage of ten days reached Nadeshda Straits, between two of the Kurile Islands, where his surveys were to commence. He had determined, on approaching the northern shore of the Japanese island of Jesso, to hold no intercourse with the Japanese, fearful that any such attempt might excite suspicion and distrust. The Chamberlain Resanoff, who was sent to Japan by the Emperor Alexander in the year 1803, had been obliged to return unsuccessful, and out of a silly revenge for this repulse, Lieutenant Chwostoff, who commanded the vessel in which Resanoff was taken from Nagasaki to Okotsk, attacked and destroyed several villages in the Japanese Kurile Islands. This wanton outrage had provoked the hostility of the Japanese government, and Captain Golownin therefore felt the necessity of caution in approaching the coast.

On the 17th of June his vessel reached the Kurile island of Eetooroop, where he accidentally fell in with some Japanese, to the chief of whom he explained that his intentions were entirely pacific, as he was merely looking for a safe harbor where he might procure a supply of wood and water. To this assurance, the officer replied: "The Japanese can not be entirely tranquil and free from apprehension on the appearance of a Russian ship, for some years ago Russian vessels twice attacked Japanese villages, and carried off or burnt every thing they found, without sparing the houses, temples, or provisions. Rice, which is brought from Japan to these islands, forms the principal food of the inhabitants: but the first attack having taken place late in autumn, when no vessels could be sent to sea to bring back a fresh supply for winter, and the second having followed early in spring, before the usual rice ships could

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arrive, these circumstances, joined to the destruction of their houses, caused great distress to the Japanese, many of whom fell sacrifices to hunger and cold." With such awkward interpreters as the Kuriles, it was not an easy matter for Captain Golownin to vindicate himself against so serious a charge, but he finally succeeded, as he supposed, in convincing the Japanese that Chwostoff's proceedings were entirely unauthorized by the Russian government.

"While I was conversing with the chief on the shore," says Golownin, "an old man advanced toward me with demonstrations of the greatest respect. He was a Toion, or chief of the hairy Kuriles of this part of the island, of whom there were here about fifty individuals of both sexes; and they seemed to be so oppressed by the Japanese, that they dared not move in their presence. They all sat crowded together, regarding their rulers with looks of terror; and whenever they had occasion to speak to them, they threw themselves upon their knees, with their open hands pressed closely upon their sides, their heads hanging downward, and their whole bodies bowed to the ground. Our Kuriles observed the same ceremony when they addressed us. After the latter had been invited to come on board our vessel, they informed us that the Japanese persisted in believing that plunder was the only motive which had induced us to visit their shores; and that the conduct of the crews of the Company's ships had excited their suspicions. Whenever they spoke of the violent proceedings of Chwostoff, they usually said: 'The Russians attacked us without cause, killed many of our countrymen, took several prisoners, plundered us, and burned all we possessed; they not only carried off our goods, but likewise all our rice and sagi, and abandoned us to all the misery of hunger.'"

Previous to leaving the island, a Kurile named Alexei, who spoke some Russian, came on board, and was retained, at his own request, as an interpreter. Golownin then sailed to the island of Ooroop, which he surveyed, and afterward, at Alexei's recommendation, proceeded to Kunashir, the twentieth island of the Kurile chain. On the morning of the 5th of July he sailed into the harbor of Kunashir, where there is a fortified village, with a Japanese garrison. As they advanced, guns were fired from the port; from which circumstance he concluded that the Japanese on the island of Eetooroop had not yet made known to those of Kunashir his friendly intentions. As he stood in nearer, however, the firing ceased. The fortifications were masked with screens of striped cloth, so that he could perceive neither walls nor palissades. After coming to anchor at the distance of a mile and a quarter, Golownin got into a boat with some men, and rowed toward the shore. They had approached within a hundred yards, when the firing again began, and came near proving fatal. They immediately put about and rowed quickly back to the vessel.

"A thought now suddenly came across my mind," observes Golownin. "I imagined that by means of signs I might make myself under-

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stood by the Japanese. For this purpose, on the 6th of July, I caused a cask to be sawed in two, and set both parts afloat in the water in front of the town. In the inside of one half of the cask were placed a glass containing fresh water, a piece of wood, and a handful of rice, to denote that we were in want of these articles; the other half contained a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some crystal beads and pearls, meaning thereby to intimate that we would give them either money or other articles in exchange for provisions. Upon this half of the cask we fixed a drawing of the harbor, the fortress, and the sloop; which was very skillfully executed by the Midshipman Moor. In this drawing the sloop's guns were very distinctly marked, but fixed in the ports with their tompions in; but the guns in the garrison were represented as firing, and the balls flying over the sloop. By this means I wished, if possible, to make the Japanese sensible of their perfidy. No sooner had we set the cask afloat and rowed away, than the Japanese immediately seized it, and carried it into their fortress. On the following day we approached within gun-shot of the castle, for the purpose of receiving an answer; having, however, previously made every preparation for an engagement; but the Japanese did not seem to notice us. No one appeared near the works, which were still hung round with cloth."

Captain Golownin called a council of his officers, at which the decision was, that they should not heed the attack of the Japanese, nor take any further measures for communication with them. As, however, both water and provisions were needed, a boat was sent to the mouth of a creek for a supply of the former, while Lieutenant Rikord crossed the bay in another boat, to a fishing village which they had observed. The place was deserted, but Rikord carried off some wood, rice, and dried fish, and left behind him various European articles, which Alexei declared to be far more valuable than what he carried away. In the afternoon curiosity induced Golownin to go ashore to try to discover the plans of the Japanese, and he was highly pleased to observe that all the articles which Lieutenant Rikord had left were removed. "On the 8th of July," he continues, "we observed a cask floating before the town. I immediately weighed anchor in order to take it up. We found that it contained a little box wrapped up in several pieces of oil-cloth. The box contained three papers; one of which was a Japanese letter, which we could not read, and the other two were drawings. Both these sketches represented the harbor, the castle, our sloop, the cask with a boat rowing toward it, and the rising sun, but with this difference, that in one the guns of the castle were firing, while in the other the muzzles of the cannon were turned backward. We were a long time occupied in considering these hieroglyphics, and each explained them after his own way; but this will not be thought wonderful, as the same thing frequently happens among better scholars. We all, however, agreed that the Japanese declined holding intercourse with us."

The next day a boat containing several Japanese officers and a Kurile

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interpreter, rowed toward the vessel. The conference began on their side, with an apology for having fired upon the Russians when they first attempted to land. To justify this proceeding, they declared that their distrust had been excited in consequence of an outrage committed upon them some years before, by the crews of two Russian vessels, who had at first landed under pretense of the same motives. They, however, perceived the difference between Golownin's conduct and that of their former visitors; every suspicion had now vanished, and they declared their readiness to do all they could to serve him. On the 10th the requisite amount of water was on board, and Golownin was ready to sail, when he received an invitation to come on shore. He thought it his duty to comply, in order to acquaint the Japanese that the outrage of Chwostoff was entirely disowned by the Russian Government. He therefore landed, accompanied only by Alexei, the interpreter, and was met by an officer with whom he conversed for some time. This person promised to furnish the vessel with more provisions, but wished Golownin first to consult with the governor. In the evening a large number of fresh fish were sent on board, and the invitation to visit the governor renewed.

Golownin gives the following account of what happened on this visit: "Next morning, July the 11th, at eight o'clock, I landed with the above-named officers, the Kurile Alexei, and four seamen. So fully was I persuaded that we stood on a friendly footing with the Japanese, that I had not ordered the men to arm themselves. The officers, three in number, including myself, had each a sword, in addition to which Mr. Chlebnikoff brought with him a pocket-pistol, to use as a signal, in case of fog. On entering the castle gate, I was astonished at the number of men I saw assembled there. Of soldiers alone, I observed from three to four hundred, armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, sitting in a circle, in an open space to the right of the gate; on the left a countless multitude of Kuriles surrounded a tent of striped cotton cloth, erected about thirty paces from the gate. This small, insignificant place, seemed incapable of containing so many men, and I concluded that they must have been collected from all the neighboring garrisons since we appeared in the harbor.

"While the conference was going on, Mr. Moor had observed that naked sabers had been distributed among the soldiers who were sitting in the open space. He immediately mentioned this to me; but I supposed that a saber or two might have been accidentally out of the sheaths; and I asked him whether he had not made a mistake, as the Japanese always carry swords, and could at present have no reason for drawing them. This remark appeared to satisfy him; but circumstances soon occurred which roused all our suspicion, and convinced us that some mischief was intended against us. The lieutenant-governor having withdrawn for a short time, as if to make some arrangement, returned, and whispered to the governor, who immediately rose up to go away. We

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got up also to take our leave; and I repeated my question respecting the price of provisions, and also asked whether he intended to supply us with any? On hearing this he sat down, invited us to do the same, and, though it was early in the day, ordered dinner to be served up.

"We accepted his invitation, and waited with impatience to see what would next occur, as it now appeared we were caught in a snare from which it would be difficult to escape. But the kind behavior of the Japanese, and their assurances that we had nothing to fear, again tranquillized us, and banished any suspicion of their treachery. They entertained us with rice, fish in a green sauce, and other savory dishes, the ingredients composing which we did not know. They also gave us sagi. After we had dined, the governor was again about to withdraw. I now declared that we could wait no longer, but must return immediately on board.

"The governor, who had hitherto conversed in a mild and gentle tone, now altered his manner. He spoke loudly, and with warmth; frequently mentioned Resanoto (Resanoff), and Nicola-Sandrejetsch (Nicolai Alexandroivitsch, meaning Chwostoff, the Captain of the Company's ship), and struck his hand several times on his saber. In this manner he made a long speech, of which the terrified Alexei interpreted to us only the following sentence:—'The governor says that if he lets a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ripped up.' This was brief and decisive! We instantly made all the haste we could to escape. The Japanese did not venture to close upon us, but set up a loud cry, and threw oars and large pieces of wood at us, to knock us down. On our reaching the gate they fired several times on us, but without effect, though one of the balls whistled past the head of Mr. Chlebnikoff. We now found that they had succeeded in detaining Mr. Moor, the seaman Makaroff, and our Kurile Alexei, in the castle. We ran, however, to our landing-place; but on arriving there, perceived with dismay that the tide had ebbed above five fathoms, and left the strand quite dry. As the Japanese saw that it was impossible for us to get the boat afloat, and had previously assured themselves that it contained no arms, they gained confidence, advanced upon us with drawn sabers, which they held in both hands, muskets and spears, and surrounded us. I cast a look upon the boat, and said to myself: 'It must be so—our last refuge is lost—our fate is inevitable!' I surrendered. The Japanese seized me by the arms, and conducted me to the castle, into which my companions were also conveyed.

"We were conducted into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building, which resembled a barrack, and which was situated opposite to the tent in the direction of the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff—whom we had not seen since our separation—placed on our knees, and bound

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in the cruelest manner, with cords about the thickness of a finger: and as though this were not enough, another binding with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work; and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly in the same manner. There were the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our breasts and necks; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together: from these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as almost to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees and above the ankles: they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross-beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took every thing, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco."

After a delay of an hour, the Japanese removed the cords from the ankles of their captives, and led them into the country. On ascending a hill they beheld the *Diana* under sail. This sight plunged them into despair, and they gave up all hope of ever seeing their native country again. After walking some distance, they heard a cannonade. They could easily distinguish the firing of the sloop from that of the castle; but the strong garrison of the Japanese, and the thick earthen wall which formed their fortification, afforded the Russians no reason to expect any fortunate result from the contest.

To resume Golownin's narrative: "I was so tightly bound, particularly about the neck, that, before we had traveled six or seven versts, I could scarcely breathe. My companions told me that my face was swollen and discolored. I was almost blind, and could not speak without the greatest difficulty. We made signs to the Japanese, and requested them, through the interpretation of Alexei, to loosen the cord a little, but the cannonade so frightened them, that they paid no attention to our remonstrances; they only urged us to move faster, and kept constantly looking behind them. Life now appeared a heavy burden to me, and I resolved, in case we should pass a river, to make a sudden spring into the water, and thus terminate a painful existence. I soon saw, however, that it would not be easy to execute this purpose, as the Japanese always held us fast by the arms when we had occasion to cross even a little brook. I fell at length senseless on the ground; when I recovered, I found some persons sprinkling me with water, and the blood flowing from my mouth and nose. My companions, Moor and Chlebnikoff, were in deep distress, and imploring some persons to loosen the cords with which I was bound. They at last, with the greatest diffi-

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culty, prevailed on them to comply. I then found myself much eased, and was soon able to make an effort to proceed.

"After a journey of about ten versts, we arrived at a small village, situated on the straits which divide the island of Kunashier from Matsmai. We were conducted into a house, where boiled rice was offered us, but we felt no desire to partake of food of any kind. On our declining to eat, we were taken into another apartment, in which we were laid down close to the walls, so as not to touch each other. The ropes by which we had been led were attached to iron hooks, driven into the wall for that purpose. Our boots were pulled off, and our legs tied as before in two places: having secured us in this way, our guards sat down in the middle of the room round a chafing-dish, and drank tea and smoked. Any man might have slept tranquilly beside lions, bound as fast as we were, but it would seem that our guards did not think themselves secure. The cords with which we were tied were inspected every quarter of an hour.

"At the approach of twilight, our guards began to bestir themselves, and seemed to be preparing for a journey. About midnight, a broad plank was brought in, to the four corners of which ropes were attached: these ropes were fastened at the top, and slung across a pole, the ends of which were laid on men's shoulders; and thus the whole was suspended. I was placed upon this plank, and immediately borne away. We now concluded that we were to be separated forever, and that we could entertain no hope of seeing each other again. Our farewell was like the parting of friends at the hour of death.

"The sailors wept aloud as they bade me adieu, and my heart was wrung on leaving them. I was conveyed to the sea-side, and placed in a large boat, with a mat beneath me. In a few moments, Mr. Moor was likewise brought to the shore in the same way as I had been, and was placed in the boat beside me. This was indeed an unexpected happiness. I was so overjoyed, that for a few moments I experienced a diminution of my torment. Moor was soon followed by Mr. Chlebnikoff, and the sailors Simanoff and Wassiljeff; the rest were placed in another boat. A soldier under arms was stationed between each of us. We were then covered over with mats, and the boats were rowed from the shore."

At break of day, on the 12th of July, the captives were landed near a little village, on the coast of the island of Matsmai or Jesso. Here they were removed into other boats, which were drawn with ropes along the shore in a south-easterly direction. In this way they were dragged the whole of that day and the following night. There was no halting, except at certain fixed places, where the men, who were employed in the dragging, and who came from the neighboring villages, were relieved. At one of the villages, a venerable, gray-haired man, begged permission of the guards to furnish the Russians with breakfast. This was granted, and the old man stood near them during the repast, to see

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that they wanted nothing, the expression of his countenance plainly showing his pity. They were kept so severely bound that their wrists were covered with painful sores, and one of the seamen was seized with dangerous bleeding at the nose. At night they lay in the boats, still bound, and were frequently wet to the skin by showers of rain.

After five days of this painful travel, they were put on shore, their feet untied, and the cords about their knees loosened so that they could walk. Their journey thenceforth was entirely by land. "The Japanese oyagoda, or commander of the district," says Golownin, "took a considerable time to determine on the order of our procession; however, he at length disposed of us in the following manner: two Japanese from the neighboring village proceeded first, walking side by side, and carrying staves of red wood, very handsomely carved: their business was to direct our course. These were relieved, on entering the next district, by two new guides, carrying staves of the same description. The guides were followed by three soldiers. Next came my turn, with a soldier on one side, and on the other an attendant, who, with a twig, kept the gnats and flies from fixing upon me. Behind me was a conductor, who held together the ends of the ropes with which I was bound. We were followed by a party of Kuriles, carrying my litter; and after them came another party, destined to relieve the others when fatigued. Next came Mr. Moor, guarded in the same manner as I was; after him Mr. Chlebnikoff; then the sailors, one following another; and last of all Alexei. The whole retinue was closed by three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants, carrying provisions, and the baggage of our escort. The party must have amounted to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred men. Each individual had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which was an inscription, stating with which of us he was stationed, and what were the duties of his office.

"During the whole journey, the Japanese uniformly observed the same regulations. At daybreak we prepared for our departure, breakfasted, and then set out. Our conductors frequently stopped in villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco. At noon we dined. Having rested for one hour after dinner, we again proceeded, and an hour or two before sunset we halted for the night, usually in a village furnished with a small garrison. These night-quarters, when we first entered, were generally hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were always conducted to a neat house, and placed altogether in one apartment, where our guards never failed to fasten us to iron hooks which were fixed into the walls.

"When we arrived at the station where we were to pass the night, we were always conducted to the front of the house belonging to the person possessing the highest authority in the place; we were there seated on benches covered with mats, and he came out to inspect us. We were then taken to the house allotted for our lodging; on entering which our boots and stockings were taken off, and our feet bathed with

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warm water, in which there was a solution of salt. We were regularly provided with meals three times a-day; viz., breakfast in the morning before we set out on our journey, dinner about noon, and supper in the evening, in our night-quarters. There was, however, little variety in our diet; it consisted usually of boiled rice instead of bread, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, broth made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of maccaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish.

"In every village, on our arrival and departure, we were surrounded with crowds of both sexes, young and old, who were drawn together by curiosity to see us; and yet on these occasions we never experienced the slightest insult or offense. All, particularly the women, contemplated us with an air of pity and compassion. If we asked for drink to quench our thirst, they were emulous to supply us. Many solicited permission of our guards to entertain us, and on their request being granted, brought us sagi, comfits, fruits, or other delicacies. On one occasion, the chief of a village treated us with some very good tea with sugar. They often inquired respecting an European nation called Orando, and a country to which they gave the name of Kabo. We assured them that we knew of no such people or countries in Europe; upon which they expressed surprise, and testified distrust at our answer. Sometime after we learned that the Japanese called the Dutch, Orando, and the Cape of Good Hope, Kabo."

During all this time they remained bound, until their flesh became so chafed that the Japanese guards finally called in a physician who applied plasters to the wounds. They refused to allow them liberty, from fear that they would commit suicide. They even held the pipes which the prisoners smoked, lest they should attempt to injure themselves with the stems; but afterward, having fitted enormous mouth-pieces to them, as a precautionary measure, allowed the Russians to take them in their own hands. Captain Golownin and the officers were constantly applied to by the natives to write some lines for them as curious souvenirs. The Japanese considered a specimen of Russian writing as great a curiosity as an inscription in Japanese would be looked upon in Europe, and they showed a fan upon which were inscribed four lines of a popular Russian song, signed by a person named Babikoff, who, it appeared, had visited Japan along with Laxman. Though these lines must have been written twenty years before, yet the fan was as clean and fresh as if perfectly new. The owner kept it wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and set so much value upon it, that he would scarcely suffer it to be opened.

After a journey of nearly four weeks, the prisoners at last, on the 7th of August, saw from an eminence the city and harbor of Hakodadi*

* The port of Hakodadi, in the straits of Sangar, at the southern extremity of the island of Jesso, is one of the ports opened to the vessels of the United States by the treaty concluded at Yoko-hama by Commodore Perry in 1854. The harbor is safe and commodious, and has already become a favorite place of resort for American whalers, for the purpose of refitting and procuring supplies. Captain Golownin spells the name "Chakodadé," which is probably the Russian mode of representing the same sounds.

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spread out before them. The next morning, the guards made preparations for their formal entrance into the city; they put on new clothes, and armed themselves with coats of mail and helmets. As the procession approached the gates, a great number of persons came out to see them. "We at length entered the city," says Golownin, "where the concourse of people was so immense, that our guards had great difficulty in clearing a passage for us. Having proceeded the distance of half a verst along a narrow street, we turned down a cross-street on our left, which led us into the open fields. Here, upon a rising ground, we first beheld the building that was destined to be our prison. The sight filled us with horror. We observed only the long roof; but that sufficiently enabled us to form a notion of the extent of the edifice. A high wooden inclosure or fence, of great strength, and well provided with *chevaux-de-frize*, concealed the body of the building. This wooden fence was surrounded by an earthen wall, somewhat lower, which on this occasion was hung with striped cloth. There was a guard-house near the gate, in which several officers were seated. Along the path leading to our prison, soldiers were stationed in full military uniform: they stood at the distance of two fathoms from each other, and were armed in various ways: some with muskets, some with bows and arrows, others with spears, etc. A party of officers were stationed in front of the building. On arriving at the gate, we were received by an officer, to whom a list of our escort had previously been handed, and we were then conducted into a sort of court or yard. Here our future gloomy and horror-stirring domicile presented itself fully to our view. It was a large dark building, resembling a barn, and within it were apartments formed of strong thick spars of wood, which, but for the difference of size, looked exactly like bird-cages.

"I was led into a passage or lobby in the building, where my boots were drawn off, and the ropes with which I was bound removed. I was then directed to enter a small apartment, which was divided from the passage by wooden palissades. I now looked around me in quest of Mr. Moor and Schkajeff; but how great was my dismay to find that I could neither see nor hear them! The Japanese, without saying a word, closed the door of my apartment, and quitted the lobby, the door of which they likewise closed after them. I was now alone. The thought of being separated from my companions, and probably forever, completely overpowered me, and, in a paroxysm of despair, I threw myself upon the ground.

"I remained for some time in a state of insensibility. At length, raising my eyes, I observed at the window a man, who beckoned me to approach him. I complied with his wish; and extending his hand through the railing, he presented me with two little sweet cakes; at the same time entreating me, by signs, to eat them quickly, as a punishment awaited him if he should be observed. At that moment I loathed the very sight of food; but I made an effort to eat the cakes, lest refusal

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might give offense to my kind visitor. His countenance now brightened up, and he left the window, with a promise to bring me more at a future time. I thanked him as well as I was able, and was greatly astonished that this man (who from his dress apparently belonged to the very lowest class) should be so far actuated by benevolence, as to hazard his own safety for the sake of conveying comfort to an unfortunate stranger.

"My guards now brought me some food; but I felt not the least inclination to partake of it, and sent it all away. In this state I remained until evening. I sometimes threw myself on the floor, or upon a bench, and occasionally walked about the apartment, meditating on the means of effecting my escape. I attentively inspected the construction of my cage. It was six feet in length and breadth, and about eight feet in height. It was divided from the lobby by wooden palissades of tolerable thickness, and the door was fastened by a lock. On one side, near the door, was a small recess fitted up as a water-closet. There were two windows, both secured externally by strong wooden gratings, and in the inside furnished with paper screens, which I could open and shut at pleasure. One window faced the wall of a building about two feet distant from that in which I was confined, and the other looked to the southern side of the fence which surrounded our prison. From this window I had a view of the neighboring hills and fields, part of the straits of Sangar, and the opposite coast. In the interior of the chamber stood a wooden bench, which, however, was so small, that I could not stretch myself upon it; and three or four mats lay in one corner on the floor. The place contained no other furniture."

After being confined for a day or two, Golownin was allowed to select one of the sailors for a companion. He chose Makaroff, who, on being conducted to him, stated that the other prisoners were confined in small cages, perfectly dark, and with such low entrances that they were obliged to crawl in on their hands and knees. Two days afterward, they were all taken before the governor of the city, by whom they were closely questioned, but received no intimation as to their future fate. They were then conducted back again to their cages, where they remained eighteen days before they were again summoned. Their condition was a little improved, inasmuch as they were allowed to speak to each other, a partition between the cages having been removed. Golownin observes: "The chief trouble we experienced from both officers and soldiers, who did duty as guards, arose from their requests to write on their fans and pieces of paper; but as they always solicited the favor with great courtesy, and invariably returned thanks with very humble reverences, we never refused. Some, however, imposed so far on our complaisance as to bring us ten or twenty fans at a time. These tedious labors fell chiefly on Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, as their hand-writing was very fine. The former wrote more than seventy sheets of paper for one of the soldiers; and from their unceasing applications we at

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length concluded that they must have sold these manuscripts as articles worthy of being preserved in the cabinets of the curious. This task was the more laborious, as the officers were always desired to give a translation of what was written. When we translated any thing for them, they carried it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, to compare his translation with ours; and if he wrote any thing, they brought it for the same reason to us."

On the 25th of August the deputy-governor, Otachi-Koeki, came to visit them, followed by a numerous retinue. Mats were spread in front of the cages, and Golownin was thunderstruck at seeing his own chest of clothing, the portmanteaus of Moor and Chlebnikoff, and the bundles of the sailors, deposited thereupon. His first thought was that the sloop had been wrecked, but the Japanese soon informed him that the articles had been sent ashore at Kunashir. "This day," he says, "was doubly memorable to me: first, on account of the great surprise and alarm which the appearance of our baggage occasioned; and secondly, because the want of paper and ink, or any thing by which I could make notes, induced me to fall on the following singular method of keeping a journal. When any thing happened that was agreeable to us, I tied a knot on a white thread, which I drew out of the frill of my shirt: when any unpleasant event occurred, I made a memorandum of it by tying a knot on a thread of black silk, taken out of my neck-handkerchief. With regard to other circumstances which, though remarkable, had occasioned us neither joy nor sorrow, I recorded them on a thread of green silk, which I abstracted from the lining of my uniform coat. Often did I count over these knots, and recall to my mind the events they served to denote."

Four days afterward they were again conducted before the governor, and were surprised by the reception of a letter from Lieutenant Rikord, who informed them that he intended sailing to Okotsk, and returning the next summer with a stronger force. The Japanese desired Golownin to translate this letter, which he did in a cautious manner, softening the threatening expressions which it contained. After they were taken back to their cages, they noticed that the officers and soldiers were more kind and friendly. They were allowed to have some articles of clothing from their trunks, and were furnished with a tub of warm water, that they might wash themselves. Golownin thus describes the latter proceeding: "The tub was extremely large, and the water was heated by means of a copper pipe, communicating with a kind of stove. I washed first, and the rest were obliged to make use of the same water. This was not a little annoying. We looked upon such treatment as below what was due even to common criminals. We were, however, soon set at ease on this particular; for, to our great astonishment, after we had all finished washing, some of the imperial soldiers, by whom we were guarded, very contentedly followed our example, and washed themselves in the same water. These soldiers, as I have before observed, are held in the utmost respect in Japan. It is, therefore,

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evident, that the Japanese entertain no disgust or horror of Christians; and do not, like other Asiatics, regard them as unclean.

"On the 5th of September, we were conducted to the governor of Hakodadi, for the last time. We sat a long time in the court-yard, drinking tea and smoking tobacco. The interpreter, Kumaddschero, went continually backward and forward, asking us Russian words, which he wrote down. We were at length conducted into the hall. Here one of the officers, a gray-haired man, apparently about seventy years of age, who in Laxman's time had been employed in compiling a Russian dictionary, unrolled a large sheet of paper, filled with Japanese characters, which he began to read in a style very much resembling singing. We were totally unable to comprehend the first ten or twenty words; but we at length discovered that he fancied he was reading Russian, and from some of the words we conjectured that the paper contained an account of our affair, translated into Russian. We could not refrain from laughing, and told the Japanese that we understood only a few words here and there: upon which they all joined in the laugh, not excepting the translator, who laid the paper aside. The governor then took leave of us, and we left the castle."

Toward the end of September they ascertained from the soldiers that they were to be taken to the city of Matsmai, at the western extremity of the Straits of Sangar. About the same time Simanoff, one of the sailors, obtained possession of a large knife, which Golownin advised him to preserve very carefully, in order to furnish them with a means of escape, if an opportunity should present itself. The journey to Matsmai occupied four days, and on the afternoon of the 30th of September, "we halted," says the narrative, "in a village about three versts distant from the city, where we were met by a party of soldiers and a vast crowd of people. We remained there about half an hour, during which time our conductors put on their best clothes, and we then entered the city with the same formalities as had been observed at Hakodadi: the number of spectators was, however, considerably greater, owing to the vast population of the city. Having proceeded through the town, to the distance of about four or five versts along the shore, we entered a large open space, crowded with men, who stood behind ropes, which had been fixed for the accommodation of the procession. Thence we ascended a tolerably high hill, passed along the rampart which encompassed the castle, and entered a court-yard, surrounded by a high wooden fence, entirely new. Here we met a detachment of soldiers in their military uniforms. From this court-yard a little door led through another fence, higher than the preceding one. We now entered a dark edifice like a barn. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and myself, were shut up together in a cage; the sailors and Alexei were confined in another.

"The whole structure must have occasioned the Japanese government no inconsiderable cost. We could not believe that so much labor

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and expense would have been incurred had it been intended to set us soon at liberty. The strength and the plan of this prison appeared to denote that it was to be our dwelling-place during the remainder of our existence. This idea distressed us not a little. We sat long in profound silence, gazing at each other, and giving ourselves up for lost. A servant at length brought in our supper, which consisted of boiled rice, a piece of fish, and a few beans with syrup."

Two days afterward they were taken before the *bunyo*, or governor, who interrogated them for some time concerning their names, rank, families, and relations. After they had retired, he announced his intention of presenting them with dresses, which were afterward made by a Japanese tailor. Their food was also better than it had been in Hakodadi. According to the Japanese custom, stewed rice and pickled radishes served them instead of bread and seasoning. They were besides frequently furnished with good fresh and salt fish, boiled or fried; soups, in which there were various wild herbs or maccaroni; and sometimes there was prepared for them a kind of Russian soup or sauce, made with white fish and muscle broth. The fish were fried in oil of poppies, and were seasoned with grated radish and soy.

For upward of a month after their arrival they were taken before the bunyo every day, regularly, and questioned for many hours in succession. Captain Golownin's account of this propensity of the Japanese is very curious. "The number of questions which the bunyo asked," he says, "was incalculable. If he put one interrogatory concerning any circumstances connected with our case, he asked fifty which were unimportant, and many which were ludicrous. This so puzzled and tormented us, that we sometimes made very irritable replies. On one occasion, we stated plainly, that we had rather they would put an end to our existence at once than torture us in the way they did. When we were captured, I had about me ten or twelve keys belonging to my desk and drawers and to boxes containing the astronomical instruments used on board the ship. The bunyo wished to be informed of the contents of every drawer and every box. When I pointed to my shirt, and told him that my drawers contained such things as those, he asked me how many I had. I replied that I did not know; and that it was my servant's business to keep that reckoning. Upon this he immediately inquired how many servants I had, and what were their names and ages. I lost all patience, and asked why I was teased with such questions, and what use there could be in answering them since my property was not with me. The governor then, with great mildness, observed that he hoped we were not offended by his curiosity; that he did not intend to force any answers from us, but merely questioned us like a friend.

"To enable the reader to form some notion of the questions which the Japanese put to us, and the trouble it cost us to explain the various matters which excited their curiosity, I may here subjoin a few of their interrogatories, scarcely, however, the hundredth part of the frivolous

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inquiries which they were accustomed to make in the course of one day. It must, moreover, be considered that we had to make ourselves understood to them by means of the half-wild Kurile, who knew scarcely any thing of the subjects on which we conversed, and who was acquainted with no words in the Kurile language to express many of the terms which we made use of. The Japanese interrogated us without any kind of regularity, and often jumped from one subject to another. The following is a specimen of one of our examinations:

"What kind of dress does the Emperor of Russia wear—what does he wear on his head—what kind of birds are found in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg—how many times do the Russians go to church in one day—what would be the price in Russia of the clothes we were then wearing—how many pieces of cannon are planted round the imperial palace—what wool is made use of in Europe for manufacturing cloth—what quadrupeds, birds, and fish are eaten in Russia—in what manner do the Russians eat—what sort of dresses do the ladies wear—what kind of horse does the Emperor usually ride—who accompanies him when he goes abroad—are the Russians partial to the Dutch—how many foreigners are there in Russia—what are the chief articles of trade in St. Petersburg—what are the dimensions in length, breadth, and height, of the imperial palace—how many windows does it contain—how many festivals do the Russians observe in the course of the year—do the Russians wear silk clothes—at what time of life do the Russian women begin and cease to bear children? They besides inquired the names of the Emperor, and of all the branches of the imperial family; the names of the governors-general of Siberia and Irkutzk, and of the commandants of Okotsk, Kamtchatka, etc.

"But they vexed us most of all by their inquiries respecting barracks. I have already observed that in Hakodadi they insisted on knowing how many men were under our command, according to our rank, when we were ashore. This question was again repeated, together with a request to know where the sailors lived in St. Petersburg. In barracks, we replied. They then requested Mr. Moor to sketch, from the best of his recollection, a plan of St. Petersburg, and to point out in what part of the town the sailors' barracks were. This demand was no sooner complied with, than they made inquiries respecting the length, breadth and height of the barracks; the number of their gates, windows, and doors; into how many stories they were divided; in what part of the building the sailors lived; how they employed their time; how many men were employed to guard the barracks, etc.

"But this was not all: they questioned us about the military barracks; asked how many buildings of that kind there were in St. Petersburg, in what part of the town they were situated, and what number of men they contained. We thought it best to plead ignorance of most of these matters; but this did not exempt us from the continuance of these interrogatories. We were asked in what part of the city our dwellings

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were situated, how far they were from the palace, and requested to point out the spot on the sketch which Mr. Moor had drawn. At length they wished to know how large our houses were, and how many servants we kept. I frequently thought that the Japanese took a pleasure thus to torment us; for to reply to all the questions which their insatiable curiosity induced them to put to us, was a positive martyrdom. We sometimes absolutely refused to answer them, and told them they might, if they pleased, put us to death. The bunyo would then endeavor to soothe us by expressions of regard, and by making inquiries respecting matters relative to our imprisonment, but he would soon resume his trifling. We avoided by every possible manœuver giving any opportunity for unnecessary questions; we returned short replies, and sometimes only half an answer. But every word brought with it a train of interrogatories."

After the prisoners had been driven to desperation by this continued questioning, and refused to gratify any longer the curiosity of the Japanese, the latter asked them to write out an account of what had happened to them since they left Russia. In doing this, they took occasion to relate minutely the occurences at the island of Kunashir. A great deal of time was consumed in translating this document into Japanese, and the work was not accomplished until the middle of November, with the help of the interpreters, Alexei and Kumaddschero. They then sent it to the bunyo, accompanied by a petition, in which they requested that the Japanese government would set them at liberty, and send them back to Russia. Alexei was honest enough to confirm the truth of every thing which they stated, contrary to the declaration of some other Kuriles whom the Japanese had seized, and his testimony was not without its value.

A few days afterward, they were summoned before the bunyo, who addressed them in a speech of considerable length, which was thus translated to Golownin: "The Japanese at first supposed we intended to plunder and burn their villages. For this reason they had enticed us into their garrison, and had detained us by force, with the view of ascertaining what had induced the Russians to commence hostilities, as the Japanese had uniformly entertained friendly dispositions toward them. The bunyo, however, gave credit to our explanation of the affair, and regarded us as innocent: he had accordingly given orders for removing the ropes with which we were bound, and would do all that lay in his power to better our condition. If it depended on him to grant us our freedom, and send us back to Russia, he would do so without hesitation; but we must be informed that the bunyo of Matsmai was not the chief individual of the state, but that Japan was ruled by an emperor and a superior government, whose commands he was bound to obey in all cases of importance, and without whose consent he could not grant us our freedom. On his part, however, he would use all his influence with the government in our favor, and to facilitate our return to Russia. With this view, he had sent one of the principal officers of Matsmai to Yeddo, the

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capital, to endeavor to bring our affair to the wished-for issue. In the mean while he entreated us not to give way to despair, but to offer up prayers to Heaven,* and patiently to await the decision of the emperor of Japan. When Alexei had finished his explanation, and the Japanese perceived that we understood him, our ropes were immediately taken off, and they all sincerely congratulated us. Two of the Japanese, present at this scene, were so moved that they shed tears.

"On returning to our prison, we found, to our astonishment, every thing changed; and we could scarcely comprehend how so complete an alteration could have been effected in so short a time. The spars or railings in front of our cages were removed; the spaces which before served us for passages were thrown into the cages; the floor was laid with planks in the direction of its length, and covered with new mats, so that our prison was converted into a roomy hall, in which we could walk about and converse at our ease. Near the fireplace, wooden compartments were formed, and in them a teacup for each of us was placed; on the hearth stood copper kettles with water for tea, and a pipe, with a little pouch of tobacco, was laid ready for each. Instead of lamps with fish-oil, we were allowed candles. We wondered not a little at this unexpected and rapid metamorphosis.

"We had scarcely recovered from our astonishment, when several civil functionaries, accompanied by their children, came to visit us. They offered us their congratulations, seated themselves by the fire, and smoked and chatted with us. In a word, we seemed no longer prisoners, but guests. Supper was not handed to us as usual, in cups or basins, but was served up, according to the Japanese custom, on trays. The vessels used were entirely new, and a finer sort was allotted to the officers than to the sailors. The aliments were better than before, and the sagi was no longer dealt out to us in certain portions, in cups, but was placed before us, that we might fill it out as we pleased. This kind treatment revived the hope of again seeing our country, and we passed a tranquil night, for the first time since our imprisonment. The two following days were spent in a manner equally gratifying, and we considered our speedy return to Russia as certain. But this pleasant state of things was not of long duration. New occurrences induced us to doubt the sincerity of the Japanese. We soon had to revert to our old meals, and nothing remained except the new utensils."

Matters remained in this condition during the whole winter. The captives were sometimes treated kindly, and consoled with the hope of a speedy release, while at other times the aspect of the Japanese was unfriendly and threatening. They finally became weary of this fluctuat-

* Whenever he said any thing to console us, he recommended us to rely on God, a circumstance with which we were particularly pleased. It was satisfactory to reflect, that the people into whose power fate had consigned us, entertained a just idea of the Supreme Being, and placed faith in the Almighty Ruler of nations, before whom all must sooner or later render an account of their actions.—GOLOWNIN.

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ing, uncertain state, and determined to make the attempt to escape. They were partly led to this conclusion, by the conviction that the Japanese intended to retain them as teachers, in order to gratify their boundless curiosity. A new interpreter, named Teske, was sent to them from the capital, to learn the Russian language; he was followed by an astronomer, who wished them to teach him how to make observations for the latitude and longitude. All were at first agreed upon the necessity of escaping, but in the beginning of March, Mr. Moor, the midshipman, suddenly declared that he would have nothing to do with the plot. From that moment a complete change took place in his manner and behavior. He began to imitate the customs of the Japanese; he was obsequious toward them to such a degree that their laughter was excited, and began to watch his fellow-captives, evidently with the design of giving information against them. Golownin soon became convinced that it would be unsafe to trust him; he therefore pretended to have given up the idea of escaping, while, with the concurrence of all the others, the preparations for it were secretly going on.

On the 1st of April they were all taken out of the cages and conducted to a house which had been expressly prepared for them. "Our residence," says Golownin, "was in various respects changed for the better. We could at least enjoy the sight of the sky, the stars, and many other objects; and we could, when we chose, walk out into the yard and enjoy the fresh air. We had before been debarred from all these enjoyments. Our food was likewise considerably better. But, nevertheless, we were inconsolable whenever we thought of the last words of the bunyo. He desired us to regard the Japanese as our brethren and countrymen, and mentioned not a word about Russia, as he had been before accustomed to do. We could construe this in no other way than that we must make up our minds to remain in Japan, and banish every thought of Russia. But we had firmly resolved that such should not be our fate; and had even bound ourselves by an oath, that, whatever might be the consequence, we would attempt either to liberate ourselves by force from the power of the Japanese, or to escape secretly during the night. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Moor, formed a determination to perish rather than remain forever in Japan.

"In one of our walks in the outskirts of the city we found a piece of steel, which one of the sailors picked up, under pretense of drawing up his boot, and slipped it into his pocket; we likewise found means to provide ourselves with some flints, unperceived by our attendants. The fragments of an old shirt, which we threw upon the fire as if by accident, served us for tinder; we besides daily increased our store of provisions, by secreting a portion of our allowances. We did not neglect defensive precautions. Having had the good fortune to find among the grass in our yard a large chisel, which had probably been left by the carpenters who repaired our house, we carefully hid it, and resolved, on the first

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favorable opportunity, to fasten it to a long pole, so that it might serve as a pike. To a similar purpose we destined a spade, which had also been left by accident in our yard, and which we appropriated. The proverb, that necessity is the mother of invention, was in our case fully verified, for Mr. Chlebnikoff actually managed to make a compass. We requested our attendants to let us have two large needles for mending our clothes, and afterward pretended that we had lost them. The Japanese sometimes fasten together the beams of their houses with copper; this had been done in our house, although the copper was very rusty. Mr. Chlebnikoff cleaned a piece of this copper, in the middle of which he bored a hole, so that a needle might be placed upon it. By frequently rubbing this needle on a stone which he selected for the purpose, he succeeded in magnetising it, and finally gave it such a degree of polarity, that it pointed with tolerable accuracy to the north. The case was composed of a few sheets of paper pasted together with rice."

Their plan was to escape by night, travel northward along the shore, and take possession, at some of the fishing villages, of a boat large enough to convey them across to Tartary. On the 23d of April, 1812, they were conducted to the outskirts of the city for a walk, and made use of the opportunity to observe the foot-paths leading to the hills. On their return to their house the same evening, they threw themselves upon their beds, as if much fatigued. "During the twilight," says the narrative, "the sailors entered the kitchen, and carried off two knives, without being perceived. About half an hour before midnight, Simanoff and Schkajeff stole into the yard, and concealed themselves under the steps. When twelve o'clock struck, and the Sangar soldiers had gone their rounds, they began to make a hole under the fence, through which we all (Mr. Moor and Alexei excepted) crept one after another. I stumbled in going out, slipped down, and struck my knee against a stake which was sunk in the ground close to the gap. The blow was extremely violent, but the pain soon diminished. We found ourselves on a very narrow path between the fence and the hollow, and with great difficulty we succeeded in gaining the high road. With hasty steps we then passed between the trees, crossed the mound and the cemetery, and, in about half an hour, reached the foot of the first hill which we had to ascend.

"Proceeding in our hazardous enterprise, we began, at the distance of about five versts from the shore, to climb the hills, and we endeavored, wherever it was possible, to direct our course northward. The stars served to guide us. While we were ascending the first hill I felt a violent pain in my knee, which in a short time swelled prodigiously. When we proceeded along level ground, I could, with the assistance of a stick, walk without much difficulty; but I experienced severe pain either in ascending or descending, as I was then obliged to tread heavily with the leg which had been hurt. Being thus unable to make an equal use of both feet, I was quickly overcome with fatigue. My companions

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were, therefore, under the necessity of stopping every half hour, to enable me to recover myself and ease my knee by resting. Our object was to reach, before daybreak, some hills, across which a thick forest extended, so as to conceal ourselves from the observation of the enemy; for we had now reason to regard the Japanese in that character. During our walks in the vicinity of the town, this forest appeared to us to be at no very considerable distance, but we soon found how greatly we had mistaken its situation. We could trace no footpath leading to it, and we therefore advanced to it in as straight a direction as we could. Owing to the darkness of the night, we could see no further than a few paces around us, and we sometimes unexpectedly found ourselves at the foot of a steep precipice, which it was impossible to climb. We had then to search for a more practicable road; which, when found, we continued to ascend until new obstacles presented themselves."

After having traveled for three hours in this manner, they reached the top of the ridge, and discovered a beaten road, leading directly toward the forest, where they might walk without fear of being tracked. They had almost reached the forest, where they would have been tolerably secure, when the sailor Wassiljeff, happening to look behind him, exclaimed: "They are pursuing us on horseback with lanterns!" and immediately descended into a deep hollow on one side of the road. The others followed his example, but by the time they had reached the bottom of the hollow, which was surrounded with precipices, the sun had risen. Perceiving at last a small aperture in the rock, which had been hollowed out by the action of a waterfall, they crept into it, and although the place was not large enough to allow them to sit down, they remained there until sunset. As soon as the stars appeared they climbed the hill again, and proceeded northward. Captain Golownin suffered so much pain, from the leg which had been injured, that he found it almost impossible to advance, and requested the others to leave him. This they refused to do, and the sailors took turns in dragging him along.

During the whole of the night they advanced northward over rugged hills, suffering greatly from the cold, and at daybreak halted among some bushes, for the purpose of cooking a little rice which they had brought with them. The day was cold and stormy, and as the mountains appeared to be entirely deserted, they determined to proceed. The sailors were still obliged to drag Golownin, whose sufferings were so great that he preferred lying down on the snow, and sliding down the steep sides of the hills. On this day he had a fearful adventure, which he thus describes; "Having ascended to a considerable height, we suddenly found ourselves at the foot of a steep rock, which we could not climb without the greatest difficulty and danger. I had nearly reached the top of the rock, when I found myself under the necessity of loosening my hold of the girdle of Makaroff, who otherwise, overburdened as he was, would not have been able to have gained the summit. I therefore placed the toes of my sound foot firmly against a stone, and throwing

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my right arm round a young tree, which was so much bent down that it inclined almost horizontally, I resolved to wait until Makaroff should reach the top, and be able to release me from my perilous situation. But, powerful and vigorous as Makaroff was, his great exertions had so overcome him, that he no sooner reached the summit, than he fell to the ground almost in a lifeless state. At this moment, the stone against which I rested my foot detached itself, and rolled to the bottom of a deep hollow which the rock overhung. I was thus left hanging by one hand, without the possibility of obtaining any other support, owing to the excessive smoothness of the rock.

"The rest of the sailors were at no great distance, but fatigue rendered them unable to afford me any assistance. Makaroff still lay stretched upon the ground, and Mr. Chlebnikoff was laboring to climb the rock at another point. Having remained in this dreadful situation for several minutes, my hand began to smart severely, and I was on the point of ending my sufferings by precipitating myself into the gulf, more than a hundred fathoms beneath me, when Makaroff, suddenly recovering, beheld my situation, and hastened to my assistance. Resting his foot upon a stone which projected from the rock under my breast, he with one hand grasped a branch of the tree. With my hand which was free I then seized his girdle, and, by a great effort on his part, I was drawn to the top of the rock. We were no sooner both safe, than Makaroff again fell down in a state of insensibility. Had either the stone or the branch of the tree given way, we must both have been precipitated to the bottom, and have perished."

"Meanwhile, Mr. Chlebnikoff had climbed to the middle of the rock, when such obstacles presented themselves that he could neither move backward nor forward. The sailors immediately tied together the sashes they wore as girdles, and, having lowered one end until he was enabled to take hold of it, drew him from his perilous situation."

They passed the night on the summit of one of the highest mountains of Matsmai, but were not able to sleep much on account of the intense cold. Next morning they cooked some garlic and sorrel for breakfast, and then descended toward the sea-shore, by the bed of a torrent—a path so difficult, that a single false step would have dashed them to pieces. Toward evening they found some deserted huts, in which they passed the night with tolerable comfort. On the 27th they emerged from the hills, and were cautiously making their way northward at some distance from the shore, when they suddenly saw a party of soldiers on horseback. They had barely time to conceal themselves among some bushes, and the men passed on without discovering them. After dark they descended to the shore, which they followed all night, passing through a number of fishing villages, without being seen by any one. They found several boats, but all were too small for their purpose.

The two following days were spent in the same manner, the fugitives proceeding along the sea-shore at night, and hiding themselves among

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the hills by day. But they now began to suffer severely from hunger, and felt more than ever the necessity of procuring a boat. They were thoroughly exhausted by the fatigues they had undergone, and yet were unable to make much progress on account of the distance between the shore and the hills, which they were obliged to traverse twice a day. On the night of the 29th, while traveling over the ridges in the dark, Mr. Chlebnikoff slipped and fell into a deep hole. They called, but received no answer. "We then tied our girdles together," says Golownin, "and fastening the one end about Wassiljeff, let him down into the hole into which Mr. Chlebnikoff had fallen. We lowered him gradually as far as the length of our united sashes would admit, and then drew him up again. Wassiljeff informed us, that, notwithstanding the depth to which he had descended, he could not discover the extent of the hole; and that he called Mr. Chlebnikoff, but received no answer. We therefore resolved to remain on the spot until daylight, and then to lower another of our party into the hole, to ascertain whether Mr. Chlebnikoff was yet living.

"We remained for two hours in a state of the most painful uncertainty respecting the fate of our companion. We at length heard a rustling among the grass, and on looking round, to our great joy and astonishment, we beheld him. It appeared that he had first rolled down about two fathoms from the surface, when something stopped him, and he endeavored to climb up again; he however slipped a second time, and fell perpendicularly into a pit, to the depth of some fathoms. Fortunately there were no stones at the bottom of the pit, but he was, nevertheless, severely bruised. He at length succeeded in climbing up the side of the pit, and reached the spot where he surprised us by his unexpected appearance. After resting for a short time, he again walked on, though complaining of severe pain in every part of his body. Even now, my memory never reverts without horror to the frightful gulfs and huge rocks of Matsmai."

On the night of the 1st of May, while passing through a village on the shore, they observed a boat in the water, and a tent near it. They advanced to inspect the boat, but Schkajeff, hoping to find some provisions in the tent, entered, thrusting out his hand, and grasped the head of a man who was sleeping there. The man cried out loudly, and the fugitives ran off and concealed themselves behind a stone wall. On returning some time afterward, they found a man sitting up in the boat, and keeping watch. The approach of morning drove them once more among the hills. Daylight surprised them on the side of a barren mountain, covered only here and there with a few scanty bushes. They beheld footpaths on every side, and villages along the shore, as far as the eye could see. They concealed themselves as well as they could, but soon after sunrise observed a woman on an opposite hill, who was looking at them and making signals to some persons whom they could not see. In a few minutes they were surrounded, and though Golownin and Maka-

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roff escaped at first, they were all ultimately recaptured, bound, and taken back to Matsmai under a strong guard.

They were immediately taken before the bunyo and examined. Mr. Moor, who was present, took the part of the Japanese, and gave Golownin and his companions much trouble, by contradicting many of their statements. After this examination, they were sent to the city prison, in which the Japanese criminals were confined. Here, after being stripped and searched, Golownin and Chlebnikoff were put into separate cages, and the four sailors in a third, which was larger and better supplied with light and air. Golownin had taken upon himself the whole responsibility of the flight, informing the Japanese that the sailors were bound to obey him, and were therefore not to blame. Nearly every day they were carried before the bunyo and subjected to weary and perplexing interrogatories. Toward the last of June a new bunyo arrived from Yedo, and matters apparently became more favorable, for on the 9th of July they were removed from the city prison to the house which they had occupied previous to their flight.

They were now also treated with more kindness than formerly. "Our guards," says Golownin, "treated us with much civility, giving us sometimes sagi, fruit, etc., and these acts of kindness were no longer performed by stealth. An old man, seventy years of age, brought some fans and lackered spoons for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, and an ink-stand, ink, and pencil, for Schkajeff, who, though suffering from severe illness, was exceedingly anxious to practice reading and writing. This man, though arrived at the age of thirty-two in total ignorance, had, while on board the sloop, by extreme application, learned to read, and likewise to write a little. To pass away the time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I took upon ourselves the task of instructing the sailors. Schkajeff, who suffered severely from indisposition, feared lest the others might advance more rapidly than he, and, whenever he experienced the least mitigation of his illness, never failed to employ himself either in reading or writing. He applied to both with unremitted assiduity, while his companions regarded the task of learning to read as too difficult, and abandoned it before they had acquired the alphabet. Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him instructions every evening, so that in time he could read and write tolerably well.

"Nothing remarkable occurred until September; but I can not omit mentioning a circumstance which is characteristic of the customs of the Japanese. One day, a dinner was sent to us of far better quality than that to which we had been accustomed, and it was served in elegant dishes. Every person who visited us congratulated us on receiving this compliment, which we concluded came from the bunyo; but we afterward learned that the dinner had been sent by a rich man, who was suffering under a dangerous fit of illness; and that in such cases it was customary for the Japanese to send presents of that sort to the poor and unfortunate."

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On the 6th of September they were conducted to the castle, and to their surprise and joy, received a letter from Lieutenant Rikord, stating that he was at the island of Kunashir with the *Diana;* that he knew not whether they were dead or living, but would not leave until he had received news of them. This letter was accompanied with an application to the Japanese government for their release. These papers were translated and forwarded to Yedo; but in a fortnight afterward the Japanese interpreters announced to Golownin that Rikord had sailed back to Siberia, taking with him five of the crew of a Japanese vessel which he had encountered. About the middle of October another letter was delivered to Golownin. It was from Lieutenant Rudakoff, and stated that on first arriving at Kunashir they were informed that the prisoners had been put to death. They then determined to commence hostilities, and accordingly captured a Japanese junk, from the crew of which they learned that their friends were still alive. They had, nevertheless, taken the master of the junk and four sailors with them, and would return early the next year, to procure Golownin's liberation.

"A ray of hope now began to dawn upon us," says Golownin, "and seemed to rescue us from utter despair. Thus perplexed between the expectation of liberty and distrust of the Japanese, we entered upon the new year, 1813." During the winter and spring, they lived in a state of great trouble and perplexity, on account of the singular conduct of Mr. Moor, who sometimes appeared to repent of his past baseness, and to desire to regain their confidence, while at other times, he did all in his power to prejudice the Japanese against them. His behavior was so extraordinary that Golownin was forced to believe that his mind was disordered, and subsequent occurrences confirmed him in his opinion. "On the 10th of May," says the narrative, "the note which we had requested permission to dispatch to the different fortified harbors, to inform our friends that we were living and well, was returned from the capital. The government had approved of its contents, and consequently not a single letter could be altered. Having made five copies, and affixed our signatures to each, they were dispatched on the same day to their several destinations. This note was to the following effect:

"'We are all, both officers and seamen, and the Kurile Alexei, alive, and in Matsmai. WASSILY GOLOWNIN.

"'May 10, 1813. FEODOR MOOR.'

"Mr. Chlebnikoff was unable to sign the notes on account of severe illness."

On the 20th of June they received information of the arrival of the *Diana* at Kunashir, and on the following day the interpreters received orders to ask Golownin which of the sailors he wished to send on board. To avoid showing any preference to one more than another, he determined that chance should decide the matter, and the lot happened to

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fall to Simanoff. He also requested that the governor would permit Alexei to accompany him. To this the latter consented, and they received orders to prepare for their departure. They left Matsmai on the 24th, accompanied by Kamaddschero, the interpreter, and Sampey, the deputy governor.*

Nothing further happened until the 19th of July, when a letter was received from Captain Rikord, stating that he should sail immediately for Okhotzk, and return in September, bringing the declaration required by the Japanese government, that Chwostoff's attack was an act of private aggression merely. A few days afterward, Simanoff and Alexei were brought back to Matsmai, the *Diana* having sailed. From this time forward the prisoners were kindly treated. The Japanese government appeared to have decided to liberate them, and they were relieved from the torturing suspense which they had suffered for nearly two years. On the 30th of August they left Matsmai, for Hakodadi; previous to their departure, the officers came, with their children, to bid them farewell, and offered them farewell cards. The people, who had assembled in great multitudes in the streets, all pressed forward to bid them adieu. On the 2d of September, they entered Hakodadi, and were quartered in an imperial building, near the garrison.

On the 16th, they were rejoiced with the news that a foreign vessel

* In Captain Rikord's account of his negotiations with the Japanese for the release of Golownin and his companions, he gives the following description of Simanoff's arrival. Tatchatay-Kachi, the Japanese junk owner, whom Rikord had carried off the previous summer, informed him on the 26th of June, that an imperial vessel was about to arrive from Matsmai, with the deputy of the bunyo. The next evening the vessel came into port, and Kachi went on shore to meet the deputy, promising to return in the morning. Rikord then continues: "Faithful to his appointment, we saw him in the morning coming down to the shore, in company with another man. Kachi was instantly recognized by the white handkerchief which he always waved at the end of his saber; and with respect to the other, we did not remain long in uncertainty, for as they advanced, our worthy little friend occasionally vanished from our view, in consequence of falling behind his more bulky companion. We all exclaimed, 'That is one of our Russians.'

"It is impossible for me to describe the moving scene which followed, when our sailors beheld their comrade returned from captivity. A part of the crew were filling water-casks at the rivulet. When the prisoner saw Russians on the other side of the stream, and probably recognized among them some of his old messmates, he made but one step to its banks, leaving Kachi at least nine paces behind him. Surprise and joy made our sailors forget that they were prohibited from crossing the rivulet. They waded through it, and embraced the welcome visitor in the most affectionate manner. The officer who had the command of the party on shore informed me, that at first he did not know the stranger, he was so altered by the sufferings he had undergone. At last, all the men cried out with one voice, 'Simanoff!' for that was his name. He then threw off his hat, knelt down, and could not utter a word; but the tears rolled fast down his cheeks. This affecting spectacle was renewed when he came on board the ship. I saluted him first, and asked whether our friends in Matsmai were well. 'God be praised,' he replied, 'they are in life, though not all quite well. Mr. Chlebnikoff, in particular, is dangerously ill.' I repressed my desire to ask further questions, knowing the impatience with which the men were waiting for a talk with him."

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had been seen off the coast. This was the *Diana*, but she did not enter the harbor of Hakodadi until the 28th. Captain Rikord immediately sent on shore the declaration of the commandant of Okhotzk, which was satisfactory to the authorities; for, after some further negotiations and ceremonies, the prisoners were finally summoned before the bunyo on the 6th of October, to receive the official notice of their liberation. The bunyo presented them with the following congratulatory address: "You have now lived three years in a Japanese frontier town, and in a foreign climate, but you are now about to return to your native country. This affords me great pleasure. You, Captain Golownin, as the chief of your companions, must have endured extreme anxiety of mind, and I sincerely rejoice that you have attained your happy deliverance. You have, in some measure, become acquainted with the laws of our country, which prohibit us from maintaining any commerce with the people of foreign nations, and require that we should banish all foreign vessels from our coasts. Explain this to your countrymen on your return home. It has been our wish, while you remained in Japan, to treat you with all possible kindness; but, before you became acquainted with our customs, our behavior may have appeared to you the very opposite of what we intended. Each nation has its peculiar customs, but good conduct will everywhere be esteemed as such. On your return to Russia, inform your countrymen of this likewise. I wish you all a safe voyage."

"On the following day, the 7th of October, we put on our best dresses. The servants and guards packed up our other clothes in boxes, without omitting the least trifle, and placed them in the portico of the house. At mid-day we were conducted to the shore. Our clothes, the presents we had received, and the provisions for our voyage, were carried behind us by a number of attendants. On reaching the harbor, we entered a building near the custom-house, where Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I, were shown into one apartment, and the sailors into another. We had been only a few moments in this place, when Captain Rikord came ashore, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, the interpreter, and some other individuals. Rikord and his two companions were conducted to the same apartment in which, a few days before, my interview with him had taken place, and which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor and I, were now requested to enter.

"Every thing being in readiness for our departure, we were conducted to the bunyo's barge, in which we embarked, accompanied by Tachatay-Kachi; our clothes, provisions, and the presents, being placed in separate boats. On our way from the custom-house to the boats, all the Japanese, not only those with whom we were acquainted, but the strangers who were looking on, bade us adieu, and wished us a safe voyage.

"The officers and seamen on board the *Diana*, received us with a degree of joy, or rather enthusiasm, which can only be felt by brothers or dear friends after a long absence, and a series of similar adventures. With regard to ourselves, I can only say, that after an imprisonment of two years, two months, and twenty-six days, on finding ourselves again

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on an imperial Russian ship, surrounded by our countrymen, with whom we had for five or six years served in remote and dangerous voyages, we felt what men in such circumstances are capable of feeling, but which can not be described."*

The *Diana* sailed from Hakodadi on the 10th of October, and reached Kamtschatka on the 2d of November. Twenty days afterward, Mr. Moor, who had been plunged in melancholy since his liberation, committed suicide. Captain Golownin lost no time in proceeding to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the 14th of July, 1814, after an absence of seven years. He and Rikord were made Captains of the second rank, and received pensions of 1500 rubles annually; Mr. Chlebnikoff received a pension equal to his yearly pay, while the sailors who had been prisoners in Japan, received permission to retire from the service, and were allowed annual pensions, amounting to their full yearly pay. The Kurile, Alexei, as a reward for his good conduct, was presented with a hanger, and received, instead of a pension, twenty pounds of powder, and forty pounds of shot.

* Captain Rikord, in his narrative, gives the following account of this scene: "At twelve o'clock I went on board the barge, accompanied only by Saveljeff and Kisseleff, and we rowed, under white flags, to the well-known building, where the Japanese were in waiting to receive us. Our prisoners immediately appeared at the door. They all wore yellow dresses, with seamen's trowsers, and waistcoats of various colors. On any other occasion we should have been highly diverted by the singularity of their appearance, but now it did not even excite a smile. Friend gazed at friend with emotion and joy, and our thoughts were expressed more by looks than by words. Tears of gratitude to Providence glistened in the eyes of our liberated countrymen. The Japanese retired and left us for some time alone, in order that we might give vent to our feelings. My countrymen were then formally delivered over to me. The papers of the Japanese government, which I was to lay before the authorities on my arrival in Russia, were presented to me, and refreshments were then handed to us in the usual manner.

"Having once more expressed our sincere thanks, we rowed from the shore at two o'clock, accompanied by a countless number of boats, crowded with Japanese of both sexes. Notwithstanding a violent adverse wind, none of the numerous boats by which we were surrounded put back. The *Diana* was decorated with flags, and all her yards were manned by the crew, who saluted us with three cheers. The enthusiasm of the seamen, on once more beholding their beloved commander and his companions in misfortune, after a separation of two years and three months, was boundless. Many melted into tears. This scene, so highly honorable to the whole crew, can never be effaced from my recollection. Golownin and his companions, who were moved to their inmost souls, knelt down before the sacred image of the ship (the miracle-working Saint Nicolas), and returned thanks to heaven.

"Golownin presented to me his sword; the same which, during his captivity, the emperor of Japan had expressed a wish to see, and I now preserve it as the most valuable reward of my enterprise. To the officers he gave his telescopes, pistols, and astronomical instruments. He gave to the senior non-commissioned officer one hundred rubles; to the juniors seventy-five; to each seaman twenty-five; and to the sailors who had been his companions in captivity five hundred rubles each. But to Makaroff, who, as the reader knows, was of particular use to him, he besides granted a pension, amounting to a seaman's annual pay, from his estate in the government of Kasan. To the Kurile, Alexei, he gave a set of carpenters' tools, a rifle, powder, shot, tobacco, and two hundred and fifty rubles in money."

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DE LASCARIS'S

SECRET MISSION AMONG THE BEDOUINS.

M. DE LASCARIS was a Piedmontese, of one of those Greek families which settled in Italy after the conquest of Constantinople: he was a knight of Malta when Napoleon conquered the island. He was then a very young man: he followed the Corsican to Egypt, attached himself to his fortunes, and was fascinated by his genius. Foreseeing Napoleon's future eminence, he endeavored to impress upon his mind that Asia was a far grander field for his ambition than Europe. It appears that some conversations were held on the subject: Napoleon did not entirely embrace the idea of a magnificent oriental empire which was the bewildering dream of De Lascaris; but, on the eve of his departure for Europe, he appointed the latter his secret agent, gave him instructions and supplied him with ample means.

De Lascaris settled himself at Aleppo, to acquire a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and form acquaintances with the Arab chiefs of the Syrian Desert who came to that city. After some years' preparation, he commenced his perilous enterprise; he passed, at great risk, and under different disguises, through all the tribes of Mesopotamia and the Euphrates, and returned to Aleppo, rich in the knowledge he had acquired, and in the political relations he had prepared for Napoleon. But while accomplishing his mission, fortune overthrew his hero, and he learned his downfall on the very day when he was about to carry to France the fruits of his danger and devotion. This disappointment was fatal to him; he went into Egypt, and died at Cairo, alone, unknown, and abandoned. His journals and notes are supposed to have fallen into the hands of Mr. Salt, then English Consul at Cairo, and were never afterward heard of.

While M. de Lamartine was traveling in Syria, he learned, accidentally, that an Arab named Fatallah Sayeghir, who was the companion of De Lascaris on all his journeys, and who had kept a journal of all his experiences and adventures, was then living at Latakia. Lamartine immediately sent a messenger to Fatallah, offering him two thousand pias-

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ters for the journal. The offer was accepted in the course of time, the volume translated into Italian by Lamartine's interpreter, and finally into French by the poet himself. Although exaggerated and romantic in parts, it is valuable for its illustrations of the life and habits of the wandering Bedouin tribes of the Syrian Desert, and its descriptions of some localities (especially in the district of Nedjid), which no European traveler has yet reached. Many of the adventures related have a strong tinge of improbability about them, and the reader must bear in mind that the narrator is an Arab, and not likely to be free from the habit of exaggeration peculiar to his race. Lamartine, however, seems to entertain no doubt of the truth of his story.

Fatallah Sayeghir first met with M. Lascaris de Ventimiglia in Aleppo, in 1809, when he was engaged to give him lessons in Arabic. When M. Lascaris had learned to read and write tolerably well, he gave Fatallah some money and told him to buy goods, such as were saleable at Homs, at Hama, and the neighborhood, saying that they would trade in the countries least frequented by merchants. Fatallah had become attached to M. Lascaris, and accordingly made the purchases, for which M. Lascaris paid eleven thousand piasters. From his dress and manners the people of Aleppo thought M. Lascaris mad. He wore his beard long and ill-combed, a very dirty white turban, a shabby robe, with a vest, a leather belt, and red shoes without stockings; when spoken to he pretended not to understand what was said. But Fatallah had confidence in his integrity and good sense, and, in compliance with his request, promised to obey him in every thing.

They left Aleppo on the 18th of February, 1810, with a caravan bound for Hama. While at the latter place, M. Lascaris was viewing the half-ruined castle, and had begun to take a sketch of it, when some vagabonds ran out upon him from a broken arch and threatened to denounce him for wishing to carry off treasures and introduce the giaours into the castle. He defended himself and escaped with difficulty, but soon afterward he and his companion were arrested and thrown into a dungeon. Fatallah sent for a Christian writer named Selim, by whose interference they were enabled to purchase their liberty. They remained three weeks with Selim and his friends, and on the 25th of March proceeded with a caravan to Homs. During a stay of thirty days at this place, M. Lascaris obtained much information respecting the Bedouins, from a locksmith who passed much of his time with them, arranging their arms. They then pursued their route to Saddad, where they unpacked their goods, to sustain their character of merchants. The shekh and people of the village endeavored to dissuade them from visiting the Bedouins, whom they represented as most cruel and rapacious; but the travelers, nothing daunted, continued their journey to Corietain, still hoping to meet with a detachment of Bedouins, who pass this region in their annual migrations. Meanwhile, the locksmith Naufal, who accompanied them from Homs, advised them to change their names, as their

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own would create suspicion in the Bedouins and Turks. Accordingly, M. Lascaris took the name of Shekh Ibrahim el Cabressi (the Cyprian), and gave to Fatallah that of Abdallah el Katib. The Shekh Selim, of Corietain, likewise endeavored to discourage them from penetrating into the desert, and repeated a thousand alarming stories about the Bedouins, but when M. Lascaris consulted Fatallah, the latter encouraged him to proceed, saying that if he acted honorably there was nothing to fear.

"In a short time," says Fatallah, "we learned that the Bedouins were approaching Palmyra: some were seen even in the environs of Corietain. Presently there came one, named Selame el Hassan. We were at Selim's when he entered. Coffee was brought, and while we were taking it, many of the inhabitants came to the shekh, and said: 'Eight years ago, at such a place, Hassan killed our relative; and we are come to demand justice.' Hassan denied the fact, and asked if they had witnesses. 'No,' they replied; 'but you were seen passing alone on the road, and a little after we found our relative lying dead. We know that there existed a cause of hatred between you; it is therefore clear that you are his assassin.' Hassan still denied the charge; and the shekh, who from fear was obliged to exercise caution with the Bedouins, and besides had no positive proof in the case, took a piece of wood and said, 'By Him who created this stem, swear that you have not killed their relation.' Hassan took the wood, looked at it some minutes, and bent down his head; then raising it toward his accusers, 'I will not have,' said he, 'two crimes on my heart—the one of being the murderer of this man, the other of swearing falsely before God. It is I who have killed your kinsman: what do you demand for the price of his blood?' The shekh, from policy, would not act according to the full rigor of the law: and the persons present being interested in the negotiation, it was decided that Hassan should pay three hundred piasters to the relations of the dead. When it came to the payment of the money, he said he had it not about him, but that he would bring it in a few days; and as some difficulty was made of letting him go without security, 'I have no pledge,' said he, 'to give; but He will answer for me whose name I would not profane by a false oath.' He departed; and four days afterward returned with fifteen sheep, each worth above twenty piasters."

M. Lascaris being pleased with the character of Hassan, made his acquaintance; they became intimate friends, and when the travelers proposed to set out for Palmyra, he engaged to conduct them thither in safety. On their way M. Lascaris dislocated his ankle while mounting his camel, but he would not be detained, and they continued their route. Soon afterward they met a troop of armed Bedouins, who immediately gave battle. Hassan went forward to meet them, and sustained the attack for half an hour, but he was at length wounded by a lance and fell from his horse. The Bedouins then began to plunder the party, when Hassan, who lay bleeding upon the ground, thus addressed them: "What are you about, my friends?—will you then violate the laws of

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Arabs, the usages of the Bedouins? They whom you are plundering are my brethren—they have my word; I am responsible for all that may befall them, and you are robbing them!—is this according to honor?" The Bedouins charged him with conducting Christians to Palmyra, without asking the permission of the shekh, Mehanna el Fadel, the chief of the country. He replied that the merchants were in haste, and Mehanna was far away; that he had pledged his word, and the strangers had confided in the laws and usages of his country. At his words the Bedouins desisted, and only took from the travelers what they chose to give. They then pursued their journey with difficulty, M. Lascaris suffering from his foot and Hassan from his wound, and arrived at Palmyra on the following day.

Here they hired a house and exposed their goods for sale, until M. Lascaris had recovered, when they went to visit the temples and magnificent ruins of the place. "One day," says Fatallah, "we saw many people engaged in surrounding with wood a beautiful granite column. We were told it was to burn it, or rather to cause it to fall, in order to obtain the lead which was in the joinings. Shekh Ibrahim, full of indignation, addressing me, exclaimed, "What would the founders of Palmyra say if they beheld these barbarians thus destroying their work? Since chance has brought me hither, I will oppose this act of Vandalism." And having learned what might be the worth of the lead, he gave the fifty piasters they asked, and the column became our property. It was of the most beautiful red granite, spotted with blue and black, sixty-two feet in length, and ten in circumference."

At length the approach of the Bedouins was announced, and one day a party of eleven horsemen arrived, among whom was the Emir Nasser, the eldest son of Mahenna, chief of the tribe of El Hassnnee. M. Lascaris was overjoyed, and on being presented to the emir, received assurances of protection from all harm. He then invited Nasser to eat with him, as the Bedouins regard it an inviolable pledge of fidelity to break bread with any one. The dinner appeared excellent, and after coffee, when they began to speak of different things, M. Lascaris related to Nasser the adventure with six horsemen of his tribe. The emir wished to punish them and restore the money, but the travelers intreated him not to do so. They would have set out with him next day, but he induced them to await the arrival of his father, who was eight days' journey distant. He promised to send them an escort and camels to carry their baggage.

Eight days afterward three men came with the camels, and a letter from Mehanna el Fadel, bearing his welcome and the promise of his protection. Their preparations were soon made, and early next morning they left Palmyra. They met a great many Bedouins, who questioned their conductors, and passed on. After a march of ten hours, the plain appeared covered with tents, and they reached the camp of Mehanna. They entered the tent of the emir, who received them with proofs of

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the highest consideration. Next day he had a camel killed to regale them, a mark of high respect, as the Bedouins measure the importance of the stranger by the animal they kill to welcome him.

After enjoying their hospitality for three days, the travelers opened their bales, and sold many articles, upon most of which they lost more or less. Fatallah did not understand this mode of dealing, but M. Lascaris reminded him of their conditions. and he continued to sell according to the wishes of his patron.

One day they saw fifty well-armed horsemen arrive, and hold a long consultation with Nasser and his cousin, Shekh Zamel. Fatallah carried a present to the wife of Nasser, and learned that her husband had many enemies among the Bedouins, who hated him for humbling the national pride, and exalting the power of the Turks, with whom he sought alliance. The object of the meeting was to concert a plan of attack; the next day they would assail the tribe El Daffir, take their flocks, and do them all the mischief possible. This intelligence was perplexing to M. Lascaris, who, while endeavoring to attach himself to a tribe hostile to the Osmanlis, found himself with a chief allied to them. Next morning, a party of three hundred marched out; three days afterward, they made their triumphal entry, preceded by one hundred and eighty camels, taken from the enemy. Some time afterward, Nasser received from Soliman, the pasha of Acre and Damascus, a message, engaging him to come and receive the command of the desert, with the title of Prince of the Bedouins. Overjoyed, he departed for Damascus with ten horsemen.

Mehanna having ordered the departure of the tribe, the next morning by sunrise not a single tent was standing; all was folded up and loaded, and the departure began in the greatest order. Twenty chosen horsemen formed the advance guard; then came the camels with their loads, and the flocks; then the armed men, mounted; after these the women, those of the chiefs in rich *howdahs;* the camels loaded with baggage and provisions were behind. The line was closed by the Emir Mehanna, mounted on a dromedary, and surrounded by his slaves, the rest of the soldiers, and the servants, on foot. It was truly wonderful to witness the order and celerity with which the departure of eight or nine thousand persons was effected. M. Lascaris and Fatallah were on horseback, sometimes ahead, and sometimes by the side of Mehanna. When they halted, the Bedouins sprang to the ground, fixed their lances, and fastened their horses to them; the women ran on all sides, and pitched their tents near their husbands' horses; and thus, as if by enchantment, they found themselves in the midst of a large city.

On the fourth day, they were attacked by the tribe of Daffir, who sought to revenge themselves on Nasser, and succeeded in carrying off some of the flocks. The Bedouins murmured, attributing their mishap to the caprice and vanity of Nasser. Mehanna sent a courier to his son, who immediately returned with an officer of the pasha, and a letter threatening vengeance on all who should exhibit a rebellious spirit.

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Nasser made such display of his new dignity that he still further offended the Bedouins. A young chief of a neighboring tribe, who had listened with impatience to his vauntings, rose hastily, and told him that the Bedouins detested him, and threatened to depart from Bagdad and join Ebn Chahllan, the Drayhy, or Destroyer of the Turks. On the following day, he actually set out with his tribe for the country of Geziri, and a combination against Nasser was talked of in all quarters. Mehanna remonstrated with his son, but the latter still endeavored to tranquilize him. The Bedouins meanwhile took sides with one or the other, the greater part, however, with the father. Mehanna was highly esteemed among the Bedouins; his influence arose from his noble and generous heart, and from being the chief of a very ancient and numerous family.

In October, they were in the neighborhood of Aleppo, and Fatallah rejoiced to find himself so near home, but his contract was such that he could not communicate with his friends. M. Lascaris wished to spend the winter at Damascus, and with great difficulty they succeeded in reaching Corietain, where they were cordially received by their friends. They reported an advantageous speculation, while in reality, between presents and horses, they had nothing left but some goods they had deposited at this place. After a long delay, they finally departed on their journey, as winter was setting in. M. Lascaris rode a miserable horse, and Fatallah a donkey, and they proceeded with four men of the village as guides. In a defile between two mountains they were attacked by twenty Bedouin horsemen, who stripped them of nearly all their clothing, leaving them their sorry beasts, which were hardly able to walk. "Night came on," says Fatallah, "and the cold was excessive, and deprived us of the use of speech. Our eyes were red, our skin blue; at the end of some time I fell to the ground, fainting and frozen. Shekh Ibrahim, in despair, made gesticulations to the guides, but was unable to speak. One of them, a Syrian Christian, took pity upon me and the grief of Shekh Ibrahim; he threw down his horse, which was also half dead with cold and fatigue, killed it, opened the belly, and placed me, without consciousness in the skin, with only my head out. At the end of half an hour, I regained my senses, quite astonished at finding myself alive again, and in so strange a position. Warmth restored my speech; and I earnestly thanked Shekh Ibrahim and the good Arab. I took courage and found strength to proceed. A little after, our guides cried out, 'Here's the village!' and we entered the first house. It belonged to a farrier, named Hanna el Bitar. He showed a lively sympathy in our situation, set about covering us both with camel-dung, and gave us a little wine—a few drops at a time; having thus restored our strength and warmth, he withdrew us from our dunghill, put us to bed, and made us take some good soup. After a sleep, which was indispensable, we borrowed two hundred piasters to pay our guides and carry us to Damascus, which we reached the 23d of December, 1810."

One day, in the bazaar, a Bedouin, with whom they had broken bread

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in Nuarat el Nahaman, came to them, and after renewing their friendship, he invited them to visit the tribe of Waled Ali, to which he belonged, whose chieftain, Douhi, was known to them. They consented, and at the time agreed upon, he arrived with camels and guides, with which they set out on the 15th of March, 1811. The tribe was at Misarib, three days from Damascus, and after passing the nights in the open air, they were amid the tents of Waled Ali by sunset on the third day. The tents, surrounded by horses, camels, goats, and sheep, formed a pleasing scene. The Emir Douhi received them with marked distinction, and made them sup with him. He commanded five thousand tents, and three tribes, which were joined to his.

M. Lascaris was anxious to visit the drayhy, and had instructed Fatallah to gain every information respecting his character, mode of life, and the access to him, directing him at the same time to study the manners and customs of the Bedouins, to adopt their dress and imitate their usages, so as to pass absolutely for one of them, as he should depend on him to make the journey thither. For this purpose he prolonged their stay, and visited the three tributary shekhs of the Emir Douhi, directing Fatallah to take exact notes of all he saw and learned. Of these people Fatallah observes:

"The numerous tribes are often obliged to divide themselves into detachments of from two hundred to five hundred tents, and to occupy a large space, in order to procure water and pasturage for their flocks. We went successively through their encampments, until we could find means to transport ourselves to the drayhy, who was at war with the tribes of the territory of Damascus. We were universally well received. In one tribe it was a poor widow who showed us hospitality. In order to regale us, she killed her last sheep and borrowed bread. She informed us that her husband and her three sons had been killed in the war against the Wahabees, a formidable tribe in the neighborhood of Mecca. Expressing our astonishment that she should rob herself on our account, 'He that enters the house of the living,' said she, 'and does not eat, it is as though he were visiting the dead.'"

At length the drayhy arrived in Mesopotamia, and they engaged a Bedouin of a neutral tribe to take them to him, but when they went to Corietain for their goods, they heard of a victory gained by a son of the drayhy over Nasser, which gave renewed violence to the war. The tribe of Salkeh, to which their guide belonged, had been attacked by the drayhy, and no one dared to cross the desert. M. Lascaris was in despair; in his exasperation he even found fault with Fatallah. The latter then requested an understanding in their relations, declaring it madness to attempt this journey for the purpose of trading, but adding that if M. Lascaris had other motives adequate to the exposure of life, he must let him know them, and he would find him ready to sacrifice himself in his service. M. Lascaris then told him that this commerce

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was merely a pretext to conceal a mission with which he was charged from Paris. These were his instructions:

"1. To set out from Paris to Aleppo.

"2. To find a zealous Arab, and to attach him to me as interpreter.

"3. To acquire a knowledge of the language.

"4. To go to Palmyra.

"5. To penetrate among the Bedouins.

"6. To become acquainted with all the chiefs, and to gain their friendship.

"7. To unite them together in the same cause.

"8. To induce them to break off all alliance with the Osmanlis.

"9. To get acquainted with the whole desert, the halting-places, and where water and pasturage are to be found, as far even as the frontiers of India.

"10. To return to Europe, safe and sound, after having accomplished my mission."

Fatallah resolved to go on foot to the drayhy. He went to Wardi, the man who had saved him from perishing on the way to Damascus. This man first tried to dissuade Fatallah from the rash undertaking, but afterward engaged to go with him as a guide.

"It was essential," says Fatallah, "that I should be covered with rags, in order not to excite suspicion or cupidity if we were discovered on the road. This was my costume for the journey: a coarse cotton shirt pieced; a dirty torn gombaz; an old caffié, with a bit of linen, once white, for a turban; a sheep-skin cloak with half the wool off, and shoes mended to the weight of four pounds: besides these, a leather belt, from which hung a knife worth two paras, a steel, a little tobacco in an old bag, and a pipe. I blackened my eyes and dirtied my face, and then presented myself to Shekh Ibrahim to take my leave. On seeing me, he shed tears. 'May God,' said he, 'give you strength enough to accomplish your generous design! I shall owe every thing to your perseverance. May the Almighty be with you and preserve you from all danger! may he blind the wicked, and bring you back that I may reward you!' I could hardly refrain from tears in my turn. At last, however, the conversation becoming more cheerful, Shekh Ibrahim said, smilingly, that if I were to go to Paris in this costume, I should get much money by showing myself. We supped; and at sunset we departed. I walked without fatigue till midnight; but then my feet began to swell. My shoes hurt me, and I took them off; the thorns of the plants the camels browse on pricked me, and the small stones wounded me. I tried to put on my shoes; and in continual suffering I walked on till morning. A little grotto gave us shelter for the day. I wrapped my feet in a piece of my cloak that I tore off, and slept without having strength to take any nourishment."

At sunrise, on the seventh day, they reached the Euphrates; some hospitable Bedouins took them into their tents, where for the first time

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they made a hearty meal. They learned that the drayhy was three days distant, and that it was his intention to annihilate Mehanna and Nasser, and return to his desert near Bassora and Bagdad. Fatallah therefore took a guide and set forward. He represented himself as a merchant of Aleppo, having a correspondent at Bagdad who owed him twenty-five thousand piasters, and that in consequence of the war he was obliged to risk the journey himself, and put himself under the protection of the drayhy. The emir received him politely and welcomed him, but, according to custom, could not speak of business until after three days devoted to hospitality and repose. The emir happened to be in want of a secretary, and Fatallah, who offered to assist him for the moment, so gained his confidence by his information respecting the tribes he had visited, that the emir desired him to stay. Fatallah seemed to yield, and soon persuaded the emir to cross the Euphrates in order to gain over the tribes by his presence, and strike terror to his enemies. As this was his first march into Mesopotamia, the advice and information of Fatallah was a great resource to him.

"The departure," says Fatallah, "was superb to witness. The horsemen before, on horses of high pedigree; women on howdahs magnificently draped, and on dromedaries, surrounded by negro slaves. Men, loaded with provisions, were running throughout the caravan, calling out: 'Who is hungry?' and distributing bread, dates, etc. Every three hours a halt was made, to take coffee; and at night the tents were raised as if by enchantment. We followed the banks of the Euphrates, whose clear waters gleamed like silver: I myself was mounted on a mare of pure blood; and the whole journey appeared like a triumphal march, presenting a strong contrast with my former passage over the same country, in my rags and with my tortured feet."

They soon encamped on the Damascus territory, and kept advancing westward. The emir received a threatening letter from Mehanna, and replied in terms of defiance. By Fatallah's advice he sent word to the neighboring shekhs that he had come to free them from the yoke of the Osmanlis. Seven out of ten declared for him and came and encamped around him. Hearing that Mehanna had sent to the Turks for assistance, the drayhy immediately marched out his forces to attack him, and gained a brilliant victory. In a few days Mehanna returned with the Turks, but in their encounters the advantage was on the side of the drayhy, and Nasser fell in an engagement between his troops and those commanded by Zaher, the son of the drayhy.

As they were now very near Corietain, Fatallah proposed to go for Shekh Ibrahim, whom he had often spoken of as his master and superior in wisdom, when the emir had praised him for his sage counsels. The drayhy accepted the offer with eagerness, and gave Fatallah a strong escort. Fatallah was overjoyed at again seeing M. Lascaris, and spent the night in relating all that had passed. Next day they returned to

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the camp, where Shekh Ibrahim was received with the highest distinction by the emir.

Soon afterward an attack of the Wahabees cost the drayhy some horsemen and much cattle. Next day M. Lascaris told Fatallah that the drayhy was just the man he wanted, but that it was indispensable he should become the chief of all the Bedouins from Aleppo to the frontier of India, and further that he looked to Fatallah to arrange the matter, by friendship, by threats, or by artifice. Fatallah set about the task imposed upon him by first endeavoring to inspire the Bedouins with a high idea of Shekh Ibrahim; to this end some chemical experiments were employed, and prophecies were conveyed by Fatallah to the drayhy, concerning his future greatness. The people began to regard Shekh Ibrahim as a superior being, and the drayhy made him and Fatallah eat with his wife and daughters-in-law, in the interior of their tent, instead of eating with strangers in the *rabha*, or outer apartment.

Meanwhile a peddler who was supplanted by the strangers, began to calumniate them before the Bedouins, beginning with the women, whom he persuaded that they were magicians, who wished to transport their daughters to a far country, and throw a spell around the women that they might have no more children; that thus the race of Bedouins would become extinct and the Frank conquerors take possession of the country. They soon felt the effects of this; the girls fled at their approach, the women called them opprobrious names, the elderly ones threatened them. At length these intrigues of Absi the trader were discovered, and the drayhy would have put him to death, but by the intercessions of Shekh Ibrahim and Abdallah he was only banished from the tribe. He now spread wider his aspersions, and even went to Damascus with the intelligence that two Frank spies had gained the confidence of the drayhy. From his aspersions Solyman Pasha sent an officer to the drayhy with a threatening letter ordering him to give up the two infidels to his officer, that they might be taken in chains to Damascus, and publicly executed. The drayhy was highly incensed, but Fatallah took him aside and begged permission to settle the affair. He knew that M. Lascaris had married a Georgian in Egypt, who proved to be a cousin of Solyman Pasha, and that subsequently at Acre his wife had made known her relationship to the pasha, and was loaded by him with kindness and presents, as well as her husband. M. Lascaris therefore wrote to Solyman Pasha, and the officer returned in two days with a most friendly answer, and another to the drayhy, recommending his well-beloved friend, the great Shekh Ibrahim.

The drayhy had been surnamed the exterminator of the Turks, from a grand victory, gained with great slaughter over the Osmanlis commanded by the pasha of Bagdad. From this and many other achievements which M. Lascaris heard of him, he devoted himself more and more to the project of making him master of all the other tribes. The Wahabees were formidable adversaries, who soon afterward fell upon

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the tribe Waled Ali, and spread over the desert to subdue the Bedouins. Many tribes, alarmed, were about to submit, when M. Lascaris persuaded the drayhy to take the field and declare himself the protector of the oppressed.

"The Wahabees were commanded by a doughty negro, a half-savage, whose name was Abu-Nocta. When he prepares for battle, he takes off his turban and boots, draws up his sleeves to his shoulders, and leaves his body almost naked, which is of prodigious size and muscular strength. His head and chin, never being shaved, are overshadowed by a bushy head of hair and black beard, which cover his entire face, his eyes gleaming beneath the shade. His whole body, too, is hairy, and affords a sight as strange as it is frightful. The drayhy came up to him three days from Palmyra, at a spot called Heroualma. The battle was most obstinate on both sides, but ended in the flight of Abu-Nocta, who removed to the country of Nedjid, leaving two hundred slain on the field of battle. The drayhy searched out among the spoils all that had been taken from the tribe Waled Ali, and restored it. This act of generosity still further attached to him the affection of the other tribes, who were coming daily to put themselves under his protection. The report of this victory gained over the terrible Abu-Nocta was disseminated everywhere. Solyman Pasha sent the conqueror a pelisse of honor, and a magnificent saber, with his congratulations. Soon after this exploit we encamped on the frontiers of Horan.

"One day, a Turkish mollah arrived at the drayhy's; he wore the large green turban that distinguishes the descendants of Mohammed, a white flowing robe, his eyes blackened, and an enormous beard; he wore also several rows of chaplets, and an inkstand in the form of a dagger at his belt. He rode on an ass, and carried in his hand an arrow. He was come to instill his fanaticism into the Bedouins, and excite in them a great zeal for the religion of the Prophet, in order to attach them to the cause of the Turks. The Bedouins are of great simplicity of character, and remarkable for their frankness. They do not understand differences of religion, and do not willingly allow them to be spoken of. They are deists; they invoke the protection of God in all the events of life, and refer to Him their success or their failures with humble resignation; but they have no ceremonies or obligatory ritual, and make no distinction between the sects of Omar and of Ali, which divide the East. They never inquired what was our religion. We told them that we were Christians; their answer was, 'All men are equal in the sight of God, and are His creatures; we have no right to inquire what is the creed of other men.'"

Fatallah, after visiting Aleppo to procure goods and supplies, rejoined the tribe on the banks of the Euphrates. The chiefs of Bagdad and Bassora came daily to congratulate the drayhy on his victory, and to make acquaintance with Shekh Ibrahim, whose renown had reached them. They felt indebted to him for having counseled the war against

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the Wahabees, whose rapacity had become intolerable; whose king, Ebn Sihoud, took the tenth of their flocks and their money, and exacted ablutions and prayers five times a-day, on pain of death. A treaty was concluded in which the chiefs bound themselves to wage a war of extermination against the Wahabees, to obey the great drayhy, Ebn Chahllan, and to listen to no calumnies against Shekh Ibrahim and Abdallah. Couriers were sent to other tribes, and the chiefs mostly signed the treaty willingly; while many who at first objected were prevailed upon by Fatallah, who became an efficient diplomatist of the drayhy.

After some days spent in festivities they passed an arm of the Euphrates and encamped near the tribe of El Cherarah, celebrated for its courage, and also for its ignorance and obstinacy. A friendship existed between its chief, Abed, and the minister of king Ebn Sihoud, and he accordingly refused to join the alliance. Sahen was sent out with five hundred men to attack him, and he returned in three days with one hundred and forty camels and other booty; a few men were killed, but a great number wounded on both sides.

Abed collected his allies and the war daily became more serious. The encampment of the drayhy being now at some distance from the river, the women were obliged to bring water on camels, and on the third day eight hundred of the camels were carried off by the enemy. To avenge this outrage the drayhy advanced rapidly on the tribe of Cherarah, and after marching a day and a half, pitched ten thousand tents near the camp of Abed. A bloody battle seemed inevitable, but Fatallah resolved to prevent it if possible. Knowing that the Bedouins hold women in great respect, and consult them on all their plans, he visited Arquia the wife of Shekh Abed, who was a very superior woman, and by dint of compliments and presents led her on to the subject of the war, and incidentally explained to her the advantages of an alliance with the drayhy. Meanwhile her husband returned to the camp and sent orders to Arquia ignominiously to dismiss the spy, as the rites of hospitality would prevent him from taking vengeance. She haughtily refused, and in the end prevailed on Abed to listen to the proposals of Fatallah. A few days afterward he set his seal to the treaty and exchanged the camels taken in the war.

Having come near Bagdad, M. Lascaris secretly repaired thither to the French consul, to negotiate for a large sum of money. After crossing the Tigris, they learned that a sanguinary war was raging between the Bedouins, who took part for or against the alliance. They pushed on, and on reaching the frontiers of Persia met a messenger from the chief, Dehass, who demanded the assistance of the drayhy against enemies numbering fifteen thousand tents. They were six days distant from this tribe, but by marching day and night, without halting to eat, they accomplished the distance in three days. The greatest fatigue fell on the women, who were obliged to make the bread, and milk the camels, without delaying the caravan. Fatallah thus describes this ambulatory kitchen:

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"At certain regulated distances women were placed, who were employed without relaxation. The first, mounted on a camel laden with wheat, had a hand-mill before her. The corn once ground, she passed the meal to her neighbor, whose business it was to knead it with water, carried in budgets suspended on the sides of her camel. The dough was then handed to a third woman, who baked it in the form of cakes on a chafing-dish, with charcoal and straw. These cakes she distributed to the division of warriors, whose food she was charged to provide, and who came every minute to demand their portion.

"Other women walked beside the camels to milk them into *cahahs*, —wooden pails, containing four litres: these were passed from hand to hand to slake the thirst of the troops. The camels ate as they marched, from bags hung round their necks; and when their riders wished to sleep, they lay at their length on the camels, their feet secured in the sacks to protect them from falling. The slow and measured step of the camels invites to sleep, and I have never slept better than on this march."

Next day a letter was sent to the five hostile chiefs, but their reply being warlike, Fatallah was dispatched with presents. With but a single guide he had nearly reached the tent of Mohdi when the advanced guard rushed upon them, stripped them of every thing, and left them upon the burning sand in chains. Soon afterward the perfidious Absi approached Fatallah, spit in his face, and insulted him with threatening words, then withdrew to excite the Bedouins, who came, men, women, and children, to overwhelm him with outrages. Toward the evening of the second day a young man came up and drove away the children, and afterward brought some food. In the night he loosed his fetters, and Fatallah returned to his friends. The battle raged with fury two days, after which the two armies lay facing each other inactive. On the third day of truce the chief Saker came with a single attendant to the camp of the drayhy, to ransom his son, who was among the prisoners. His presence led to explanations, the calumnies of Absi were removed, and he ended by signing the treaty. M. Lascaris told him their intention was to open a passage from the coasts of Syria to the frontiers of India, to an army of a hundred thousand men, under a powerful conqueror, who would relieve the Bedouins from the yoke of the Turks, restore to them the sovereignty of the country, and open to them the treasures of India. He also explained that the religious fanaticism of the king of the Wahabees would counteract their plans, as his love of dominion, which had already made him master of Yemen, Mecca, and Medina, would extend his pretensions to Syria. Saker entered fully into these views, and promised to use all his influence with the other tribes. It was agreed that he should be chief of the Bedouins of the country they were now in, as the drayhy was of those of Syria and Mesopotamia. Next day he sent word that the chiefs Mohdi and Duakhry no longer opposed their projects.

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M. Lascaris deferred the project of pushing on to the frontiers of India, until the following year, when the Saker would have had time to prepare the tribes to second him. After a few days the army returned to Mesopotamia. As they continued their journey they learned that the tribe of El Calfa was encamped at Zualma, and Fatallah, with an escort of six men on dromedaries, was sent to negotiate with Jassem, its shekh. They arrived at the spot in three days, but found no traces of the camp. They now wandered three entire days without finding either water or food, and Fatallah's strength was failing, when his companions descried a well, and with a cry, darted forward. Fatallah fell to the ground in despair, and his companions had to return to assist him. "At length," he writes, "we arrived at the well, and one of them leaning over the parapet, drew his saber, declaring he would cut off the head of the first man who dared approach. 'Be governed by my experience,' said he, 'or you will all perish.' The authoritative tone he assumed had its effect upon us, and we all obeyed in silence. He called us one by one, beginning with me, and made us first lean over the margin of the well to inhale some of its moisture. Then drawing a small quantity of water, he wetted our lips with his fingers; by degrees he allowed us to drink a few drops, then a small cup full; and having pursued this rational treatment for three hours, he said, 'You may now drink without risk; but if you had not listened to me, you would have been all dead men; for drinking without precaution, after long privation, is certain destruction.' We passed the night on this spot, drinking continually, as much for nourishment as to slake our thirst, which, notwithstanding this indulgence, seemed insatiable."

After some time they discovered the tribe they were in quest of, and being kindly received by Jassem, Fatallah accomplished his mission satisfactorily, and returned to the drayhy. Fatallah, having learned that Mehanna el Fadel had formed a coalition against the drayhy, persuaded M. Lascaris to consult the Pasha Solyman, at Damascus. They repaired thither and obtained a firman requiring the governors of Homs and Hama to respect and obey the Drayhy Ebn Chahllan, supreme chief of the Desert of Damascus. Meanwhile Mehanna advanced nearer, certain of the co-operation of the Osmanlis; but the drayhy sent the pasha's firman to Homs and Hama, and the two governors placed their troops at his disposal, declaring Mehanna a traitor for calling on the Wahabees, the most inexorable enemies of the Turks. Mehanna made preparations for the struggle, and sent his son Fares to Homs for assistance which had previously been promised by the governor, but the latter threw Fares in prison, and Mehanna, dismayed, found himself precipitated from the supreme command, and obliged, not only to submit to the drayhy, but even to solicit his protection against the Turks. The drayhy at first refused to accept the submission of Mehanna, until M. Lascaris interposed in his behalf. Fatallah thus relates their reconciliation:

"The drayhy yielding at last, the principal men of the tribe marched

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forward to meet Mehanna, an attention due to his years and rank. As soon as he alighted, the drayhy assigned him the seat of honor in the corner of the tent, and ordered coffee to be brought. Mehanna hereupon rose: 'I will drink none of thy coffee,' said he, 'till we shall be completely reconciled, and have buried the seven stones.' At these words the drayhy also rose; they drew and mutually presented their sabers to be kissed; after which they embraced, and the example was followed by their attendants. Mehanna with his lance made an opening in the ground, in the center of the tent, about a foot in depth; and choosing seven small stones, he said to the drayhy, 'In the name of the God of peace, for your guaranty and mine, we thus for ever bury our discord.' As the stones were cast into the hole, the two shekhs threw earth over them, and trod it down with their feet; the women signalizing the ceremony with deafening shouts of joy: at its termination the chiefs resumed their seats, and coffee was served. From that moment it was no longer allowable to revert to the past, or to mention war. I was assured that a reconciliation, to be according to rule, ought always to be solemnized in this form."

Their united forces amounted to seven thousand and six hundred tents, and the drayhy now became chief of all the Bedouins of Syria. Saker went to Homs to solicit the deliverance of Fares, whom he brought back attired in robes of honor, to take part in the general rejoicing.

Some days afterward the drayhy marched against the Wahabees, who were besieging Palmyra, and encountered them at El Duah, without coming to a pitched battle. "Here," says Fatallah, "I had leisure to appreciate the advantage of the *mardouffs* in these wars of the desert, in which it is always necessary to carry about the commissariat of the army, and often for a considerable time. These camels, mounted each by two soldiers, are like moving fortresses, provisioned with every thing necessary for the nourishment and defense of their riders. A budget of water, a sack of flour, and another of dried dates, a jar of sheep's butter, and the munitions of war, are formed into a sort of square tower on the animal's back. The men, conveniently placed on each side on seats composed of cordage, thus carry with them every thing of which their temperate habits have need. When they are hungry, they knead a little of the meal with butter, and eat it in that state without baking; a few dates and a small quantity of water completing their moderate repast: nor do they quit their post to sleep, but throw themselves across the camel in the manner I have already described." The next day's engagement was more serious, and on the third the enemy fled, leaving the drayhy in possession of the field. Having no longer any enemies to fear in the Syrian Desert, M. Lascaris went to Homs to buy merchandize and write to Europe. They at length set out to return, and at night their guides persuaded them not to halt till they had completed the journey. In crossing a mountain at midnight, Fatallah's horse lost its footing, and he was hurled down a tremendous

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precipice. He was picked up insensible, but life was not quite extinct, and though his recovery was despaired of for two or three months, he was finally restored to tolerable health.

The drayhy was obliged to pursue his migrations eastward, and M. Lascaris remained with Fatallah. Ten months passed away, and another spring had come, when a courier announced to them the approach of the Bedouins. In a few days they rejoined the drayhy, who was overjoyed at the recovery of Fatallah. It was now reported that the Wahabees, who intended the conquest of Syria, were approaching with a formidable army, which spread terror and devastation every where on its passage. The drayhy requested auxiliary troops of the Pasha of Damascus, and "while waiting for the expected reinforcements," says Fatallah, "he caused a solemn declaration of war to be made, according to the custom of the Bedouins on very particular occasions, in the following form: A white female camel was selected, and blackened all over with soot and oil; reins made of black hair were then put over her, and she was mounted by a young maiden dressed in black, with her face and hands also blackened. Ten men led her from tribe to tribe, and on reaching each she proclaimed aloud three times—'Succor! succor! succor! Which of you will make this camel white? she is a relic from the tent of the drayhy menacing ruin. Fly, fly, noble and generous defenders! The Wahabees are coming! they will carry away your allies and your brothers: all you who hear me, address your prayers to the prophets Mohammed and Ali, the first and the last!'

"Saying which, she distributed among the tribe handfuls of black hair, and letters from the drayhy, indicating the place of rendezvous on the banks of the Orontes."

The camp of the drayhy was soon augmented by the coalition of thirty tribes, and the Pasha of Damascus sent his nephew Ibrahim Pasha with ten thousand men to Hama, there to wait for other troops from Acre and Aleppo. When they had met, the drayhy and Ibrahim Pasha, assisted by Fatallah, arranged their plan of defense. In two days the enemy appeared and established their camp, composed of fifty tribes and seventy-five thousand tents, at one hour's distance from the allies.

"Ibrahim Pasha," continues Fatallah, "was in consternation, and sent in great haste in search of the drayhy, who, having succeeded in reanimating his courage a little, returned to the camp, to order the necessary entrenchments. For this purpose all the camels were assembled, bound together by their knees, and placed in double files in front of the tents; and, to complete the rampart, a trench was dug behind them. The enemy on his part did the same, and the drayhy ordered the Hatfé to be prepared. This singular ceremony consists in selecting the most beautiful among the Bedouin girls, to be placed in a houdah, richly ornamented, borne by a tall white camel. The choice of the maiden who is destined to occupy this honorable but perilous post is very important, for the success of the battle depends almost entirely upon

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her. Placed opposite to the enemy, and surrounded by the bravest warriors, it is her duty to excite them to the combat: the principal action always takes place around her, and prodigies of valor defend her. All would be lost should the hatfé fall into the enemy's hands; and, to avoid so irreparable a misfortune, half the army must always be stationed about her. Warriors succeed each other on this point, where the battle is always hottest, and each comes to gather enthusiasm from her looks. A girl named Arkia, uniting in an eminent degree courage, eloquence, and beauty, was chosen for our hatfé. The enemy also prepared his, and the battle soon afterward commenced."

After several days of severe fighting, during which the drayhy's forces suffered heavy loss, a last, desperate effort was made, resulting in the total defeat of the Wahabees. The drayhy made a triumphal entrance into Hama, escorted by the chiefs of the allied tribes, and was received in a splendid manner by the governor and the agas.

Every day tribes arrived from the Nedjid country, deserting the Wahabees to join the drayhy; some attracted by his extraordinary reputation, others driven by dissensions with King Ebn Sihoud. M. Lascaris now saw his hopes realized beyond his most sanguine anticipations; but so long as any thing remained to be done he allowed himself no rest; they therefore crossed the Tigris and entered Persia. Here the fame of the drayhy had preceded him, and the tribes of the country came to fraternize with him, but as M. Lascaris required the co-operation of the great prince, chief of all the Persian tribes, the Emir Sahid el Bokhrani, whose command extends to the frontiers of India, they prolonged their journey to meet him. They dispatched couriers to notify the emir of their approach, and he came to meet them at the head of a formidable army. They were at first intimidated, but he received them cordially, entered readily into their views, and fully understood the importance of the commercial intercourse they were desirous of establishing with India. He promised them the co-operation of all the tribes of Persia under his dominion, and entered into a distinct treaty with them.

They returned by forced marches, and on arriving in Syria, received a courier from the king of the Wahabees, who brought a little piece of paper about three fingers in breadth, and twice as long. On this was a long and imperious letter, concluding with a command to come and see him without fear. On the reception of this letter, a council of war was held, and after having deliberately weighed the perils of the journey against the advantages of the alliance, the drayhy determined to comply with the authoritative invitation. He accordingly set out with a small retinue, accompanied by Fatallah.

In a few days, they overtook a tribe of Wahabees, from whom they were careful to conceal their pipes, for Ebn Sihoud prohibited smoking, and punished any infraction of his laws with death. They soon reached the Nedjid, a country intersected with mountains and valleys, studded

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with nomad camps, and abounding in towns and villages, the former of which appear to be very ancient, and attest a former population much richer and more numerous than that by which they are now occupied. The villages are peopled with Bedouin husbandmen; and the soil produces corn, table vegetables, and dates, in abundance.

"At length," continues Fatallah, "after fourteen days' journey, at the pace of our dromedaries, which may be reckoned at triple the distance traversed by a caravan in the same space of time, we arrived in the capital of the Wahabees. The city is surrounded and concealed by a wood of palms, called the palm-trees of Darkisch, which serves it as a rampart, and is so thickly planted as scarcely to admit the passage of a horseman between the trunks of the trees. Having made our way through these, we came to a second barrier, composed of little hillocks of date-stones, resembling a bank of small pebbles, and behind it the town-wall, along which we rode to the entrance-gate, and, passing through it, soon reached the king's palace, a large edifice of two stories, built of white hewn stones.

"Ebn Sihoud, on being informed of our arrival, ordered us to be ushered into an elegant and well-furnished apartment, where a plentiful repast was set before us. This beginning seemed to augur well, and we congratulated ourselves upon not having yielded to the suspicions which had been suggested to us. The same night, having suitably attired ourselves, we were presented to the king; whom we found to be about forty-five years of age, with a harsh countenance, a bronzed complexion, and a very black beard. He was dressed in a robe fastened round the loins by a white sash, a striped turban of red and white on his head, and a black embroidered mantle thrown over his left shoulder, holding in his right hand the scepter of the king of Mahlab, the ensign of his authority. He was seated, surrounded by the grandees of his court, at the extremity of a large audience-chamber, richly furnished with mats, carpets, and cushions. The draperies, as well as the king's habiliments, were of cotton, or the wool of Yemen—silk being prohibited in his dominions, together with every thing that would recall the luxury or customs of the Turks."

Ebn Sihoud greeted them coldly, and when, after a long silence, the drayhy opened the conference, he fiercely replied in a series of charges against him, and growing more and more exasperated as he spoke, concluded by ordering them to leave his presence, and await his pleasure. The drayhy's eyes flashed, and his nostrils dilated, but recollecting himself, he slowly retired. For two days and nights they remained in their apartment, hearing and seeing nothing. On the third day, the drayhy sent a message to the king; his only reply was the sight of twenty-five armed negroes, who ranged themselves before the door. Again he sent to Ebn Sihoud, demanding the right to speak to him. The Wahabee granted an audience, but left them standing, and without responding to their greeting, roughly asked what they wanted. The drayhy replied

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with dignity, saying that on the strength of his promises, he had come with only ten men while commanding thousands of warriors: he might crush them like ashes, but from the frontier of India to the frontier of Nedjid, in Persia, in Bussora, in Mesopotamia, Hemad, the two Syrias, Galilee, and Horan, every man who wore the kaftan would take vengeance for his death. He appealed to his honor, to restore him to his country, and openly contend with him, and continued his remarks with assurances that his death would not diminish his tribe, nor extinguish the race of Cholan. The king gradually calmed himself after this harangue, and said: "Go in peace; nothing but good will happen to you."

Next day, Ebn Sihoud sent for them, and received them very graciously, and presently asked the drayhy about the persons who accompanied him. Fatallah trembled, for he knew the prejudices of the Wahabee. When the drayhy named him, the king, turning toward him, said: "You are, then, Abdallah, the Christian?" On his answering in the affirmative, the king continued: "I see that your actions are much greater than your stature." After some further remarks, he demanded the object of the alliance they had been laboring so many years to accomplish. Fatallah stated the desire of uniting all the Bedouins of Syria under the command of the drayhy to resist the power of the Turks; that they had fought against the armies of Ebn Sihoud at Hama, simply because they were an obstacle to their projects. They were laboring for the drayhy; his power once established in Syria, Mesopotamia, and to the confines of Persia, they were willing to enter into alliance with the king, and become invulnerable in the possession of entire liberty. For this purpose they had now come, and had proved the sincerity of their intentions. The king's countenance cleared up as Fatallah spoke, and when he had ceased, he expressed his satisfaction. Then turning to his slaves, he ordered *three* cups of coffee, which, among the Bedouins, is a mark of the highest consideration. The rest of the visit passed off well, and they retired well satisfied.

"So delighted was I with the recovery of my liberty," says Fatallah, "that I spent all the next day in walking about and visiting every part of Darkisch and its environs. The town, built of white stone, contains seven thousand inhabitants, almost all kinsmen, ministers, or generals of Ebn Sihoud. No artizans are found there. The only trades exercised in the town are those of armorers and farriers, and few persons are engaged even in them. Nothing is to be purchased, not even food, for which every one depends on his own means—that is to say, upon an estate or garden, producing corn, vegetables, and fruits, and affording nourishment to a few fowls. Their numerous herds browse in the plain; and every Wednesday the inhabitants of Yemen and Mecca assemble to exchange their merchandise for cattle; a species of fair, which forms the sole commerce of the country. The women appear unvailed, but throw their black mantles over their faces—a very disgraceful custom: they are generally ugly and excessively dark-complexioned. The gardens,

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situated in a charming valley near the town, on the opposite side to that by which we had entered, produce the finest fruits in the world—bananas, oranges, pomegranates, figs, apples, melons, etc., intermixed with barley and maize—and are carefully watered.

"The next morning, the king again summoned us to him, received us very graciously, and questioned me closely respecting the various European sovereigns, especially Napoleon, for whom he testified great admiration. Nothing delighted him so much as the recital of the emperor's conquests; and happily my frequent intercourse with M. Lascaris had furnished me with many details to entertain him with. At the account of every battle, he would exclaim—'Surely this man is an emissary of God: I am persuaded he must be in intimate communion with his Creator, since he is thus singularly favored.' His affability toward me having gradually but rapidly increased, he suddenly changed the subject of conversation, and said at last, 'Abdallah, I desire to hear the truth from you: what is the basis of Christianity?' Aware of the Wahabee's prejudices, I trembled at this question; but mentally praying for Divine inspiration, 'The basis of all religion, O son of Sihoud!' I said, 'is belief in God. The Christians deem, as you do, that there is one only God, the Creator of the universe; who punishes the wicked, pardons the penitent, and recompenses the good; that He alone is great, merciful, and almighty.' 'Very well,' said he; 'but how do you pray?' I repeated the *Pater-noster;* he made his secretary write at my dictation, read and re-read it, and placed it inside his vest; then, pursuing his interrogatory, asked me to which side we turned to pray. 'We pray on all sides,' answered I, 'for God is everywhere.' 'That opinion I entirely approve,' said he; 'but you must have precepts as well as prayers.' I repeated the ten commandments given by God to His prophet Moses, which he appeared to know, and continued his inquiries. 'And Jesus Christ—in what light do you consider him?' 'As the Incarnate Word of God.' 'But he was crucified?' 'As the Divine Word, he could not die; but as man, he suffered for the sins of the wicked.' 'That is marvelous. And the sacred book which God inspired through Jesus Christ, is it revered among you? do you exactly conform to this doctrine?' 'We preserve it with the greatest reverence, and in all things obey its injunctions.' 'The Turks,' said he, 'have made a god of their prophet, and pray over his tomb like idolaters. Cursed be those who ascribe to the Creator an equal! may the saber exterminate them!' The king appeared delighted with our conversation, and said to me—'I see that we may always learn something. I have hitherto believed the Christians to be the most superstitious of men; but I am now convinced that they approach much nearer to the true religion than the Turks.'"

For several days they met in secret conclave with Ebn Sihoud, and an alliance was concluded between him and the drayhy to their mutual satisfaction, the king declaring that their two bodies should be henceforth directed by one soul. He then invited them, for the first time, to

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eat with him, and tasted each dish before it was offered to them. "As he had never seen any one eat otherwise than with their fingers," says Fatallah, "I carved a spoon and fork out of a piece of wood, spread my handkerchief for a napkin, and ate my dinner after the European fashion, which highly diverted him. 'Thanks be to God!' said he, 'every nation believes its customs the best possible, and each is therefore content with its condition.'"

When they returned to their tribe and had recovered from their fatigues, M. Lascaris told Fatallah that all was accomplished and they must now return to give an account of their mission. They left their friends, in the hope of soon seeing them, at the head of the expedition to which they had opened the way. They reached Constantinople in April, after ninety days' traveling, frequently across tracts of snow. Constantinople was ravaged by the plague, and during three months spent in quarantine they heard of the burning of Moscow. M. Lascaris was in despair, and at length determined to return to Syria, there to await the issue of events. They embarked, but a violent storm drove them to Chios, where they again encountered the plague. Having lost their property in the tempest, and being cut off from external communication by the contagion, they were nearly without clothing, and exposed to the greatest privations. Communications being at length restored, M. Lascaris went to a conference with Generals Lallemand and Savary, at Smyrna, and allowed Fatallah meanwhile to visit his mother, whom he had not seen for six years.

While staying at Latakia with his mother, and daily expecting the arrival of a ship which might convey him to Egypt, whither M. Lascaris had ordered him to repair, Fatallah saw a French brig of war enter the port, and hastened to inquire for letters. But the letters only brought the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his benefactor at Cair

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DENHAM AND CLAPPERTON'S

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

After the unsuccessful attempt of Messrs. Ritchie and Lyon to penetrate to the interior of Africa, in 1819, the British government determined to fit out an expedition on a more liberal scale, for the purpose of establishing friendly and commercial relations with some of the almost unknown countries of Soudan. Dr. Oudney first volunteered his services, and, while his plan was under consideration, met with Lieutenant Clapperton, of the royal navy, in Edinburg, in the year 1820. He communicated his design to the latter, who immediately expressed his desire to be associated with him, and the offer was accepted by Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State. While the preparations for the expedition were going forward, Major Denham volunteered to undertake a journey across the Desert to Timbuctoo, but was afterward, at his own request, associated with Oudney and Clapperton, and received the command of the expedition.

On arriving at Malta, Denham engaged the services of William Hillman, a shipwright in the dock-yard at La Valetta, the latter having volunteered his services on condition of receiving £120 a year. Oudney and Clapperton had already proceeded to Tripoli, where Denham arrived on the 18th of November, 1821. The three travelers immediately called upon the pasha, who received them kindly, and promised to forward the party safely into the interior. They were detained, however, for three or four months, before their preparations were completed, and a favorable opportunity occurred for proceeding to Mourzuk, the capital of Fezzan. "On the 5th of March, 1822," says Major Denham, "I left Tripoli for Benioleed, to join my two companions, who had advanced thither with our servants, horses, camels, and baggage. They had gone on to Memoom, a very pretty valley, which, at this season of the year, was green with herbage, and adorned by flowers of various hues and colors, richly scattered in beautiful disorder—but it was the last of the kind we were fortunate enough to meet with between this place and Bornou."

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After fourteen days' travel they reached Sockna, a town about half-way between Tripoli and Mourzuk. They were met by the governor and principal inhabitants, accompanied by some hundreds of the country people, who crowded around their horses, kissing their hands, and welcoming them with every appearance of sincerity and satisfaction. This reception was very encouraging to them, as they had determined, on setting out, to wear the Frank dress, and to pass for Englishmen and Christians, on all occasions. While walking in the streets of Sockna, two boys accosted them, saying that a beautiful woman wished to see them. "We put ourselves under their guidance," writes Denham, "and entering a better sort of dwelling-house, were quickly surrounded by at least half a dozen ladies, most of them aged; but who asked us a thousand questions, and, when satisfied we were not dangerous, called several younger ones, who appeared to be but waiting for permission to appear. Our dresses and ourselves were then minutely examined. The yellow buttons on our waistcoats, and our watches, created the greatest astonishment; and a pair of loose white trowsers that I wore, into the pockets of which I accidentally put my hands, raised their curiosity to a wonderful degree: my hands were pulled out, and those of three or four of the ladies thrust in, in their stead; these were replaced by others, all demanding their use so loudly and violently, that I had considerable difficulty in extricating myself, and was glad to make my escape."

The remaining half of the journey to Mourzuk was more difficult and dangerous than the first. They were sometimes two or three days without finding a supply of water, which was generally muddy, bitter, and brackish; in addition to which they encountered a severe sand-storm. The spot was pointed out to them, strewed with bones and dried carcases, where, the year before, fifty sheep, two camels, and two men perished from thirst and fatigue, when within eight hours' march of a well which the travelers were then anxiously looking for. On the 7th of April they arrived at a village in the midst of a vast multitude of palm-trees, just one day's journey short of Mourzuk. They had neglected sending word to advise the Sultan of their approach, and their reception, consequently, was less brilliant than at Sockna. As they drew near the walls of the city, the next afternoon, they halted to await the return of a messenger whom they had dispatched to give notice of their arrival. After half an hour's delay, the governor of the town came out, and in the sultan's name requested that they would accompany him to the house which had been prepared for them, adding, to their great surprise, that the English consul was there already. "The fact was," Major Denham adds, "that a very ill-looking Jew servant of mine, mounted on a white mule, with a pair of small canteens under him, had preceded the camels and entered the town by himself. He was received with great respect by all the inhabitants—conducted through the streets to the house which was destined to receive us; and from the circumstance of the canteens being all covered with brass shining nails, a very

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high idea of his consequence was formed. He very sensibly received all their attentions in silence, and drank the cool water and milk which was handed to him: and we always had the laugh against them afterward, for having shown so much civility to an Israelite—a race they heartily despise. 'We thought the English,' said they, 'were better looking than the Jews—death to their race!—but then God made us all, though not all handsome like Mussulmen, so who could tell?'"

Their interview with the sultan of Fezzan was any thing but encouraging. He told them that there was no intention, as they had been led to expect, of any expedition to proceed to the southward for some time to come; that an army could only move in the spring of the year; that the arrangements for moving a body of men through a country where every necessary must be carried on camels, both for men and horses, were so numerous, that before the following spring it was scarcely possible to complete them, as two camels were required for every man and horse, and one for every two men on foot. He read to them the letter of the Pasha of Tripoli, in which it was stated that they were commended to his protection, and were to be permitted to reside in Mourzuk, or any other part of Fezzan, until he (the sultan) had paid a visit to Tripoli. The travelers returned to their house with very disheartened feelings. The heat was intense, the thermometer standing at 97° in the shade.

In a few days after this their hopes were revived by a visit from a rich native merchant, named Boo-Khaloom, who was on the eve of starting for Tripoli, with handsome presents for the pasha. His secret errand was to obtain the removal of Mustapha, the sultan, who, he well knew, was employing his emissaries in Tripoli to have his head taken off after his arrival there. Boo-Khaloom desired to accompany the travelers to Bornou; his own caravan, with the merchants who would join him, would be sufficient protection for them. Soon after this conversation, he left for Tripoli, and was followed, in a few days, by the sultan, who not only stripped Mourzuk of its stores of supplies, but took with him all the camels that were to be had. Thus the expedition was deprived of the means of proceeding further, and it was immediately decided that Major Denham should return to Tripoli, in order to procure the necessary animals and supplies there.

Leaving Mourzuk on the 20th of May, accompanied only by his negro servant Barca, and two Arabs, he set out, making the journey in twenty days. Denham at once applied for an audience with the pasha, to whom he represented, in the strongest terms, their disappointment at the delay, and requested that he should fix a specified time for their departure for Bornou. "A voyage to Marseilles, on my way to England, was the consequence of our altercation with the pasha; and the promptitude with which it was decided upon and carried into effect, by means of a small French vessel, which, at the time, most fortunately lay in the harbor, was not without its good effects. The pasha sent three dispatches

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after me, by three different vessels, to Leghorn, Malta, and the port I had sailed to, which I received in quarantine, informing me that Boo-Khaloom was appointed with an escort to convey us forthwith to Bornou. This was every thing I wished for; and immediately re-embarking, a seven days' passage brought me once more to the shores of Barbary." Accompanied by Boo-Khaloom, the traveler started for Mourzuk, by way of Sockna, where he arrived on the 2d of October. Boo-Khaloom's weakness was a love of pomp and show, and he entered the town in great state, mounted on a white horse which the Pasha of Tripoli had given him. Two or three days afterward he became seriously ill, and insisted on Major Denham prescribing for him, saying: "I am quite sure you can cure me, if it is the will of God that I shall live; if not, nobody can." The prescriptions were finally successful, although his life was despaired of for two days.

They entered Mourzuk on the 30th of October. Boo-Khaloom, who was a truly charitable and benevolent man, was so popular in the place, that on his returning to it not only safe, but standing high in the pasha's favor, half of the inhabitants came out to meet him, shouting and singing, to express their joy. Major Denham was disappointed that none of his friends came out to meet him, but soon learned that they had all been very ill with fever and ague, from which Clapperton had not yet recovered. During his absence, they had made a journey to Ghraat, the chief town of the Tuarick tribe, situated in the desert, twenty days' journey west of Mourzuk. They were now happily united, and at once set about preparing for their further travels. The party consisted of thirteen persons—Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney; Hillman, the carpenter; a native of St. Vincent, who, on account of his voyages around the globe, was nicknamed Columbus; a Gibraltar Jew, who acted as storekeeper; three free negro servants, and four camel-drivers. They were also accompanied by several merchants from Mesurata, Tripoli, Sockna, and Mourzuk, who gladly embraced the protection of their escort to proceed to the interior with their merchandize. The procuring of camels and supplies for the long journey across the desert, occupied some time, and the caravan did not leave Mourzuk, finally, until the 29th of November.

In three days they arrived at Gatrone, whither Oudney, Clapperton, and Hillman had already proceeded, hoping to improve their health by the change of air. Denham found them still sick, however, especially the last, who had been twice given over by the doctor. They moved on slowly to the town of Tegerry, the last place in Fezzan, and there halted three or four days to rest the sick, as beyond this they should travel for fifteen days over a desert, where it would be necessary to march from sunrise until dark. There is a well near the gate of the fortress of Tegerry, the water of which, the travelers were gravely informed, always rose when a caravan was coming near the town. The inhabitants stated that they always prepared what they had to sell, on seeing this water increase in bulk, for it never deceived them. "In proof of this asser-

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tion," says Major Denham, "they pointed out to me how much higher the water had been previous to our arrival than it was at the moment we were standing on the brink. This I could have explained by the number of camels that had drunk at it, but I saw it was better policy to believe what every body allowed to be true. Even Boo-Khaloom exclaimed: 'Allah! God is great, powerful, and wise! How wonderful! Oh!'"

On the 13th of December the caravan left Tegerry, and entered on a desert plain, where the sick were constantly disheartened by the sight of the skulls and skeletons of men who had perished on the sands. On the 22d Denham writes: "During the last two days, we have passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety skeletons each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells at El-Hammar were countless. Those of two women, whose perfect and regular teeth bespoke them young, were particularly shocking; their arms still remained clasped around each other as they had expired, although the flesh had long since perished by being exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the blackened bones only left. The nails of the fingers, and some of the sinews of the hand, also remained, and part of the tongue of one of them still appeared through the teeth." Two days after this, one of Denham's she-camels foaled, and he looked forward to enjoying the milk, which, the Arabs assured him, she would have in abundance; but all at once the animal suddenly fell and died. "The evil-eye—the evil-eye!" the Arabs exclaimed, and some of them added: "She was sure to die. I knew it."—"Well, if she had been mine, I would rather have lost a child, or three slaves!"—"God be praised! God is great, powerful, and wise: those looks of the people are always fatal."

On the 1st of January, 1823, they reached a little oasis called Wady Ikbar, and were cheered by the sight of doum-palms laden with fruit, and grass in abundance. Three days more brought them to the village of Anay, the first Tibboo town, which is built upon the summit of a sandstone rock, a hundred feet high. The inhabitants ascend by means of ladders, which they draw up after them, whenever they are attacked by their enemies, the Tuaricks. The Sultan of the Tibboos was visiting another village in the neighborhood, and sent word to Boo-Khaloom that he would join the caravan and keep company with him as far as Bilma, the capital of his country. He made his appearance the next day. "He had neither much majesty nor cleanliness of appearance: he came to Boo-Khaloom's tent, accompanied by six or seven Tibboos, some of them really hideous. They take a quantity of snuff, both in their mouths and noses; their teeth were of a deep yellow; the nose resembles nothing so much as a round lump of flesh stuck on the face, and the nostrils are so large that their fingers go up as far as they will reach, in order to insure the snuff an admission into the head."

After entering the Tibboo country, the villages were numerous; the sterile, burning desert was exchanged for a broken country, intersected

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with deep and abrupt valleys, the beds of which were covered with grass and trees. On approaching the villages, the inhabitants always came out to meet the travelers, and when within about fifty paces of the horses fell upon their knees, singing and beating a sort of drum, which always accompanies their rejoicing. They halted two days to rest at a town called Dirkee. So many of Boo-Khaloom's camels had fallen on the road that he determined to send out a marauding party to plunder some more from the Tibboos—a proceeding which was sanctioned by the sultan, who, moreover, gave him instructions as to the proper route. The party returned with thirteen, and for several nights afterward a strict watch was kept, through fear that the owners would endeavor to regain possession of them.

"On the 12th," continues the narrative, "we reached Bilma, the capital of the Tibboos, and the residence of their sultan, who, having managed to get before and receive us, advanced a mile from the town attended by some fifty of his men-at-arms, and double the number of the sex we call fair. The men had most of them bows and arrows, and all carried spears. They approached Boo-Khaloom, shaking them in the air over their heads, and after this salutation we all moved on toward the town, the females dancing, and throwing themselves about with screams and songs in a manner to us quite original. They were of a superior class to those of the minor towns, some having extremely pleasing features, while the pearly white of their regular teeth was beautifully contrasted with the glossy black of their skin, and the triangular flaps of plaited hair which hung down on each side of their faces, streaming with oil, with the addition of the coral in the nose and large amber necklaces, gave them a very seducing appearance.

"I now for the first time produced Captain Lyon's book in Boo-Khaloom's tent, and on turning over the prints of the natives, he swore, and exclaimed, and insisted upon it, that he knew every face: 'This was such a one's slave—that was his own; he was right; he knew it. Praised be God for the talents he gave the English! they were *shatr*, clever, exceedingly clever.' Of a landscape, however, I found that he had not the least idea, nor could I at all make him understand the intention of the print of the sand-wind in the desert, which is really so well described by Captain Lyon's drawing; he would look at it upside down, and when I twice reversed it for him, he exclaimed: 'Why! why! it is all the same!' A camel or a human figure was all I could make him understand, and at these he was all agitation and delight. '*Agib!* wonderful!' The eyes first took his attention, then the other features: at the sight of the sword he exclaimed, 'Allah! Allah!' and on discovering the guns instantly asked, 'Where is the powder?' This want of perception, as I imagined, in so intelligent a man, excited at first my surprise; but perhaps just the same would an European have felt under similar circumstances."

Beyond Bilma the desert commenced again, and their route, for

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several days, was over broad plains of billowy sand, without any sign of vegetation. They sometimes found wells of bitter water in the hollows, but frequently saw none for two or three days together. Many camels fell and died on this march; the heat was very oppressive; but as the sick were much better than they had been, the travelers were all in good spirits.

By this time they had passed the latitude which is the northern limit of the tropical rains, and "on the 27th," says Major Denham, "we appeared to be gradually approaching something resembling vegetation: we had rising sands and clumps of fine grass the whole way, and the country was not unlike some of our heaths in England. Toward evening the trees increased greatly in number, and where we halted the animals found abundance of food. The *tulloh*-trees, the *kossom* (a very beautiful parasitic plant), and the herbage, were most refreshing to our parched feelings, although in reality they were of the most dingy green and stunted appearance."

RECEPTION IN BORNOU.

On the 31st there were still more marked signs of their approach to Bornou. "We reached a well where some really sweet milk was brought to us in immensely large basket bottles, some holding two gallons or more. No traveler in Africa should imagine that *this* he could not bear, or *that* could not be endured. It is wonderful how a man's taste conforms itself to his necessities. Six months ago, camels' milk would have acted upon us as an emetic; now we thought it a most refreshing and grateful cordial. The face of the country improved in appearance every mile. We passed along to-day what seemed to us a most joyous valley, smiling in flowery grasses, tulloh-trees, and kossom. About mid-day, we halted in a luxurious shade, the ground covered with creeping vines of the colocynth in full blossom, which, with the red flowers of the kossom which drooped over our heads, made our resting-place a little Arcadia." Boo-Khaloom now judged it expedient to send a messenger in advance with letters to Shekh El-Kanemy, the chief of Bornou, giving news of the approach of the expedition.

On the 4th of February, they reached the town of Lari, the inhabitants of which fled in all directions, in the greatest terror, on perceiving the caravan. "Beyond the town, however," says Major Denham, "was an object full of interest to us, and the sight of which conveyed to my mind a sensation so gratifying and inspiring, that it would be difficult in language to convey an idea of its force or pleasure. The great Lake Tchad, glowing with the golden rays of the sun in its strength, appeared to be within a mile of the spot on which we stood. My heart bounded within me at this prospect, for I believed this lake to be the key to the great object of our search, and I could not refrain from silently imploring Heaven's continued protection, which had enabled us to pro-

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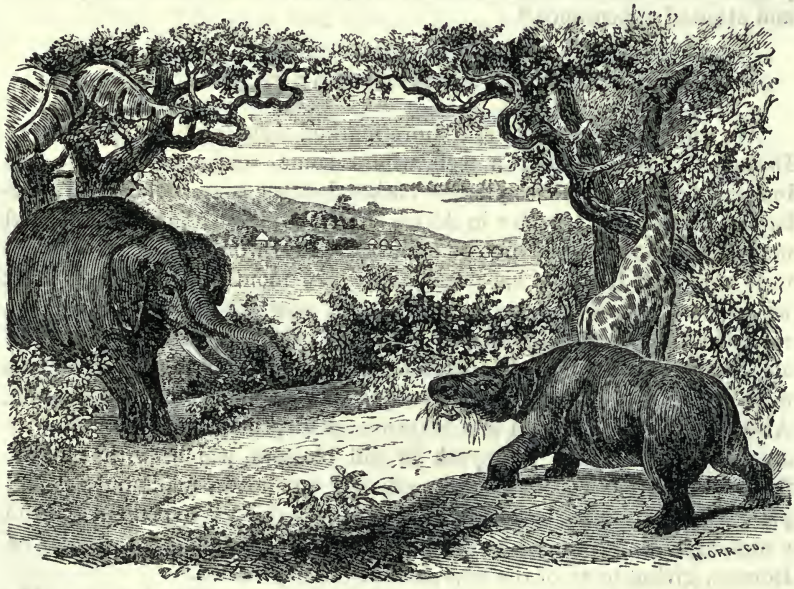
ceed so far in health and strength, even to the accomplishment of our task. By sun-rise next morning I was on the borders of the lake, armed for the destruction of the multitude of birds, who, all unconscious of my purpose, seemed to welcome our arrival. Flocks of geese and wild ducks, of a most beautiful plumage, were quietly feeding at half pistol-shot of where I stood. As I moved toward them they only changed their places a little to the right or left, and appeared to have no idea of the hostility of my intentions. Pelicans, cranes, four and five feet in height, gray, variegated and white, were scarcely so many yards from my side, and a bird, between a snipe and a woodpecker, resembling both and larger than either; immense spoonbills of a snowy whiteness, widgeon, teal, yellow-legged plover, and a hundred species of unknown water-fowl were sporting before me; and it was long before I could disturb the tranquillity of the dwellers on these waters by firing a gun.



LAKE TCHAD.

"In the evening I visited the town of Lari. It stands on an eminence, and may probably contain two thousand inhabitants. The huts are built of the rush which grows by the sides of the lake, have conical tops, and look like well-thatched stacks of corn in England. They have neat inclosures around them, made with fences of the same reed, and passages leading to them like labyrinths. In the inclosure is a goat or two, poultry, and sometimes a cow. The women were almost all spinning cotton, which grows well, though not abundantly, near the town and lake. The interior of the huts is neat. They are completely circu-

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lar, with no admission for air or light, except at the door, which has a mat by way of safeguard. I entered one of the best appearance, although the owner gave me no smiles of encouragement, and followed close at my heels, with his spear and dagger in his hand. In one corner stood the bed, a sofa of rushes lashed together, and supported by six poles, fixed strongly in the ground. This was covered with the skins of the tiger-cat and wild bull; around the sides were hung the wooden bowls used for water and milk: his tall shield rested against the wall. The hut had a division of mat-work, one half being alloted to the female part of the family."

Two days after this they arrived at the town of Woodie, where, on account of Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs, it was necessary to wait until the shekh of Bornou should send his permission to proceed. The town is about one mile west of the lake, and four days' march from Kouka, the capital of Bornou. The people have fish and game in abundance, and are very indolent, the men lying idly in their huts from morning till night. After waiting four days, two of the shekh's officers arrived with the necessary permission, and a present of some of the goroo nuts of Soudan, which have an agreeably bitter taste, and are much esteemed by the people of Tripoli. After eating these nuts, water has a grateful flavor, be it ever so bad. The Arabs call them the coffee of the black country. Proceeding southward for two days more, through a fertile, thickly-inhabited country, they came to a river called the Yeou—a stream fifty yards wide, with a hard, sandy bottom, and flowing eastward at the rate of three and a half miles an hour. The goods and passengers of the caravan were ferried across in canoes, to which the bridles of the horses and camels were attached, and the animals made to swim.

On the 16th of February the expedition halted within one hour's march of Kouka, in order to make the entry in state next day. Major Denham's account of what then took place is too characteristic and interesting to be omitted. "This was to us a momentous day," he writes, "and it seemed to be equally so to our conductors. Notwithstanding all the difficulties that had presented themselves at the various stages of our journey, we were at last within a few short miles of our destination, were about to become acquainted with a people who had never seen, or scarcely heard of, a European, and to tread on ground the knowledge and true situation of which had hitherto been wholly unknown. Our accounts of the state of this country had been so contradictory, that no opinion could be formed as to the real condition or the numbers of its inhabitants. The degree of credit which might be attached to the different reports was nearly balanced in the scales of probability; and we advanced toward the town of Kouka in a most interesting state of uncertainty whether we should find its chief at the head of thousands, or be received by him under a tree, surrounded by a few naked slaves.

"These doubts, however, were quickly removed. I had ridden on a short distance in front of Boo-Khaloom, with his train of Arabs, all

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mounted and dressed out in their best apparel, and, from the thickness of the trees, soon lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mistaken. I rode still onward, and on approaching a spot less thickly planted, was not a little surprised to see in front of me a body of several thousand cavalry drawn up in line, and extending right and left as far as I could see; and, checking my horse, I awaited the arrival of my party, under the shade of a wide-spreading acacia. The Bornou troops remained quite steady, without noise or confusion; and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout or yell was given by the shekh's people, which rent the air. A blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements which astonished me. Three separate small bodies, from the center and each flank, kept charging rapidly toward us, to within a few feet of our horses' heads, without checking the speed of their own, until the moment of their halt, while the whole body moved onward. These parties were mounted on small but very perfect horses, which stopped, and wheeled from their utmost speed with great precision and expertness, shaking their spears over their heads, and exclaiming: '*Blessing! blessing! sons of your country! sons of your country!*' and returning quickly to the front of the body, in order to repeat the charge. While all this was going on, they closed in their right and left flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give the compliment of welcoming them very much the appearance of contempt for their weakness. I am quite sure this was premeditated. We were all so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses and the clashing of the spears. Moving on was impossible, and we therefore came to a full stop. Our chief was much enraged, but it was all to no purpose; he was only answered by shrieks of 'Welcome!' and spears most unpleasantly rattled over our heads, expressive of the same feeling. This annoyance was not, however, of long duration. Barca Gana, the shekh's first general, a negro of a noble aspect, clothed in a figured silk tobe and mounted on a beautiful Mandara horse, made his appearance; and after a little delay the rear was cleared of those who had pressed in upon us, and we moved on.

"The shekh's negroes, as they were called, meaning the black chiefs and favorites, all raised to that rank by some deed of bravery, were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, dividing behind, and coming on each side of the horse: some of them had helmets, or rather skull-caps, of the same metal, with chin-pieces, all sufficiently strong to ward off the shock of a spear. Their horses' heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, just leaving sufficient room for the eyes of the animal.

"At length, on arriving at the gate of the town, ourselves, Boo-

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Khaloom and about a dozen of his followers, were alone allowed to enter the gates; and we proceeded along a wide street completely lined with spearmen on foot, with cavalry in front of them, to the door of the shekh's residence. Here the horsemen were formed up three deep, and we came to a stand: some of the chief attendants came out and after a great many '*Barca! barca's!*' retired, when others performed the same

BODY-GUARD OF THE SHEKH OF BORNOU.

ceremony. We were now again left sitting on our horses in the sun: Boo-Khaloom began to lose all patience, and swore by the pasha's head that he would return to the tents if he was not immediately admitted. He got, however, no satisfaction but a motion of the hand from one of the chiefs, meaning 'wait patiently;' and I whispered to him the necessity of obeying, as we were hemmed in on all sides, and to retire without permission would have been as difficult as to advance. Barca

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Gana now appeared, and made a sign that Boo-Khaloom should dismount: we were about to follow his example, when an intimation that Boo-Khaloom was alone to be admitted again fixed us to our saddles. Another half hour at least passed without any news from the interior of the building, when the gates opened and the four Englishmen only were called for, and we advanced to the entrance. Here we were stopped most unceremoniously by the black guards in waiting, and were allowed, one by one only, to ascend a staircase; at the top of which we were again brought to a stand by crossed spears, and the open flat hand of a negro laid upon our breasts. Boo-Khaloom came from the inner chamber, and asked, 'If we were prepared to salute the shekh as we did the pasha?' We replied, 'Certainly;' which was merely an inclination of the head, and laying the right hand on the heart. He advised our laying our hands also on our heads, but we replied that the thing was impossible—we had but one manner of salutation for any body, except our own sovereign.

"Another parley now took place, but in a minute or two he returned, and we were ushered into the presence of this Shekh of Spears. We found him in a small dark room, sitting on a carpet, plainly dressed in a blue robe of Soudan and a shawl turban. Two negroes were on each side of him, armed with pistols, and on his carpet lay a brace of these instruments. His personal appearance was prepossessing, apparently not more than forty-five or forty-six, with an expressive countenance and a benevolent smile. We delivered our letter from the pasha, and after he had read it he inquired, 'What was our object in coming?' We answered, 'To see the country merely, and to give an account of its inhabitants, produce, and appearance, as our sultan was desirous of knowing every part of the globe.' His reply was that we were welcome, and whatever he could show us would give him pleasure; that he had ordered huts to be built for us in the town, and that we might then go, accompanied by one of his people, to see them. When we had recovered from the fatigue of our long journey, he would be happy to see us again. With this we took our leave."

The huts were little round mud buildings, inclosed within a wall, not far from the shekh's residence. Here the travelers, greatly fatigued with their entrée, retired; but the huts were immediately crowded with curious visitors, and the heat was insufferable. The next day at noon they received a summons to attend the shekh, and carried with them their presents, consisting of a double-barreled gun, a pair of pistols, two pieces of superfine broadcloth, red and blue, a set of china, and two bundles of spices. The ceremonies of entering the presence were even more ridiculous and annoying than on the preceding day. They passed between double lines of attendants, who caught them by the legs when they advanced too rapidly, jerked off their slippers, and seated them on a raised bench of earth. The shekh received the presents with evident satisfaction and again questioned them as to the object of their visit.

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He was very much pleased with the assurance that the King of England had heard of Bornou and of himself; and, immediately turning to his counselor, said, "This is in consequence of our defeating the Begharmis;" upon which, the chief who had most distinguished himself in the battles, Bagah Furby (the gatherer of horses), demanded, "Did he ever hear of me?" The immediate reply of "Certainly," did wonders for the travelers: there was a general exclamation, and the cry of "Ah, then, your king must be a great man!" was repeated on every side.

After returning to their residence the travelers received presents of bullocks, camel-loads of wheat and rice, leathern skins of butter, jars of honey, bowls filled with a paste made of barley-flour, and great quantities of fresh fish. There was a market in front of one of the principal gates of the town, which was attended by upward of fifteen thousand people. The principal live stock sold here was slaves, sheep, and bullocks: wheat, rice, and sugar-cane were abundant, together with tamarinds, ground nuts, onions, butter, sour milk, and honey. There was also much leather, ocher, indigo, and the skins of serpents and crocodiles. Among other articles offered to Denham was a young lion, who walked about unconcernedly, confined only by a small rope around his neck.

On the 2d of March, Boo-Khaloom went to a town called Birnie, for the purpose of paying his respects to the Sultan of Bornou, who resides there, and the travelers decided to accompany him They passed through Angornou, a town of about thirty thousand inhabitants, sixteen miles from Kouka. Two miles beyond it was Birnie, a walled town, containing about ten thousand inhabitants. Here they were met by the sultan's chamberlain, who ordered a large tent to be pitched for them, and informed them that the sultan would receive them at sunrise the next morning. In the evening, a most plentiful, if not delicate, repast was brought them, consisting of seventy dishes, each of which would have dined half a dozen persons of moderate appetites. The sultan himself sent ten, his wives thirty, and his mother thirty; the meat consisted of mutton and poultry, and was baked, boiled, and stewed.

"Soon after daylight," says Major Denham, "we were summoned to attend the Sultan of Bornou. He received us in an open space in front of the royal residence; we were kept at a considerable distance, while his people approached to within about one hundred yards, passing first on horseback; and after dismounting and prostrating themselves before him, they took their places on the ground in front, but with their backs to the royal person, which is the custom of the country. He was seated in a sort of cage of cane or wood, near the door of his garden, on a seat which at the distance appeared to be covered with silk or satin, and through the railing looked upon the assembly before him, who formed a sort of semicircle extending from his seat to nearly where we were waiting. Nothing could be more absurd and grotesque than the figures who formed this court. Large bellies and large heads are indispensable for those who serve the court of Bornou; and those who unfortunately

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possess not the former by nature, or on whom lustiness will not be forced by cramming, make up the deficiency of protuberance by a wadding, which, as they sit on the horse, gives the belly the curious appearance of hanging over the pummel of the saddle. When the courtiers, to the number of about three hundred, had taken their seats in front of the sultan, we were allowed to approach to within pistol-shot of the spot where he was sitting, and desired to sit down ourselves, when the ugliest black that can be imagined, his chief eunuch, the only person who approached the sultan's seat, asked for the presents. Boo-Khaloom's were produced, inclosed in a large shawl, and were carried unopened to the presence. Our glimpse was but a faint one of the sultan, through the lattice-work of his pavilion, sufficient, however, to see that his turban was larger than any of his subjects', and that his face, from the nose downward, was completely covered. Immediately after the ceremony we took our departure for Angernou."

On returning to Kouka, Dr. Oudney became very ill. The travelers were greatly annoyed by the number of persons who crowded their huts from morning till night. Every little thing, from the compass to the pen and ink, from the watch to the tin drinking-cups, excited their curiosity; and as they now became bolder, they seized hold of every thing which they had formerly only eyed at a distance. It was not, however, their curiosity alone which was excited—the possession was coveted, either for themselves or the shekh, of every article. A copy of Captain Lyon's book, the fame of which had preceded the expedition, in consequence of Dr. Oudney having shown it to some merchants at Mourzuk, was demanded twenty times a day. It produced very different effects, but in all astonishment and suspicion. The shekh sent one of his slaves to borrow it, that he might see it by stealth, not wishing his people to know that he had made the request. He also asked that some rockets might be sent up, in order to surprise and overawe some of the Shouaas, his former enemies, who were then in Kouka. The signal was given by his chamberlain lighting a wisp of straw on the roof of the palace. The first rocket went up perpendicularly, with fine effect; the second, depressed a little, flew over the town at the height of a hundred yards, and bursting in its course, occasioned a universal scream, which lasted for some seconds.

On the 10th of March, Major Denham writes: "This day I had a little respite, my visiting-list being much reduced in consequence of its being market-day; there was, as usual, an abundance of all necessaries, though but few luxuries; and, as the people got more accustomed to my appearance, they became more familiar. One young lady, whose numerous bracelets of elephant's teeth, heavy silver rings on each side of her face, coral in her nose, and amber necklace, proclaimed her a person of wealth, nimbly jumped off her bullock and tore a corner from my pocket-handkerchief, as she said, for a souvenir. I could do no less than request her to accept the remainder of so useful an appendage, and I

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was happy to see that this piece of gallantry was not lost, even upon savages. They all clapped their hands and cried, 'Barca! barca!' and the lady herself, whose hands and face were really running down with grease, so regardless was she of expense, generously poured into the sleeve of my shirt nearly a quart of ground nuts."

The next day Major Denham received a summons from the shekh, to whom a report had been made of a musical box, which played or stopped merely by a motion of the finger. "The messenger declared he was dying to see it, and I must make haste. The wild exclamations of wonder and screams of pleasure which this piece of mechanism drew from the generality of my visitors were curiously contrasted in the person of the intelligent shekh; he at first was greatly astonished, and asked several questions, exclaiming, 'Wonderful! wonderful!' but the sweetness of the Swiss *ranz des vaches* which it played at last overcame every other feeling; he covered his face with his hand, listened in silence, and on one man near him breaking the charm by a loud exclamation, he struck him a blow which made all his followers tremble. He instantly asked if one twice as large would not be better. I said: 'Yes, but it would be twice as dear.' 'By Allah!' said he, 'if one thousand dollars would purchase it, it would be cheap.' Who will deny that nature has given us all a taste for luxuries?"

The instrument was presented to the shekh, who was so delighted that he gave Major Denham permission to visit Lake Tchad, and sent seven of his servants to attend him. After a ride of fifteen miles, they reached the shore of the lake, the waters of which stretched away to the horizon. In the grass marshes, thousands of cattle belonging to the shekh were peacefully grazing. The traveler encamped near the water, in spite of the remonstrances of his attendants, but was soon driven away by the swarms of mosquitoes which assailed him. In the evening, he saw a herd of forty wild elephants. The next day, while he was shooting water-fowl, news of three very large elephants was brought to him, and he immediately resolved to attack them. "One was an immense fellow, I should suppose sixteen feet high; the other two were females, and moved away rather quickly, while the male kept in the rear, as if to guard their retreat. We wheeled swiftly around him; and Maraymy casting a spear at him, which struck him just under the tail, and seemed to give him about as much pain as when we prick our finger with a pin, the huge beast threw up his proboscis in the air with a loud roar, and from it cast such a volume of sand, that, unprepared as I was for such an event, nearly blinded me. The elephant rarely, if ever, attacks, and it is only when irritated that he is dangerous; but he will sometimes rush upon a man and horse, after choking them with dust, and destroy them in an instant."

After an absence of three days, Major Denham returned to Kouka, where he received unwelcome news. "The horse which had carried me from Tripoli to Mourzuk, and back again, and on which I had ridden the

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whole journey from Tripoli to Bornou, had died, a very few hours after my departure for the lake. There are situations in a man's life in which losses of this nature are felt most keenly; and this was one of them. It was not grief, but it was something very nearly approaching to it; and though I felt ashamed of the degree of derangement which I suffered from it, yet it was several days before I could get over the loss. Let it be however remembered, that the poor animal had been my support and comfort—may I not say companion?—through many a dreary day and night; had endured both hunger and thirst in my service with the utmost patience; was so docile, though an Arab, that he would stand still for hours in the desert, while I slept between his legs, his body affording me the only shelter that could be obtained from the powerful influence of a noonday sun; he was yet the fleetest of the fleet, and ever foremost in the race."

DENHAM'S MILITARY EXCURSION TO MANDARA.

The party had now been more than a month in Kouka, without having made any apparent advance in the object of their mission. The determination of the shekh seemed to be, not to permit them to go beyond the borders of Bornou. They were not disheartened by the suspicion and distrust with which they were met, but endeavored, by patience and the utmost prudence in their conduct, to win by degrees the confidence of the shekh and people. Their situation at this time was rendered more embarrassing by difficulties which had arisen between Boo-Khaloom and the other Arab chieftains. The shekh was planning an expedition against the Fellatas living beyond Mandara, a country to the south of Bornou, for the purpose of capturing slaves, and promised to send Boo-Khaloom and his men, with Barca Gana, who was to command the party. Major Denham determined to go likewise, as the country to be visited was entirely unknown; but the shekh, at first, seemed determined to thwart his wishes. On the 8th of April, the expedition, under Barca Gana, proceeded to Angornou, whence it was to move southward on the 14th. Denham now lost no time in consulting one of the shekh's counselors, who professed to be his friend, promising to give him $50 if he would procure a permit for him to go. He also had another interview with the shekh, to whom he jestingly said that if he did not wish him to go, he must put him in irons. These promises and importunities were not without effect; the same night, Maraymy, one of the sultan's black slaves, who had accompanied Major Denham to Lake Tchad, came to him after midnight, and urged him to leave at once for Angornou. On the way thither, Maraymy stated, confidentially, that the shekh had desired him not to leave him, but that, if Denham persisted in joining the expedition, he was to conduct him to the camp as quickly as possible, and give him into the charge of Barca Gana.

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This hint was quite sufficient for Major Denham. They reached Angornou before sunrise, and, finding that the expedition had marched on to a town about thirty-five miles to the south, where it would halt a day, determined to resume their journey at once, and overtake it. On the evening of the next day, the 17th, they reached a town called Merty, near which they discovered the tents of the Bornouese camp. Maraymy at once conducted Major Denham to Barca Gana, who, he says, "received me with a great deal of civility in his tent, although he kept me several minutes waiting outside, until he had summoned his *fighi*, or charm-writer—an indispensable person—and one or two of his chiefs, to attend him. 'If it was the will of God,' he said, 'I should come to no harm, and he would do all in his power for my convenience.' A spot was appointed for my tent near his own; and I took my leave in order to visit the Arabs. The cheers they all gave me, and the hearty shake of the hand of Boo-Khaloom, made me regret that I was not to be among them, in spite of all their bad qualities. Boo-Khaloom repeatedly exclaimed: 'I knew you would come; I said you would by some means or other join us.'"

The next morning the tents were struck before sunrise, and Major Denham rode off by the side of Barca Gana, in full march for Mandara. They advanced thirty-four miles that day, and reached a walled town called Deegoa, with a population of thirty thousand. The following is the description of the order of march: "Chiefs in this part of Africa are accompanied by as many personal followers as they think proper to maintain, both as horse and footmen: some of them form the band, if I may so call it. Barca Gana had five mounted, who kept close behind him, three of whom carried a sort of drum, which hangs around their necks, and beat time while they sang extempore songs; one carried a small pipe made of a reed, and the other blew, on a buffalo's horn, loud and deep-toned blasts, as we moved through the wood; but by far the most entertaining and useful were the running footmen, who preceded the kashella, and acted as pioneers; they were twelve in number, and carried long forked poles, with which they, with great dexterity, kept back the branches as they moved on at a quick pace, constantly keeping open a path, which without them would really have been scarcely passable. Besides, they were constantly crying out something about the road, or the expedition, as they went on. For example: 'Take care of the holes!—Avoid the branches!—Here is the road!—Take care of the tulloh; its leaves are like spears—worse than spears!' 'Keep off the branches!' 'For whom?' 'Barca Gana!'—'Who in battle is like rolling of thunder?' 'Barca Gana!'—'Now for Mandara!—now for the Kerdies!—now for the battle of spears! Who is our leader?' 'Barca Gana!'—'Here is the wady, but no water! God be praised!—In battle, who spreads terror around him like a buffalo in his rage?' 'Barca Gana!'"

After several days of severe travel, the heat being sometimes 113°

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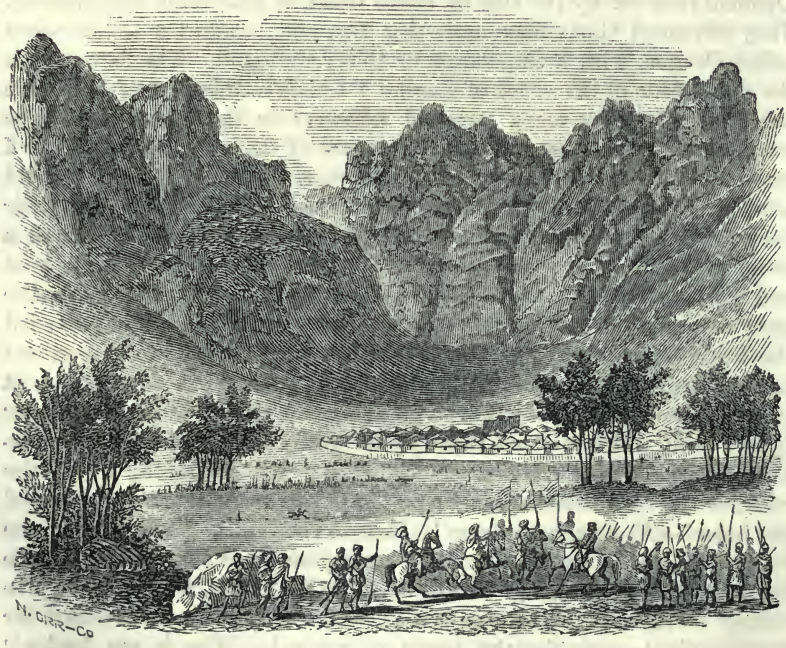
in the shade, the army approached the capital of the country of Mandara, and received a message from the sultan, who stated that he would meet it next day on his way to Mora, his residence. The first town of Mandara was Delow, a place of ten thousand inhabitants. "About a mile from his town," says Major Denham, "we saw before us the Sultan of Mandara, surrounded by about five hundred horsemen, posted on a rising ground ready to receive us, when Barca Gana instantly commanded a halt. The sultan's guard was composed of thirty of his sons, all mounted on very superior horses, clothed in striped silk tobes, and the skins of the tiger-cat and leopard forming their shabracks, which hung fully over their horses' haunches. After these had returned to their station in front of the sultan, we approached at full speed in our turn, halting with the guard between us and the royal presence. The parley then commenced, and the object of Boo-Khaloom's visit having been explained, we retired again to the place we had left; while the sultan returned to the town, preceded by several men blowing long pipes not unlike clarionets, ornamented with shells, and two immense trumpets from twelve to fourteen feet long."



ARRIVAL AT MORA, IN MANDARA.

"Toward evening," Denham continues, "Barca Gana sent to desire me to mount, for the purpose of visiting the sultan. We entered the town, Boo-Khaloom and myself riding on his right and left. At the

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further end of a large square was the sultan's palace. As is usual on approaching or visiting a great man, we galloped up at full speed, almost entering the gates. This is a perilous sort of salutation, but nothing must stop you: and it is seldom made, except at the expense of one or more lives. On this occasion, a man and horse which stood in our way, were ridden over in an instant, the horse's leg broken, and the man killed on the spot. The trumpets sounded as we dismounted at the palace gate; our papouches, or outward slippers, were quickly pulled off; and we proceeded through a wide entrance, into a large court, where, under a dark blue tent of Soudan, sat the sultan, on a mud bench, covered, however, with a handsome carpet and silk pillows. He was surrounded by about two hundred persons, all handsomely dressed in tobes of silk and colored cotton, with his five eunuchs, the principal men of the country sitting in front, but all with their backs turned toward him. The manner of saluting is curious. Barca Gana, as the shekh's representative, approached to a space in front of the eunuchs, his eyes fixed on the ground: he then sat down, his eyes still fixed on the earth, with his back to the sultan, and, clapping his hands together, exclaimed: '*Engouborou dagah!*' (May you live forever!) '*Allah kiaro!*' (God send you a happy old age!) '*La, lai? barca! barca!*' (How is it with you? blessing! blessing!) These words were repeated nearly by the sultan, and then sung out by all the court.

"The sultan, whose name was Mohammed Bukr, was an intelligent little man of about fifty, with a beard dyed of a most beautiful sky-blue. He had been eyeing me for some time, as I sat between Boo-Khaloom and Barca Gana, and first asking Boo-Khaloom his name, inquired who I was? The answer that I was a native of a very distant and powerful nation, friends of the pasha of Tripoli and the shekh, who came to see the country, did not appear much to surprise him; and he looked gracious as he said: 'But what does he want to see?' A fatal question followed, however, and the answer appeared to petrify the whole assembly. —'Are they Moslem?' '*La! la!*' (No! no!) Every eye, which had before been turned toward me, was now hastily withdrawn, and, looking round, I really felt myself in a critical situation. 'Has the great pasha infidel friends?' asked the sultan. The explanation which followed was of little use: they knew no distinctions: Christians they had merely heard of as the worst people in the world, and probably, until they saw me, scarcely believed them to be human. We shortly after returned to our camp, and I never afterward was invited to enter the Sultan of Mandara's presence."

It had been Boo-Khaloom's expectation that he would be sent against some of the Kerdies, or tribes of negroes who inhabit the mountains, in order to capture slaves: but he soon discovered that the intention of the Shekh of Bornou, aided by the Sultan of Mandara, was to send him against the warlike Felatahs, and give his Arabs a taste of their arrows and spears. The people of a country called Musgow, lying to the south-

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east of Mandara, supposed the expedition was directed against them, and, to propitiate the sultan, sent him a present of two hundred slaves, and fifty horses. Major Denham says of these people: "I saw them on their leaving the sultan's palace; and both then, and on their entrance, they threw themselves on the ground, pouring sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. On their heads, which were covered with long woolly, or rather bristly hair, coming quite over their eyes, they wore a cap of the skin of the goat, or some fox-like animal, and around the necks of each were from one to six strings of what I was assured were the teeth of the enemies they had slain in battle: teeth and pieces of bone were also pendant from the clotted locks of their hair, and, with the red patches with which their bodies were marked in different places (which color also their own teeth were stained), they really had a most strikingly wild and savage appearance. What very much increased the interest I felt in gazing upon these beings, who were the most savage of their race, was the positive assertion of Boo-Khaloom that they were Christians! Some of them, however, begging permission to regale themselves on the remains of a horse, which had died during the night in our camp, gave me, as I thought, an unanswerable argument against him. I can scarcely, however, at this moment forget how disconcerted I felt when he replied: 'That is nothing: I certainly never heard of Christians eating dead horse-flesh, but I know that they eat the flesh of swine, and God knows that is worse!'"

After several more days of delay, during which a violent hurricane passed over the valley, tearing up trees, loosening rocks from the mountain sides, and prostrating the tents of the army, the order was given to advance. The united troops, commanded by Barca Gana and the Sultan of Mandara, moved on through the pass of Hairey, in the Mandara Mountains. The road lay through a narrow glen, surrounded by rugged mountains, which, for picturesque appearance, might be compared to the Jura or the Apennines. The next day they entered the pass of Horza, which was only about five hundred yards wide, overhung on either side by precipices of naked rock two thousand five hundred feet high. On encamping that night preparations were made for an attack on the Felatahs, who were said to be only sixteen miles distant. The chiefs put on their closely-linked shirts of iron mail, and the hammers of the clumsy native armorers rang through the camp all night.

To resume the narrative. "As the day broke on the morning of the 28th of April, a most interesting scene presented itself. The Sultan of Mandara was close on our flank, mounted on a very beautiful cream-colored horse, with several large red marks about him, and followed by his six favorite eunuchs, and thirty of his sons, all finely dressed and mounted on really superb horses. Barca Gana's people all wore their red scarfs, or bornouses, over their steel jackets, and the whole had a very fine effect. I took my position at his right hand, and at a spot called Duggur we entered a very thick wood, in two columns, at the

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end of which it was said we were to find the enemy. * * * On emerging from the wood, the large Felatah town of Dirkulla was perceivable, and the Arabs were formed in front, headed by Boo-Khaloom; they were flanked on each side by a large body of cavalry, and as they moved on, shouting the Arab war-cry, which is very inspiring, I thought I could perceive a smile pass between Barca Gana and his chiefs, at Boo-Khaloom's expense. Dirkulla was quickly burned, and another smaller town near it; and the few inhabitants who were found in them, who were chiefly infants and aged persons unable to escape, were put to death without mercy, or thrown into the flames."

They now came to a third town, called Musfeia, built in a very strong position between two low hills, with a swamp in front, beyond which were several deep ravines, impassable for more than two or three horsemen at a time. The town was also surrounded with a strong fence of pointed palissades, fastened together with thongs of raw hide. The Arabs, unsupported by either the Bornou or Mandara troops, moved on gallantly, and, in spite of showers of poisoned arrows, drove away the Felatahs, who retreated up the hills, where they rolled down huge masses of rock on their pursuers. Barca Gana, with about one hundred spearmen, now moved up to the assistance of Boo-Khaloom; but the Sultan of Mandara, and the remainder of the army, kept out of the reach of the arrows, on the other side of the ravines. "The Felatahs, finally, seeing their backwardness, now made an attack in turn; the arrows fell so thick that there was no standing against them, and the Arabs gave way. The Felatah horse now came on, and had not the little band around Barca Gana and Boo-Khaloom, with a few of his mounted Arabs, given them a very spirited check, not one of us would, probably, have lived to see the following day. As it was, Barca Gana had three horses hit under him, two of which died almost immediately, the arrows being poisoned; and poor Boo-Khaloom's horse and himself received their death-wounds. My horse was badly wounded in the neck, just above the shoulder, and in the near hind leg: an arrow had struck me in the face as it passed, merely drawing the blood, and I had two sticking in my bornous. No sooner did the Mandara and Bornou troops see the defeat of the Arabs, than they, one and all, took to flight, in the most dastardly manner, without having been once exposed to the arrows of the enemy, and in the utmost confusion. The Sultan of Mandara led the way.

"I now, for the first time, as I saw Barca Gana on a fresh horse, lamented my own folly in so exposing myself, badly prepared as I was for accidents. If either of my horse's wounds were from poisoned arrows, I felt that nothing could save me; however, there was not much time for reflection. We instantly became a flying mass, and plunged, in the greatest disorder, into that wood we had but a few hours before moved through with order, and very different feelings. I had got a little to the westward of Barca Gana, in the confusion which took place on our

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passing the ravine, where upward of one hundred of the Bornouese were speared by the Felatahs, and was following at a round gallop the steps of one of the Mandara eunuchs, who, I observed, kept a good look-out, his head being constantly turned over his left shoulder, with a face expressive of the greatest dismay, when the cries behind, of the Felatah horse pursuing, made us both quicken our paces. The spur, however, had the effect of incapacitating my beast altogether, as the arrow, I found afterward, had reached the shoulder-bone, and in passing over some rough ground he stumbled and fell. Almost before I was upon my legs, the Felatahs were upon me. I had, however, kept hold of the bridle, and seizing a pistol from the holsters, I presented it at two of these ferocious savages, who were pressing me with their spears. They instantly went off; but another, who came on me more boldly, just as I was endeavoring to mount, received the contents somewhere in his left shoulder, and again I was enabled to place my foot in the stirrup. Remounted, I again pushed my retreat. I had not, however, proceeded many hundred yards, when my horse again came down with such violence as to throw me against a tree at a considerable distance, and, alarmed at the horses behind him, he quickly got up and escaped, leaving me on foot and unarmed.

"The eunuch and his four followers were here butchered, after a very slight resistance, and stripped within a few yards of me. Their cries were dreadful; and even now the feelings of that moment are fresh in my memory—my hopes of life were too faint to deserve the name. I was almost instantly surrounded, and, incapable of making the least resistance as I was unarmed, was as speedily stripped, and while attempting, first to save my shirt and then my trowsers, I was thrown on the ground. My pursuers made several thrusts at me with their spears, which badly wounded my hands in two places, and slightly my body, just under the ribs, on the right side; indeed, I saw nothing before me but the same cruel death I had seen unmercifully inflicted on the few who had fallen into the power of those who now had passession of me; and they were alone prevented from murdering me, in the first instance, I am persuaded, by the fear of injuring the value of my clothes, which appeared to them a rich booty—but it was otherwise ordained.

"My shirt was now absolutely torn off my back, and I was left perfectly naked. When my plunderers began to quarrel for the spoil, the idea of escape came like lightning across my mind, and without a moment's hesitation or reflection I crept under the belly of the horse nearest me, and started as fast as my legs could carry me for the thickest part of the wood; two of the Felatahs followed, and I ran on to the eastward, knowing that our stragglers would be in that direction, but still almost as much afraid of friends as foes. My pursuers gained on me, for the prickly underwood not only obstructed my passage, but tore my flesh miserably; and the delight with which I saw a mountain-stream gliding along at the bottom of a deep ravine can not be imagined. My

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strength had almost left me, and I seized the young branches issuing from the stump of a large tree which overhung the ravine, for the purpose of letting myself down into the water, as the sides were precipitous, when, under my hand, as the branches yielded to the weight of my body, a large *liffa*—the worst kind of serpent this country produces—rose from its coil, as if in the very act of striking. I was horror-struck, and deprived for a moment of all recollection—the branch slipped from my hand, and I tumbled headlong into the water beneath. This shock, however, revived me, and with three strokes of my arms I reached the opposite bank, which, with difficulty, I crawled up; and then, for the first time, felt myself safe from my pursuers.

"I now saw horsemen through the trees, still further to the east, and determined on reaching them, if possible, whether friends or enemies; and the feelings of gratitude and joy with which I recognized Barca Gana and Boo-Khaloom, with about six Arabs, although they also were closely pressed by a party of the Felatahs, was beyond description. The guns and pistols of the Arab shekhs kept the Felatahs in check, and assisted in some measure the retreat of the footmen. I hailed them with all my might; but the noise and confusion which prevailed, from the cries of those who were falling under the Felatah spears, the cheers of the Arabs rallying, and their enemies pursuing, would have drowned all attempts to make myself heard, had not Maraymy, the shekh's negro, seen and known me at a distance. To this man I was indebted for my second escape: riding up to me, he assisted me to mount behind him, while the arrows whistled over our heads, and we then galloped off to the rear as fast as his wounded horse could carry us. After we had gone a mile or two, and the pursuit had somewhat cooled, in consequence of all the baggage having been abandoned to the enemy, Boo-Khaloom rode up to me, and desired one of the Arabs to cover me with a bournous. This was a most welcome relief, for the burning sun had already begun to blister my neck and back, and gave me the greatest pain. Shortly after, the effect of the poisoned wound in his foot caused our excellent friend to breathe his last: Maraymy exclaimed, 'Look! look! Boo-Khaloom is dead!' I turned my head, almost as great an exertion as I was capable of, and saw him drop from the horse into the arms of his favorite Arab—he never spoke after. They said he had only swooned; there was no water, however, to revive him, and about an hour after, when we came to Makkeray, he was past the reach of restoratives.

"On coming to the stream, the horses, with blood gushing from their nostrils, rushed into the shallow water, and, letting myself down from behind Maraymy, I knelt down among them, and seemed to imbibe new life by the copious draughts of the muddy beverage which I swallowed. Of what followed I have no recollection; Maraymy told me afterward that I staggered across the stream, which was not above my hips, and fell down at the foot of a tree on the other side. About

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a quarter of an hour's halt took place here for the benefit of stragglers, and to tie poor Boo-Khaloom's body on a horse's back, at the end of which Maraymy awoke me from my deep sleep, and I found my strength wonderfully increased; not so, however, our horse, for he had become stiff and could scarcely move. As I learned afterward, a conversation had taken place about me while I slept, which rendered my obligations to Maraymy still greater; he had reported to Barca Gana the state of his horse, and the impossibility of carrying me on, when the chief, irritated by his losses and defeat, replied: 'Then leave him behind. By the head of the prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day. What is there extraordinary in a Christian's death?' My old antagonist, Malem Chadilly, replied: 'No, God has preserved him; let us not forsake him.' Maraymy returned to the tree, and said 'his heart told him what to do.' He awoke me, assisted me to mount, and we moved on as before, but with tottering steps and less speed. The effect produced on the horses that were wounded by poisoned arrows was extraordinary; immediately after drinking they dropped and instantly died, the blood gushing from their noses, mouths, and ears.

"In this way we continued our retreat, and it was after midnight when we halted in the sultan of Mandara's territory. Riding more than forty-five miles, in such an unprovided state, on the bare back of a lean horse, the powerful consequences may be imagined. I was in a deplorable state the whole night; and notwithstanding the irritation of the flesh-wounds was augmented by the woollen covering the Arab had thrown over me, it was evening the next day before I could get a shirt, when one man who had two, both of which he had worn eight or ten days at least, gave me one, on a promise of getting a new one at Kouka. I slept under a tree nearly the whole night and day, except at intervals when my friend Maraymy supplied me with a drink made from parched corn, bruised, and steeped in water.

"Mai Meegamy, the dethroned sultan of a country to the south-west of Angornou, and now subject to the shekh, took me by the hand as I crawled out of my nest for a few minutes, and with many exclamations of sorrow, and a countenance full of commiseration, led me to his leather tent, and sitting down quickly, disrobed himself of his trowsers, insisting I should put them on. Really, no act of charity could exceed this! I was exceedingly affected at so unexpected a friend, for I had scarcely seen, or spoken three words to him; but not so much so as himself, when I refused to accept of them. He shed tears in abundance; and thinking, which was the fact, that I conceived he had offered the only ones he had, immediately called a slave, whom he stripped of those necessary appendages to a man's dress, according to our ideas, and putting them on himself, insisted again on my taking those he had first offered me. I accepted this offer, and thanked him with a full heart; and Meegamy was my great friend from that moment until I quitted the shekh's dominions.

"We returned with great expedition, considering the wretched state

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we were in. On the sixth day after our departure from Mora, we arrived in Kouka, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles; the wounded Arabs remained behind, being unable to keep up with the chief, and did not arrive until four days after us. I suffered much, both in mind and body, but complained not; indeed all complaint would have been ill-timed, where few were enduring less than myself. My black servant had lost mule, canteens, and every thing, principally from keeping too near me in the action; and, by his obeying implicitly the strict orders I had given him not to fire on the Felatahs, he had narrowly escaped with his life. Bruised and lame, he could render me no assistance, and usually came in some hours after we had halted." On reaching Angornou, the shekh sent Major Denham some linen and a dress of the country, in which he made his entry into Kouka.

THE RAINY SEASON IN BORNOU.

Soon after the return of the unfortunate expedition to Mandara, the shekh of Bornou determined to send a force to subdue the people of Munga, a country lying to the westward. For this purpose, he assembled eight or nine thousand spearmen, and five thousand Shouaas, and set out on the 18th of May. Major Denham and Dr. Oudney obtained permission to accompany him, for the purpose of visiting the ruins of the towns of Gambarou and Old Birnie; Captain Clapperton remained at Kouka. The travelers accompanied the shekh the first day, and then, leaving the army, took a course more to the northward, to the river Yeou, or Gambarou, near which are the ruins of Old Birnie. On the 26th of May, they passed a lake three miles long, called Muggaby, or the lake of the Sultan of Bornou. "We proceeded by the high road to Soudan," says Major Denham, "and after about two miles came to the spot on which once stood the capital of Bornou; the ruins of the city certainly tended to convince us more strongly of the power of its former sultans, than any of the tales we had heard of their magnificence. We had seen upward of thirty large towns which the Felatahs had completely razed to the ground at the time they destroyed the capital, and we were now arrived at the ruins of the capital itself. Old Birnie covered a space of five or six square miles, and is said to have had a population of two hundred thousand souls. The remains of the walls were in many places still standing, in large masses of hard red brick-work, and were from three to four feet in thickness, and sixteen to eighteen feet in height. From the top of one of these we obtained a sight of the river Gambarou, running nearly east, notwithstanding its windings, and only a few miles distant.

"Close to the bank, and just at the hollow of a slight curve in the river's course, fourteen years ago stood the town of Gambarou, the chosen place of residence of the late and former Sultans of Bornou; and the

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ruins now standing give a proof of the buildings having been, for this country, of a princely kind; the walls of a mosque, which were more than twenty yards square, are still visible, and those of the sultan's house, with gates opening to the river, still remain; a private mosque appears also to have been attached to the sultan's residence. The buildings were all of brick, and must have had a superior appearance to any town we had seen in Africa. The situation was beautiful, and although labyrinths of thickets and brambles now overspread the banks of the river, while wild plants and useless grass were in the meadows, yet I was assured that the whole neighborhood of Gambarou was once in a superior state of cultivation, and that, in the old sultan's time, boats were constantly moving to and from Kabshary, and other towns to the west. Kouka was at that time not in being, and Angornou but a small parcel of huts."

The travelers were here alarmed by reports that the people of Munga were in the neighborhood, and hastened to rejoin the shekh's army. On their way they came upon a herd of fourteen wild elephants, which the negroes made to dance and frisk like so many goats, by beating a brass basin violently with a stick. They were two days in reaching the Bornou camp, and on the way both Dr. Oudney and the servant Columbus came near losing their lives by falling into pits set for wild beasts, with sharp stakes at the bottom. On rejoining the sultan, they found him within the territory of Munga, having already gained several advantages over his enemies. On the 5th of June, many hundreds of the Munga people came to the camp, bowing to the ground, and throwing sand upon their heads, in token of submission. At night, preparations were made for marching upon the capital, but the people sent word that if the shekh remained where he was, they would come to him and surrender themselves.

On the following day, several towns sent their chiefs, but Malam Fanaamy, the chief of the rebels, refused to come, because he feared to lose his head, offering at the same time two thousand slaves, one thousand bullocks, and three hundred horses, for the shekh, as the price of peace. The same evening, the shekh requested Major Denham to send up some rockets, which was successfully done. The night was very dark, and the appearance of the rockets created great wonder and consternation. Some of the Munga messengers fell on their faces and began to pray most fearfully, when the rockets burst in their descent. Next morning, Malem Fanaamy came, mounted on a white horse, at the head of a thousand followers, to make his submission. The shekh received his humble acknowledgments of subjection, and when the rebel expected to hear the order for his throat to be cut, he was clothed with eight handsome tobes, and his head made as big as six with turbans from Egypt.

A circumstance occurred during this expedition which created a great sensation among the chiefs, and which offered a striking illustration of the absolute authority of the Shekh of Bornou. Says Major Denham: "Barca Gana, the shekh's general and his favorite, a governor

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of six large districts, the man whom he delighted to honor, who had more than fifty female and a hundred male slaves, was taught a lesson of humility that made me feel for him. In giving presents to the chiefs, the shekh had inadvertently sent him a horse which he had previously promised to some one else, and on Barca Gana being requested to give it up, he took such great offense that he sent back all the horses which the shekh had previously given him, saying that he would in future walk or ride his own. On this the shekh immediately sent for him, had him stripped in his presence, and the leather girdle put round his loins; and, after reproaching him with his ingratitude, ordered that he should be forthwith sold to the Tibboo merchants, for he was still a slave. The favorite thus humbled and disgraced, fell on his knees and acknowledged the justness of his punishment. He begged for no forgiveness for himself, but intreated that his wives and children might be provided for, out of the riches of his master's bounty. But on the following day, when preparations were made for carrying this sentence into effect, the black Mamelukes and Shouaa chiefs about the shekh's person fell at his feet, and, notwithstanding the haugtiness of Barca Gana's carriage to them since his advancement, to a man intreated pardon for his offenses. The culprit appearing at this moment, to take leave, the shekh threw himself back on his cushion, wept like a child, and suffered Barca Gana, who had crept close to him, to embrace his knees, and calling them all his sons, pardoned his repentant slave. In the evening, there was great and general rejoicing. The timbrels beat: the Kanemboos yelled and struck their shields; every thing bespoke joy, and Barca Gana, in new tobes and a rich bornous, rode around the camp, followed by all the chiefs of the army."

After an absence of a month, the shekh returned to Kouka, and the troops were disbanded. The travelers established themselves in the house which had been appropriated to them, to pass the rainy season, which had commenced. Major Denham commenced the study of the Arabic and Bornou languages. Dr. Oudney and Hillman were both ill with the fever, and the whole party was affected by the heat of the days and the dampness of the evenings. Major Denham gives the following description of the rainy season: "We had frequent and violent showers of rain, with thunder and most vivid lightning: the waters covered the face of the country in extensive lakes, and our excursions in search of game were now confined to the immediate neighborhood of our residence. The sugar-cane had increased in height greatly; and at this season of the year there are other reasons beside the fall of rain which induce people to remain in their habitations—when the great lake overflows the immense district which, in the dry season, affords cover and food to the numerous animals with which Bornou abounds, they are driven from the wilds, and take refuge in the standing corn, and sometimes in the immediate neighborhood of the towns. Elephants had already been seen at Dowergoo, scarcely six miles from Kouka; and a

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female slave, while she was returning home from weeding the corn to Kowa, not more than ten miles distant, had been seized and carried off by a lioness."

The party now began to be embarrassed for want of funds. A merchant of Mourzuk, named Hadji Ali, to whose brother they had intrusted some money, declined to pay it, and they were almost destitute. This circumstance came to the ears of the shekh and of some relatives of Hadji Ali, who at last came to Major Denham, stating that he would let them have as much as they wanted, in pieces of cotton cloth, for which he must first send to Mourzuk; but he had no money. This was very unsatisfactory, but they thought it best to make no objection. Captain Clapperton was now seized with fever and delirium: Hillman, though he still had occasional attacks of delirium, recruited a little, but Dr. Oudney grew visibly weaker every day. The season appeared to be an unhealthy one for the natives also, and a great number of them died.

Toward the end of September, Clapperton, whose life had been despaired of, began slowly to recover. The carpenter, Hillman, employed himself in making a gun-carriage for a four-pounder, which the Sultan of Fezzan had presented to the shekh, and, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter, in the scarcity of iron, and the clumsiness of the negro blacksmith, he succeeded very well. The providing of balls was a great difficulty; but after trying a number of musket-balls in a small linen rag, which would not answer, Major Denham succeeded in getting from the negro blacksmith, by means of a paper model, a small tin canister, the size of the bore of the piece, and holding sixteen musket-balls. The shekh's delight at this acquisition to his implements of war was extreme, and he became impatient to see the guns exercised. The distance to which they threw the balls, and the loudness of the report, created the greatest astonishment, but the shekh would not suffer a second canister to be shot. "No, no!" said he, "they are too valuable; they must not be thrown away. Curses on their race, how these will make the Begharmis jump!" Major Denham had cut out a harness in paper as a pattern, which had been tolerably imitated in leather: this was attached to each gun, with a man mounted on the mule that drew it, and altogether the guns had a far better appearance and effect than was anticipated.

About the middle of October cool winds began to blow, which in the course of two or three weeks produced a great change in the climate. The sick became cheered and invigorated, and the travelers now began to plan new journeys to the eastward and westward of Bornou. The shekh intended to send off two expeditions, one to Begharmi, a country lying south-east of Lake Tchad, and the other to Kanem, lying to the north-east, on the borders of the desert. Major Denham determined to accompany the former. Captain Clapperton and Dr. Oudney succeeded in obtaining the permission of the shekh to accompany a caravan which

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was about starting for Kano, in the Sultan of Houssa's dominions. Dr. Oudney was extremely debilitated, but as no other caravan was expected to start for months, in consequence of the non-arrival of the caravan from Mourzuk, he determined to go, though aware that his strength was scarcely equal to the journey. They left Kouka on the 14th of December.

On the 21st Major Denham was delighted with the intelligence that a small caravan had arrived at Woodie from Mourzuk, and that there was an Englishman accompanying it. "The following day," he writes, "was a day of great anxiety; and on the 23d, very soon after daylight, I was overjoyed at seeing, instead of Mr. Tyrwhit, whose bodily infirmities made me always consider his joining me doubtful, a robust, healthy-looking young man, with a double-barreled gun slung at his back. When he presented himself at the door of my hut, his very countenance was an irresistible letter of recommendation, and I opened the packages which were to account for his appearance, with considerable eagerness. Mr. Tyrwhit, I found, had been prevented by sickness from profiting by the consul's recommendation; and that on application being made to the Governor of Malta, as a substitute, Mr. Toole, an ensign in the 80th regiment, had volunteered to join me, and left Malta at twenty hours' notice. He had made the long, dangerous and difficult journey from Tripoli to Bornou, in the short space of three months and fourteen days, having left the former place on the 6th of September: and overcoming all obstacles by perseverance and resolution, both at Mourzuk and in the Tibboo country, had arrived here with only the loss of five camels. His arrival gave a most favorable turn to my situation at Kouka. I had now money, health, and a desirable companion."

EXCURSIONS TO LOGGUN, AND AROUND LAKE TCHAD.

On the 12th of January, 1824, news came to Kouka, that the shekh's troops who had been stationed on the western bank of the Shary, a large river which flows into Lake Tchad from the south, had gained a victory over the troops of the Sultan of Begharmi, which latter had retreated from the river. It was therefore possible to visit the country of Loggun, on the Shary, with entire safety, and the shekh not only gave Major Denham permission to proceed thither, but appointed one of his negroes, named Bellal, to accompany him. "While I was waiting to take leave of the shekh," says Denham, "a note was brought to me from Dr. Oudney, by a Bornouese from Katagum: it had no date, and was indeed his last effort. The acknowledgment of being weak and helpless assured me that he was really so: for during the whole of his long sufferings a complaint had scarcely ever escaped his lips. On the shekh's saying to him, when he first expressed his wish to accompany the caravan, 'Surely your health is not such as to risk a journey?' he

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merely replied: 'Why, if I stay here I shall die, and probably sooner, as traveling always improves my health.'"

Accompanied by Mr. Toole and the negro Bellal, Major Denham left Kouka on the 23d of January, and on the 28th reached the town of Showy, on the banks of the river Shary. The magnitude of the stream drew from them an exclamation of surprise: it appeared to be full half a mile in width, running northward at the rate of two or three miles an hour. On the 2d of February they embarked, intending to descend the river to Lake Tchad. They were accompanied by the Kadi, or Governor of Showy, with eight canoes, carrying ten and eleven men each. "The river, full as it is of water at this season, had a highly interesting appearance: one noble reach succeeded another, alternately varying their courses by handsome sweeps, some of them three and four miles in length; the banks were thickly scattered with trees rich in foliage, and all overhung with creeping plants, bearing various colored and aromatic blossoms, among which the purple convolvulus flourished in great beauty." On reaching the lake, a heavy swell from the north-east prevented them from advancing further; with the aid of a good telescope no land could be discerned in that direction. The natives who accompanied them were in great fear of the Biddoomas, a fierce people, who inhabit some islands in the lake, and the party therefore returned up the river to Showy, which they reached after an absence of six days.

The travelers now continued their journey by land, and after four days of toilsome travel, over deep marshes and through dense, thorny forests, reached Kussery, on the Shary. Mr. Toole became ill, and Major Denham therefore decided to rest a day or two, to recruit him. "Kussery, however," says Denham, "was the last place one should have chosen for rest and tranquillity: during several hours in the day, the inhabitants themselves dare not move out, on account of the flies and bees. The formation of the houses, which are literally one cell within another, five or six in number, excited my surprise; which was not a little increased when I found that they were built expressly as a retreat from the attacks of these insects. Still I was incredulous, until one of our people, who had carelessly gone out, returned with his eyes and head in such a state that he was extremely ill for three days. Kussery is a strong walled town, governed by an independent sultan, named Zarmawka, who has twice been in rebellion against the shekh. Bellal was obliged to take off his red cap and turban, and enter the presence with his head and feet bare—a ceremony which had previously been dispensed with on our journey. The sultan merely peeped at us through a lattice-work of bamboo, but inquired particularly why I turned my face toward him as I sat. I, of course, replied, that turning my back would be a gross affront in my country, at which he laughed heartily."

The travelers immediately set out for Loggun, which was thirty miles distant, but were detained on the frontier of the country until the

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sultan had been consulted. They entered the town by the western gate, which leads to the principal street—a wide avenue, with large dwellings on each side, built with great uniformity, each having a court-yard in front, surrounded by walls, and a handsome entrance, with a strong door hasped with iron. A number of the inhabitants were seated at their doors for the purpose of seeing the strangers enter. The next morning Major Denham was sent for to appear before the sultan. Ten immense negroes, of high birth, gray-bearded, bare-headed, and carrying large clubs, preceded him through the streets. He was conducted to a large square court, where some hundred persons were assembled, all seated upon the ground: in the middle was a vacant space where the Major was desired to seat himself. The sultan was concealed behind a lattice-work of cane, which being removed at a given signal, something alive was discovered on a carpet, with the head enveloped in shawls, and nothing but the eyes visible. The whole court prostrated themselves and poured sand on their heads, while a harsh salute was blown from loud horns. After receiving his present the sultan whispered a welcome; for it is considered so very ill-bred in a Loggun gentleman to speak out, that the sound of their voices can with difficulty be heard.

"Loggun," says Major Denham, "the capital of which country, Kernuk Loggun, is on the banks of the Shary, and in 11° 7′ north latitude, is a very populous country. Kernuk has fifteen thousand inhabitants at least. They speak a language nearly Begharmi. The Shouaas are all around them, and to them they are indebted for the plentiful supply of bullocks, milk, and fat with which the market abounds. They have, also, a metal currency in Loggun, the first I had seen in Negroland. It consists of thin plates of iron, something in the shape of the tip with which they shoe race-horses. These are made into parcels of ten and twelve, according to the weight, and thirty of these parcels are equal in value to ten rottola, or a dollar."

On the 19th, Mr. Toole seemed better, and Major Denham left him for the purpose of proceeding up the Shary for a day or two. He had proceeded but a few miles, however, when an express from the sultan overtook him, announcing that the Begharmis were again marching on Loggun, and that he should return at once. On visiting the sultan, he endeavored to persuade him to allow him to remain. "More than half my people are Begharmi," said the sultan. "I have no protection to give—go while you can!" Mr. Toole was fastened upon a horse, as he was unable to sit up; and, with no provisions but a sack of parched corn which the sultan gave them, at four o'clock the same day they quitted the town, when the three gates were shut upon them by an immense crowd of people. For three days they continued their flight, with scarcely any rest, until they reached Angala, in the Shekh of Bornou's dominions, where they considered themselves comparatively

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safe. Mr. Toole was alternately senseless and delirious during this journey.

"At Angala," says Major Denham, "we took up our old quarters; and Mr. Toole, on being told where he was, exclaimed: 'Thank God!

LANCER OF THE SULTAN OF BEGHARMI.

then I shall not die!' And so much better was he for the two following days, that I had great hopes of his recovery; about four o'clock, however, on the morning of the 26th of February, these hopes were at an end. A cold shivering had seized him, and his extremities were like ice. I gave him both tea and rice-water; and there was but little alteration in him until just before noon, when, without a struggle or a groan,

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he expired, completely worn out and exhausted. The same afternoon, just as the sun was sinking below the horizon, I followed his remains to their last resting-place, a deep grave which six of the Sultan of Angala's slaves had prepared, under my direction, to the north-west of the town, overhung by a clump of mimosas in full blossom. The prime minister attended the procession with his staff of office, and a silent prayer, breathed over all that remained of my departed friend, was the best funeral service circumstances allowed me to perform. After raising over the grave a pile of thorns and branches of the prickly tulloh, several feet high, as a protection against the herds of hyenas who nighty infest the burying-places in this country, I returned to the town."

An immediate return to Kouka was now rendered necessary, and Major Denham arrived there on the 2d of March. The fatigue, anxiety of mind, and loss of rest which he had endured, brought on an attack of fever which confined him to his mat for ten days. A few days after his arrival a courier returned from Kano, bringing intelligence of the death of Dr. Oudney, at a place called Murmur, on the 12th of January. On the 28th of March the Shekh of Bornou, who had gone with what troops he could raise to repel the Begharmis, met them, five thousand strong, near Angala, and, with the assistance of his four-pounders, routed them with great slaughter. Of two hundred Begharmi chiefs, only one escaped alive; seven sons of the sultan and seventeen hundred men were among the slain. The plunder amounted to four hundred and eighty horses, two hundred women, and the baggage of the princes. The rejoicings in Kouka over this victory, lasted for several days.

Major Denham took advantage of the shekh's good-humor to apply for his protection on a journey to the eastward, hoping to penetrate through to Sennâar. The shekh, however, declared that the project was impossible; but toward the end of April, Denham ascertained that a secret expedition was preparing to march against a tribe of Arabs east of Lake Tchad, who were allies of the Sultan of Begharmi. He received permission to take part in this foray, and left Kouka on the 4th of May; but as the Ramadan, or Moslem fast, was just commencing, the expedition was put off for a month. On the 19th, news came that Mr. Tyrwhit had arrived at the river Yeou, and Major Denham went out the next day to meet him. This gentleman had been sent out by the British government to strengthen the party. He was the bearer of presents to the shekh, in acknowledgment of the kind reception the expedition had met with, and was also accompanied by the shekh's children, who had been detained at Mourzuk by the intrigues of the late Sultan of Fezzan.

"On the 22d of May," says Major Denham, "we delivered the presents from his majesty in full form, consisting of two swords of very beautiful workmanship, two pair of pistols, a dagger, and two gold watches. The delight, nay ecstasy, with which these well-selected speci-

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mens of our manufactories were received by El Kanemy, was apparent in every feature of his intelligent countenance, and in the quick glances of his sparkling and penetrating eye. The dagger and the watch with the second movement, were the articles which struck him most forcibly; and when I mentioned that, agreeably to his request, a parcel of rockets had also been forwarded, he exclaimed: 'What! beside all these riches! there are no friends like these! they are all truth; and I see, by the Book, that if the Prophet had lived only a short time longer, they would all have been Moslem!'"

On the 16th of June Major Denham set out for the eastern side of Lake Tchad, accompanied by Mr. Tyrwhit. The military expedition was commenced by Barca Gana, who was directed to take all possible care of the travelers. They crossed the Shary at Showy, and advanced between forty and fifty miles further to the eastward, along the shore of Lake Tchad, till, on approaching Mendoo, a large town in the rebel country, Barca Gana ordered them to halt until the town should be taken, and they were obliged to comply. Their situation was very unpleasant, as they were exposed to attack, and from their vicinity to the lake, suffered greatly from the flies and mosquitoes. Here they remained several days in the greatest suspense, their provisions daily becoming more scanty. Finally, on the evening of July 5th, Barca Gana returned with about half his troops; he had found the enemy so strongly entrenched at Maou, the capital, that he did not dare to attack them. Four days afterward he set out to capture the rebel sultan Amanook, who had taken refuge on one of the islands in the lake, but was repulsed with severe loss, receiving himself a spear-wound in the back. Major Denham dressed the wound with an application of burnt fat and sulphur, and succeeded in healing the general, who advised him urgently to return to Kouka. "The excursion," he said, "which you wish to make, is now impracticable. We must wait for the shekh's appearance before we can do any thing, and I think, as the rains have now begun to fall, you will find that the shekh will not come, and that we shall all return."

As we had not more than four days' provisions left, Major Denham, after another consultation with Barca Gana, determined to follow his advice and return. He had now been ten days among this tribe of Shouaas, who were a superior class to any he had met with; they were rich in cattle and in camels, and seemed to live in plenty and patriarchal simplicity. They were a handsome race, the women especially, who brought the travelers bowls of fresh milk, night and morning, in exchange for bits of amber. Says Major Denham: "There is something so curious, and singularly interesting and expressive in the Shouaa manners and language, that I am at a loss how to describe it. A girl sits down by your tent with a bowl of milk, a dark-blue cotton wrapper tied around her waist, and a mantilla of the same thrown over her head, with which she hides her face, yet leaves her bust naked. She says 'A happy

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day to you! Your friend has brought you milk; you gave her something so handsome yesterday, she has not forgotten it. Oh! how her eyes ache to see all you have got in that wooden house;' pointing to a trunk. 'We have no fears now; we know you are good; and our eyes, which before could not look at you, now search after you always. They bade us beware of you at first, for you were bad, very bad; but we know better now. How it pains us that you are so white!'"

On the 18th of July, after having experienced heavy rains and hurricanes on the way, the travelers again reached their residence in the capital of Bornou. "On our arrival at Kouka," says the narrative, "I found that Captain Clapperton, with a small caravan, had returned from Soudan. It was nearly eight months since we had separated, and although it was mid-day, I went immediately to the hut where he was lodged; but so satisfied was I that the sun-burnt, sickly person, who lay extended on the floor, rolled in a dark-blue shirt, was not my companion, that I was about to leave the place, when he convinced me of my error by calling me by my name. The alteration in him was certainly most striking. Our meeting was a melancholy one; he had buried his companion, and I had also closed the eyes of my younger and more robust colleague, Mr. Toole. Notwithstanding the state of weakness in which I found Captain Clapperton, he yet spoke of returning to Soudan after the rains."

CLAPPERTON'S JOURNEY TO SACKATOO.

Captain Clapperton and Dr. Oudney, it will be remembered, had left Kouka on the 14th of December, 1823, for Soudan, intending to explore the unknown region lying between Bornou and the Niger. They took with them Jacob, the Gibraltar Jew, two servants, and three natives of Fezzan. The caravan consisted of twenty-seven merchants, two of whom were *shereefs*, or descendants of the prophet. They took the road to the ruins of Old Birnie, which Denham and Oudney had already visited, and then proceeded westward along the banks of the Yeou, which was much swollen from the summer rains. After a journey of twelve days, they entered the territory of Bedeguna, which formerly belonged to the Sultan of Bornou; the inhabitants spoke the Bornou language. They are regarded as a race of outlaws, and are subject to be carried off as slaves both by the natives of Bornou and Houssa.

On the 2d of January, the travelers approached the city of Katagum, and were met by a servant of the governor, with a small basket of goora nuts. He was followed by a party of horsemen who came up at full gallop, brandishing their spears. The leader remained behind with the band of music. The horsemen, after saluting the travelers, wheeled around and rode on before them, the drummers beating their drums, and two bards singing the praises of their master, one of them taking

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the song and the other responding with the chorus.* The governor received them in a very friendly manner. They remained at this place eight days, partly on account of Dr. Oudney's illness, and partly to wait for one of the Bornouese who was to accompany them to Sackatoo, and who had gone off to a town called Hadeeja. Dr. Oudney was very feeble and troubled with a distressing cough, to relieve which one of the natives cupped him on the side.

They left on the 10th of January, but were obliged to stop the next day at noon, on account of the increasing weakness of Dr. Oudney. He had been wasting away in a slow consumption, ever since leaving the hills of Obarree, in Fezzan, where he was seized with inflammation of the chest, in consequence of sitting down in a current of cold air after being heated. On the 12th, Captain Clapperton writes: "Dr. Oudney drank a cup of coffee at day-break, and, by his desire, I ordered the camels to be loaded. I then assisted him to dress, and, with the support of his servant, he came out of the tent; but, before he could be lifted on the camel, I observed the ghastliness of death in his countenance, and had him immediately replaced in the tent. I sat down by his side, and with unspeakable grief, witnessed his last breath, which was without a struggle or a groan. I now sent to the governor of the town to request his permission to bury the deceased, which he readily granted; and I had a grave made near an old mimosa-tree, a little beyond the southern gate of the town. The body being first washed, after the custom of the country, was dressed by my directions in clothes made of turban shawls, which we were carrying with us as presents. The corpse was borne to the grave by our servants, and I read over it the funeral service of the church of England, before it was consigned to the earth. I afterward caused the grave to be inclosed with a wall of clay, to keep off beasts of prey, and had two sheep killed and distributed among the poor."

Clapperton now continued his journey alone, and two days afterward entered the kingdom of Houssa. The country was highly cultivated,

* Captain Clapperton gives the following translation of the song:

"Give flesh to the hyenas at day-break:
Oh, the broad spears!
The spear of the sultan is the broadest—
Oh, the broad spears!
I behold thee now, I desire to see none other;
Oh, the broad spears!
My horse is as tall as a high wall:
Oh, the broad spears!
The elephant of the forest brings me what I want:
Oh, the broad spears!
Be brave! be brave! my friends and kinsmen:
Oh, the broad spears!
God is great! I wax fierce as a beast of prey:
Oh, the broad spears!
God is great! To-day those I wished for are come:
Oh, the broad spears!"

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and diversified by hill and dale. There were many large walled towns, quite deserted, the inhabitants having been carried off and sold by their conquerors, the Felatahs. On the 20th of January, he approached the large city of Kano, and prepared himself for the reception by arraying himself in his naval uniform. "At 11 o'clock," says he, "we entered Kano, the great emporium of the kingdom of Houssa; but I had no sooner passed the gates than I felt grievously disappointed; for from the flourishing description of it given by the Arabs, I expected to see a city of surprising grandeur. I found, on the contrary, the houses nearly a quarter of a mile from the walls, and in many parts scattered into detached groups, between large stagnant pools of water. I might have spared all the pains I had taken with my toilet; for not an individual turned his head around to gaze at me, but all, intent on their own business, allowed me to pass by without notice or remark."

He immediately called upon a person named Hat Salah, to whom he had a letter of recommendation from the shekh of Bornou. This person, having heard of his coming the day before, had hired a house for him, but, says Clapperton, "the house provided for me was situated at the end of a marsh, the pestilential exhalations of which, and of the pools of standing water, were increased by the sewers of the houses all opening in the street. I was fatigued and sick, and lay down on a mat which the owner of the house spread for me. I was immediately visited by all the Arab merchants who had been my fellow-travelers from Kouka, and were not prevented by sickness from coming to see me. They were more like ghosts than men, as almost all strangers were at this time suffering from intermittent fever."

Two days afterward, Clapperton visited the governor, who was then encamped about five miles east of the city. He took with him a number of presents, among which was a broken thermometer, which, he was given to understand, would be very acceptable. A thermometer was descriptively named by the natives "a watch of heat," and was everywhere regarded by them as a great curiosity. The governor, who was the father of fifty sons—a circumstance, which procured him much respect and honor—received him with great kindness, and promised to send a messenger to the sultan, at Sackatoo, requesting permission for him to proceed. This permission, however, did not arrive for a month, during which time the traveler remained domiciled at Kano.

"The city," says he, "may contain from thirty thousand to forty thousand resident inhabitants, of whom more than one half are slaves. It is rendered very unhealthy by a large morass, which almost divides it into two parts, besides many pools of stagnant water, made by digging clay for building houses. On the north side of the city are two remarkable mounts, each about two hundred feet in height, and a trifling distance apart. The city is of an irregular oval shape, about fifteen miles in circumference, and surrounded by a clay wall thirty feet high, with a dry ditch along the inside, and another on the outside. There are fifteen

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gates of wood, covered with sheet-iron, which are regularly opened and shut at sunrise and sunset. The houses are built of clay, and are mostly of a square form, in the Moorish fashion, with a central hall of audience and store-rooms on the ground-floor, and a second story containing the sleeping apartments. I bought in the market, for three Spanish dollars, an English green cotton umbrella, an article I little expected to meet with, yet by no means uncommon; my Moorish servants, in their figurative language, were wont to give it the name of 'the cloud.'"

Captain Clapperton had heard a great deal about the boxers of Houssa, and was anxious to witness their performances. He sent one of his servants to offer 2,000 cowries for an exhibition before his house. As the death of one of the combatants was almost certain, he prohibited all fighting in earnest. "A ring was soon formed, by the master of the ceremonies throwing dust on the spectators to make them stand back. The drummers entered the ring, and began to drum lustily. One of the boxers followed, quite naked, except a skin around the middle. He placed himself in an attitude, as if to oppose an antagonist, and wrought his muscles into action, seemingly to find out that every sinew was in full force for the approaching combat; then, coming from time to time to the side of the ring, and presenting his right arm to the bystanders, he said: 'I am a hyena; I am a lion; I am able to kill all that oppose me.' The spectators, to whom he presented himself, laid their hands upon his shoulders repeating: 'The blessing of God be upon thee! thou art a hyena; thou art a lion.' He then abandoned the ring to another, who showed off in the same manner. The right hand and arm of the pugilists were now bound with narrow country cloth, beginning with a fold around the middle finger, when the hand being first clinched with the thumb between the fore and mid fingers, the cloth was passed in many turns around the fist, the wrist, and the fore-arm. After about twenty had separately gone through the attitudes of defiance, and appeals to the bystanders, they were next brought forward by pairs. If they happened to be friends, they laid their left breasts together twice, and exclaimed: 'We are lions; we are friends.' If the two did not recognize each other as friends, the set-to immediately commenced. On taking their stations, the two pugilists first stood at some distance, parrying with the left hand open, and, whenever an opportunity offered, striking with the right. They generally aimed at the pit of the stomach, and under the ribs. When they break loose, they never fail to give a swinging blow with the heel under the ribs, or sometimes under the left ear. It is these blows which are so often fatal."

The permission of the Sultan of Houssa, for which Captain Clapperton had been waiting, arrived on the 22d day of February, and on the following day he left Kano for Sackatoo. After traveling eighteen days, without particular incident, he reached the town of Quarra, where he was met by an escort of an hundred and fifty horsemen, sent forward by the Sultan of Houssa. On the third day afterward he approached Sacka-

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too, followed by his escort and a numerous retinue, with a loud flourish of horns and trumpets. To impress the natives still further with his official importance, he arrayed himself in his lieutenant's coat, trimmed with gold lace, white trowsers, silk stockings, and, to complete his finery, red Turkish slippers and a turban. The valleys between the hills became wider as they approached Sackatoo, which they first beheld from the top of an eminence. At noon they entered the capital, where a great number of people was assembled to look at the traveler, who entered the city amid the hearty welcomes of young and old. He was conducted to the house of the vizier, where apartments had been prepared for him.

The next day he called upon Sultan Bello, who received him very cordially. He was a noble-looking man, forty-four years of age, five feet ten inches high, portly in person, with a short, curling black beard, a small mouth, a fine forehead, a Grecian nose, and large black eyes. He asked many questions about Europe, and the religious distinctions of the Franks. He was acquainted with the names of the ancient sects, and asked whether the English were Nestorians or Socinians. Captain Clapperton also read him some passages out of a book, in order that he might hear the sound of the English language, which he thought beautiful. On being presented with a compass, spy-glass, and other articles, he said: "Every thing is wonderful; but you are the greatest curiosity of all." He perused the letter of the Shekh of Bornou, and assured Clapperton that he was at liberty to visit every part of his dominions, including Yaouri and Nyffe, which the latter was anxious to reach, in the hope of learning something further concerning the fate of Park.

From an interview a few days after this, however, Clapperton saw that the sultan was becoming suspicious. He observed that there were two roads leading to Nyffe—one direct, but beset by enemies, the other safer, but circuitous; that by either route he would be detained, during the rains, in a country then in open rebellion. "I assured him," says Clapperton, "that I had already taken the matter into consideration, and that I was neither afraid of the dangers of the road nor of the rains. 'Think of it with prudence,' he replied, and we parted. From the tone and manner with which this was spoken, I felt a foreboding that my intended visit to Yaouri and Nyffe was at an end. I could not help suspecting the intrigues of the Arabs to be the cause; as they well knew, if the native Africans were once acquainted with English commerce by the way of the sea, their own lucrative inland trade would from that moment cease." Clapperton's surmises were correct, and after several further consultations on the subject he was obliged to give up the plan of proceeding beyond Sackatoo. After a residence of six weeks in the Felatah capital, during which he had a severe attack of fever, he began to prepare for his return journey to Bornou.

He gives the following description of the city: "It lies in latitude

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13° 4′ north, and longitude 6° 12′ east, about four days journey from the Quorra, or Niger. The name, in their language, signifies a 'halting-place;' the city was built, as near as I could learn, about the year 1805. It occupies a long ridge which slopes gently toward the north, and appeared to me the most populous town I had visited in the interior of Africa, for unlike other towns in Houssa, where the houses are thinly scattered, it is laid out in regular, well-built streets. The wall is between twenty and thirty feet high, and has twelve gates, which are regularly closed at sunset. There is a spacious market-place in the center of the city, and another large square in front of the sultan's residence. The dwellings of the principal people are surrounded by high walls, which inclose numerous flat-roofed houses built in the Moorish style. The inhabitants are principally Felatahs, possessing numerous slaves."

Captain Clapperton set out on his return, on the 4th of May, proceeding to Kano by way of the large town of Kashna. On the 8th of July he reached Kouka, during Major Denham's absence on a visit to the eastern shore of Lake Tchad. Hillman, the carpenter, was busily employed in finishing a covered cart, to be used as a conveyance for the shekh's wives. The workmanship, considering the materials, reflected the greatest credit on his ingenuity; the wheels were hooped with iron, and the cart was extremely strong, though neither light nor handsome. Captain Clapperton immediately waited on the shekh, who inquired after his health, and expressed much regret at Dr. Oudney's death.

RETURN TO EUROPE.

The travelers had now accomplished the principal objects of their mission and explored as much of Central Africa as was practicable without remaining another season, which, in their state of health, was not advisable. They therefore determined to return to Tripoli with the annual caravan of slaves, which passed through Bornou on its way from Soudan. This caravan arrived at Kouka on the 13th of August. "On Monday, the 16th," says Major Denham, "we took our final leave of Kouka, and not without many feelings of regret, so accustomed had we become, particularly myself, to the people. In the morning I had taken leave of the shekh in his garden, when he had given me a letter to the king and a list of requests: he was all kindness, and said he had only one wish, which was that I might find all my friends well, and once more return to them. He gave me his hand at parting, which excited an involuntary exclamation of astonishment from the six eunuchs and the vizier, who were the only persons present."

The travelers preceded the caravan a few days, in order to attempt to reach the unvisited eastern side of Lake Tchad, through the country of Kanem. On the 23d they crossed the river Yeou, and Denham ob-

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serves: "My feelings on seeing this river for a second time were very different from what they had been when I first looked on its waters. We had then an escort of two hundred men, and yet could not feel ourselves in perfect safety one hundred yards from our tents. Now I had only one attendant—the people about me were all natives, and I wandered about the banks of the river with perfect freedom, and slept with my tent-door open, in as great a security as I could have done in any part of England, had I been obliged so to travel. Other feelings also obtruded themselves; I was about to return home, to see once more dear friends and a dear country, after an absence of nearly three years, on a duty full of perils and difficulties; two out of four of my companions had fallen victims to climate and disease, while those who remained were suffering, in no small degree, from sickness and debility."

At Woodie Major Denham met with Barca Gana, who, after an absence of five months, had completed the circuit of the lake. The latter gave him a guard of eighteen men, with which he advanced about fifty miles eastward along the shore of the lake, when the journey became so dangerous, that the guard refused to go further, and Denham was compelled to return. He therefore pitched his tent at Woodie, to await the arrival of the caravan from Kouka, which did not finally depart for the desert until the 14th of September. "We had the satisfaction," says Major Denham, "to find throughout our journey, that, young as we were at desert traveling, yet we got on as well, if not better, than our companions; and though children of the soil, they always looked to us, instead of us to them, both for safety and protection, as well as the direction of the route."

The caravan arrived at Bilma on the 11th of October, and proceeding by easy journeys toward Fezzan, reached Gatrone on the 14th of November. This place, before so miserable in their eyes, now seemed a little paradise. Seven days afterward they entered Mourzuk, and took up their residence in their old habitation. Prayer was offered up in the mosque for their safe return home. "All welcomed our return; we had bowls of *bazeen* and *kooscosoo* night and morning, and visitors from daylight until long after sunset. * * * On the 12th of December we were all ready for our departure, and on the 13th took our leave. The cold of Mourzuk had pinched us terribly, and notwithstanding we used an additional blanket both day and night, one of us had cold and swelled neck, another ague, and a third pains in the limbs—all, I believe, principally from the chilliness of the air: yet the thermometer, at sunrise, was not lower than forty-two and forty-three degrees.

"On the 25th of January, 1825, we reached a well within ten miles of Tripoli; and previous to arriving there were met by two cawasses of the pasha, with one of the consul's servants. We found the consul's tents, but he had been obliged to return on business to the city; and the satisfaction with which we devoured some anchovy toasts, and washed them down with huge draughts of Marsala wine, in tumblers—

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luxuries we had so long indeed been strangers to—was quite indescribable. We slept soundly after our feast, and on the 26th, were met by the consul and his eldest son, whose satisfaction at our safe return seemed equal to our own. We entered Tripoli the same day, where a house had been provided for us. Our long absence from civilized society appeared to have an effect on our manner of speaking, which, though we were unconscious of it, occasioned the remarks of our friends: even in common conversation our tone was so loud as almost to alarm those we addressed, and it was some weeks before we could moderate our voices so as to bring them in harmony with the confined space in which we were now exercising them."

Denham and Clapperton had a stormy passage to Leghorn, where they were obliged to perform a quarantine of twenty-five days. From Leghorn Hillman was sent home by sea with the living animals, collections, and baggage of the expedition. The two travelers crossed the Alps, and reached London on the 1st of June, after an absence from England of three years and a half.

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CLAPPERTON'S

SECOND JOURNEY TO SACKATOO.

During Captain Clapperton's first visit to Sackatoo, in the year 1824, he was given to understand that the establishment of a friendly intercourse with England would be most agreeable to Sultan Bello; that the latter wished particularly for certain articles of English manufacture to be sent out to the sea-coast, where there was a large port belonging to him, called Funda. He also desired that an English physician and consul should be sent to another port, called Rakka, promising to send an agent to the latter place, to transact all matters of business between the two governments.

On the return of Denham and Clapperton to England, Lord Bathurst (then Colonial Secretary), considering this a favorable opportunity of establishing an intercourse with the interior of Africa, and probably of checking the trade in slaves, adopted Clapperton's suggestions, and dispatched him on a second mission to Sackatoo, by way of the Bight of Benin, with suitable presents to Sultan Bello. It had been arranged that the latter should send down his messengers to Whydah, on the coast, to meet Captain Clapperton and his companions. On the arrival of the latter at Benin, however, they could neither gain any intelligence of Bello's messengers, nor did the people know any thing of such places as Funda and Rakka. It has since been ascertained that both these towns are upon the Niger, at least two hundred miles from the sea.

Captain Clapperton was allowed to take with him, as companion, a surgeon by the name of Dickson, who had been seasoned by a residence in the West Indies. In an enterprise of so hazardous a nature, it was deemed advisable to add two others to the party, in order to accomplish a more thorough survey of the different countries of Soudan. For this purpose, Captain Pearce, of the navy, and Dr. Morrison, a naval surgeon, were selected; one being a good draughtsman, and the other well versed in natural history. Captain Clapperton also took with him his servant, Richard Lander, and the mulatto Columbus, who had been in the service of Major Denham. The party sailed from England on the

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27th of August, and arrived in the Bight of Benin on the 26th of November, 1825. Dr. Dickson, being desirous of proceeding alone to Sackatoo, was landed at Whydah, and accompanied by Columbus, proceeded to Dahomey, where he was well received. He was sent forward to a place called Shar, seventeen days' journey further, beyond which nothing more was ever afterward heard of him.

Captain Clapperton was persuaded by a trader named Houtson, to make Badagry his starting-point; he agreed to accompany him as far as Eyeo, or Katunga, the capital of the kingdom of Yoriba. They landed on the 27th of November, and after having made arrangements to have their baggage sent after them, started on their journey into the interior on the 7th of December. As they were under the protection of the King of Badagry, they met with no difficulties in the early part of their route. At the different towns they were always received by the *caboceers*, or chief men, to whom they made small presents, and who supplied them with lodgings and provisions. In two or three days they entered the territories of the king of Yoriba, after which they experienced some trouble in procuring men and beasts to transport their baggage. Their road led through dense forests, the dampness of which, added to the fact of their traveling partly by night, brought on attacks of fever and ague, with which the whole party suffered.

On the 13th they reached the town of Laboo. The country now became more agreeable, rising into hill and dale, with fine prospects. They approached the town by the moonlight through an avenue of majestic trees, with fetish-houses placed here and there, and solitary lights burning in each. Two days afterward they reached the large town of Jannah, where the caboceer, who at first received them in rather a reserved and ceremonious manner, finally assured them that they might proceed safely as far as Eyeo, the capital, but he did not believe that the king would allow them to go beyond it. "I can not," says Clapperton, "omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact that we have already traveled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private."

Meanwhile the sick continued to grow worse, with the exception of Richard Lander, who, after being bled on the temple and blistered on the head, improved. On the 23d, Dr. Morrison was so weak that he determined to return, and Mr. Houtson was sent back to take charge of him. On the following day, at a town called Egga, a seaman named George Dawson, died, and was buried the same evening. Three days afterward, Captain Pearce died, and was buried near the town of Engwa, the whole of the population attending the funeral. The grave was staked around by the natives, and a shed built over it: Richard Lander carved an inscription on a board, and placed it at the head. Clapperton now determined to wait for Mr. Houtson, who returned on

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the 31st, with the news that Dr. Morrison had died at Jannah, on the same day as Captain Pearce. Thus in the short space of three weeks, three persons, or one half the party, had perished; yet the survivors manfully pushed on, although Clapperton was so ill that he was obliged to be carried in a hammock.

The country became more hilly and picturesque as they advanced. On the 13th of January, 1826, they entered a narrow defile, leading through a range of granite mountains. "The road through this mountain pass," says Clapperton, "was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, and then descending into deep dells. In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded by small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy."

Here they were kindly received by a caboceer with two thousand wives, and continued their journey next day. The country beyond this was populous and well cultivated; and they were everywhere hospitably treated. On the 22d they reached the large town of Tshow, where a messenger from the King of Yoriba was in waiting, to conduct them to Katunga. The caboceer visited them, and after having shaken hands with them, rubbed his face and body, in order that he might impart the blessing of a white man's touch to all parts of his frame. The next day, at noon, from the top of a high ridge, they saw the city of Katunga, or Eyeo. "Before us lay a finely-cultivated valley, extending as far as the eye could reach to the westward; the city lying, as it were, below us, surrounded and studded with green shady trees, forming a belt around the base of a rocky mountain, composed of granite, of about three miles in length, forming as beautiful a view as I ever saw."

On entering the city, a messenger met the travelers, stating that the king wanted to see them. Clapperton gives the following description of their reception: "A band of music accompanied us and the escort, with an immense multitude of men, women, and children. As there was much open and cultivated ground, the dust they caused almost suffocated us, though the escort tried all gentle means to keep them off. At last, after riding full five miles, we came to the place where the king was sitting under the verandah of his house, marked by two red and blue cloth umbrellas, supported by large poles held by slaves, with the staff resting upon the ground. After we got as far as the umbrellas in front, the space was all clear before the king, and for about twenty yards on each side. We walked up to the verandah with our hats on, until we came into the shade, when we took off our hats, made a bow, and

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shook hands: he lifting up our hands three times, repeating, '*Ako, ako!*' (how do you do?) the women behind him standing up and cheering us, calling out, 'Oh, oh, oh!' (hurrah!) and the men on the outside joining. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed and so very numerous. If I might judge by their smiles, they seemed as glad to see us as their master. The king was dressed in a large white shirt, with a blue one under; around his neck some three strings of large blue cut-glass beads, and on his head the imitation of a European crown of blue cotton covered over pasteboard, made apparently by some European, and sent up to him from the coast."

The city of Eyeo (Katunga, in the language of Houssa), is situated in latitude eight degrees fifty-nine minutes north, longitude six degrees twelve minutes east. It is built on the sloping side and around the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, form the citadel of the town: they are composed of stupendous blocks of gray granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits, in the most frightful manner, as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. A belt of thick wood runs around the walls, which are built of clay, about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are fifteen miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about four miles in diameter one way and six miles the other, the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses and those of his women occupy about a square mile, and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front and another facing the north.

Clapperton was detained at Katunga during the whole month of February, the king refusing to allow him to proceed, under one pretext or another. He kept him well supplied with provisions, but as the traveler was obliged to make frequent presents to him, his sons, and the caboceers or head men of the city, these gifts were well paid for. Captain Clapperton applied for permission to visit Rakka, on the Niger, and to pass onward to the kingdom of Nyffe, lying east of Yoriba, which was refused, on the ground that the road was not safe. Finally, after fixing a day for Clapperton's departure five or six times, and as often postponing it, he sent word to him, on the 6th of March, that a messenger was about to start for the city of Kiama, and would accompany and give him in charge to the Sultan Yarro, who would forward him to the kingdom of Yaouri. Clapperton, therefore, immediately arranged his baggage and started, leaving Mr. Houtson, who intended returning to Badagry.*

On the way to Kiama Lander became so ill that he could not travel without being held on the horse. They reached that city on the 13th, and rode immediately to the house of Sultan Yarro, whom they found sitting at the door of his house. He was a stout, good-looking man, past

* Mr. Houtson reached Badagry in safety, but died soon afterward.

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the middle age, dressed in a white tobe or large shirt, with a red Moorish cap on his head. He received Clapperton kindly, and gave him a very comfortable house. After the heat of the day was over Yarro came to visit him, mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men on horseback and on foot, and six young female slaves, carrying spears. He promised to send the travelers to Wawa, whence they would be forwarded to Boussa on the Niger. The town of Kiama, according to Clapperton's estimate, contains thirty thousand inhabitants, who are looked upon as the greatest thieves and robbers in Africa. The traveler, however, was fortunate; he escaped being plundered, and after a stay of five days, was allowed to proceed, in company with a caravan bound for Kano, in Houssa.

His road now led through a thickly wooded country, broken by picturesque rocky ranges. In passing through one of the villages, a Borgoo hunter came in from the chase. "He had a leopard's skin over his shoulder, a light spear in his hand, and his bow and arrows slung at his back. He was followed by three cream-colored dogs, a breed as if between the grayhound and the cur; they were adorned with round collars of different colored leather. The hunter and his dogs marched through the village as independently as I ever saw a man, without tak-

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ing the least notice of us, or even looking at us." The road continued through tropical woods of the most luxuriant foliage. They were shaded from the heat of the sun, which was intense at noonday, and were cheered by their approach to the Niger, the proximity of which was announced by its numerous tributaries.

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On the 21st, Clapperton reached the large town of Wawa, where he was indifferently received by the governor, who wrapped up his hand in his sleeve, for fear the touch of a white man would kill him. Soon after his arrival he was visited by an Arab widow named Zuma, who desired to have a white husband. She was said to be the richest person in the town, having the best house and a thousand slaves. "She showed a great regard for my servant Richard, who is younger and better looking than I am," says Captain Clapperton; "but she had passed her twentieth year, was fat, and a perfect Turkish beauty, just like a walking water-butt. All her arts were unavailing on Richard; she could not induce him to visit her at her house, though he had my permission." In spite of these rebuffs, the widow furnished the traveler with abundance of cooked provisions every day. She offered Clapperton's servant Pascoe a wife if he could persuade his master to marry her. Clapperton visited her one day, and received an estimate of all her wealth; she exhibited to him her gold bracelets, her coral beads, silver rings and other trinkets, and her apartments, splendidly adorned with pewter dishes and brass pans. She then proposed to send for a priest and have the marriage ceremony performed—whereupon the captain speedily retreated.

After spending nine days at Wawa, a messenger of the Sultan of Boussa arrived, to conduct the travelers through his dominions. The governor of Wawa promised to send all the baggage to the town of Koolfu, beyond the Niger, on the direct road to Kano, and Clapperton therefore, leaving Lander to take charge of it, rode on to Boussa. The same afternoon he reached a branch of the Niger, called the Menai. It was not more than twenty yards across, but twelve feet deep. After being ferried over, an hour's ride brought him to the town of Boussa. He was much surprised, after entering the gate, to see only clusters of huts here and there, and no regular town, as he had been led to expect. He proceeded at once to visit the sultan, whom he found sitting under the verandah of one of his huts, with his principal wife beside him. The sultan received him very kindly, and said that the Sultan of Yaouri had kept seven boats waiting several days, to take him up the river. Clapperton informed him that on account of the war between Yaouri and Boussa, he intended taking the route of Koolfu and Nyffé, on his way to Bornou. The sultan was a handsome man of about twenty-five years of age, five feet ten inches in height, with a lofty forehead, Roman nose, good teeth, and a short chin covered with a beard two inches long.

Clapperton's presents the next day procured him a still more favorable reception, and he was informed that he would be allowed to continue his journey on the morrow. "I next inquired of him," says the traveler, "after some white men who were lost in the river near Boussa twenty years ago. He seemed rather uneasy at this question, and I observed that he stammered in his speech. He assured me that he had nothing belonging to them; that he was a little boy when the event happened. I said, I wanted nothing but the books and papers, and to

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learn from him a correct account of the manner of their death; and that, with his permission, I would go and visit the spot where they were lost. He said no, I must not go; it was a very bad place. Having heard that part of the boat still remained, I asked him if it was so. He replied that such a report was untrue; that she did remain on the rocks for some time after, but had gone to pieces and floated down the river long ago. I said if he would give me the books and papers, it would be the greatest favor he could possibly confer upon me. He again assured me that nothing remained with him; every thing of that kind had gone into the hands of the learned men; but that if any were now in existence he would procure them and give them to me. I then asked him if he would allow me to inquire of the old people in the town the particulars of the affair, as some of them must have seen it. He appeared very uneasy, gave me no answer, and I did not press him further."

Clapperton was afterward informed by the sultan that the late *imam*, or priest, who was a Felatah, had had possession of all of Park's books and papers, but that he had fled from Boussa some time before. The inhabitants appeared uneasy and embarrassed whenever he asked for information, but they pointed out the place where the boat struck and the unfortunate travelers perished. "Even this," Clapperton remarks, "was done with caution, and as if by stealth; though, in every thing unconnected with that affair, they were most ready to give me what information I asked, and never in my life have I been treated with more hospitality and kindness. The place pointed out to me is in the eastern channel, the river being divided into three branches at this place, not one of which is more than a good pistol-shot across. A low, flat island, of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Boussa and the fatal spot. The bank is not particularly high at present, being only about ten feet above the level of this branch, which here breaks over a gray slate-rock, extending quite across to the eastern shore."

Clapperton left Houssa on the 2d of April, and proceeded down the river two days' journey to Comie, or the king's ferry, where the caravans to and from Houssa cross the Niger. His baggage, much to his surprise, had not arrived from Wawa, and he found, on inquiry, that it had been detained by the orders of the persevering widow Zuma. He immediately returned to Wawa, and Lander arrived there at the same moment from Boussa, whither he had gone to seek his master and acquaint him with the detention of his property. The sultan had treated Lander with great kindness, and sent two armed men back with him to desire the governor of Wawa to allow the baggage to leave—"a convincing proof," says Clapperton, "that the minds of men here must be much changed for the better since the days of Park and Martyn." But they were not yet done with the widow. The governor would not give up the baggage until she arrived, as she was then absent. She made her entry in state the next day, astride of a fine horse, with a drummer before her, and a train of bowmen and spearmen behind. She wore red

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silk trowsers and red morocco boots, with a white turban upon her head, and over her shoulders a mantle of silk and gold. "Had she been somewhat younger and less corpulent," says her victim, "there might have been great temptations to head her party, for she has certainly been a very handsome woman." She was immediately summoned before the governor, who gave her a lecture on disobedience and vanity, and finally ended by giving up Clapperton's baggage, and allowing him to depart the next day.

After crossing the Niger, Clapperton proceeded toward Kano through the country of Nyffe, and on the 12th arrived at a town called Tabra, on the river Mayarrow, where he was obliged to remain several days. While here, a messenger came to him from the Sultan of Yaouri, bringing a present of a camel. He stated that the sultan had in his possession two large printed books which had belonged to the white men who were lost in the boat at Boussa, and had been offered a hundred and seventy-five pieces of gold for them. Clapperton was obliged to make a journey of two or three days, to the camp of the king of Nyffe, in order to obtain permission to proceed further. He reached Koolfu, the capital of the country, on the 2d of May. This is a place of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants, situated on the river Mayarrow. It is surrounded by a clay wall about twenty feet high, with four gates. He here heard the story of Park's death related in the same manner as at Boussa, and there seems no reason to doubt its correctness. The only uncertain point is, whether the travelers were shot by the natives, or were drowned in attempting to escape. Soon after their death the country was visited by a pestilence, which the superstition of the natives attributed to that occurrence, and they all seemed disinclined to converse on the subject. Clapperton remarks: "I was often puzzled to think, after the kindness I had received at Boussa, what could have caused such a change in the minds of these people, in the course of twenty years, and of their different treatment of two European travelers. I was even disposed at times to flatter myself that there was something in me that belonged to nobody else, to make them treat me and my people with so much kindness."

After having been detained six weeks at Koolfu, partly by his own and Lander's sickness, and partly by the difficulty of procuring an escort to Kano, Clapperton set out for the latter place on the 19th of June. His progress was slow and toilsome, the rainy season having set in. He reached the city of Zaria on the 10th of July. This is a place of more than fifty thousand inhabitants, situated on a plain near a long chain of hills. Its appearance is made very picturesque by the long avenues of trees, resembling poplars, which border the roads leading to it. This was within the territory of Houssa, and Clapperton now congratulated himself that all his difficulties were over. The country around Zaria reminded him of England in April, and grew more pleasant as he approached Kano. "The land, everywhere the eye turned, looked beau-

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tiful; the grain was just high enough to wave with the wind; little towns and villages were numerous; the trees full of foliage, few being left except such as were fit for use, as the butter-tree and the tamar ind; herds of fine cattle were seen grazing on the fallow-ground; and horses and mares were tethered in the small spaces left between the cultivated fields."

On the evening of July 20th, they entered Kano, and went to the house of his former agent, Hat Salah. The latter was in low spirits on account of the war between Houssa and Bornou, which had shut them out, for some time, from all communication with Fezzan or Tripoli. Clapperton only remained four days in Kano, and then left for the camp of Sultan Bello, with the presents he had brought, leaving Lander behind him, to take charge of those intended for the Shekh of Bornou. It was now the height of the rainy season; severe storms occurred nearly every day; the rivers were swollen; the marshes almost impassable, and he made but slow progress. On the way to the camp he met the vizier, whom he had already known in Sackatoo, and who received him in a very friendly manner. Soon after this one of his horses was lost, and with it one of his journals, so that there is a hiatus of more than two months in his narrative—an omission which does not appear to have been replaced afterward.

We are, therefore, ignorant of the causes which delayed him on his way to Bello's camp, which he did not reach until the 15th of October. "The sultan's reception of me," he says, "was most kind and gratifying. He asked after the health of the King of England, and if we were still at peace, and how I had found all my friends. He was surprised when I said I had not seen them, and that I had remained only four months in England. He said he had not received either of my letters, the one from Bornou, or that which had been sent by way of Ghadames from Tripoli. He asked me if I had not experienced a great many difficulties in getting through Yoriba; said he had heard of me when I was at Katunga, and had sent a messenger to that place to assist me in getting through, as well as another to Koolfu—but neither of whom, as I told him, had I seen."

Clapperton accompanied the sultan in an attack upon the town of Coonie, in which the Felatah troops were repulsed, and then directed his course toward Sackatoo, where he arrived on the 20th of October. He was immediately visited by the Arabs of the place, who first paid him a great many compliments, and then begged for presents. He remained in Sackatoo for several months, during which time he made several excursions into the country around, mostly at the command of the sultan, who frequently had communications to make to him. He was very desirous of proceediug to Bornou, but as the two countries were at war, Bello refused his permission. He promised, however, to send him to Europe, through the country of the Tuaricks, to Fezzan.

On the 22d of December, he was surprised by the arrival of Richard

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Lander from Kano, with the remainder of the baggage, including the presents for the Shekh of Bornou. Lander had been brought to Sackatoo by the order of the sultan, who used the fact of the war with Bornou as a pretext to seize upon the presents intended for the shekh. Lander had suffered a great deal of fatigue and anxiety on account of the knavery of the servant Pascoe, who had three times deserted, after breaking open some of Captain Clapperton's trunks, and stealing the contents. On the first and second of these occasions, Lander had himself followed him for several days, and overtaken him. Clapperton was now informed by the sultan that if he wished to go home, he must go by way of Fezzan or Timbuctoo, but should not be allowed to visit Bornou. He also demanded the letter to the shekh of the latter country, which Clapperton refused to give up. This treachery on the part of the Sultan Bello appears to have depressed Clapperton profoundly, and when the former again sent to him, demanding his stores of powder and ammunition, under the pretext that they were intended for the Shekh of Bornou, his customary prudence entirely deserted him. He reproached the vizier and his brother with the baseness and falsehood of this proceeding; harsh epithets were used on both sides, and a breach was made between the traveler and the rulers of Houssa, which was never afterward healed.

Toward the close of February, 1827, news came to Sackatoo of the defeat of the Shekh of Bornou, and his retreat to Kouka, with the loss of all his baggage, camels, and two hundred and nine horses. During the winter, Captain Clapperton's journal records little except some excursions around Sackatoo, and the difficulty he had in procuring the skins and skeletons of some wild hogs. He does not appear to have made any preparations for his return to Europe. His journal terminates abruptly on the 11th of March, after which we must have recourse to the narrative of Richard Lander, for the particulars of his last illness and death.

Lander relates that his master was taken ill on the 12th of March, with dysentery. As it was the fast of Ramadan, none of the servants would render the least assistance, and he was obliged to wash, cook, watch at night, and fan the invalid. The weather was insufferably hot, the thermometer being 107° in the shade. Lander carried him in his arms every day to a shady place on the outside of the hut, as he was too weak even to raise himself on his couch. The former fancied that he had been poisoned by some of the Arabs or Tuaricks, in drinking camel's milk; but Clapperton replied, "No, my dear boy, no such thing has been done, I assure you. Do you remember that when on a shooting excursion in the early part of February, after walking the whole of the day, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, I was fatigued, and lay down under the branches of a tree for some time? The earth was soft and wet, and from that hour to the present, I have not been free from cold; this has brought on my present disorder, from which, I believe, I shall never recover."

"For twenty days," says Lander, "my poor master remained in a low and distressed state. He told me he felt no pain; but this was

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spoken only to comfort me, for he saw I was dispirited. His sufferings must have been acute. During this time he was gradually, but perceptibly, declining; his body, from being robust and vigorous, became weak and emaciated, and indeed was little better than a skeleton. I was the only person, with one exception, he saw in his sickness. Abderachman, an Arab from Fezzan, came to him one day, and wished to pray with him, after the manner of his countrymen, but was desired to leave the apartment instantly. I read to him daily some portions of the New Testament, and the ninety-fifth Psalm, which he was never weary of listening to, and on Sundays added the church service, to which he invariably paid the profoundest attention. The constant agitation of mind and exertions of body I had myself undergone for so long a time, never having in a single instance slept out of my clothes, weakened me exceedingly, and a fever came on not long before my master's death, which hung upon me for fifteen days, and ultimately brought me to the very verge of the grave.

"On the 1st of April, he became considerably worse, and though evidently in want of repose, his sleep became more and more disturbed. On the 9th, Maddie, a native of Bornou, whom master had retained in his service, brought him about twelve ounces of green bark from the butter-tree, and said it would do him much good. Notwithstanding all my remonstrances, master immediately ordered a decoction of it to be prepared, observing, 'No man will injure me.' Accordingly Maddie himself boiled two basins-full, the whole of which he drank in less than an hour. Next morning he was much altered for the worse, and regretted his not having followed my advice. About twelve o'clock of the same day, he said, 'Richard, I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid, my dear master: you will live many years yet.' 'Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' said he: 'it is the will of the Almighty; it can not be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my death; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial Office, and let him see you deposit them safely into the hands of the secretary. After I am buried, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for your journey over the desert, and go in the train of the Arab merchants to Fezzan. * * * Remark what towns or villages you pass through; pay attention to whatever the chiefs may say to you, and put it on paper. The little money I have, and all my clothes, I leave you: sell the latter, and put what you may receive for them into your pocket; and if, on your journey, you should be obliged to expend it, government will repay you on your return.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'If it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithful performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you will yet live to see your country.' 'I thought I should at one time, Richard,' con-

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tinued he, 'but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world; but God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me, I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me, and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want; but God will reward you.' This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which my master fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said he had heard with much distinctness the tolling of an English funeral bell: I entreated him to be composed, and observed that sick people frequently fancy they hear and see things which can possibly have no existence. He made no reply.

"About six o'clock on the morning of the 11th, on asking how he did, my master answered he was much better, and requested me to shave him. On the morning of the 13th, however, being awake, I was much alarmed by a peculiar rattling noise, proceeding from my master's throat, and his breathing was loud and difficult; at the same instant he called out 'Richard!' in a low and hurried tone. I was immediately at his side, and was astonished at seeing him sitting upright in his bed, and staring wildly around. I held him in my arms, and placing his head gently on my left shoulder, gazed a moment on his pale and altered features: some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips; he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh. When I found my poor master so very ill, I called out with all my strength, 'O God, my master is dying!' which brought Pascoe and Mudey into the apartment. Shortly after the breath had left his body, I desired Pascoe to fetch some water, with which I washed the corpse. I then got Pascoe and Mudey to assist me in taking it outside of the hut, laid it on a clean mat, and wrapped it in a sheet and blanket. Leaving it in this state two hours, I put a large clean mat over the whole, and sent a messenger to Sultan Bello, to acquaint him of the mournful event, and ask his permission to bury the body after the manner of my own country, and also to know in what particular place his remains were to be interred. The messenger soon returned with the sultan's consent to the former part of my request; and about 12 o'clock at noon of the same day a person came into my hut, accompanied by four slaves, sent by Bello to dig the grave. I was desired to follow them with the corpse. Accordingly I saddled my camel, and putting the body on its back, and throwing a union-jack over it, I bade them proceed. Traveling at a slow pace, we halted at Jungavie, a small village, built on a rising ground, about five miles to the south-east of Sackatoo. The body was then taken from the camel's back, and placed in a shed, while the slaves were digging the grave; which being quickly

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done, it was conveyed close to it. I then opened a prayer-book, and, amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. Not a single person listened to this peculiarly distressing ceremony, the slaves being at some distance, quarreling and making a most indecent noise the whole of the time it lasted. This being done, the union-jack was taken off, and the body was slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master. The pit was speedily filled, and I returned to the village about thirty yards to the east of the grave, and giving the most respectable inhabitants, both male and female, a few trifling presents, entreated them to let no one disturb its sacred contents. I also gave them two thousand cowries to build a house, four feet high, over the spot, which they promised to do. I then returned, disconsolate and oppressed, to my solitary habitation, and leaning my head on my hand, could not help being deeply affected with my lonesome and dangerous situation; a hundred and fifteen days' journey from the sea-coast, surrounded by a selfish and cruel race of strangers, my only friend and protector moldering in his grave, and myself suffering dreadfully from fever. I felt, indeed, as if I stood alone in the world, and earnestly wished I had been laid by the side of my dear master: all the trying evils I had endured never affected me half so much as the bitter reflections of that distressing period."*

* Captain Hugh Clapperton was born in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, in the year 1788, and consequently was thirty-nine years old at the time of his death. He received very little education, except in trigonometry and navigation, and was apprenticed on board a merchant vessel, at the age of thirteen. Having been impressed by the frigate *Renommée*, at Gibraltar, in 1806, he was, through the influence of an uncle, who was captain of the marines, appointed midshipman. He afterward made a voyage to India in the frigate *Clorinde*, and in 1814 was sent to Bermuda and Halifax, and then to Upper Canada. He was distinguished as an excellent swordsman, a good vocalist, an admirable story-teller, a frank, whole-souled companion, and a faithful friend. "In the winter of 1815," says his biographer, "he was placed in command of a blockhouse on Lake Ontario. He had only one small gun for its defense; he was attacked by an American schooner; the blockhouse was soon demolished by the superiority of the enemy's fire, and he found that himself and the party must either become prisoners of war, or form the resolution of crossing Lake Ontario on the ice, a journey of forty miles, to York (Toronto), the nearest British dépôt. Notwithstanding the difficulty and danger attending a journey of such length over the ice in the depth of winter, the alternative was soon adopted and the party set out to cross the lake, but had not gone more than ten or twelve miles, before a boy, one of the party, was unable to proceed from the cold. The sailors all declared that they were unable to carry him, as they were so benumbed with the cold, and had scarcely strength sufficient to support themselves. Clapperton's generous nature could not bear the idea of a fellow-creature being left to perish under such appalling circumstances, for a dreadful snow-storm had commenced. He therefore took the boy upon his back, holding him with his left hand, and supporting himself from slipping with a staff in his right. In this manner he continued to go forward for eight or nine miles, when he perceived that the boy relaxed his hold, and on examining the cause, found that he was in a dying state from the cold, and soon after expired. The sufferings of the whole party were great before they reached York; the stockings and shoes completely worn off their feet, and

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RETURN JOURNEY OF RICHARD LANDER.

After the death of his master, Richard Lander was very ill for many days. The Arabs in the city visited him daily, and pretended to condole with and comfort him. The weather was so warm that he was obliged to keep a tub of water at his side, into which he frequently plunged his hands and arms. After he had given up all hope of recovery, his health suddenly improved on the 26th of April, and the next day he was able to sit up. The vizier came and searched the boxes, which he had been informed were filled with gold and silver; but to his surprise, found that Lander had not money enough to take him back to the sea-coast. The latter concealed about his person the watches of Clapperton and Pearce. The sultan then demanded the arms and ammunition, promising to pay for them. Lander charged him two hundred and forty-five thousand cowries (about seventy-five dollars) and received an order on Hat Salah, of Kano.

By making some presents to an old Arab named Ben Gumso, who had considerable influence over Sultan Bello, Lander finally succeeded in obtaining permission to depart from Sackatoo. The sultan insisted that he should go from Kano through the country of the Tuaricks to Fezzan, while Lander had made up his mind to return by way of Boussa, over the road he had already traveled. Bello also declared his intention to keep Pascoe, for the purpose of cleaning his guns, but was persuaded to let him go as far as Kano, as interpreter. "Finding," says Lander, "that the sultan had nothing more to say, I bowed profoundly and retired. I never saw him again."

The brave-hearted young man left Sackatoo on the 4th of May, but on the very next day narrowly escaped perishing of thirst. Sitting under a tree nearly suffocated, he implored the hundreds of Felatahs and Tuaricks who were passing, to sell him a drop of water, but they merely

their bodies in a dreadful state from the want of nourishment, having had nothing during the journey but one bag of meal. From the long inaction of Clapperton's left hand, in carrying the boy upon his back, he lost, from the effects of the frost, the first joint of his thumb."

Clapperton remained upon the lakes until 1817, when he returned to England, on the breaking up of the lake fleet, and was put upon half-pay. He then resided with his relatives in Scotland until 1820, when, happening to meet Dr. Oudney at Edinburg, he made application to join the mission to Central Africa, and his offer was accepted. The remainder of his history is contained in this, and the foregoing narrative.

Captain Clapperton was about five feet eleven inches high; he had great breadth of chest and expansion of shoulders, and was otherwise proportionately strong; he was a handsome, athletic, powerful man, yet with an expression of genial kindness and humanity on his features. One of his medical friends placed so much reliance on the native vigor of his constitution, that he supposed he could not be overcome by disease, and until the return of Lander, would not believe that his death (the news of which had previously reached England), had happened in any other way, except through accident or violence.

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exclaimed: "He is a *kaffir* (infidel); let him die." Finally, a young man, in spite of the remonstrances of the other natives, gave him a calabash full, which revived himself and his horse, and enabled them to go on. Reaching Kano on the 25th, he called upon Hat Salah, who instead of the sultan's cowries, gave him a female slave, with some red caps and beads. After four days' stay, he left for Funda, taking with him Pascoe, who was no less desirous than himself to escape from the territory of Houssa. His course was to the southward and eastward of that which Clapperton had pursued in going from Badagry to Kano, and had never before been traveled by a European.

On the 18th of June he arrived at the town of Dunrora (Darroro of Barth), in the kingdom of Yacoba. "Our route, some parts of this day," says he, "lay over steep and craggy precipices, of a most awful height. On the summit of one of these places the path was barely wide enough for a single beast to pass. The horse that carried the portmanteaus, in which were the journal, papers, watches, etc., struck himself against a piece of rock and was precipitated a distance of eighty yards, the ropes which were bound around the portmanteaus arresting his further progress. This accident occasioned us two hours' delay, but the horse was not materially hurt. We had been traveling about half an hour after leaving this spot, when we came to a place from which there was an extensive and beautiful prospect of the surrounding country, and eight days' journey might be plainly seen before us. About half a day's journey to the east stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Yacoba. Mohammed affirmed that there is a river called Shar, or Shary, about half a mile from that place, which derives its source from Lake Tchad; and that canoes can go from the lake to the Niger at any season of the year.*

As he was about leaving Dunrora the next day, on his way southward, messengers suddenly arrived from the King of Zegzeg (a small country through which he had already passed), commanding him to return. In spite of all remonstrance, he was obliged to comply. "Thus," he remarks, with a naïve and touching sincerity, "after seventeen days' perilous traveling from Kano, with a fair prospect of reaching Funda in twelve or thirteen more, from whence four days' sail would bring me to the salt water—a new country opening before me, and filled with the most lively anticipations of solving the geographical problem which had for so long a time puzzled Europeans, of ascertaining whether the Niger actually joins the sea in that direction—was I obliged to abandon my fondest and long-cherished hopes, and return to Zegzeg; from thence to be transported the Lord knows whither. I felt depressed and unhappy

* At Dunrora, Lander was but two or three days' journey from the Chadda, or Binué, and narrowly escaped the geographical discovery made by Dr. Barth in 1851. The Chadda, however, rises in the mountains of Adamowa, and has no connection with the Shary, which flows into Lake Tchad from the south-east. The two rivers approach each other at one point, and are often confounded by the natives.—B. T.

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at this sudden turn in my affairs, and cared not much whether I lived or died."

The rainy season had now commenced and he was detained so long by the rising of the rivers that he did not reach Zegzeg until the 22d of July. He had reason to believe that the king had sent for him merely to gratify his curiosity, as he had never seen a white man. He was detained but two days, and received a present of a bullock and a female slave at parting. He now judged it prudent to take the direct route to Boussa, as there was less risk of being arrested on the way. He reached the Niger in safety, and on the 24th of August arrived at Wawa, just one month after leaving Zegzeg. The natives had been very kind to him on the road, and he experienced no serious difficulty anywhere. In the villages people frequently applied to him to write charms, and as his means were greatly reduced, he gave them fragments of old English ballads, which they took with a devout belief in their efficacy.

The old Governor of Wawa received him with great kindness and cordiality, and kept him until the 4th of September, detaining some merchants who were bound for Kiama, in order that they might accompany him. The road was at this time infested with robbers, but Lander reached there safely on the 9th, and remained five days. The generous old king supplied him with provisions in abundance. On the 25th he reached Katunga, the capital of Yoriba. The king would not allow him to wait on him, lest he should wet his feet, but came himself to visit Lander, accompanied by five hundred of his wives. Lander remained at Katunga until the 21st of October, when he left for Badagry, the king giving him a present of 4000 cowries (a little more than a dollar) at parting. He arrived at Badagry without accident, on the 21st of November, having been one month on the road.

While at this place he had a disagreeable adventure, which he thus relates: "Three of the Portuguese slave-merchants residing at Badagry, went to the king one day, and told him and his principal men that I was a spy sent by the English government, and if suffered to leave, would soon return with an army and conquer their country. This the credulous people believed, and I was treated with coldness and distrust by the king and his subjects, who seldom came to see me. All the chief men at length assembled at the fetish hut, and having come to a resolution that I was to drink a fetish, sent for me to appear before them. On entering, one of the men, presenting me with a bowl in which was about a quart of a liquid resembling water, commanded me to drink it, saying: 'If you come to do bad, it will kill you; but if not, it can not hurt you.' There being no resource, I immediately and without hesitation swallowed the contents of the bowl, and walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men, to my own lodgings, took powerful medicine and plenty of warm water, which instantly ejected the whole from my stomach, and I felt no ill effects from the fetish. When the king and chief men found, after five days, that the fetish had not hurt me, they became extremely

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kind, and sent me presents of provisions, etc., daily, and frequently said I was protected by God, and that it was out of the power of man to do me an injury.

"Captain Morris, of the brig *Maria*, of London, hearing of my being at Badagry, kindly came from Whydah to fetch me, and on the 20th of January, 1828, I went on board, and arrived at Cape Coast on the 31st. Here I gave my faithful slaves their freedom, who testified their sorrow on my departure by heaping sand on their heads, and other marks of grief peculiar to the African race.

"Sailed from Cape Coast in the *Esk*, sloop-of-war, February 3d, and arrived in England on the 30th of April following."

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EXPLORATIONS OF THE NIGER.

DISCOVERIES OF RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER.

After returning to England, Richard Lander made a proposition to the English government to undertake an exploration of the course of the Niger, from Boussa to the sea, and on the 31st of December, 1829, received a letter accepting his offer, with instructions as to the course he should pursue. He was furnished with all the articles necessary for the journey, and a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, the government agreeing to pay one hundred pounds to his wife for the first year after his absence. His brother John, who also volunteered for the service, was permitted to accompany him, but the government refused to allow him any compensation.

The brothers embarked at Portsmouth on the 9th of January, 1830, and reached Cape Coast on the 22d of February. Here they engaged old Pascoe and his wife, and two Bornou men who were familiar with the English, and could speak the language of Houssa. They were detained some time, waiting for a vessel, and did not reach Badagry until the 21st of March. The king received them rather coldly, and so far from being

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grateful for the handsome presents they had brought him, continually demanded more. A portion of the inhabitants appeared to be hostile to their undertaking, and tried to persuade the king to demand of them a larger sum than they could afford to pay, in order to prevent them from going. Endless difficulties were thrown in their way; half of their supply of goods and money for the interior was begged or extorted from them; every effort at conciliation was met with insolence and complaint; yet the travelers persisted in their demands for boats and horses, with the utmost patience and perseverance. Finally, on the 31st, after ten days of infinite vexation, they succeeded, and about ten o'clock at night commenced their voyage up the Badagry River.

On the 6th of April they arrived at Jannah, where they were received with much ceremony by the governor, who treated them with kindness and courtesy. Here they were compelled to remain eight days, to wait for one of their horses which had not yet arrived from Badagry. They again set out for the capital of Yoriba on the 14th. Richard Lander says: "Several strangers accompany us from town to town, in order to evade the duty which is exacted at the turnpike-gates, by stating themselves to be of the number of our attendants. Women have also placed themselves under the protection of our men from Cape Coast Castle, that they may enjoy the like advantage; in return for this favor they do us many little kind offices, and are useful in making fires, preparing food, etc., for our people." A week afterward John Lander had a severe attack of fever; his state was very critical for two or three days, but under the care of his brother, he recovered sufficiently to proceed.

Their journey through the kingdom of Yoriba, by nearly the same road as Captain Clapperton had traveled four years previous, was exceedingly interesting, and John Lander relates many curious anecdotes of their intercourse with the inhabitants. They encountered no serious difficulty, and on the 13th of May approached the city of Katunga, to which news of their coming had already been forwarded. Richard gives the following account of their arrival: "Hundreds of people, and perhaps if I were to say *thousands* the number would not be overrated, preceded and followed us on the pathway; and as they wound through thick forests, along narrow roads, their blue and white clothing, contrasted with the deep green of the ancient trees, produced an eminently pleasing effect. After a hasty ride of two hours we came in sight of the town of Eetcholee, outside of which are numerous trees, and underneath their widely-spreading branches we observed various groups of people seated on the turf, taking refreshment. We joined them, partook of a little corn and water, which is our usual traveling fare, and then renewed our journey. I sounded my bugle, at which the natives were astonished and pleased; but a black trumpeter, jealous of the performance, challenged a contest for the superiority of the respective instruments, which terminated in the entire defeat of the African, who was hooted

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and laughed at by his companions for his presumption, and gave up the trial in despair. Thus escorted we traveled onward; and after a hasty ride of six hours from Eetchó beheld from a little eminence those black, naked hills of granite at whose base lies the metropolis of Yoriba. About an hour afterward we entered the gates of that extensive city. As is the custom, we staid under a tree just inside the walls, till the king and his eunuchs were informed of our arrival, which having been done, after a wearisome delay, we rode to the residence of Ebo, the chief eunuch, who, next to the king, is the most influential man in the place."

The king received them kindly, but by the advice of the eunuch, they said nothing to him of the real object of their journey, pretending that they were on their way to Yaouri, for the purpose of procuring Park's papers. Contrary to their expectations, he did not detain them more than a week, at the end of which time they continued their journey toward Kiama. As they approached the Borghoo country, the country became more populous and cultivated, and the people, many of whom were Felatahs, treated them hospitably. They reached Kiama on the 28th of May, and went directly to the house of the king, who had sent an armed escort to meet them, and appeared well-pleased to see them. During their stay at this place, there were several public festivals, attended with music, dancing, and horse-races. The king would not permit them to visit Wawa, but required that they should go direct to Boussa.

John Lander was taken ill immediately after leaving Kiama, and continued to grow worse from day to day. During the intervals of his delirium, he gave directions with regard to his family, supposing that he could not live. Richard watched him with great distress and anxiety; but on the night of June 10th, his disorder took a favorable turn, and he gradually recovered. While Richard was occupied in nursing him, an old woman applied to him for medicine that would produce her an entire new set of teeth; or, said she, "if I can only be supplied with two large and strong ones, I shall be satisfied with them." The woman was becoming rather impertinent, when Lander recommended her to procure two iron ones from a blacksmith, which so much displeased her that she went away in a pet.

They reached Boussa on the 17th, and were heartily welcomed by the king and his wife, who stated that they had both been weeping all the morning, on account of the death of Clapperton, though their faces showed no evidence of it. The next day Lander writes: "The noted widow Zuma visited us to-day without the slightest pretensions to finery of any kind, either in her dress or ornaments, for she was clad in very humble apparel of country cloth. She related to us, with great good-humor, her quarrels with her prince, the ruler of Wawa, and her consequent flight from that city to escape his resentment. It appears, that in order to effect this, she was actually obliged to climb over the city

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wall in the night, and travel on foot to Boussa, which is a very long journey, and to a woman of her size must have been an arduous task. She alleged that she had done nothing whatever to merit the displeasure of the Wawa chief, notwithstanding which he had robbed her of all her household furniture and a number of her slaves.

"We imagined," continues Lander, "that it would have been bad policy to have stated the true reason of our visiting this country, knowing the jealousy of most of the people with regard to the Niger; and therefore, in answer to the king's inquiries, were obliged to deceive him with the assertion that our object was to go to Bornou by way of Yaouri, requesting at the same time a safe conveyance through his territories. This answer satisfied the king, and he promised us every assistance in his power. Our visitors remained with us a considerable time, and in the course of conversation, one of them observed that they had in their possession a tobe which belonged to a white man who came from the north many years ago, and from whom it had been purchased by the king's father. We expressed great curiosity to see this tobe, and it was sent us as a present a short time after their departure. Contrary to our expectations, we found it to be made of rich crimson damask, and very heavy from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time when the late king is said to have purchased this tobe corresponds very nearly to the supposed period of Mr. Park's death, and as we never heard of any other white man having come from the north so far south as Boussa, we are inclined to believe it to be part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveler."

The next day a man brought them a book which had been picked up in the river after Park's death. It proved to be an old volume of navigation, of no value, but between the leaves were some loose papers, one of which was an invitation to dinner, addressed to Park. In a day or two afterward messengers arrived to conduct them to the Sultan of Yaouri, from whom they hoped to obtain more satisfactory relics of Park's expedition. They embarked in a canoe, and proceeded up the Niger; the river, which is split into three channels and obstructed with rapids, near Boussa, gradually widened to the extent of two miles, and continued so, as far as the eye could reach. In most places it was extremely shallow, but in others deep enough to float a frigate. "The banks were literally covered with hamlets and villages; fine trees, bending under the weight of their dark and impenetrable foliage, everywhere relieved the eye from the glare of the sun's rays, and, contrasted with the lively verdure of the little hills and plains, produced the most pleasing effect."

After a voyage of four days, they landed at a village on the eastern bank, eight miles from the city of Yaouri, which lies inland, on the top of a steep hill. The path up the hill was so narrow that two men could hardly pass, and terminated in an arched way through the wall of the

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city, closed by a gate covered with plates of iron. Three days after their arrival, the travelers were conducted to the sultan. Says Richard Lander, "He is a big-headed, corpulent, and jolly-looking man, well stricken in years; and though there is something harsh and forbidding in his countenance, yet he was generally smiling during the conference. The conversation commenced in the usual complimentary way; and then our object in visiting Yaouri was briefly and indirectly hinted at. When we asked him whether he did not send a letter to the late Captain Clapperton, while that officer was at Koolfu, in which he had affirmed that he had certain books and papers in his possession which belonged to Mr. Park, he appeared very much confused. After thinking and hesitating a good while, he answered with an affected laugh, 'How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was lost at Boussa?' and this was all he said on the subject."

After remaining at Yaouri seven days, vainly endeavoring to procure further information concerning Park, the patience of the travelers was exhausted, and they sent Pascoe with a message to the sultan, that they earnestly wished to receive a final and decisive answer with regard to the restoration of Mr. Park's papers, which they declared to have been the sole object of their visiting him, and that it was their desire to quit Yaouri immediately. "This bold and to us unusual language seemed to have surprised and startled the sultan," says Richard Lander, "and he instantly dispatched the old Arab to inform us, 'that he declared to God, in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen, any books or papers of the white travelers that perished at Boussa.' The Arab likewise assured us that we were at liberty to proceed on our journey whenever we should think proper." They were thus obliged to give up all hopes of recovering Park's journals, but succeeded in obtaining one of his muskets from a native of Yaouri. There can be no doubt that Park reached Boussa, and met his death in the manner stated.

The sultan afterward requested the travelers to remain a few days longer, until he could write to the King of England an explanation of his conduct toward Mungo Park, and an account of the death of the latter. Meanwhile, there were indications of a war between Nyffé and Yaouri, which would make their journey to Funda, on the Niger, hazardous by land. They therefore sent a messenger to the King of Boussa, stating that they would be obliged to return to the salt water to obtain more money and presents before proceeding to Bornou—(they had previously stated that they were on their way to Bornou, on account of the great jealousy of the natives concerning any exploration of the Niger)—and would be glad if he would furnish them with a canoe to Funda, as the King of Badagry had treated them so ill that they were afraid to return thither. On the 18th of July, the messenger returned, and to their great joy stated that the King of Boussa would furnish them with a canoe to Funda, provided the road by land was not safe, but advised

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them to obtain also the permission of the King of Wawa, and other petty sovereigns whose territories extended to the river. They were now ready to leave, but the sultan detained them from day to day, on the most frivolous and contradictory pretexts, until finally, on the 26th, a messenger arrived from the King of Boussa, to request their immediate release. On the 1st of August, they received permission to depart, and immediately left, after a residence of five weeks in Yaouri, which Richard Lander describes as the largest city in Central Africa, its walls being more than twenty miles in circuit.

Soon after their return to Boussa, the king declared that he should go down and ask the Dark Water (as the Niger is termed by the natives), whether it would be favorable to their undertaking. They waited in some anxiety for the result, and were not a little relieved when he came to them next morning with a cheerful countenance, and stated that the answer was good, the river having promised to conduct them in safety down its current. They then set out for Wawa, to procure the permission of the king of that country, whose territory borders on the Niger below Boussa. He received them with the greatest kindness, at once acceded to their request, and sent a messenger to Comié, or the king's ferry, to engage a canoe for them. Richard Lander was taken very ill, and obliged to return to Boussa, where he had left his medicine-chest. Here he soon recovered, and was joined by his brother John, on the 21st of August. The canoe offered them by the King of Wawa proved to be too small, and they were greatly delayed by the difficulty of procuring a suitable one. In addition to this, the king had sent a messenger to Rabba (Rakka of Clapperton), and the intermediate towns on the river, requesting permission for the travelers to pass down in safety, and desired them to wait until he had received an answer.

They were thus obliged to remain at Boussa until the 19th of September, when "to our unspeakable joy," says Lander, "the long-expected and wished-for messenger arrived in this city from Rabba, accompanied by two messengers from the king of Nyffé, one of whom, a modest-looking, respectable young man, is his own son. These men are to be our guides as far as Rabba, after we have passed which city, all the Nyffé territory to the southward is under the *surveillance* of Ederesa and his partisans. 'The magīa,' says the Boussa embassador, 'was delighted with the intelligence that white men were to honor his dominions with their presence;' he showed me the presents sent to him by Captain Clapperton three years ago, and said a great deal in his favor and commendation. 'And as a proof,' continued the man, 'of his friendly disposition toward you, and his interest in your welfare, he has not only sent his son as your companion and guide, but he has likewise dispatched a messenger to every town on the banks of the Niger either considerable or unimportant, even as far as Funda.'

"The king of Boussa was overwhelmed with delight at this intelligence; he capered around his hut with transport, when he saw our

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guides and heard their message; and after a burst of joy, he began to cry like a child, his heart was so full. 'Now,' said he, when he had become more composed, 'whatever may happen to the white men, my neighbors can not but acknowledge that I have taken every care of them, treated them as became a king, and done my best to promote their happiness and interests. They will not be able,' continued the monarch with exultation, 'they dare not have the effrontery to cast at me a reproach like that which they bestowed upon my ancestor.'"

The next morning they quitted Boussa, and embarked in their canoes, full of joy at their success thus far, and hopeful, notwithstanding the certain perils that awaited them. Lander thus describes their farewell to Boussa, where, in spite of delays, they had been treated with steady kindness and good faith. "When we quitted the hut, we found our yard filled with neighbors, friends, and acquaintances, who all fell down on their knees to bid us good-by. They blessed us earnestly with uplifted hands, and those among them that were of the Mohammedan religion fervently implored for us the favor and protection of Allah and their prophet. The eyes of many of them were streaming with tears, and all were more or less affected. As we passed by these poor creatures, we spoke to them all, and thanked them again and again for their good wishes. Our hearts must have been of marble if we could have beheld such a scene without some slight emotion. On our way toward the river, also, the path was lined with people, some of whom saluted us on one knee, and some on both, and we received their benedictions as we walked along."

The current was very swift and the navigation dangerous until they had passed the frontier of Boussa at the king's ferry, where the Niger becomes broader and deeper. They halted at the island of Patashie, until they could procure a larger canoe, which they had purchased of the king of Wawa, but were again subjected to vexatious delays. Richard Lander was obliged to proceed once more to Wawa, and part with more presents from his rapidly diminishing store, before the matter could be arranged. Meanwhile they were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by the natives, and supplied with more provisions than they were able to consume. The king of Wawa had promised to send the canoe to a large town called Lever, a short distance below Patashie: they started again on the 30th, but were astounded on arriving at Lever, to find that the place was not in the territory of Wawa, and the king did not possess a single canoe there. They were therefore obliged to detain a large canoe which they had borrowed at the island of Patashie, the Wawa messengers promising that the king would pay for it. Soon afterward the chief of Patashie sent for it, but the governor of Lever refused to give it up, and detained the travelers from day to day, until their patience was at an end. Although they were wholly in the power of the natives, they went to the chief priest, who was at the bottom of these intrigues, and in the presence of him and the governor, declared

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that they would no longer submit to the delay, and would shoot down any man who attempted to prevent them from leaving. This produced an immediate effect; the governor and priest became polite and submissive, and the travelers seized upon the moment to embark, and push into the middle of the current, which, in a short time, carried them out of sight of the place.

SCENERY OF THE LOWER NIGER.

They stopped for the night at a town called Bajebie, and started next morning (October 5), at sunrise. "Just below the town," says Lander, "the Niger spreads itself into two noble branches, of nearly equal width, formed by an island. We preferred journeying on the eastern branch, but for no particular reason. The country beyond the banks was very fine. The island in the middle of the river is small, but verdant, woody, and handsome; and we passed by the side of it in a very few minutes, with considerable velocity. It was then that both banks presented the most delightful appearance. They were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, which were clad in thick and luxuriant foliage, some of lively green, and others of darker hues; and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottoes, pleasing and grateful to the eye, and seemed to be fit abodes for the Naiads of the river."

On the following day they approached Rabba, and stopped at an island in the river, while they dispatched a messenger to the king. He returned in the evening, with a message, stating that they should remain where they were until they had been visited by the "King of the Dark Water." This monarch came the next morning in a canoe propelled by

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twenty young men, who sang in time to the motion of the paddles. The king sat under an awning hung with scarlet cloth, and was attended by six of his wives and two handsome pages. He was a stately man, well-stricken in years; his skin was coal-black and his features coarse, but commanding. He received the travelers cordially, presented them with honey and goora-nuts, and offered to accompany them to the island of Zagoshi, opposite Rabba, where they were to remain.

Here they were detained eight days by the deceit and rapacity of the King of Rabba and the King of the Dark Water. The former at first expressed himself delighted with the presents they sent him, but in a short time changed his tone, and said they were not fit for a child. The travelers had a rich crimson robe, which had been found among Park's goods, and was presented to them by the King of Boussa. This they were compelled to part with; but the king was so much pleased that he promised to procure them a large canoe, and refused to listen to the proposals which were made to him to plunder them. They had the greatest difficulty, nevertheless, in getting a canoe sufficiently large and strong, while the natives positively refused to sell their paddles, and the Landers were therefore compelled to permit their men to steal as many as they wanted, by night. At length, after much suspense and anxiety, and no little peril, considering the nature of the people with whom they had to deal, they pushed off on the 16th, and resumed their voyage down the stream.

After paddling all day, during which they made about thirty miles, they attempted to go ashore for the night, but found the banks so marshy that it was impossible to land. The men became very much fatigued, and they finally permitted the canoe to float with the current. "But here," says Richard Lander, "a fresh evil arose, which we were unprepared to meet. An incredible number of hippopotami arose very near us, and came plashing, snorting, and plunging all round the canoe, and placed us in imminent danger. Thinking to frighten them off, we fired a shot or two at them, but the noise only called up from the water, and out of the fens, about as many more of their unwieldy companions, and we were more closely beset than before. Our people, who had never in all their lives been exposed in a canoe to such huge and formidable beasts, trembled with fear and apprehension, and absolutely wept aloud; and their terror was not a little increased by the dreadful peals of thunder which rattled over their heads, and by the awful darkness which prevailed, broken at intervals by flashes of lightning, whose powerful glare was truly awful. Our people tell us that these formidable animals frequently upset canoes in the river, when every one in them is sure to perish. These came so close to us, that we could reach them with the butt end of a gun."

During the night a violent storm came on, and for several hours the canoe was in great danger of being swamped by the agitation of the waves. At last they succeeded in attaching it to a tree in the current,

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and lay there until dawn, when they started again. During that day and the next they went slowly, on account of the rains, but were not molested by the natives whom they met. On the forenoon of the 19th, they were informed that the large town of Egga, where they had been advised to stop, was near at hand. "We journeyed onward for half an hour," says the narrative, "when we perceived a large, handsome town behind a deep morass. Several little inlets led through it to the town, distant about three miles from the bank of the river, which, as we drew near, we learned was the place of which we were in quest. It was the long-sought Egga, and we instantly proceeded up a creek to the landing-place. The town is upward of two miles in length, and we were struck with the immense number of large, bulky canoes which lay off it, and which were filled with trading commodities, and all kinds of merchandise which are common to the country. They also had huts in them, like the canoes we had seen before. All of them had blood smeared on their sterns, and feathers stuck in it as a charm or preservative against robbers and the evil-disposed."

They were well received at Egga, but were much annoyed by the curiosity of the natives, who, never having before seen white men, crowded into the house until they were nearly suffocated. They remained at this place two days: the chief did not attempt to prevent them from leaving, but their men were so terrified by the reports of the fierce tribes further down the river, that they refused to proceed, and demanded their pay. This the travelers would not give: the chief was appealed to by the boatmen, but declared himself neutral in the matter, and the difficulty ended in the men coming back the following morning, and taking their place in the canoe. Soon after leaving Egga, there were indications of an approach to the sea. A gull flew over their heads; and the native canoes greatly resembled those on the Calabar River. "For many miles," says Lander, "we could see nothing but large, open, well-built villages on both banks of the river, but more especially on the eastern, and tracts of land covered with verdure, or prepared for cultivation, between them. Here nature seems to have scattered her favors with an unsparing hand. Yet we touched at none of these goodly places, but continued our journey till the sun began to decline, and the men to be fatigued, when we stopped at a small hamlet on an island, intending to sleep there."

Here, however, they were not received in a friendly manner, and the natives advised them to go on to a city called Kacunda, where the Houssa language was spoken. They arrived at this place in the evening, and were welcomed by a Mohammedan priest, who entertained them for the night. The next morning the king's brother came, and received them with no less kindness and cordiality. He made them presents, which they were too poor to return adequately, but he was more than satisfied by the gift of some little trifles which he saw about the room. Becoming more friendly and confidential, he gave them a terrible account of

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the natives further down the river, and advised them to return by the way they came. As he found them resolved to depart, he then said, "If you will not be persuaded by me to turn back, and save your lives, at least you must not leave this by daylight, but stop until the sun goes down, and you may then go on your journey—you will then pass the most dangerous town in the middle of the night, and perhaps save yourselves." The travelers placed faith in the representations of this man, and therefore judged it prudent to postpone their departure until the following afternoon. While at Kacunda, they learned that Funda was not on the Niger, but on the Chadda, the mouth of which river, it was stated, was but a day's journey distant. They were promised a guide, but he disappeared just before the appointed time; the chief used every argument except force to prevent their departure, but they were resolute, and put off from Kacunda on the 24th.

"At three o'clock in the afternoon," says Lander, "we offered up a prayer to the Almighty Disposer of all human events for protection on our future voyage, that He would deign to extend to us His all-saving power among the lawless barbarians it was our lot to be obliged to pass. Having done this, we next ordered Pascoe and our people to commence loading the canoe. I shall never forget them, poor fellows; they were all in tears, and trembled with fear. One of them, named Antonio, a native of Bonny, and son to the late chief of that river, was as much affected as the rest, but on a different account. For himself, he said that he did not care; his own life was of no consequence. All he feared was, that my brother and I should be murdered; he loved us dearly: he had been with us ever since we had left the sea, and it would be as bad as dying himself to see us killed.

"We were now fairly off, and prepared ourselves for the worst. 'Now,' said I, 'my boys,' as our canoe glided down with the stream, 'let us all stick together. I hope that we have none among us who will flinch, come what may.' Antonio and Sam said they were determined to stick to us to the last. The former I have before alluded to; the latter is a native of Sierra Leone, and I believe them both to be firm fellows when required. Old Pascoe and Jowdie, two of my former people, I knew could be depended on; but the new ones, although they boasted much when they found that there was no avoiding it, I had not much dependence on, as I had not had an opportunity of trying them. We directed the four muskets and two pistols to be loaded with ball and slugs, determined that our opponents, whoever they might be, should meet with a warm reception; and having made every preparation for our defense which we thought would be availing, and encouraging our little band to behave themselves gallantly, we gave three hearty cheers, and commended ourselves to Providence.

"Our little vessel moved on in grand style under the vigorous and animated exertions of our men. Shortly after leaving Kacunda, the river took a turn due south, between tolerably high hills; the strength

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of the current continued much about the same. A few miles further on, we found ourselves opposite a large, spreading town, from which issued a great and confused noise, as of a multitude quarreling, or as the waves of the sea rolling upon a rocky beach; we saw also other towns on the western bank of the river, but we cautiously avoided them all. The evening was calm and serene, the heat of the day was over, the moon and stars now afforded us an agreeable light, every thing was still and pleasant; we glided smoothly and silently down the stream, and for a long while we saw little to excite our fears, and heard nothing but a gentle rustling of the leaves, occasioned by the wind, the noise of our paddles, or now and then the plashing of fishes, as they leaped out of the water.

"About midnight we observed lights from a village, to which we were very close, and heard people dancing, singing, and laughing, in the moonshine outside their huts. We made haste over to the opposite side to get away, for fear of a lurking danger, and we fancied that a light was following us, but it was only a 'will o' the wisp,' or some such thing, and trees soon hid it from our sight. After the moon had gone down, it became rather cloudy, so that we could not discern the way as plainly as we could have wished, and the consequence was, that we were suddenly drifted by the current into an eddy, and, in spite of all our exertions to get out of it, we swept over into a small, shallow channel which had been formed by the overflowing of the river, and it cost two hours' hard labor to get out into the main stream again.

"At five o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves nearly opposite a very considerable river, entering the Niger from the eastward; it appeared to be three or four miles wide at its mouth, and on the bank we saw a large town, one part of which faced the river, and the other the Quorra. We at first supposed it to be an arm of that river, and running from us; and therefore directed our course for it. We proceeded up it a short distance, but finding the current against us, and that it increased as we got within its entrance, and our people being tired, we were compelled to give up the attempt, and were easily swept back into the Niger. Consequently we passed on, but determined on making inquiries concerning it the first convenient opportunity. But we concluded this to be the Chadda.

"At 10 A. M. we passed a huge and naked white rock, in the form of a perfect dome, arising from the center of the river. It was about twenty feet high, and covered with an immense quantity of white birds, in consequence of which we named it the Bird Rock: it is about three or four miles distant from Bocquâ, on the same side of the river. We passed it on the western side, and were very nearly lost in a whirlpool. It was with the utmost difficulty we preserved the canoe from being carried away, and dashed against the rocks. Fortunately, I saw the danger at first, and, finding we could not get clear of it, my brother and I took a paddle, and animating our men, we exerted all our strength, and suc-

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ceeded in preventing her from turning around. Had our canoe become unmanageable, we should inevitably have perished. Shortly after, seeing a convenient place for landing, the men being languid and weary with hunger and exertion, we halted on the right bank of the river, which we imagined was most convenient for our purpose.

"Totally unconscious of danger, we were reclining on our mats—for we too, like our people, were wearied with toil, and overcome with drowsiness—when in about twenty minutes after our men had returned, one of them shouted, with a loud voice, 'War is coming! O, war is coming!' and ran toward us with a scream of terror, telling us that the natives were hastening to attack us. We started up at this unusual exclamation, and, looking about us, we beheld a large party of men, almost naked, running in a very irregular manner, and with uncouth gestures, toward our little encampment. They were all variously armed with muskets, bows and arrows, knives, cutlasses, barbs, long spears, and other instruments of destruction; and, as we gazed upon this band of wild men, with their ferocious looks and hostile appearance, which was not a little heightened on observing the weapons in their hands, we felt a very uneasy kind of a sensation, and wished ourselves safe out of their hands.

"One of the natives, who proved to be the chief, we perceived a little in advance of his companions; and, throwing down our pistols, which we had snatched up in the first moment of surprise, my brother and I walked very composedly and unarmed toward him. As we approached him, we made all the signs and motions we could with our arms, to deter him and his people from firing on us. His quiver was dangling at his side, his bow was bent, and an arrow, which was pointed at our breasts, already trembled on the string, when we were within a few yards of his person. This was a highly critical moment—the next might be our last. But the hand of Providence averted the blow; for just as the chief was about to pull the fatal cord, a man that was nearest him rushed forward and stayed his arm. At that instant we stood before him, and immediately held forth our hands; all of them trembled like aspen leaves; the chief looked up full in our faces, kneeling on the ground—light seemed to flash from his dark, rolling eyes—his body was convulsed all over, as though he were enduring the utmost torture, and with a timorous, yet undefinable expression of countenance, in which all the passions of our nature were strangely blended, he drooped his head, eagerly grasped our proffered hands, and burst into tears. This was a sign of friendship—harmony followed, and war and bloodshed were thought of no more.

"At first no one could understand us; but an old man made his appearance shortly after, who understood the Houssa language. Him the chief employed as an interpreter, and every one listened with anxiety to the following explanation which he gave us: 'A few minutes after you first landed, one of my people came to me, and said that a number of strange people had arrived at the market-place. I sent him back again

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to get as near to you as he could, to hear what you intended doing. He soon after returned to me, and said that you spoke in a language which he could not understand. Not doubting that it was your intention to attack my village at night, and carry off my people, I desired them to get ready to fight. We were all prepared and eager to kill you, and came down breathing vengeance and slaughter, supposing that you were my enemies, and had landed from the opposite side of the river. But when you came to meet us unarmed, and we saw your white faces, we were all so frightened that we could not pull our bows, nor move hand or foot; and when you drew near me, and extended your hands toward me, I felt my heart faint within me, and believed that you were "*Children of Heaven*," and had dropped from the skies.' Such was the effect we had produced on him; and under this impression he knew not what he did. 'And now,' said he, 'white men, all I want is your forgiveness.'"

The chief assured them that they had passed the most dangerous portions of the river, and there was no further necessity for traveling at night. Seven days more, he added, would bring them to the sea. He cautioned them, however, to avoid a large town on the eastern bank, called Atta, a little below, the governor of which would probably attempt to detain them. They started early the next morning, and about noon observed a town which they supposed to be Atta, and took care to avoid observation by keeping close to the opposite shore. Both banks of the river were hilly and fringed with primeval woods, which were bending over the water. "For upward of thirty miles after passing Atta," observes Lander, "not a town, or a village, or even a single hut, could anywhere be seen. The whole of this distance our canoe passed smoothly along the Niger, and every thing was silent and solitary; no sound could be distinguished save our own voices and the plashing of the paddles with their echoes; the song of birds was not heard, nor could any animal whatever be seen; the banks seemed to be entirely deserted, and the magnificent Niger to be slumbering in its own grandeur."

They stopped that evening at a village called Abbazacca, where they found a man who spoke the Bonny language, which one of their men understood. The chief of the place invited them to accompany him the next day to a large town, of which his brother was governor, further down the river, and where they would find people from Bonny, Calabar, and Brass. They set out again next morning, the chief preceding them. He spread news of their coming everywhere, so that they found the shores crowded with people, to look at them. In the afternoon, as they were passing a large town, they were hailed by a native in an English soldier's jacket. As they paid no attention to him, a dozen canoes followed, and insisted on their going back to pay their respects to the king of the place. This they were obliged to do. The chief, who had a mild and benevolent face, received them in a very friendly manner, gave them

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a hut for the night, and when they were annoyed by the crowd of curious natives who pressed around them, told them they might kill as many as they pleased.

ABOKKO.

The name of the town was Damuggoo. The next morning the chief, whose name was Abokko, paid them a visit, bringing presents of palm-wine, eggs, bananas, and yams. "He desired us," says Richard Lander, "to ask for any thing we might want, telling us that we should have every thing we wished that the town could afford. He told us that neither he nor his father had seen a white man, although they had much wished it, and that our presence made him quite happy. He then gave us a pressing invitation to come to see him, which we readily accepted. He seemed to be one of the worthiest fellows whom we have yet met." The man in a soldier's jacket, proved to be a messenger from the King of Bonny, and proposed to accompany them down the river to the territories of his master. At the same time Abokko, who ordered a grand public festival next day in honor of their arrival, and presented them with abullock, offered them a good canoe, with a crew of his own people, provided they would wait until the latter returned from the market at Bocqua. He assured them that they would be able to continue their voyage to the sea in this manner, with perfect safety.

The Landers judged it prudent to accede to his proposition, and during the remainder of their stay were very well treated. The only annoyance they suffered was from the curiosity of the natives, and the procrastination of the chief, to whom time was no object, and who, with all his kindness, delayed their departure considerably. Finally, on the evening of November 4th, after a stay of eight days at Damuggoo, they set off in one of Abokko's canoes, in addition to their own, accompanied by the messenger of the King of Bonny. Their departure was attended

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by renewed festivities. "The palm-wine circulated freely in the bowls," says Richard Lander, "and the natives of the village, who witnessed all our proceedings with no little anxiety, seemed to be greatly delighted at seeing their chief and the priests so familiar with white men. Meanwhile several elephants' tusks, and a number of slaves and goats, were put into the canoe as presents to the chief of Bonny. A fatted goat was given us as a parting gift, and a small decanter of rum was thrust in my brother's bosom as a cordial during the night."

They passed rapidly down the river during the night, and in the morning reached a large market-place called Kirree. Richard Lander was in the Damuggoo canoe, considerably in advance of his own, in which was his brother; and soon after passing Kirree, was astonished at the sight of fifty large canoes coming up the river, in some of which the English flag was flying from a bamboo staff. Each canoe had a four-pounder in the bow, and contained forty or fifty men, all of whom were armed with muskets. Delighted with the sight of the flags, he approached them unhesitatingly. The foremost canoe instantly ran up to his own, and in the twinkling of an eye every thing was taken out of it, himself and his men violently disarmed, plundered of their clothing, and taken prisoners. The boats were on their way to the market of Kirree, whither he was conducted, with but faint hopes of recovering any of his property, or even of preserving his life. By this time the other canoe, in which was John Lander, was observed and pursued. The boatmen attempted to escape, but were soon run down with such violence that the canoe was capsized, and sunk. John Lander was thrown into the water, and sustained himself by swimming until, having approached one of the hostile canoes, he was hauled on board by a native. Meanwhile the greatest tumult and confusion prevailed. In the struggle to get possession of the plunder, several of the native canoes were upset and their crews thrown into the water. The Landers were conducted to a small island opposite Kirree; the Damuggoo people and the King of Bonny's messenger made their appearance and protested violently against the outrage, as they were on friendly terms with the people of Eboe, who had perpetrated it; and a grand *palaver*, or council, was held.

After a time a search was commenced in the canoes, for the goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. "We were now invited to land," says Richard Lander, "and told to look at our goods, in order to see if they were all there. To my great satisfaction I immediately recognized the box containing our books, and one of my brother's journals. The medicine-chest was by its side, but both were filled with water. A large carpet-bag, containing all our wearing apparel, was lying cut open and deprived of its contents, with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trousers, and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it had contained were gone. The whole of my journal, with the exception of a note-book with re-

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marks from Rabba to this place, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of the late Mr. Park, four cutlasses, and two pistols, were gone. Nine elephants' tusks, the finest I had seen in the country, which had been given me by the Kings of Wawa and Boussa, a quantity of ostrich-feathers, some handsome leopard-skins, a great variety of seeds, all our buttons, cowries, and needles, which were necessary for us to purchase provisions with—all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river. The two boxes and the bag were all that could be found.

"At about three in the afternoon we were ordered to return to the small island from whence we had come, and the setting of the sun being the signal for the council to dissolve, we were again sent for to the market. The people had been engaged in deliberation and discussion during the whole of the day, and with throbbing hearts we received their resolution in nearly the following words:—'That the king of the country being absent, they had taken upon themselves to consider the occurrence which had taken place in the morning, and to give judgment accordingly. Those of our things which had been saved from the water should be restored to us, and the person that had first commenced the attack on my brother, should lose his head, as a just retribution for his offense, having acted without his chief's permission; that with regard to us, we must consider ourselves as prisoners, and consent to be conducted on the following morning to Obie, King of the Eboe country, before whom we should undergo an examination, and whose will and pleasure concerning our persons would then be explained.' We received the intelligence with feelings of rapture, and with bursting hearts we offered up thanks to our Divine Creator for his signal preservation of us throughout this disastrous day."

On the morning of the 6th they left Kirree for the Eboe country, accompanied by two large war canoes. On the morning of the 8th, after a voyage of two days, the Niger expanded into a lake, out of which it flowed in three separate channels. Their conductors took the central stream, and about noon they reached the Eboe town, the residence of King Obie. On landing they were hailed in broken English by a large negro who called himself King Gun, and said that he was one of the chiefs of the Brass country. He added, to their great joy, that an English vessel, called the *Thomas*, of Liverpool, was lying in the First Brass River, two or three days' journey below. The travelers were conducted to a hut, and soon afterward taken before King Obie, whom they found to be a sprightly-looking young negro, dressed in a scarlet jacket and trowsers, with strings of coral and bells around his wrists and ankles. The story of the attack and capture was told by the Bonny messenger in a speech of two hours in length, after which some yams, stewed in rancid palm-oil, were given to the travelers. At the end of two days, during which they were greatly annoyed by the curiosity of the natives, who allowed them no rest, either by day or night,

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they received the decision of King Obie. It was to the effect that, as circumstances had thrown them into his hands, he intended to keep them until the master of some English vessel would be willing to ransom them for the price of twenty slaves. They could not proceed to Bonny, because the branch of the Niger leading to that country was dried up, and the only channel navigable from Eboe to the sea, was that through the dominions of the King of Brass.

Shortly afterward they noticed that earnest conferences were held between King Obie and King Boy, the son of the old King of Brass, and their suspense was soon relieved by the latter, who stated that he had arranged to pay King Obie their ransom, provided they would give him an order on Captain Lake, of the brig *Thomas*, for their value in English goods, with a cask of rum and some additional articles. He agreed to convey them on board the vessel, as soon as the captain had paid him the amount of the order. They were overjoyed at this prospect of release and immediately wrote a request to Captain Lake, not doubting but that he would immediately ransom them. "Fearing," says Richard Lander, "that something might yet occur to detain us, and ultimately change the king's resolution altogether, we were most eager to get out of the reach of him and his people as quickly as possible. Therefore we lost not a moment, but hastened to our lodgings, and having sent our people on board Boy's canoe, we hurried after them immediately, and embarked at three in the afternoon, November 11th. And thus terminated four of the most wretched days of our existence."

They sailed down the main branch of the Niger for three days and one night. The shores were thickly inhabited, and the villages surrounded with plantations of yams, bananas, and other kinds of fruit and vegetables. As they approached the sea, however, the shores became low and swampy, and lined with a dense growth of mangrove. The Landers were greatly cramped and incommoded in King Boy's canoe, and were but scantily supplied with food. On the third day they remarked with joy the appearance of tide-water, and at noon, on the fourth, reached Brass Town, only sixty miles from the mouth of the Niger, which, they were informed, was here called the River Nun. On landing, they were surprised to see a white man, who proved to be the captain of a Spanish slaver lying in the Brass River. The next day it was decided by King Boy, and his father, King Forday, that the former should go with Richard Lander to the English vessel, leaving his brother John as a security for the amount of ransom to be paid. The travelers now looked upon their journey as completed, and considered that all their trials and difficulties were at an end.

The canoe with Lander and King Boy reached the Nun, or First Brass River, early on the morning of November 18th. "About a quarter of an hour after we had entered the River Nun," says Lander, "we descried, at a distance before us, two vessels lying at anchor. The emo-

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tions of delight which the sight of them occasioned are quite beyond my powers of description. The nearest to us was a schooner, a Spanish slave-vessel, whose captain we had seen at Brass town. Our canoe was quickly by her side, and I went on board. The captain received me very kindly, and invited me to take some spirits and water with him.

"We now directed our course to the English brig, which was lying about three hundred yards lower down the river. Having reached her with feelings of delight mingled with doubt, I went on board. Here I found every thing in as sad a condition as I had in the schooner; four of the crew had just died of fever; four more, which completed the whole, were lying sick in their hammocks, and the captain appeared to be in the very last stage of illness. He had recovered from a severe attack of fever, and had suffered a relapse in consequence of having exposed himself too soon, which had nearly been fatal to him. I now stated to him who I was, explained my situation to him as fully as I could, and had my instructions read to him by one of his own people, that he might see I was not imposing on him. I then requested that he would redeem us by paying what had been demanded by King Boy, and assured him that whatever he might give to him on our account would certainly be repaid him by the British government. To my utter surprise and consternation, he flatly refused to give a single thing, and, ill and weak as he was, made use of the most offensive and shameful oaths I ever heard."

Lander, disappointed and mortified beyond expression, then requested King Boy to take him to Bonny, where there were probably other English vessels; but the latter declared that if one captain would not pay, another would also refuse. Finally, on Lander's representing to the captain that some of his men would be useful to assist in working the vessel, the latter requested King Boy to go back and bring John Lander and the boatmen, declaring that nothing would be paid until they were on board. The captain then added that if they were not brought within three days, he would sail without them. The intervening time was passed by Lander in great anxiety and distress, and on the evening of the third day the brutal captain declared that he would put to sea the next morning. Fortunately there was such a swell on the bar that he was afraid to cross, as he had refused to pay the native pilot who had brought him in, and the place was very dangerous for large vessels. That evening Richard Lander saw some canoes coming down the river, and early in the morning King Boy brought his brother on board, with their servants and boatmen.

Captain Lake received John Lander civilly, but immediately expressed his determination to dismiss King Boy without giving him a single article, and then make the best of his way out of the river. The travelers had three silver bracelets and some trinkets left among their scanty baggage, which they gave to Boy, who treated them with the greatest indignation and contempt. Richard Lander thus describes the scene

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which followed: "Boy now ventured to approach Captain Lake on the quarter-deck, and, with an anxious, petitioning countenance, asked for the goods which had been promised him. Prepared for the desperate game he was about to play, it was the object of Lake to gain as much time as possible, that he might get his vessel under way before he came to an open rupture. Therefore he pretended to be busy in writing, and desired Boy to wait a moment. Becoming impatient with delay, Boy repeated his demand a second and a third time, 'Give me my bars.'—'I NO WILL!' said Lake, in a voice of thunder, which one could hardly have expected from so emaciated a frame as his. 'I no will, I tell you; I won't give you a flint.' Terrified by the demeanor of Lake, and the threats and oaths he made use of, poor King Boy suddenly retreated, and seeing men going aloft to loosen the sails, apprehensive of being carried off to sea, he quickly disappeared from the deck of the brig, and was soon observed making his way on shore in his canoe, with the rest of his people; this was the last we saw of him."

It was four days before the brig succeeded in getting over the bar, and after all the perils through which they had passed, the intrepid travelers narrowly escaped a watery grave. The vessel twice drifted to the edge of the breakers, and at one time there seemed no hope of her escape. Finally, at noon on the 27th, they reached the open sea and sailed for Fernando Po, where they arrived on the 1st of December. The Landers were very kindly received by Governor Becroft, who supplied all their wants, and treated them with the greatest hospitality. After remaining on the island until the 20th of January, 1831, waiting in vain for a chance of getting to England, they took passage to Rio Janeiro in the ship *Caernarvon*. A fever broke out on board soon after they sailed; several of the crew died, and for many days the Landers and three black men were the only persons strong enough to manage the ship and attend to the sick. They did not reach Rio Janeiro until the 16th of March.

The admiral of the British squadron on the coast of Brazil immediately gave them a passage to England on board of a transport ship, which sailed for Portsmouth on the 20th. "On the 9th of June," says Richard Lander, "we arrived at Portsmouth, and gladly landed, with hearts full of gratitude for all our deliverances."

"Thus," remarks Captain Allen, "the solution of the problem which has excited the interest of so many ages, has been accomplished by the most modest of means, while many costly and more imposing undertakings have failed. A solitary pedestrian discovered the long-hidden Niger in its course through hitherto almost unheard-of countries; and two unpretending young men, committing themselves in a frail bark to its mysterious bosom, were borne by it through unknown regions, a distance of more than six hundred miles, to its termination in the vast and multitudinous ocean."

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LAIRD AND OLDFIELD'S VOYAGES ON THE NIGER.

On the return of the Landers, from their remarkable and successful discovery of the outlet of the Niger, they gave such a flourishing account of the quantity of ivory to be found on its banks, that some enterprising merchants of Liverpool—actuated by the spirit of legitimate trade, which had assumed in that city the excitement of the former traffic in human beings—fitted out an expedition for the purpose of ascertaining and opening out the resources of the country.

This mercantile expedition was composed of one small brig, to be stationed at the mouth of the river, to receive the expected cargo of ivory, and two steamers; the smaller of which—the first iron vessel that had crossed the Atlantic—was built by Mr. Macgregor Laird, whose family were large subscribers to the expedition, and who himself bore a considerable share in the conduct of it, though the nominal command was held by Richard Lander, to whom it had been offered, previous to the formation of the company, and on whom devolved the duty of selecting the articles of trade. The large steamer was named the *Quorra* (Niger), and contained a crew of twenty-six men, all told; the other was called the *Alburkah* (Blessing), and carried fourteen men.

The expedition sailed from Milford Haven on the 29th of July, 1832, and after touching at Cape Coast Castle, where Lander re-engaged Pascoe, Jowdie, and others of his former men, reached the river Nun, on the 16th of October. Here Captain Harries of the *Quorra* and one of the engineers died of fever, which had already made its appearance on board. There was a Liverpool trader lying in the Brass River, the captain of which had purchased from King Boy, Richard Lander's journal of his voyage down the Niger, which had been lost during the attack on himself and his brother at Kirree. After an interview with King Boy and King Forday, they furnished a pilot named Louis, and recommended them to take a certain channel, which they stated was the best for the steamers. The pilot, however, privately informed Mr. Laird that the chiefs wished to run the vessels aground, and that the deepest channel was a very narrow creek, which he pointed out. Lander, having ascended this creek in a small boat for the purpose of sounding, found sufficient water, and on the 28th the steamers set out, the *Alburkah* taking the lead. After passing thirteen other arms of the Niger, they safely reached the main stream in the evening, having made forty-five miles.

On the evening of November 1st, as they were slowly ascending the river, Lander sent a note to Mr. Laird, stating that he had received information that the Eboes intended attacking the steamers. While the guns were being got in readiness on board the *Quorra*, "we heard the report of several shots," says Mr. Laird, "and on going on deck observed the whole bush on our left, which was the right bank of the river

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and about seventy yards from us, in a blaze of musketry, which the *Alburkah* was returning. Mr. Lander hailed me and said he was going to drop down the river; but on my offering to go between him and the fire, he sent Louis, the Eboe pilot, on board. We immediately got under weigh, and the pilot placed the *Quorra* within pistol-shot abreast of the town. I was much amused by the coolness and self-possession of this pilot. He could speak tolerable English; so I told him, if he ran us aground, the instant the vessel touched I would blow his brains out. The fellow laughed, and opening his country-cloth, showed me the butt-end of two pistols; a gentle hint that two could play at that game. I gave directions for the guns to be loaded with round and canister, and in about twenty minutes we silenced the firing on shore.

"At daylight of the following day the firing from the bush recommenced, and I now discovered that our invisible enemies (for we hardly saw one) had two swivels. The *Quorra* opened her fire on the town at six o'clock with four four-pounders and the twenty-four-pound swivel; but finding that we made no impression on the mud-walls or the huts, although we had silenced the firing, Mr. Lander hailed us, and we agreed to land and burn the town as an example to the rest. Accordingly the gig under my command led the way; Captain Miller in the cutter followed, and also the launch with eight men; while the two mates, engineers, and Dr. Briggs were left to keep up a fire of musketry over our heads." This was accomplished, without the loss of a man, and they afterward learned that three natives had been killed and several wounded. The chiefs of the villages which they passed next day, came to congratulate them, and appeared highly delighted at their victory.

On the morning of the 6th they reached the mouth of the creek which leads to the town of Eboe, and made preparations for visiting King Obie. Mr. Laird gives the following account of the interview: "Mr. Lander in a general's uniform, with a feather in his cocked-hat that almost reached the ground, Mr. Jordan in a colonel's uniform, and Lieutenant Allen in his own, led the van, and attracted so much of the natives' attention, that Dr. Briggs and myself almost regretted that we had not visited Monmouth-street before our departure from England. Preceded by old Pascoe, Jowdie, and some other men who had accompanied Mr. Lander on his former journey, and who were now returning in triumph to the scene of their former exploits, dressed in soldiers' jackets and military caps, blowing trumpets and beating drums, accompanied by King Boy and about forty Eboe canoes emulating them in their discordant noises, we advanced up the narrow creek more like merry-andrews than sensible people; and after a row of about three quarters of a mile, in one of the hottest days I ever experienced, we landed at the upper end of the town among a great assemblage of people of both sexes. From our landing we had still more than half a mile to walk, surrounded by a mob of about a thousand people armed with all manner of muskets, spears, cutlasses, bayonets and knives fastened

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on the ends of poles. After waiting about ten minutes, a side-door opened, and in rushed Obie, a tall man with a pleasing countenance, dressed in scarlet cloth. Poor Jordan was the first he saw, and rushing upon him at once he gave him a most fraternal hug; then shaking hands with Lander and myself, he took his seat on the throne, placing us on each side of him."

King Obie afterward visited Lander on board of the *Alburkah*, where he was received with a salute. During the visit of the steamers the members of the expedition were treated with great kindness by the king and the natives, but they accomplished very little in the way of trade. The principal article to be had was palm-oil, and no ivory was to be seen. On the evening of the 9th they resumed their voyage, and proceeded slowly up the river, being obliged to stop frequently for the purpose of cutting wood. A violent fever broke out on board of the *Quorra*, and by the 13th, there were only two men on board capable of doing duty. Captain Hill of the *Alburkah* took command of the vessel, but was soon attacked and obliged to return. The mortality was so great that by the 24th the *Quorra* had lost thirteen men, and the *Alburkah* two. Mr. Laird says: "Mr. Lander's behavior during our sickness did him infinite credit. He was indefatigable in his attention to the sick, and bled and blistered the men as if he had been a regular licentiate. The application of a blister over the head seemed to give the greatest relief, and in my own case and that of Dr. Briggs was, under Providence, the means of saving us. After this is done, I do not think that medical skill can go further—the question becomes a pitched battle between the fever and the constitution of the person attacked with it; and medicine, after the first necessary emetics and purgatives, does more harm than good."

On the 27th they reached the large town of Attah, near the place where the Niger passes the range of the Kong Mountains, and the fever began to abate. At Damuggoo, they had obtained sixteen elephants' teeth from the brother of Abokko, who had been so kind to the brothers Lander, and they procured a few more from the King of Attah, but only after making him large presents. They were ready to start on the 5th of December, but on going ashore to take leave of the king, were unable to see him, and decided to proceed up the river next morning. "During the day," says the narrative, "some ceremonies were performed ahead of the vessels in the river to prevent our passing upward, his majesty of Attah being very desirous that we should not proceed further up the river. These ceremonies were performed by men in canoes, fantastically dressed. They stood up and made a variety of expressive gestures, and concluded their proceedings by throwing into the river what appeared to me to be alligator's flesh. As the vessels gathered way, and passed the place where the fetish or ceremony was made, the natives, who were crowded on the hill on which the town stands, testified their astonishment by a general yell." On the 21st, the vessels

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reached the junction of the Niger and the Chadda, where the *Quorra* ran aground. She was got off, but grounded again on a sand-bank, and after various unsuccessful attempts, they resigned themselves to wait until the annual rise of the river.

Mr. Laird gives the following account of the scenery and inhabitants of the banks of the Niger, from Eboe to its junction with the Chadda: "On leaving Eboe we emerged from a comparatively winding and narrow stream, bordered by stagnant swamps and overgrown with immense forests, the sameness of which distressed the eye, while the extent baffled the imagination, into a wide and splendid river. The banks were but thinly wooded, and in many places highly and extensively cultivated. The various reaches of the river became longer, and in its serpentine course it assumed a more graceful character, while the inhabitants on its banks were more civilized and better appareled. We found the better class attired in the Houssa loose shirt and trowsers, instead of the common wrapper of the Eboes. The country generally presented that formed and decided appearance which characterizes land that has been long under the dominion of man. The banks, although elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the surface of the river, continued flat until we arrived at Kirree, where we met with the first bluff. From thence the country gradually rises, until at Attah it attains an elevation of from two to three hundred feet. From Attah upward a range of hills on each bank of the river gives the scenery a picturesque and bold character; those on the western bank seem to have the highest elevation, but neither appeared to rise above four hundred and fifty or five hundred feet above the water. From the general outline of these hills, and from the specimens of the rock that we found being principally granite and mica slate, we pronounced them of primitive formation.

"Passing through this romantic valley, which extends from forty to fifty miles, we reached the Kong Mountains, which on the banks of the river rise to an elevation of between two and three thousand feet. As far as we could ascertain, they are composed principally of granite, and have a bold and magnificent appearance. The chasm through which the river passes seemed about fifteen hundred yards wide, but the channel of the river does not occupy more than seven hundred.

"Both banks of the river are thickly studded with town and villages. I could count seven from the place where we lay aground; and between Eboe and the confluence of the rivers, there can not be less than forty, generally occurring every two or three miles. The principal towns are Attah and Addakudda; and averaging the inhabitants at one thousand for each town and village, will, I think, very nearly give the population of the banks. It may be rather below the mark.

"The general character of the people is much superior to that of the inhabitants of the swampy country between them and the coast. They are shrewd, intelligent, and quick in their perception, milder in their dispositions, and more peaceable in their habits. The security of life and

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property is evidently greater among them; though it is still sufficiently precarious to prevent the inhabitants from living in isolated situations, nor will any of them venture upon the river after sunset in small canoes. Agriculture is extensively followed, and Indian corn and other grain are raised with little labor and less skill on the part of the cultivators."

It was determined to build a hut on the hill at the junction, and open a market for the purpose of trading with the natives. The arrangements were completed on the 29th of January, 1833, but the result was not what had been expected. Very little ivory was brought in; the indigo was so badly prepared as to be valueless, and the other articles offered would scarcely pay the cost of transportation. To add to their misfortunes, fever broke out again; Mr. Laird was several times on the verge of the grave; Dr. Briggs died on the 28th of February, and Mr. Lander, who had been prevented from reaching Rabba and Boussa, in the *Alburkah*, on account of the shallowness of the water, returned ill, with the loss of some of his men. News having reached the expedition that the King of Funda (the town which Lander had attempted to reach, on his return from Sackatoo to Badagry) desired some of the white men to visit him, Mr. Laird determined to proceed thither, and Lander promised to follow him, as soon as he should be strong enough.

Toward the end of March, Mr. Laird set out, and after a voyage of seven days up the Chadda, in the *Quorra's* boat, reached the town of Yimmaha, thirty miles from Funda. As he was too ill to travel on horseback, he sent his goods and men by land, and continued his way up the river to a village about nine miles from the capital, whither he was carried in a hammock. The next morning he visited the king, who was a sinister-looking person, dressed in robes of silk and velvet. The hut to which Mr. Laird was conducted, was so dirty and small that he set out to hunt a better one. One of his men, Sarsfield, soon came running to him with the news that the king had seized upon all his goods, and had prohibited any person from furnishing him with a residence. He finally, however, furnished them with a rather better hut. "After being in my new quarters a few days," says Mr. Laird, "I began to suspect that my Funda trip would turn out an unprofitable speculation, as two or three natives had been severely flogged for attempting to sell me some ivory; and the king, who visited me every day, evidently had none —or if he had, thought it better to keep it and my goods also. I had, in short, been completely decoyed, and had only myself to blame, as I had put myself entirely in the king's power."

He finally prevailed upon the king to allow him to send Sarsfield to the *Quorra*, apparently to procure more goods, but in reality to bring rockets and ammunition. After an absence of fourteen days, the latter returned with the news that Captain Hill, of the *Alburkah*, was so ill that Mr. Lander had set off in a canoe for the sea-coast with him. "If I was glad to see Sarsfield," observes Mr. Laird, "he was overjoyed to find me still alive, and though much fatigued with his journey, having walked

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from Yimmaha, a distance of thirty miles, we sat up until nearly daybreak, and laid a plan for frightening the king and his people, all the credit of which is due to him both for its invention and success. He had brought the rockets with him, and had let off one at Yimmaha, and described the terror and alarm of the inhabitants produced by it as excessive. They looked upon him as a deity, and supplied him in consequence with provisions and carriers to Funda. He proposed to try the effect of them here, letting off three or four at a time, and burning blue-lights after them.

"The next morning we had a visit from the king, who wished to see what Sarsfield had brought. I gave him to understand that my people would not send any thing until I went to them myself, and that in the evening I intended to make a grand fetish to my god, to know whether I should go, or stay at Funda. The king said that was good, and that he would attend with all his priests and summon the inhabitants to witness it. The fetish was to be made under a large tamarind-tree, at the upper end of the street in which the court was wherein we resided. We made as much of this affair as we could, and pretended to go through sundry preparations, in order to impress on the minds of these people an idea of its importance.

"In the evening I was carried out about seven o'clock, and seated in the street opposite the tree, the king and his chief men close by, surrounding Sarsfield and the Kroomen, who were holding the rockets and blue lights that we had brought out for the occasion. As a commencement of the proceeding, I took a piece of paper and with great solemnity fastened it to one of the rockets and gave it to Sarsfield; we agreed that the signal for firing the rockets and blue lights, should be the discharge of my pistol. An immense crowd of natives was assembled to witness the ceremony of the white man's fetish; the wide street was filled, and the roofs of the houses and the tops of the walls were crowded with spectators, all full of wonder and speculation as to what they were to see.

"Every thing being ready, I fired my pistol, and up flew four beautiful two pound rockets, the discharge of which was immediately followed by the blaze of six blue lights, throwing a ghastly glare over the whole scene. The effect was perfectly electric; the natives had no idea of what was coming, and fled in all directions. The king, filled with terror, threw himself on the ground before me, and placing one of my feet on his head, entreated me to preserve him from harm, and to inform him what was the decision of the Fates. It was now my turn to make use of the power which I was supposed to possess, and I replied that I should tell him presently, but that I must now return to my house with all my men. The farce had been successful so far, and the artifice was only to be carried out to a successful issue.

"After keeping the king in suspense about an hour, I sent word to him that I was ready to receive him, and that he himself was to come

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and see the result of the fetish. He came immediately, and as soon as he was seated, I told him that I had sent for him to see whether I was to go or stay, and that my god would punish them in a manner of which they had no idea, if they presumed to break his commandments. I then took from my pocket a little compass, and explained to him, that if the needle in it pointed toward me, as soon as it was placed on the ground, that I was to go from Funda, and that if toward him that I was to stay, to all of which he attended with much reverence. I of course took care to know my position, and placing the compass on the ground, the needle very properly turned toward me. This was sufficient, the thing was done, and the king was convinced that he should allow me to depart freely. I wished him to handle it, but he shrunk from it with terror, imagining that it was a living creature, and was glad to get out of my presence, after having promised to give me horses, or whatever I might want in the morning. We had the greatest difficulty to preserve our gravity throughout this farce, and when left to ourselves we enjoyed a hearty laugh at the success of our plan, and the credulity of the king."

Mr. Laird lost no time in returning to the *Quorra*, which he reached in the beginning of June, having been detained seven weeks at Funda. He dispatched the purser, Mr. Hector, to the latter place, for the purpose of bringing away the goods he had been obliged to leave behind him, but without success. Finding it impossible to trade with the natives to any advantage, his crew being disabled by sickness, and himself in a dropsical state which threatened to become fatal, he determined to return to the coast. "On the 10th of July," he says, "the water having risen by measurement fourteen feet, we got under weigh, taking the *Alburkah* in tow, and proceeded rapidly down the river, passing the beautiful gorge through the Kong Mountains, and arriving at Bocqua, where we anchored to purchase rice and other provisions. About two o'clock in the afternoon, to my great surprise, a boat under canvas hove in sight. I sent a boat to her with Hector, who returned with Mr. Lander and Mr. Oldfield, our surgeon, bringing a parcel of letters for me. Mr. Lander was looking much worse than when I last saw him, and had evidently suffered much in the boats from exposure to the weather. He had been thirty-two days on his passage from the Nun, in the brig's long boat. Mr. Lander having determined to endeavor to reach Boussa in the *Alburkah*, fixed his departure for the 27th; and though very anxious myself to visit a place hallowed by the melancholy fate of Mungo Park, I did not consider myself justified in returning, and adhered to my determination to lay the vessel up at Fernando Po and return to England."

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NARRATIVE OF DR. OLDFIELD.

Mr. Laird carried out his purpose, and reached Liverpool in safety, with restored health, in January, 1834. We now follow the fortunes of the remaining vessel, the *Alburkah*, which once more proceeded up the Niger, having on board Richard Lander, Lieutenant Allen, and Dr. Oldfield.

On the 2d of August they entered the Chadda, intending to ascend it to the eastward as far as Lake Tchad, if practicable; but after proceeding a distance of one hundred and four miles, and reaching a country called Domah, the king of which was at war with the Shekh of Bornou, they ran out of provisions, and were obliged to return. The people would neither trade nor sell them any thing, but deserted the villages and retreated into the woods at their approach. On the 20th of August they again entered the Niger, which they designed ascending to Boussa, or as far as it would be possible for the steamer to go. On reaching Kacunda, they saw the old schoolmaster who had been so friendly to the brothers Lander on their first voyage, and was greatly surprised to see one of them again. The river was rising rapidly, and they experienced no difficulty in ascending. Dr. Oldfield says: "A number of natives lined the bank of the river, who, as the vessel approached them, fell upon their knees. Our interpreter hailed them, and was answered *that they came to see the people of God.* A large canoe was now seen approaching from a distance, containing nearly forty persons, several of whom were Mallams. When near the vessel, the Mallams and natives in front fell down on their knees, exclaiming, 'Allah um de le la fee! Allah um de le la fee!' (God is great, and God preserve you!) They continued repeating extracts from the Koran as they drew nearer; and when the Mallams in the front had knelt, those behind them fell down in the same manner. It was an extraordinary sight, and produced a strange but very pleasing effect."

At Egga, where they arrived on the 7th of September, they saw Felatahs for the first time. They made no halt here, however, but kept on their way to Rabba, which they reached, without accident, on the 16th. "As we rapidly approached the town," says Dr. Oldfield, "it appeared to be situated on the slope of a rising ground; and the houses being built one above the other, impart to it the appearance of an amphitheater. With the aid of a glass we could discern an amazing crowd of natives assembled on the banks; but, what was more in accordance with our wishes, we could distinguish horses, cows, bullocks, sheep, and goats. As we drew nearer, we found the city to be of immense extent, with villages all round the suburbs. The king was apprised of our intention to fire a salute, and the walls of Rabba, for the first time, reechoed with the sound of British cannon, and her people witnessed a novel sight in the arrival of a British steam-vessel constructed of iron.

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After our salute, our people broke out into three hearty cheers, which perhaps surprised still more the thousands of human beings that were assembled before the walls of Rabba."

It was determined to establish a trade at this place, and then to run the *Alburkah* as far toward Boussa as possible, after which Lander and Oldfield would proceed in the long-boat. Both of these plans, however, were thwarted; the goods did not meet with a ready sale, and the engineer discovered a flaw in the cylinder, which disabled the boat from advancing against a strong current. They remained here until the 2d of October, when, finding that little was to be done in the way of trade, and that the river was beginning to fall, they decided to return to the sea-coast. While visiting their old friend Abokko, at Damuggoo, on the voyage down, Lander gave him a very handsome necklace, which had been intended for the King of Boussa, and he repaid it by the gift of a large island opposite the town, to which the name of English Island was given. Mr. Brown, one of the company's clerks, was placed upon it, to trade with the natives during the absence of the steamer, Abokko having promised to build a house for him. The vessel then resumed her voyage, and reached the sea on the 31st.

"No sooner had we reached Fernando Po," says Dr. Oldfield, "than I became too unwell to attend to any thing that was going forward respecting the destination of the vessel. Lieutenant Allen, having completed his survey of the river, determined on returning to England by the first opportunity; and it was now arranged that I should go again up the river with the vessel, while Mr. Lander, after visiting Cape Coast and Accrah for cowries, was to follow me, and expected to rejoin me up the river in about six weeks."

On the 27th of November they were again in the River Nun. Lander left the same day in the *Quorra* for Cape Coast, while the *Alburkah*, under the command of Dr. Oldfield, sailed for the Niger. Shortly after passing Eboe, the engine gave way, and all efforts to repair it seemed to be ineffectual. While these attempts were going on, Dr. Oldfield took a boat and ascended the river to Iddah, where he arrived on the 23d of December, and found Mr. Brown, the clerk, who had been left behind. Finally, on the 1st of January, 1834, the engine was again put in motion, but in the mean time the engineers and several of the crew had died. Dr. Oldfield was, therefore, obliged to intrust the management of the engine entirely to the black firemen. They proceeded very slowly, and did not reach Iddah until the 14th.

From this time forward, the journal of Dr. Oldfield is little else than a record of his dealings with the Kings of Iddah, Abokko, and other native chiefs, in his endeavors to establish a trade. The former, whose name was Attah, was the same man who had poisoned Pascoe, and endeavored to get Lander into his power with the same object. Abokko alone was faithful, and inclined to take their part, but there was no end to the intrigue and deceit which they encountered. The trading

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operations were tolerably successful, and they received a larger quantity of ivory than they had before taken. In the early part of February they heard a rumor that Richard Lander, in ascending the river to rejoin them, with a supply of cowries, had been attacked and plundered in the Eboe country; and this was confirmed on the 29th of March by a letter from Lander himself, who stated that he had been attacked on the 20th of January, near a village called Hyammah, about eighty-five miles from the mouth of the river. Three men were killed, and the boat taken, with every thing it contained, Lander and the other men barely escaping in a light canoe, in which they pulled down the stream all night. Lander was severely wounded by a ball in the thigh, and had returned to Fernando Po.

LANDER'S GRAVE.

In March, Dr. Oldfield received notice from Abokko that an attack on the steamer was designed by the natives, and consequently kept a strict watch at night, to guard against surprise. He remained in this region until the 1st of June, constantly exposed to the danger of hostilities, which were only avoided, in two or three instances, by his coolness and determination. Finally, his men being all more or less disabled by the fevers, which had already carried off several of them, he decided to return to the sea. In passing down the river, he reached, on the 21st, the spot where Lander had been attacked. He says: "About three o'clock, on passing a town situate on the left bank, about two hundred natives rushed from behind the trees and fired at us, taking deliberate aim. I stood by the nine-pounder and fired a rocket over the town; but this did not appear to alarm them, for they kept up an irregular fire,

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running along the bank with the vessel until we rounded the point and got out of sight of the town. The musket-balls flew about the temporary house and the ship's quarter-deck in all directions for several minutes; and although they struck the chimney and roof of the house, we all escaped."

The *Alburkah* reached Fernando Po on the 9th of July. Richard Lander had died in consequence of the wounds he had received, and was buried in a sequestered spot near the town, at the base of a lofty cotton-tree, where a monument has since been placed to his memory and that of the many other daring men who have fallen in the attempt to open the savage regions of Africa to intercourse with the civilized world.

Dr. Oldfield took passage for England on the 11th of August. "On the 18th of November," he says, "I reached London, but in a very infirm state of health, having suffered much in my constitution from exposure to climete and all kinds of privation, and the only European left alive of the crew of the *Alburkah* who left Fernando Po in November"

ALLEN AND THOMPSON'S EXPEDITION TO THE NIGER.

After the failure of Mr. Laird's commercial expedition to the Niger, no further attempt was made for several years. In 1839, however, a society was formed, under the presidency of Prince Albert, "for the Extinction of the Slave-trade and the Civilization of Africa." A deputation from this society waited on Lord John Russell, recommending that a government expedition should be sent to the coast of Africa, and the river Niger, with commissioners empowered to form treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the external slave-trade. After some deliberation the government acceded, and orders were given to build three iron steamers for the service. Two of these, the *Albert* and *Wilberforce*, were 140 feet in length, and of 457 tons burden; the third, the *Soudan*, was of 250 tons only, and 113 feet in length.

The vessels were built during the summer of 1840; in November of that year, most of the officers appointed to the expedition had joined their respective ships, and the greater part of the crews had entered. Captain Trotter was appointed commander of the *Albert*, Captain William Allen, of the *Wilberforce*, and Captain Bird Allen of the *Soudan*. These three commanders, with Mr. William Cook, were appointed commissioners, empowered to make treaties. In addition, several scientific men were sent out, under the auspices of the African Civilization Society. As auxiliary to the purpose of the society, but not officially connected with it, nor with the expedition, an Agricultural Society was formed, with the intention of establishing a model farm in such a locality as might be selected by the commissioners. The Admiralty granted a

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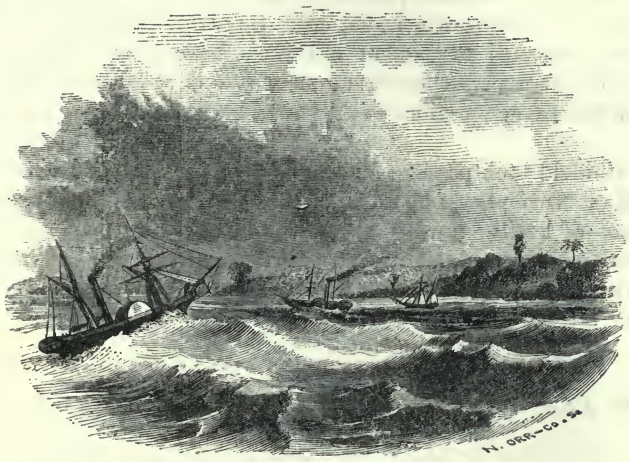
passage to Mr. Carr, a colored West Indian, who was engaged to act as superintendent of the farm. All the preparations having been completed, the expedition sailed from England on the 22d of April, 1841.

After touching at the Canaries, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cape Coast Castle, the three vessels reached the river Nun on the 9th of August. The surf was very heavy on the bar, and owing to the vessels



MOUTH OF THE NIGER.

being rather deeply laden, with their coal, supplies, and the articles for the model farm, which they had taken on board at Cape Coast, they did not venture to attempt the entrance, until the 15th, when the sea was smooth. Says Captain Allen: "It was a moment of deep and breathless expectation, both as being a passage of considerable difficulty and as being the first absolute step in that path, so full of novelty and exciting interest, but which all knew must be fraught with danger; yet their zeal did not suffer such anticipations to darken their prospect, and the accomplishment of the entrance of the river Niger was announced by three cheers from the whole crew."

On the 20th, they started on their voyage up the river, passing into the main stream by the same narrow channel which Lander and Laird had chosen, and, after exploring a new arm of the river to the westward, anchored off Eboe, the residence of King Obie, on the evening of the 25th. The next day, after sending one of his sons to ascertain the intentions of his visitors, King Obie made his appearance, in his state canoe, with a numerous retinue, and a deafening company of native drummers and singers. On reaching the deck of the *Wilberforce*, the king recognized Captain Allen (who, as Lieutenant Allen, had accompanied Lander and Oldfield in the *Alburkah*) as an old friend. "He brought with him," says the Captain, "two favorite wives and a daughter; one of the for-

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mer probably was not more than thirteen, and was younger than the daughter. They were simply attired with a scanty waist-cloth; but two dresses of flaming red silk, and another of cotton print, supplied to the expedition by their compassionate sisters of our own blest land, were presented to them, and very soon put on, but did not appear to add at all to their comfort, as they stood trembling between fear and joy."

KING OBIE AND HIS WIVES.

After a consultation between the commissioners and King Obie, the latter expressed his willingness to make such a treaty as they proposed to him—to give up the slave-trade in his dominions, and prevent his neighbors, as far as possible, from carrying it on—to give English traders the freedom of the river, allow them to purchase houses and lands, and both to enjoy their own religion and to convert his own subjects to it, without disturbance. On the 28th, the treaty having been carefully explained, was signed by the commissioners on the part of the queen, properly witnessed; and by Obie, witnessed by his eldest son and two brothers. Captain Trotter then requested the chaplain, the Rev. Theodore Müller, to ask the blessing of God on this successful commencement of their labors. "The nature of the ceremony having been explained to Obie," says Captain Allen, "with an intimation that he might remain or retire, he signified his wish to join us, and imitated our example in kneeling to the Christian's God—to him an unknown and inappreciable being.

"In that solemn moment, when the stillness was unbroken, save by the reverential voice of the clergyman, and all were devoutly engaged, Obie became violently agitated. On the conclusion of the ceremony he started up, and uttering a sudden fearful exclamation, called aloud for his ju-ju man to bring his protecting 'Arrisi,' or idol, being evidently under the impression that we had performed some incantation to his prejudice, the adverse tendencies of which, it would be necessary to

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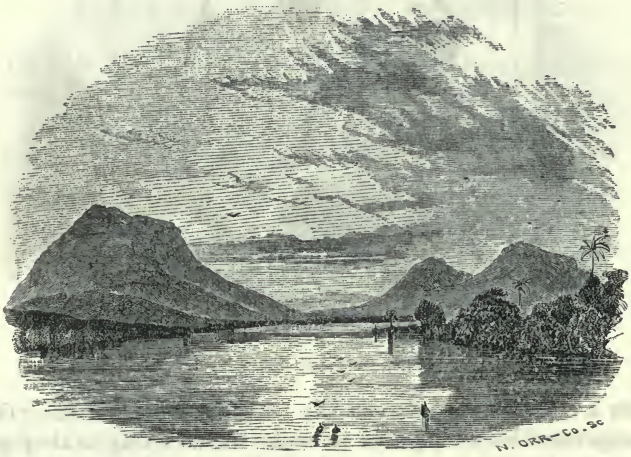
counteract by a sacrifice on his part. He stood trembling with fear and agitation; the perspiration streamed down his face and neck, showing how great was the agony of mind he endured. The priest had heard the cry of his sovereign, and rushing into the cabin with the idol—a piece of blackened wood, enveloped in cloth—which the king placed between his feet, was about to offer the customary libation of palm-wine, etc., when Captain Trotter, also much disconcerted at the idea of a heathen ceremony being performed in our presence, and in opposition to the rites of our holy religion, interrupted him, and called for Captain



THE MODEL FARM.

Bird Allen, who had just left the cabin. It was an interval of breathless anxiety, the king became every moment more alarmed, and desirous to continue his sacrifice, until it was explained to him that we had asked the Great God, who was Father of us all, to bestow His blessing alike on the black people and on us. This immediately pacified him, he desisted from the operations, and his good humor as quickly returned."

On the 1st of September, the vessels reached Damuggoo, the residence of old Abokko, who had proved so true a friend to the Landers and Mr. Laird. They were grieved to find that the old man had been dead for several years. His family, however, was still in great power, one of his sons, Okien, having succeeded him in the government of the town and territory. They then proceeded to Iddah, where the commissioners had several interviews with the treacherous old king, Attah. He professed his entire willingness to discontinue the slave-trade, prevent it from being carried on, to discontinue human sacrifices, receive and treat hospitably English traders, and finally, to give up such a tract of land for the purposes of the model farm, as the commissioners might select. After making all these promises, he was particularly anxious to see the

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presents intended for him. All the arrangements having been concluded, the expedition left on the 8th for the confluence of the Niger and the Chadda, near which point the commissioners proposed to locate the model farm.

By this time the fever had made its appearance on board the vessels, and soon occasioned fearful havoc. The men died every day, and they had every reason to expect a recurrence of the melancholy scenes on board the *Quorra* and *Alburkah*. On the 12th, they reached the junction, and the botanist and geologist, having examined the country, recommended a spot on the western bank of the Niger, opposite the mouth of the Chadda, and near a lofty hill called Mount Stirling, by Lander. The preliminaries were agreed upon between the commissioners and the agents of Attah, and the land was purchased for the sum of 700,000 cowries (about $220). The tract extended about sixteen miles along the bank of the river, and four miles in depth.

"On the 18th of September," says Captain Allen, "the number of sick had increased to sixty, and death had already done fearful execution among us. The scenes at night were most agonizing. Nothing but muttering delirium, or suppressed groans were heard on every side on board the vessels, affording a sad contrast to the placid character of the river and its surrounding scenery." It was at first proposed to send the invalids to the summit of the hills, in order to enjoy a purer air; but the surgeon declared that they could not safely be removed, and Captain Trotter then decided to put them on board the *Soudan*, and have them carried down to the sea-coast. On Sunday, the 19th, this was done: "Prayers were read to the crews of both vessels. It was an affecting scene. The whole of one side of the little vessel was covered with the invalids, and the cabins were full of officers; there was, indeed, no room for more."

A conference of the commanders was now held, as to the proper course to be pursued. On the one hand it was proposed that they should ascend the Niger as far as Rabba, to make a treaty with the Felatahs, and other native tribes; while Captain William Allen, who had some experience of the river and its climate, strongly urged an immediate return to the sea, in order to restore the health of the crews. After a long discussion it was decided that the *Albert* should attempt to reach Rabba, while the *Wilberforce* should descend the river, and proceed to carry out the intentions of the government in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Captain Trotter having prepared his dispatches for England, the vessels separated on the 20th of September.

The *Wilberforce* reached Fernando Po on the 1st of October, and found the *Soudan* at anchor there. Several persons had died on both vessels, and as there was no diminution of the sick-list, but the contrary, Captain Allen resolved to leave Fernando Po as soon as possible—its reputation for unhealthiness being second only to the fatal Niger—and to proceed to Ascension, as the best means under Providence of enabling

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the crew of the *Wilberforce* to recover their health. A small trading steamer, called the *Ethiope*, under charge of Mr. Becroft, was engaged to proceed at once up the Niger in order to assist the *Albert*, if, as was feared, her officers and crew should be disabled by fever. She sailed on the 7th, and two days afterward the *Wilberforce* left on her sanitary cruise. She visited Prince's Island, St. Thomas, Annobon, and Ascension; the sick gradually recovered, with two or three exceptions, the vessel was overhauled and thoroughly cleansed, and Captain Allen was about to sail for the coast of Africa in the beginning of January, 1842, when the melancholy intelligence reached Ascension that the *Albert* had returned to Fernando Po, with all her crew dangerously ill with fever.

"They had been immediately landed at the hospital, where Commander Bird Allen, with several officers and men had fallen a sacrifice to their zeal in braving to the utmost the climate of the fatal river. In fact, the vessel and her crew were only saved from great risk of destruction by the timely meeting of Mr. Becroft, in the *Ethiope*, who brought them safely to Fernando Po. She had been conducted as far as the point where her deliverer was met, by the almost superhuman exertions of Doctors McWilliam and Stanger; but it was not possible that their unaided strength could have lasted much longer. Captain Trotter was reported to be in such danger, that the medical men had thought it necessary he should immediately return to England, as the only means of saving his life, and that officer deeming it also of importance that one of the commissioners should lay before her majesty's government a statement of the condition of the vessels and survivors of the expedition, had taken his passage in a small schooner which was about to sail for England."

Dr. McWilliam's journal of what occurred on board the *Albert* after the departure of the *Wilberforce* and *Soudan* from the mouth of the Chadda, adds another melancholy chapter to the history of Niger exploration. It will be remembered that Captain Trotter had determined to ascend as far as Rabba, but the number of the sick increased as he advanced, and by the time he reached Egga, on the 28th of September, the engineer was unable to perform his duty. The King of Egga received the officers in a friendly manner, but refused to make a treaty, through fear of the Felatahs. On the 3d of October, Dr. McWilliam writes: "This day our hopes of penetrating further into the interior received a finishing blow. Our arduous, enterprising, and kind chief, who was complaining yesterday, has now unmistakable symptoms of fever. Commander Bird Allen lies in a very critical state, and upward of twenty others of our companions are completely prostrated. In short, of the whites at all fit for duty, there remain only one seaman, the sergeant, and one private of marines, John Huxley, sick attendant, John Duncan, master-at-arms, Mr. Willie, mate, Dr. Stanger, and myself. The time, therefore, seems now to have arrived when there is no reason-

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able prospect of our reaching Rabba this season; and no alternative left us but to return to the sea with all possible speed."

On the voyage down several deaths occurred. Two of the officers jumped overboard, while in the delirium of fever, and one of them was lost. The entire command and management of the vessel devolved on Doctors McWilliam and Stanger, the former of whom undertook the navigation, while the latter acted as engineer: and in addition to these labors, they took charge of the sick. At the model farm, they found that the persons they had left had cleared and planted twelve acres of ground, and built several huts, but Mr. Carr, the superintendent, with the schoolmaster and gardener, were so ill, that the physicians had them brought on board, and gave the farm into the charge of Ralph Moore, an American negro, who had accompanied the expedition from Liberia. On the 13th, below Eboe, they fortunately met the *Ethiope*, without the assistance of which vessel they would have been unable to cross the bar at the mouth of the Nun, and on the 17th, reached Fernando Po.

After the departure of Captain Trotter for England, the command of the expedition devolved upon Captain Allen. In a consultation with Mr. Cook, the remaining commissioner, it was decided to proceed up the Niger again, to the relief of the settlers of the model farm; but Captain Allen deferred this trip until June, when the Niger should be swollen by the tropical rains. In the mean time he proceeded to carry out the object of the expedition in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, which occupied him until the beginning of June, when he returned to Fernando Po. He was preparing to set out for the Niger once more, when, on the 24th of June, dispatches arrived from England to put a stop to the expedition, and forward the officers and men composing it to England, with the exception of the few who would be required to proceed to the relief of the persons left at the model farm.

The *Wilberforce* was detailed for this service, under the command of Lieutenant Webb, and having been fitted out in all haste, entered the mouth of the Niger on the 2d of July. She proceeded up the river rapidly, passed Idda on the 10th, and had nearly reached the mouth of the Chadda, when she struck on a sunken rock. She was built in compartments, which alone prevented her from being a total loss; but the damage was so serious, that on reaching the model farm, Mr. Webb was obliged to run her aground to have the hull repaired. This was accomplished in a day or two, and the vessel got afloat again; and, as fever had already made its appearance, haste was made to reship the goods and stores at the model farm and return down the river. It was found that Moore, who had been left in charge of the undertaking, had not sufficient control over his subordinates; the latter were idle and vicious; and though the crops promised well and the natives were friendly, it was thought best to abandon the place altogether.

Lieutenant Webb returned to Fernando Po on the 29th of July, and soon afterward sailed in the *Wilberforce* for England, where he arrived

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on the 17th of November. Captain Allen and the remainder of the expedition had already arrived in September. Thus disastrously terminated an imposing attempt to open the Niger to English commerce—not from any want of energy or courage on the part of those who engaged in it, but from the ravages of a climate into which few Europeans can venture and live. Of the total of one hundred and forty-five Europeans who took part in this expedition, forty-four died, and only fourteen escaped without an attack of fever.

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MOFFAT'S

LIFE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The Rev. Robert Moffat was sent to South Africa in the year 1817, as an agent of the London Missionary Society. He immediately entered on the duties of his office with zeal, courage, and alacrity, departing from Cape Town, soon after his arrival, into the country of the Bechuanas, where he remained many years, enduring the rude life of one of the lowest varieties of the human race, encountering many dangers and difficulties, but sustained through all by a truly Christian patience and humanity. He labored in this field until 1840—a period of twenty-three years—during which time he became familiar with the character and habits of nearly all the wild Bushmen tribes between the English settlements and the mountains of Bamangwato, far beyond the Orange River, and on the borders of the unknown country recently explored by Dr. Livingstone. In 1842 he published in London an account of his experience entitled: "Missionary Labors and Scenes in Southern Africa," containing much curious information concerning the native tribes. As he was not, strictly speaking, an explorer, and his work is a series of observations and reflections, rather than a connected narrative, it will be sufficient to extract those portions which best describe the country and its inhabitants.

Mr. Moffat gives the following account of the region where so many years of his life were spent: "Great Namaqua-land, as it is usually called, lies north of the Orange River, on the western coast of Africa, between the twenty-third and twenty-eighth degrees of south latitude; bounded on the north by the Damaras, and on the east by an extensive sandy desert, called by Mr. Campbell the Southern Zara, or Zahara. Meeting with an individual, on my journey thither, who had spent years in that country, I asked what was its character and appearance? 'Sir,' he replied, 'you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population, always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burned loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sun.' Of the truth of this description I soon had ample demonstration. It is intersected by the Fish and 'Oup

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Rivers, with their numberless tributary streams, if such their dry and often glowing beds may be termed. Sometimes, for years together, they are not known to run; when, after the stagnant pools are dried up, the natives congregate to their beds, and dig holes, or wells, in some instances to the depth of twenty feet, from which they draw water, generally of a very inferior quality. They place branches of trees in the excavation, and, with great labor, under a hot sun, hand up the water in a wooden vessel, and pour it into an artificial trough; to which the panting, lowing herds approach, partially to satiate their thirst. Thunder-storms are eagerly anticipated, for by these only rain falls; and frequently these storms will pass over with tremendous violence, striking the inhabitants with awe, while not a single drop of rain descends to cool and fructify the parched waste.

"When the heavens do let down their watery treasures, it is generally in a partial strip of country, which the electric cloud has traversed; so that the traveler will frequently pass, almost instantaneously, from ground on which there is not a blade of grass, into tracts of luxuriant green, sprung up after a passing storm. Fountains are indeed few and far between, the best very inconsiderable, frequently very salt, and some of them hot springs; while the soil contiguous is generally so impregnated with saltpeter, as to crackle under the feet, like hoar-frost, and it is with great difficulty that any kind of vegetable can be made to grow. Much of the country is hard and stony, interspersed with plains of deep sand. There is much granite; and quartz is so abundantly scattered, reflecting such a glare of light from the rays of the sun, that the traveler, if exposed at noonday, can scarcely allow his eyelids to be sufficiently open to enable him to keep the course he wishes to pursue.

"The inhabitants are a tribe or tribes of Hottentots, distinguished by all the singular characteristics of that nation, which includes Hottentots, Carannas, Namaquas, and Bushmen. Their peculiar clicking language is so similar, that it is with little difficulty they converse with the two former. In their native state the aborigines, though deeply sunk in ignorance, and disgusting in their manners and mien, were neither very warlike nor bloody in their dispositions. The enervating influence of climate, and scanty sustenance, seem to have deprived them of that bold martial spirit which distinguishes the tribes who live in other parts of the interior, which, in comparison with Namaqua-land, may be said to 'flow with milk and honey.' With the exception of the solitary traveler, whose objects were entirely of a scientific character, those who ventured into the interior carried on a system of cupidity, and perpetrated deeds calculated to make the worst impression upon the minds of the natives, and influence them to view white men, and others descended from them, as an 'angry' race of human beings, only fit to be classed with the lions which roar for their prey in their native wilds. Intercourse with such visitors in the southern districts, and disgraceful acts of deceit and oppression, committed by sailors from ships which visited Angra Piquena,

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and other places on the western coast, had, as may easily be conceived, the most baneful influence on the native tribes, and nurtured in their heathen minds (naturally suspicious) a savage disgust for all intercourse with white men, alas! professedly Christian. It was to such a people, and to such a country, that the missionaries directed their course, to lead a life of the greatest self-denial and privation."

Among these people a chief named Africaner was the terror of the colony. His tribe had removed further and further from the home of their fathers, as the Dutch settlers encroached on their territory, until at length they became subject to one of the farmers. Here Africaner lived several years with his diminished tribe, serving his master faithfully until the cruelties to which his people were subjected at length awakened his resentment and aroused him to vengeance. His master was slain, and he led the remnant of his party to the Orange River, beyond the reach of their pursuers. In their attempts to get rid of him the colonists bribed other chiefs, and a long series of bloody conflicts ensued between the family of Africaner, and the chief Berend and his associates, in which neither conquered. Africaner frequently visited the boundaries of the colony and harassed the settlers. Some, whom he knew to be engaged in a plot against him, fell victims to his fury, and their cattle and other property were carried off. He thus became a scourge to the colonists on the south, and the tribes on the north; mutual provocations and retaliations became common. He paid back the aggressions with large interest, and his name carried dismay even to the remote deserts.

The Rev. J. Campbell, in his first visit to Africa, crossed the interior to Namaqua-land. During his journey he found every village in terror of Africaner's name. On reaching Pella he wrote a conciliatory letter to the chief, and continued his journey. Africaner sent a favorable reply, and soon afterward Mr. Ebner was sent out from Pella. It required no little circumspection and decision to gain an influence over a people whose hand had been against every one, but Mr. Ebner's labors were blessed, and in a short time Africaner, his two brothers, and a number of others, were baptized.

In 1817, Mr. Ebner visited Cape Town for supplies, where he met with Mr. Moffat, who hailed him with delight as his companion and guide in his future labors, upon which he was now entering. After traveling awhile together, Mr. Moffat proceeded to Bysondermeid, in Little Namaqua-land. "As I approached the boundaries of the colony," he writes, "it was evident to me that the farmers, who, of course, had not one good word to say of Africaner, were skeptical to the last degree about his reported conversion, and most unceremoniously predicted my destruction. One said he would set me up for a mark for his boys to shoot at; and another, that he would strip off my skin, and make a drum of it to dance to; another most consoling prediction was, that he would make a drinking-cup of my skull. I believe they were serious,

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and especially a kind motherly lady, who, wiping the tear from her eye, bade me farewell, saying, 'Had you been an old man, it would have been nothing, for you would soon have died, whether or no; but you are young, and going to become a prey to that monster.'"

After spending a month at Bysondermeid he proceeded, by way of Pella, to Africaner's kraal, (village), where he arrived on the 26th of January, 1818, and was kindly received by Mr. Ebner. The natives, however, seemed reserved, and it was some time before Africaner, the chief, came to welcome him.

It appeared, as Mr. Moffat afterward learned, that some unpleasant feeling existed between the missionary and the people. "After remaining an hour or more in this situation," he continues, "Christian Africaner made his appearance; and after the usual salutation, inquired if I was the missionary appointed by the directors in London; to which I replied in the affirmative. This seemed to afford him much pleasure; and he added, that as I was young, he hoped that I should live long with him and his people. He then ordered a number of women to come; I was rather puzzled to know what he intended by sending for women, till they arrived, bearing bundles of native mats and long sticks, like fishing-rods. Africaner pointing to a spot of ground, said, 'There, you must build a house for the missionary.' A circle was instantly formed, and the women evidently delighted with the job, fixed the poles, tied them down in the hemispheric form, and covered them with the mats, all ready for habitation, in the course of little more than half an hour. Since that time I have seen houses built of all descriptions, and assisted in the construction of a good many myself; but I confess I never witnessed such expedition. Hottentot houses (for such they may be called, being confined to the different tribes of that nation), are at best not very comfortable. I lived nearly six months in this native hut, which very frequently required tightening and fastening after a storm. When the sun shone, it was unbearably hot; when the rain fell, I came in for a share of it; when the wind blew, I had frequently to decamp to escape the dust; and in addition to these little inconveniences, any hungry cur of a dog that wished a night's lodging, would force itself through the frail wall, and not unfrequently deprive me of my anticipated meal for the coming day; and I have more than once found a serpent coiled up in a corner. Nor were these all the contingencies of such a dwelling, for as the cattle belonging to the village had no fold, but strolled about, I have been compelled to start up from a sound sleep, and try to defend myself and my dwelling from being crushed to pieces by the rage of two bulls which had met to fight a nocturnal duel."

Mr. Moffat soon afterward entered upon his labors and was cheered by the interest which Africaner manifested in his instructions. He became a constant reader of the Scriptures, and loved to converse on religious subjects, and at the same time greatly assisted in the labors of the mission. "During the whole period I lived there," continues Mr.

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Moffat, "I do not remember having occasion to be grieved with him, or to complain of any part of his conduct; his very faults seemed to 'lean to virtue's side.' One day, when seated together, I happened, in absence of mind, to be gazing steadfastly on him. It arrested his attention, and he modestly inquired the cause. I replied, 'I was trying to picture to myself your carrying fire and sword through the country, and I could not think how eyes like yours could smile at human woe.' He answered not, but shed a flood of tears! He zealously seconded my efforts to improve the people in cleanliness and industry; and it would have made any one smile to have seen Christian Africaner and myself superintending the school children, now about a hundred and twenty, washing themselves at the fountain. He was a man of peace; and though I could not expound to him that the 'sword of the magistrate' implied, that he was calmly to sit at home, and see Bushmen or marauders carry off his cattle, and slay his servants; yet so fully did he understand and appreciate the principles of the Gospel of peace, that nothing could grieve him more than to hear of individuals, or villages, contending with one another."

As the spot on which they lived was not suitable for a permanent missionary station, it was determined to take a journey northward and examine the country bordering on Damara-land, where it was reported that water abounded. On the route they occasionally met with Namaqua villages, whose inhabitants were exceedingly ignorant, though not so stupid as some travelers have represented these people to be. In this connection Mr. Moffat, speaking of the liability of travelers to be led astray, refers to a traveler who, having asked his guide the name of a place, was proceeding to write down the answer "*Ua reng*," when told by Mr. Moffat that the guide merely asked what he said. In another instance "mountains" was the reply, instead of the name of the mountain. "And in reference to points of faith or extent of knowledge," continues he, "the traveler may be completely duped, as I was in the present journey. At an isolated village, far in the wilds of Namaqualand, I met an individual, who appeared somewhat more intelligent than the rest; to him I put a number of questions, to ascertain if there were any tradition in the country respecting the deluge, of which vestiges are to be found in almost every part of the known world. I had made many inquiries before, but all to no purpose. Discovering that he possessed some knowledge on the subject, and being an utter stranger to any of the party, and to all appearance a child of the desert, I very promptly took up my pen and wrote, thinking myself a lucky discoverer. I was perfectly astonished at some of his first sentences, and, afraid lest I should lose one word, I appointed *two* interpreters: but by the time I reached the end of the story, I began to suspect. It bore the impress of the Bible. On questioning him as to the source of his information, he positively asserted that he had received it from his forefathers, and that he never saw or heard of a missionary. I secretly instituted in-

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quiries into his history, but could elicit nothing. I folded up my paper, and put it into my desk, very much puzzled, and resolving to leave the statement to wiser hands than mine. On our return, this man accompanied us some days southward, toward the Karas mountains, when we halted at a village; and meeting a person who had been at Bethany, Mr. Schmelen's station, lying north-west of us, I begged him to guide us thither, as I was anxious to visit the place. He could not, being worn out with the journey; but pointing to the deluge narrator, he said, '*There* is a man that knows the road to Bethany, for I have seen him there.' The mystery of the tradition was in a moment unraveled, and the man decamped, on my seeing that the *forefather* who told him the story, was our missionary Schmelen. Stories of a similar kind originally obtained at a missionary station, or from some godly traveler, get, in course of time, so mixed up and metamorphosed by heathen ideas, that they look exceedingly like native traditions."

Finding the natives unfriendly, they returned unsuccessful. Once, when they had been a day and a night without water, they drew near some bushes which seemed to skirt on a ravine, and hasted forward with joy. "On reaching the spot," says Mr. Moffat, "we beheld an object of heart-rending distress. It was a venerable-looking old woman, a living skeleton, sitting, with her head leaning on her knees. She appeared terrified at our presence, and especially at me. She tried to rise, but, trembling with weakness, sank again to the earth. I addressed her by the name which sounds sweet in every clime, and charms even the savage ear, 'My mother, fear not; we are friends, and will do you no harm.' I put several questions to her, but she appeared either speechless, or afraid to open her lips. I again repeated, 'Pray, mother, who are you, and how do you come to be in this situation?' to which she replied, 'I am a woman; I have been here four days; my children have left me here to die.' 'Your children!' I interrupted. 'Yes,' raising her hand to her shriveled bosom, 'my own children, three sons and two daughters. They are gone,' pointing with her finger, 'to yonder blue mountain, and have left me to die.' 'And, pray why did they leave you?' I inquired. Spreading out her hands, 'I am old, you see, and I am no longer able to serve them; when they kill game, I am too feeble to help in carring home the flesh; I am not able to gather wood to make fire; and I can not carry their children on my back, as I used to do.' This last sentence was more than I could bear; and though my tongue was cleaving to the roof of my mouth for want of water, this reply opened a fountain of tears. I remarked that I was surprised that she had escaped the lions, which seemed to abound, and to have approached very near the spot where she was. She took hold of the skin of her left arm with her fingers, and, raising it up as one would do a loose linen, she added, 'I hear the lions; but there is nothing on me that they would eat; I have no flesh on me for them to scent.' At this moment the wagon drew near, which greatly alarmed her, for she supposed that it was an

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animal. Assuring her that it would do her no harm, I said that, as I could not stay, I would put her in the wagon, and take her with me. At this remark she became convulsed with terror. Others addressed her, but all to no effect. She replied, that if we took her, and left her at another village, they would only do the same thing again. 'It is our custom; I am nearly dead; I do not want to die again.' The sun was now piercingly hot; the oxen were raging in the yoke, and we ourselves nearly delirious. Finding it impossible to influence the woman to move, without running the risk of her dying convulsed in our hands, we collected a quantity of fuel, gave her a good supply of dry meat, some tobacco, and a knife, with some other articles; telling her we should return in two days, and stop the night, when she would be able to go with us; only she must keep up a good fire at night, as the lions would smell the dried flesh, if they did not scent her. We then pursued our course; and after a long ride, passing a rocky ridge of hills, we came to a stagnant pool, into which men and oxen rushed precipitately, though the water was almost too muddy to go down our throats."

After this journey, which lasted a few weeks, Mr. Moffat lived an itinerating missionary life for several months, and then undertook a journey, at the request of Africaner, to the Griqua country, east of the desert, to inspect a situation offered to him and his people. The journey was long and difficult, but the result was satisfactory to Africaner. Meanwhile the want of intercourse with the colony made it necessary for Mr. Moffat to visit Cape Town, and he proposed that Africaner should accompany him. The chief was startled at this proposition, and asked if he did not know that a thousand rix dollars were offered for his head. Others also made objections, but finally all difficulties were removed, and they set forward. They spent a few days at Pella, while the subject of getting Africaner safely through the territories of the colonists to the Cape, was discussed. Many thought the step hazardous, but it was arranged that, although he was a chief, he should pass for one of Mr. Moffat's servants. As they proceeded, the people often expressed wonder that Mr. Moffat had escaped from such a monster of cruelty, and it sometimes afforded no little entertainment to Africaner and the Namaquas, to hear a farmer denounce this supposed irreclaimable savage. A novel scene which occurred at one farm is thus described:

"On approaching the house, which was on an eminence, I directed my men to take the wagon to the valley below, while I walked toward the house. The farmer, seeing a stranger, came slowly down the descent to meet me. When within a few yards, I addressed him in the usual way, and stretching out my hand, expressed my pleasure at seeing him again. He put his hand behind him, and asked me, rather wildly, who I was. I replied that I was Moffat, expressing my wonder that he should have forgotten me. 'Moffat!' he rejoined, in a faltering voice; 'it is your *ghost!*' and moved some steps backward. 'I am no ghost.' 'Don't come near me!' he exclaimed, 'you have been long murdered

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by Africaner.' 'But *I am* no ghost,' I said, feeling my hands, as if to convince him and myself, too, of my materiality; but his alarm only increased. 'Every body says you were murdered; and a man told me he had seen your bones;' and he continued to gaze at me, to the no small astonishment of the good wife and children, who were standing at the door, as also to that of my people, who were looking on from the wagon below. At length he extended his trembling hand, saying, 'When did you rise from the dead?' As he feared my presence would alarm his wife, we bent our steps toward the wagon, and Africaner was the subject of our conversation. I gave him in a few words my views of his present character, saying, 'He is now a truly good man.' To which he replied, 'I can believe almost any thing you say, but *that* I can not credit.' By this time we were standing with Africaner at our feet, on whose countenance sat a smile, well knowing the prejudices of some of the farmers. The farmer closed the conversation by saying, with much earnestness, 'Well, if what you assert be true respecting that man, I have only one wish, and that is, to see him before I die; and when you return, as sure as the sun is over our heads, I will go with you to see him, though he killed my own uncle.' I was not before aware of this fact, and now felt some hesitation whether to discover to him the object of his wonder; but knowing the sincerity of the farmer, and the goodness of his disposition, I said, 'This, then, is Africaner!' He started back, looking intensely at the man, as if he had just dropped from the clouds. 'Are you Africaner?' he exclaimed. He arose, doffed his old hat, and making a polite bow, answered, 'I am.' The farmer seemed thunder-struck; but when, by a few questions, he had assured himself of the fact, that the former bugbear of the border stood before him, now meek and lamb-like in his whole deportment, he lifted up his eyes, and exclaimed, 'O God, what a miracle of thy power! what can not thy grace accomplish!' The kind farmer, and his no less hospitable wife, now abundantly supplied our wants; but we hastened our departure, lest the intelligence might get abroad that Africaner was with me, and bring unpleasant visitors.

"On arriving at Cape Town, I waited on his excellency the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who appeared to receive with considerable skepticism my testimony that I had brought the far-famed Africaner on a visit to his excellency. The following day was appointed for an interview, when the chief was received by Lord Charles with great affability and kindness; and he expressed his pleasure at seeing thus before him one who had formerly been the scourge of the country, and the terror of the border colonists. His excellency was evidently much struck with this result of missionary enterprise, the benefit of which he had sometimes doubted. Whatever he might think of his former views, his excellency was now convinced that a most important point had been gained; and, as a testimony of his good feeling, he presented Africaner with an excellent wagon, valued at eighty pounds sterling.

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"Africaner's appearance in Cape Town excited considerable attention, as his name and exploits had been familiar to many of its inhabitants for more than twenty years. Many were struck with the unexpected mildness and gentleness of his demeanor, and others with his piety and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures. His New Testament was an interesting object of attention, it was so completely thumbed and worn by use. His answers to a number of questions put to him by the friends in Cape Town, and at a public meeting at the Paarl, exhibited his diligence as a student in the doctrines of the Gospel, especially when it is remembered that Africaner never saw a catechism in his life, but obtained all his knowledge on theological subjects from a careful perusal of the Scriptures, and the verbal instructions of the missionary."

After spending some time at Griqua Town, Mr. Moffat joined the mission at the Kuruman in May, 1821. Here he had to labor with a people ignorant in the extreme, and utterly destitute of a system of religion to which he could appeal, or of ideas kindred to those he wished to impart. To tell them of a Creator or of the immortality of the soul, was to speak of what was fabulous and extravagant. "A wily rain-maker," continues Mr. Moffat, "who was the oracle of the village in which he dwelt, once remarked, after hearing me enlarge on the subject of creation, 'If you verily believe that that Being created all men, then, according to reason, you must also believe that in making white people he has improved on his work; he tried his hand on Bushmen first, and he did not like them, because they were so ugly, and their language like that of the frogs. He then tried his hand on the Hottentots, but these did not please him either. He then exercised his power and skill, and made the Bechuanas, which was a great improvement; and at last he made the white people; therefore,' exulting with an air of triumph at the discovery, 'the white people are so much wiser than we are in making walking-houses (wagons), teaching the oxen to draw them over hill and dale, and instructing them also to plow the gardens instead of making their wives do it, like the Bechuanas.' His discovery received the applause of the people, while the poor missionary's arguments, drawn from the source of Divine truth, were thrown into the shade.

"With all their concessions, they would, with little ceremony, pronounce our customs clumsy, awkward, and troublesome. They could not account for our putting our legs, feet, and arms into bags, and using buttons for the purpose of fastening bandages round our bodies, instead of suspending them as ornaments from the neck or hair of the head. Washing the body, instead of lubricating it with grease and red ocher, was a disgusting custom, and cleanliness about our food, house and bedding, contributed to their amusement in no small degree. A native, who was engaged roasting a piece of fat zebra flesh for me on the coals, was told that he had better turn it with a stick, or fork, instead of his hands, which he invariably rubbed on his dirty body for the sake of the

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precious fat. This suggestion made him and his companions laugh extravagantly, and they were wont to repeat it as an interesting joke wherever they came.

"Among the Bechuana tribes, the name adopted by the missionaries for God, is *Morimo*. This has the advantage of the names used by the Kafirs and Hottentots, being more definite, as its derivation at once determines its meaning. *Mo* is a personal prefix and *rimo* is from *gorimo* 'above.' From the same root *legorimo*, 'heaven,' and its plural *magorimo*, are derived. The genius of the Bechuana language warrants us to expect a correspondence between the name and the thing designated; but in this instance the order is reversed. Morimo, to those who know any thing about it, had been represented by rain-makers and sorcerers as a malevolent *selo*, or thing, which the nations in the north described as existing in a hole, and which, like the fairies in the Highlands of Scotland, sometimes came out and inflicted diseases on men and cattle, and even caused death. This Morimo served the purpose of a bug-bear, by which the rain-maker might constrain the chiefs to yield to his suggestions, when he wished for a slaughter-ox, without which he pretended he could not make rain."

The mission among the Bechuanas had now been established five years, but the natives had become indifferent to all instruction, except when it was followed by some temporal benefit. The time of the missionaries was much occupied in building and in attending to the wants of daily life. The light, sandy soil required constant irrigation for the production of any kind of crops, and a water-ditch some miles in length had been led from the Kuruman River, and passed in its course through the gardens of the natives. The native women, seeing the fertilizing effects of the water in the gardens of the mission, took the liberty of cutting open the ditch, often leaving the mission without a drop of water, even for culinary purposes. The missionaries were often obliged to go three miles with a spade in the hottest part of the day to close up these outlets, and obtain moisture for their burnt-up vegetables. As soon as they had left, the women would open the outlets again, and thus they were sometimes many days without water, except what was carried from a distant fountain, under a cloudless sky, when the thermometer at noon would frequently rise to one hundred and twenty degrees in the shade. When they complained, the women became exasperated, and going up with their picks to the dam, completely destroyed it. Moreover, when they had with great pains succeeded in raising their crops, the natives would steal them by night and by day.

"Our attendance at public worship," says Mr. Moffat, "would vary from one to forty; and these very often manifesting the greatest indecorum. Some would be snoring; others laughing; some working; and others, who might even be styled the *noblesse*, would be employed in removing from their ornaments certain nameless insects, letting them run about the forms, while sitting by the missionary's wife. Never

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having been accustomed to chairs or stools, some, by way of imitation, would sit with their feet on the benches, having their knees, according to their usual mode of sitting, drawn up to their chins. In this position one would fall asleep and tumble over, to the great merriment of his fellows. On some occasions an opportunity would be watched to rob, when the missionary was engaged in public service. The thief would just put his head within the door, discover who was in the pulpit, and, knowing he could not leave his rostrum before a certain time had elapsed, would go to his house and take what he could lay his hands upon. When Mr. Hamilton and I met in the evening, we almost always had some tale to tell about our losses, but never about our gains, except those of resignation and peace, the results of patience, and faith in the unchangeable purposes of Jehovah. 'I will be exalted among the heathen,' cheered our often baffled and drooping spirits.

"The following is a brief sketch of the ceremony of interment, and the custom which prevails among these tribes in reference to the dying. When they see any indications of approaching dissolution in fainting fits or convulsive throes, they throw a net over the body, and hold it in a sitting posture, with the knees brought in contact with the chin, till life is gone. The grave, which is frequently made in the fence surrounding the cattle-fold, or in the fold itself, if for a man, is about three feet in diameter, and six feet deep. The body is not conveyed through the door of the fore-yard or court connected with each house, but an opening is made in the fence for that purpose. It is carried to the grave, having the head covered with a skin, and is placed in a sitting posture. Much time is spent in order to fix the corpse exactly facing the north; and though they have no compass, they manage, after some consultation, to place it very nearly in the required position. Portions of an ant-hill are placed about the feet, when the net which held the body is gradually withdrawn; as the grave is filled up, the earth is handed in with bowls, while two men stand in the hole to tread it down round the body, great care being taken to pick out every thing like a root or pebble. When the earth reaches the height of the mouth, a small twig or branch of an acacia is thrown in, and on the top of the head a few roots of grass are placed; and when the grave is nearly filled, another root of grass is fixed immediately above the head, part of which stands above ground. When finished, the men and women stoop, and with their hands scrape the loose soil around on to the little mound. A large bowl of water, with an infusion of bulbs, is then brought, when the men and women wash their hands and the upper part of their feet, shouting 'pùla, pùla,' rain, rain. An old woman, probably a relation, will then bring his weapons, bows, arrows, war-ax, and spears, also grain and garden-seeds of various kinds, and even the bone of an old pack-ox, with other things, and address the grave, saying, 'there are all your articles.' These are then taken away, and bowls of water are poured on the grave, when all retire, the women wailing, 'yo, yo, yo,' with some doleful dirge,

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sorrowing without hope. These ceremonies vary in different localities, and according to the rank of the individual who is committed to the dust.

"Years of drought had been severely felt, and the natives, tenacious of their faith in the potency of a man, held a council, and passed resolutions to send for a rain-maker of renown from the Bahurutsi tribe, two hundred miles north-east of the Kuruman station. Rain-makers have always most honor among a strange people, and therefore they are generally foreigners. The heavens had been as brass, scarcely a cloud had been seen for months, even on the distant horizon. Suddenly a shout was raised, and the whole town was in motion. The rain-maker was approaching. Every voice was raised to the highest pitch with acclamations of enthusiastic joy. He had sent a harbinger to announce his approach, with peremptory orders for all the inhabitants to wash their feet. Every one seemed to fly in swiftest obedience to the adjoining river. Noble and ignoble, even the girl who attended to our kitchen-fire, ran. Old and young ran. All the world could not have stopped them. By this time the clouds began to gather, and a crowd went out to welcome the mighty man who, as they imagined, was now collecting in the heavens his stores of rain.

"Just as he was descending the height into the town, the immense concourse danced and shouted, so that the very earth rang, and at the same time the lightnings darted, and the thunders roared in awful grandeur. A few heavy drops fell, which produced the most thrilling ecstasy on the deluded multitude, whose shoutings baffled all description. Faith hung upon the lips of the impostor, while he proclaimed aloud that this year the women must cultivate gardens on the hills, and not in the valleys, for these would be deluged. After the din had somewhat subsided, a few individuals came to our dwellings to treat us and our doctrines with derision. 'Where is your God?' one asked with a sneer. We were silent, because the wicked were before us. 'Have you not seen our Morimo? Have you not beheld him cast from his arm his fiery spears, and rend the heavens? Have you not heard with your ears his voice in the clouds?' adding with an interjection of supreme disgust, 'You talk of Jehovah, and Jesus, what can they do?' Never in my life do I remember a text being brought home with such power as the words of the Psalmist, 'Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen.'

"The rain-maker found the clouds in our country rather harder to manage than those he had left. He complained that secret rogues were disobeying his proclamations. When urged to make repeated trials, he would reply, 'You only give me sheep and goats to kill, therefore I can only make goat-rain; give me fat slaughter oxen, and I shall let you see ox-rain.' One day, as he was taking a sound sleep, a shower fell, on which one of the principal men entered his house to congratulate him, but to his utter amazement found him totally insensible to what was

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transpiring. 'Héla ka rare (Halloo, by my father), I thought you were making rain,' said the intruder, when, arising from his slumbers, and seeing his wife sitting on the floor shaking a milk-sack, in order to obtain a little butter to anoint her hair, he replied, pointing to the operation of churning, 'Do you not see my wife churning rain as fast as she can?' This reply gave entire satisfaction, and it presently spread through the length and breadth of the town, that the rain-maker had churned the shower out of a milk-sack. The moisture caused by this shower was dried up by a scorching sun, and many long weeks followed without a single cloud, and when these did appear they might sometimes be seen, to the great mortification of the conjurer, to discharge their watery treasures at an immense distance.

"The rain-maker had recourse to numerous expedients and stratagems, and continued his performances for many weeks. All his efforts, however, proving unsuccessful, he kept himself very secluded for a fortnight, and, after cogitating how he could make his own cause good, he appeared in the public fold, and proclaimed that he had discovered the cause of the drought. All were now eagerly listening; he dilated some time, till he had raised their expectation to the highest pitch, when he revealed the mystery. 'Do you not see, when clouds come over us, that Hamilton and Moffat look at them?' This question receiving a hearty and unanimous affirmation, he added, that our white faces frightened away the clouds, and they need not expect rain so long as we were in the country. This was a home-stroke, and it was an easy matter for us to calculate what the influence of such a charge would be on the public mind. We were very soon informed of the evil of our conduct, to which we plead guilty, promising, that as we were not aware that we were doing wrong, being as anxious as any of them for rain, we would willingly look to our chins, or the ground, all the day long, if it would serve their purpose. It was rather remarkable, that much as they admired my long black beard, they thought that in this case it was most to blame. However, this season of trial passed over, to our great comfort, though it was followed for some time with many indications of suspicion and distrust."

In October, 1823, Mr. Moffat having occasion to visit Cape Town with his family, he writes: "As Mothibi (the chief) was anxious that his son should see the country of the white people, he sent him with us, and appointed Taisho, one of his principal chiefs, to accompany him. The kind reception they met with from his excellency the governor, and the friends in Cape Town, and the sights they saw, produced strange emotions in their minds. They were delighted with every thing they beheld, and were in raptures when they met again their old friend George Thompson, Esq., who showed them no little kindness. It was with some difficulty that they were prevailed upon to go on board one of the ships in the bay; nor would they enter the boat until I had preceded them. They were perfectly astounded, when hoisted on the deck, with the enor-

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mous size of the hull, and the height of the masts; and when they saw a boy mount the rigging, and ascend to the very mast-head, they were speechless with amazement. Taisho whispered to the young prince, 'A ga si khatla?' Is it not an ape? When they entered the splendid cabin, and looked into the deep hold, they could scarcely be convinced that the vessel was not resting on the bottom of the ocean. 'Do these water-houses (ships) unload like wagon-oxen every night?' they inquired. 'Do they graze in the sea to keep them alive?' A ship in full sail approaching the roads, they were asked what they thought of that. 'We have no thoughts here; we hope to think again when we get to the shore,' was their reply. They would go anywhere with me or Mr. Thompson, for whom they entertained a kindly feeling, but they would trust no one else."

After his return, Mr. Moffat, accompanied by some Griquas, set out on the 1st of July, 1824, to visit Makaba, the chief of the Bauangketsi. A few days afterward, they were joined by another party, under the chief Berend. Before reaching the town the train was met by the messengers of Makaba, who welcomed them, and when they came near, Makaba desired them to conduct the wagons through the principal street, but as it was a narrow path, winding among a number of houses, Mr. Moffat pronounced the thing impossible without seriously injuring the fences. "Never mind that," says Makaba, "only let me see the wagons go through my town;" and on they went, while the chieftain stood on an eminence before his door, looking with inexpressible delight on the wagons which were breaking down corners of fences, while the good wives within were so much amazed at the oxen, and what appeared to them ponderous vehicles, that they hardly found time to scold, though a few did not fail to express their displeasure.

They found a dense population at the metropolis of the Bauangketsi, and early next morning they were surrounded by thousands, so that it was difficult to pass from one wagon to another. "The country of the Bauangketski is hilly, and even mountainous toward the north and east. The soil in general is very rich; but water is rather scarce, and though I believe rains are pretty abundant, yet, from what I could learn, irrigation would be absolutely necessary to raise European vegetables and grain. The countries to the north and east abound with rivers, and are very fruitful and populous. The mountains are adorned to their very summits with stately trees and shrubs, unknown in the southern parts of the continent, which give the country a picturesque and imposing appearance." On their return they were attacked by a party of Barolongs, who were repulsed only after a fierce encounter and the loss of several lives. Some of Berend's people likewise captured several hundred of the enemy's cattle.

"In the end of the year 1826, having removed into our new habitation, and the state of the country being somewhat more tranquil, a journey was resolved on to the Barolongs, near the Molapo, in order to

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attend exclusively to the language, which hitherto it had not been possible to do, owing to the succession of manual labor connected with commencing a new station, when the missionaries must be at the beginning, middle, and end of every thing. Mr. Hamilton, who felt that his advanced age was a serious barrier to his acquisition of the language, was anxious for my progress, and cheerfully undertook the entire labors of the station for a short season, preaching to the Batlapis in the neighborhood, and keeping up public service for the few on the station. Two attempts had been previously made for this very purpose, but I had not long left the place before, in both instances, I was recalled on account of threatened attacks."

Arrived at the village of Bogachu, a Barolong chief, Mr. Moffat spent ten weeks attending to the language. He writes: "The people, to please me, would assemble on the Sabbath, as I told them I could not be happy without telling them about their souls and another world. One day, while describing the day of judgment, several of my hearers expressed great concern at the idea of all their cattle being destroyed, together with their ornaments. They never for one moment allow their thoughts to dwell on death, which is according to their views nothing less than annihilation. Their supreme happiness consists in having abundance of meat. Asking a man who was more grave and thoughtful than his companions what was the finest sight he could desire, he instantly replied, 'A great fire covered with pots full of meat;' adding, 'how ugly the fire looks without a pot!'

"A custom prevails among all the Bechuanas whom I have visited, of removing to a distance from the towns and villages persons who have been wounded. Two young men, who had been wounded by the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, were thus removed from the Kuruman. Having visited them, to administer relief, I made inquiries, but could learn no reason, except that it was a custom. This unnatural practice exposed the often helpless invalid to great danger; for, if not well attended during the night, his paltry little hut, or rather shade from the sun and wind, would be assailed by the hyena or lion. A catastrophe of this kind occurred a short time before my arrival among the Barolongs. The son of one of the principal chiefs, a fine young man, had been wounded by a buffalo; he was, according to custom, placed on the outside of the village till he should recover; a portion of food was daily sent, and a person appointed to make his fire for the evening. The fire went out; and the helpless man, notwithstanding his piteous cries, was carried off by a lion and devoured. Some might think that this practice originated in the treatment of infectious diseases, such as leprosy; but the only individual I ever saw thus affected was not separated. This disease, though often found among slaves in the colony, is unknown among the tribes in the interior, and therefore they have no name for it.

"Although, as has been stated, the term savages, when applied to Bechuanas, must be understood in a restricted sense, there was nothing

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either very comely or comfortable in the dress of either sex, yet such was their attachment to it, that any one deviating from it was considered a harlequin. The child is carried in a skin on its mother's back, with its chest lying close to her person. When it requires to be removed from that position, it is often wet with perspiration; and from being thus exposed to cold wind, pulmonary complaints are not unfrequently brought on. As soon as a child is born, its head is shaved, leaving a small tuft on the imperfectly ossified part of the skull; and when but a few weeks old, the little head may be seen hanging over the skin in which it is carried, shining with grease, and exposed to the rays of an almost vertical sun, yet the *coup de soleil* is not of frequent occurrence, either in infants or adults. The natives, however, are far from admiring a hot sun, and it is not uncommon to hear them say, 'letsatsi le utluega yang?' 'how does the sun feel?' and this exclamation is not to be wondered at, for I have known the action of the sun's rays so powerful on the masses of grease and black shining ocher on the head, as to cause it to run down their necks and blister the skin. They are therefore often found carrying a parasol made of black ostrich feathers, and in the absence of these will hold a small branch over their heads. I have frequently observed the Matabele warriors carrying their shields over their heads for the same purpose.

"For a long period, when a man was seen to make a pair of trowsers for himself, or a woman a gown, it was a sure intimation that we might expect additions to our inquirers. Abandoning the custom of painting the body, and beginning to wash with water, was with them what cutting off the hair was among the South Sea islanders, a public renunciation of heathenism. In the progress of improvement during the years which followed, and by which many individuals who made no profession of the Gospel were influenced, we were frequently much amused. A man might be seen in a jacket with but one sleeve, because the other was not finished, or he lacked material to complete it. Another in a leathern or duffel jacket, with the sleeves of different colors, or of fine printed cotton. Gowns were seen like Joseph's coat of many colors, and dresses of such fantastic shapes as were calculated to excite a smile in the gravest of us. It was somewhat entertaining to witness the various applications made to Mrs. Moffat, who was the only European female on the station, for assistance in the fabrication of dress, nor were these confined to female applicants.

"Our congregation now became a variegated mass, including all descriptions, from the lubricated wild-man of the desert, to the clean, comfortable, and well-dressed believer. The same spirit diffused itself through all the routine of household economy. Formerly a chest, a chair, a candle, or a table, were things unknown, and supposed to be only the superfluous accompaniments of beings of another order. Although they never disputed the superiority of our attainments in being able to manufacture these superfluities, they would however question our

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common sense in taking so much trouble about them. They thought us particularly extravagant in burning fat in the form of candles, instead of rubbing it on the bodies, or depositing it in our stomachs. Hitherto when they had milked their cows, they retired to their houses and yards, to sit moping over a few embers, seldom affording sufficient light to see what they were eating, or even each other; at night, spreading the dry hide of some animal on the floor, they would lie down in their skin-cloaks, making a blanket of what had been their mantles all day. They soon found that to read in the evening or by night required a more steady light than that afforded by a flickering flame from a bit of wood. Candle-molds and rags for wicks were now in requisition, and tallow carefully preserved, when bunches of candles were shortly to be seen suspended from the wall, a spectacle far more gratifying to us than the most charming picture, an indication of the superior light which had entered their abodes."

In the latter part of the year 1829, Mr. Moffat accompanied two messengers of Moselekatse, a king of a division of Zoolus called Matabele, on their return home. "Having traveled one hundred miles," he writes, "five days after leaving Mosega we came to the first cattle outposts of the Matabele, when we halted by a fine rivulet. My attention was arrested by a beautiful and gigantic tree, standing in a defile leading into an extensive and woody ravine, between a high range of mountains. Seeing some individuals employed on the ground under its shade, and the conical points of what looked like houses in miniature, protruding through its evergreen foliage, I proceeded thither, and found that the tree was inhabited by several families of Bakones, the aborigines of the country. I ascended by the notched trunk, and found, to my amazement, no less than seventeen of these aërial abodes, and three others unfinished. On reaching the topmost hut, about thirty feet from the ground, I entered, and sat down. Its only furniture was the hay which covered the floor, a spear, a spoon, and a bowl full of locusts. Not having eaten any thing that day, and from the novelty of my situation, not wishing to return immediately to the wagons, I asked a woman who sat at the door with a babe at her breast, permission to eat. This she granted with pleasure, and soon brought me more in a powdered state. Several more females came from the neighboring roosts, stepping from branch to branch, to see the stranger, who was to them as great a curiosity as the tree was to him. I then visited the different abodes, which were on several principal branches. The structure of these houses was very simple. An oblong scaffold, about seven feet wide, is formed of straight sticks. On one end of this platform a small cone is formed, also of straight sticks, and thatched with grass. A person can nearly stand upright in it; the diameter of the floor is about six feet. The house stands on the end of the oblong, so as to leave a little square space before the door. On the day previous I had passed several villages, some containing forty houses, all built on poles about seven or

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eight feet from the ground, in the form of a circle; the ascent and descent is by a knotty branch of a tree placed in front of the house. In the center of the circle there is always a heap of the bones of game they have killed. Such were the domiciles of the impoverished thousands of the aborigines of the country, who, having been scattered and peeled by Moselekatse, had neither herd nor stall, but subsisted on locusts, roots, and the chase. They adopted this mode of architecture to escape the lions which abound in that country. During the day the families descended to the shade beneath to dress their daily food. When the inhabitants increased, they supported the augmented weight on the branches, by upright sticks, but when lightened of their load, they removed these for firewood."

The king received the missionaries with kindness, and during a long visit Mr. Moffat had frequent intercourse with his majesty, who freely listened to his instructions. On his return Moselekatse accompanied him in his wagon, a long day's journey. Mr. Moffat concludes the story of his long labors in the following words: "Before closing the account of the Bechuana mission, it will be proper to state, that during the years 1837, 1838, a rich blessing descended on the labors of the brethren at home, at the out-stations, and indeed, at every place where the Gospel was read and preached. Large additions of Bechuanas to the church at Griqua Town have already been noticed; and in 1838, great accessions were made to that of the Kuruman. Under the very efficient and assiduous superintendence of Mr. Edwards, the number of readers connected with the mission had increased in equal ratio; while the Infant School, commenced and carried on by Mrs. Edwards, with the assistance of a native girl, gave the highest satisfaction. The people made rapid advance in civilization; some purchasing wagons, and breaking in their oxen for those labors which formerly devolved on the female sex. The use of clothing became so general, that the want of a merchant was greatly felt, to supply the demands for British commodities. This induced us to invite Mr. D. Hume, in whom we placed implicit confidence, who had already traded much with the natives, and traveled a great distance into the interior, to take up his constant abode on the station for that purpose. He built himself a house, and the measure has succeeded beyond our expectations."

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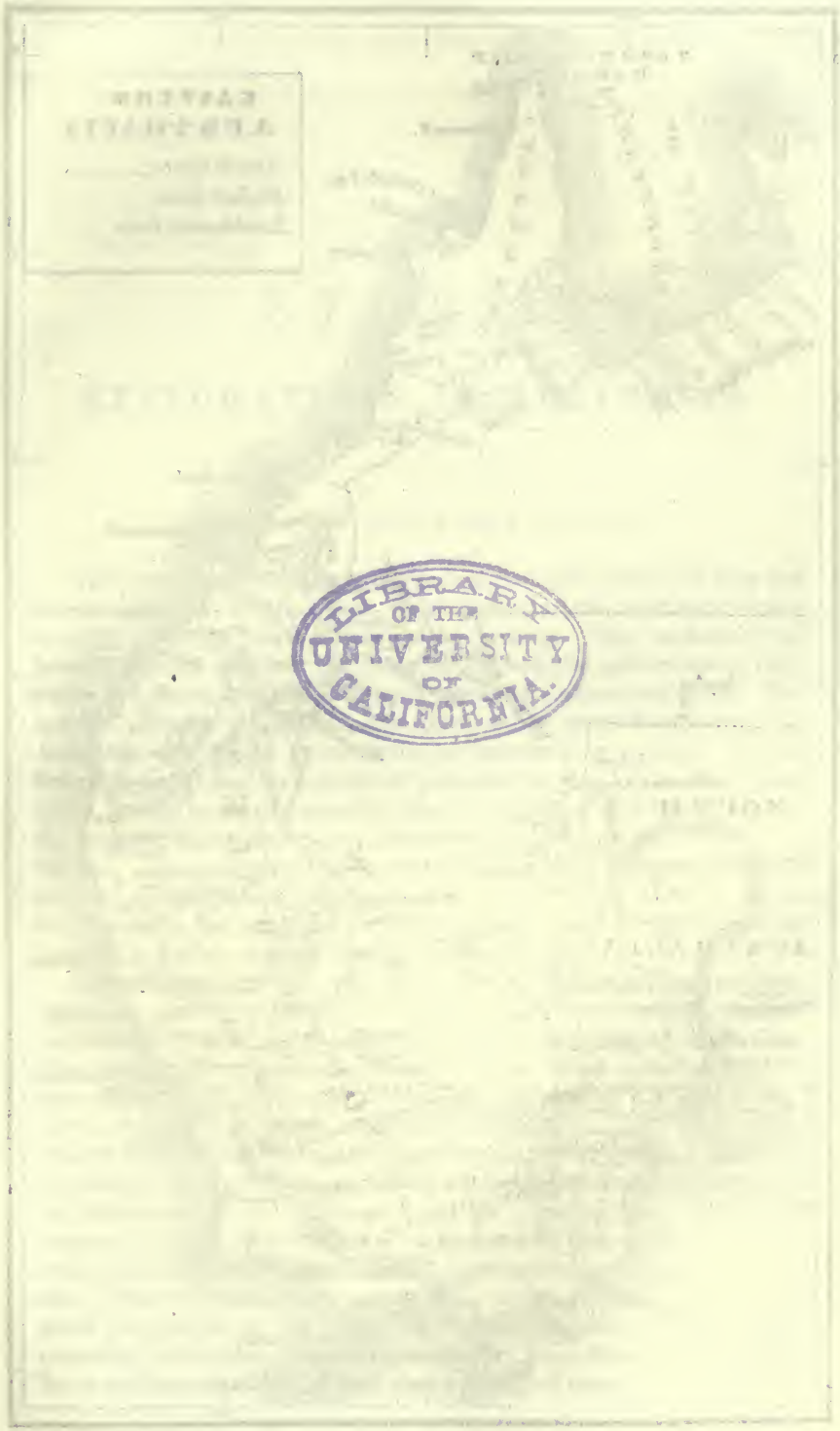

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STURT'S

EXPLORATIONS IN AUSTRALIA.

JOURNEY TO THE RIVER DARLING.

The climate of New South Wales is periodically subject to long and fearful droughts; one of these, which began in 1826, continued during the two following years with unabated severity. The surface of the ground became parched, the crops failed, and the settlers drove their flocks and herds to distant tracts in search of pasture and water. The interior suffered equally with the coast, and it seemed as though the Australian sky would never again be traversed by a cloud. It was therefore hoped that an expedition, pursuing the line of the Macquarie River, would be more successful than the previous attempts to explore the country, which had been obstructed by the vast marshes of the interior. An expedition was accordingly decided upon, for the express purpose of ascertaining the nature and extent of that basin into which the Macquarie was supposed to fall, and whether any connection existed between it and the streams flowing westwardly.

Captain Charles Sturt was appointed to command this expedition, which set out from Sidney on the 10th of November, 1828, and proceeded to Bathurst. After a few days' delay it was joined by Mr. Hamilton Hume, who was associated with Captain Sturt, and they pursued their route down the banks of the Macquarie to Wellington Valley, where they arrived about the end of the month. On the 7th of December they continued their journey down the river. The weather was exceedingly sultry; a few days afterward, when they left the river on an excursion to Lake Buddah, a short day's journey from it, the thermometer stood at one hundred and twenty-nine degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade, at two o'clock, and at one hundred and forty-nine in the sun. The rays were too powerful even for the natives, who kept as much as possible in the shade. At sunset hundreds of birds came crowding to the lake, to quench their thirst; some were gasping, others too weak to avoid the men, who shot a supply of them.

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They reached the river again next day and descended to the cataract. The natives they met with here, as elsewhere, were timorous at first, but being treated with kindness they soon threw off all reserve, and in the afternoon assembled below the fall to fish. They took short spears and sank at once under water, at a given signal from an elderly man. In a short time one or two rose with the fish they had taken; the others remained about a minute under water, and then made their appearance near the rock under which they had driven their prey.

The heat increased as the expedition advanced into the interior. The thermometer was seldom under one hundred and fourteen degrees at noon, and rose higher at two o'clock. There was no dew at night; the country was bare and scorched, and the plains were traversed by large fissures. As they neared Mount Harris the Macquarie became more sluggish in its flow, and fell off so much as scarcely to deserve the name of a river. On encamping, Messrs. Sturt and Hume rode to Mount Harris. "Nearly ten years had elapsed," says Captain Sturt, "since Mr. Oxley pitched his tents under the smallest of the two hills into which Mount Harris is broken. There was no difficulty in hitting upon his position. The trenches cut around the tents were still perfect, and the marks of the fire-places distinguishable; while the trees in the neighborhood had been felled, and round about them the staves of some casks and a few tent-pegs were scattered. Mr. Oxley had selected a place at some distance from the river, in consequence of its swollen state: from the same ground I could not discern the waters in its channel. A reflection naturally arose to my mind on examining these decaying vestiges of a former expedition, whether I should be more fortunate than the leader of it, and how far I should be enabled to penetrate beyond the point which had conquered his perseverance. My eye instinctively turned to the north-west, and the view extended over an apparently endless forest. I could trace the river-line of trees by their superior height, but saw no appearance of reeds, save the few that grew on the banks of the stream."

A few days later, after passing over rich timbered flats covered with luxuriant grass, and then crossing a dreary plain, they came to some lofty trees, under which they found nothing but reeds as far as the eye could penetrate. Continuing their course along the edge of the reeds they at length found a passage between the patches and gained the river with some difficulty. They were obliged to clear away a space for the tents, and thus found themselves encamped pretty far in that marsh which they had been anxiously looking for, and upon which, in any ordinary state of the river, it would have been dangerous to venture. As they proceeded, the difficulties increased, and it became necessary either to skirt the reeds to the northward, or to follow the river. Here the party separated, Captain Sturt launching the boat, and passing down the river to determine its course, and Mr. Hume proceeding northward to examine the marshes. The river flowed sluggishly among high reeds

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which often shut out every other object, and the channel maintained its size for several miles, when suddenly it ceased altogether and the boat grounded. Captain Sturt, finding every outlet closed, returned to the camp. He supposed the waters of the river to be spread over the surrounding level country, and Mr. Hume, who had also returned, had found a serpentine sheet of water, twelve miles to the northward, which he supposed to be the channel of the river.

The whole party then proceeded to the channel found by Mr. Hume, but after a few miles it likewise became unnavigable. Thinking that the Macquarie must eventually meet the Castlereagh, and their united waters form a stream of some importance, Mr. Hume was sent north-east to explore the country in that direction, while Captain Sturt crossed the river on an excursion to the interior, each accompanied by two men. Next day, January 1st, 1829, the captain came upon a numerous tribe of natives. A young girl, who first saw the approaching party, was so frightened that she had not power to run away, but threw herself on the ground and screamed violently. The people then issued from the huts, but started back on beholding the strangers. In a moment their huts were in flames, and each one with a firebrand ran to and fro with hideous yells, thrusting it into every bush he passed. Captain Sturt walked his horse quietly toward an old man who stood before the rest, as if to devote himself for the preservation of his tribe, but he trembled so violently that it was impossible to get any information from him; the party therefore passed on.

They returned to the camp late on the 5th of January, having penetrated more than a hundred miles into the western interior, and seen no traces of a stream from the highest elevations. Mr. Hume returned next day; he had traversed the country in various directions to the north and north-west, and found here and there a creek partially dried up, but nothing like a channel of the river, although he had obtained an extensive view of the country from a high range of hills, which he called New Year's Range.

Captain Sturt now returned to Mount Harris for supplies, and prepared to strike at once into the heart of the interior, being convinced that the river no longer existed. Not finding the expected supplies, he rejoined Mr. Hume, who had advanced fifteen miles, and found the whole party suffering from fatigue and the want of water. With difficulty they at length passed through the marshes, and on the 13th of January proceeded over a more pleasant country. In the forest, next day, they surprised a party of natives, who immediately ran away; but presently one of them returned, and stood twenty paces from Mr. Hume, until Captain Sturt began to advance, when he poised his spear at him, and the captain halted. The savage had evidently taken both man and horse for one animal, and when Mr. Hume dismounted, he struck his spear into the ground and walked fearlessly up to him. They made him comprehend that they were in search of water, when he pointed to the west, and a few hours

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afterward they came to a creek of fresh water situated on the eastern side of New Year's Range. Following the course of this creek, which was continually diminishing as they advanced, they proceeded in a north-westerly direction toward Oxley's Table Land, an elevated ridge, near which they encamped on the 23d.

They ascended the hill in search of some object to direct their course, but seeing no indications of a larger stream, they determined to make an excursion to D'Urban's Group, which lay at a distance in the south-west. Accordingly, Captain Sturt and Mr. Hume left the camp on the 25th, and soon afterward entered an acacia scrub of the most sterile description. The soil was almost pure sand, and the lower branches of the trees were decayed so generally as to give the scene an indescribable appearance of desolation. Next day they entered upon a plain which was crowded with cockatoos, until within a mile of the mountain group, where the country was covered with luxuriant grass, which waved higher than the horses' middles as they rode through it. The view from the summit was magnificent, but they were again disappointed in the main object of their search. A brighter green than usual marked the course of the mountain torrents in several places, but there was no glittering light among the trees, no smoke to betray a water-hole, or to tell that a single inhabitant was traversing the extensive region they were overlooking.

They returned to the camp on the 28th, and leaving Oxley's Table Land on the 31st, they pursued a northern course until they reached the creek. It had increased in size and in the height of its banks, but was perfectly dry. They therefore moved westwardly along its banks in search of water, but encamped after sunset without having found any. In his anxiety Captain Sturt then went down to the bed of the creek, where he was rejoiced to find a pond of water within a hundred yards of the tents. At their next encampment they were again without water, and at a loss what course to take, but finding traces of the natives, they followed a path toward the north, which led them to the banks of a noble river. The channel of the river was from seventy to eighty yards broad, and inclosed an unbroken sheet of water, evidently very deep, and literally covered with pelicans and other wild fowl. "Our surprise and delight," says Captain Sturt, "may better be imagined than described. Our difficulties seemed to be at an end, for here was a river that promised to reward all our exertions, and which appeared every moment to increase in importance to our imagination. The men eagerly descended to quench their thirst, which a powerful sun had contributed to increase; nor shall I ever forget the cry of amazement that followed their doing so, or the look of terror and disappointment with which they called out to inform me that the water was so salt as to be unfit to drink. This was, indeed, too true; on tasting it, I found it extremely nauseous and strongly impregnated with salt, being apparently a mixture of sea and fresh water. Our hopes were annihilated at the moment of their appa-

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rent realization. The cup of joy was dashed out of our hands before we had time to raise it to our lips. Notwithstanding this disappointment we proceeded down the river and halted at five miles, being influenced by the goodness of the feed to provide for the cattle as well as circumstances would permit. They would not drink of the river water, but stood covered in it for many hours, having their noses alone exposed above the stream." After the tents were formed, Mr. Hume walked out in search of water, and coming to the river at some distance below, found a reef of rocks which formed a dry passage from one side to the other. Curiosity led him to cross it, when he found a small pond of fresh water on a tongue of land. It was too late to move, but they had the prospect of a comfortable breakfast in the morning.

They followed the course of the river in a south-westerly direction, and on the 5th of January, passed through a large native village. Soon afterward they came suddenly upon the tribe of the village, who were engaged in fishing. They gazed upon the strangers a moment, then starting up, assumed an attitude of horror and amazement, and presently gave a fearful yell and darted out of sight. Soon a crackling noise was heard in the distance, and the bush was on fire. Captain Sturt and his party being on safe ground, patiently awaited the result. When the fire had come near, one of the natives came out from the same spot into which he had retreated, and bending forward with his hands upon his knees, gazed at them awhile, but seeing that they remained immovable, he began to throw himself into the most extravagant postures, shaking his foot from time to time. When he found that all his violence had no effect, he turned his back to them in a most laughable manner, and absolutely groaned in spirit when his last insult failed of success.

As they continued their journey down the river they discovered that there were salt springs in the bed of the stream. They had occasionally found ponds of fresh water, but these began to fail them. The animals were already so weak from bad food and the effects of the river water, that they could scarcely carry their loads. They therefore turned back on the morning of the 6th, and started for the nearest fresh water, which was eighteen miles behind them. They were still unwilling to quit the pursuit of the river, and Captain Sturt proposed to take the most serviceable horses down the stream, so that in the event of finding fresh water they might again push forward. He accordingly set out on the 8th accompanied by Mr. Hume, and two men, with a supply of provisions and water. They made about twenty-eight miles and slept on the river-side, but as the horses would not drink the river water, they were obliged to give them some from their own supply. Next day they crossed several creeks, in none of which they could find water, and when they halted at noon the supply had diminished to a little more than a pint. The day was warm and they were now forty miles from the camp, consequently their further progress became a matter of serious consideration, for however capable they were of bearing additional

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fatigue, it was evident their animals would soon fail. Therefore, as soon as they had bathed and finished their scanty meal, they set out on their return to the camp. They named the river "Darling," in honor of the governor.

In returning along the river they occasionally met with parties of the native tribes, who, though armed with spears, were quite inoffensive. "The natives of the Darling," says Captain Sturt, "are a clean-limbed, well-conditioned race, generally speaking. They seemingly occupy permanent huts, but the tribe did not bear any proportion to the size or number of their habitations. It was evident their population had been thinned. The customs of these distinct tribes, as far as we could judge, were similar to those of the mountain blacks, although their language differs. They lacerate their bodies, but do not extract their front teeth, as is done by the latter tribes."

At Mount Harris they found the party with supplies, awaiting their arrival. The fresh horses being in excellent order, Captain Sturt made preparations to explore the region of the Castlereagh, and determine the course of that river. On the 7th of March, the tents were struck, and the party left the Macquarie and proceeded in a north-easterly course. The thickets were frequently so dense that they found it impossible to travel in a direct line; after many difficulties they reached the Castlereagh on the afternoon of the 10th. The channel at this point was not less than one hundred and thirty yards in breadth, and yet there was apparently not a drop of water in it. They therefore suffered much from thirst as they descended the river, the weather being very sultry, although the heat was not so intense as they experienced in crossing the marshes of the Macquarie, when it melted the sugar in the canisters and destroyed all the dogs.

One day they surprised a party of natives who were engaged in preparing dinners of fish, evidently for a larger party than was present. They instantly fled, leaving every thing at the mercy of the strangers. In the afternoon they returned and crouching with their spears, seemed to manifest hostile intentions. Mr. Hume then walked to a tree, and broke off a short branch. As soon as they saw the branch, the natives laid aside their spears, and two of them advanced in front of the rest, who sat down. Mr. Hume then went forward and sat down, when the two natives again advanced and seated themselves close to him.

The natives of this region appeared to be dying out, not from any disease, but from the scarcity of food. From the want of water it was feared that the journey would have to be abandoned, when, by good fortune, the party deviated from the river and came upon a creek of fresh water, which again revived them. They thus continued their route until the 29th, when they were checked by a broad river. "A single glimpse of it," says Captain Sturt, "was sufficient to tell us it was the Darling. At a distance of ninety miles nearer its source it still preserved its character. The same steep banks and lofty timber, the same

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deep reaches, alive with fish, were here visible, as when we left it. A hope naturally arose in our minds that if it was unchanged in other respects, it might have lost the saltness which had rendered its waters unfit for use; but in this we were disappointed—even its waters continued the same."

They now retraced their steps to the creek of fresh water, whence they made an effort to penetrate the country to the north-west; but they entered a waste where all traces of the natives disappeared, and not even a bird was to be seen. Captain Sturt was, therefore, convinced of the inutility of further efforts, and made preparations to return with the expedition. They reached Mount Harris on the 7th of April, and, moving leisurely up the Macquarie, arrived at Wellington Valley on the 21st, having been absent from that settlement four months and a half. The waters of the Macquarie had diminished so much, that its bed was dry for more than half a mile at a stretch, nor did they observe the least appearance of a current in it until after they had ascended the ranges above Wellington Valley.

VOYAGE DOWN THE MORUMBIDGEE AND MURRAY RIVERS.

The late expedition having settled the hypothesis of an internal sea, and ascertained the actual termination of the rivers it had been directed to trace, it became important to determine the ultimate direction of the Darling, which was evidently the chief drain for the waters falling westwardly from the eastern coast. The difficulty of approaching that central stream without suffering for want of water made it necessary to regain its banks at some lower point, where it could still be identified. The attention of the government was consequently fixed upon the Morumbidgee, a river said to be of considerable size and of impetuous current. Receiving its supplies from the lofty ranges behind Mount Dromedary, it promised to hold a longer course than those rivers which depend on periodical rains alone for existence.

Another expedition was accordingly determined on, and the governor instructed Captain Sturt to make the necessary preparations for tracing the Morumbidgee, or such rivers as it might prove to be connected with, as far as practicable. As it was likely they would sometimes have to depend wholly upon water conveyance, he had a large whale-boat constructed so as to be taken in pieces for more convenient carriage; he also supplied himself with apparatus for distilling water, in the event of finding the water of the Darling salt, on reaching its banks.

The expedition left Sidney on the 3d of November, 1829. At Brownlow Hill Mr. George M'Leay, son of the colonial secretary, joined Captain Sturt as his companion, and on the 19th they arrived at Yass Plains, situated above the junction of the Yass River with the Morumbidgee. A few days afterward they encamped on the latter river, in a

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long plain surrounded on every side by hills. The scenery around was wild, romantic, and beautiful. The stream was full, and the waters, foaming among rocks or circling in eddies, gave early promise of a reckless course. Its waters were hard and transparent, and its bed was composed of mountain debris, and large fragments of rock. They proceeded along its banks, and on the morning of the 27th reached Whaby's Station, the last settlement on the river. They were now to be thrown on their own resources, yet the novelty of the scenery and the beauty of the river excited in them the liveliest anticipations of success.

As they were one day passing through an open forest one of the blacks took a tomahawk in order to get an opossum out of a dead tree, every branch of which was hollow. As he cut below the animal it became necessary to smoke it out. The fire soon kindled in the tree, and dense columns of smoke issued from the end of each branch, as thick as that from the chimney of a steam-engine. The shell of the tree was thin, but the black fearlessly climbed to the highest branch and watched anxiously for the poor creature; and no sooner did it appear than he seized upon it, and threw it down with an air of triumph. The roaring of the fire in the tree, the fearless attitude of the savage, and the association which his color and appearance, enveloped as he was in smoke, called up, produced a singular effect in the lonely forest. Soon after they left the tree, it fell with a tremendous crash, and was consumed to ashes.

At length the country became less hilly, and early in December they saw indications of a level region before them. In a few days they reached a dreary plain, where the cattle began to suffer, and they were obliged to shorten their journeys. Amid the desolation around them the river kept alive their hopes. If it traversed deserts, it might reach fertile lands, and to the issue of the journey they must look for success. The apparently boundless plain continued, and the sand became a great obstruction to their progress. At length they came to a reedy country, resembling that around the marshes of the Macquarie, and were alarmed at the prospect of losing the river. Captain Sturt therefore ordered a smaller boat to be built, but on further examination being convinced that they were still far from the termination of the river, he had the large boat put together, and resolved to send back the drays. In a week they had fitted up a boat twenty-seven feet long, had felled a tree from the forest, with which they had built a second of half the size, and had them painted and ready for loading.

On the 6th of January, 1830, the boats were loaded, the flour, tea, and tobacco, were placed in the whale-boat, and in the small one the meat-casks, still, and carpenters' tools. Captain Sturt then left a portion of the men with Robert Harris, and directed him to remain stationary for a week, after which he would be at liberty to return; while the boats were to proceed at an early hour of the morning down the river, —whether ever to return being a point of the greatest uncertainty.

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The advancing party embarked in high spirits, and although they used but two oars, their progress down the river was rapid. The channel offered few obstructions, but on the second day the skiff struck upon a sunken log, and immediately filling, went down in about twelve feet of water. With difficulty they succeeded in hauling it ashore, but the head of the still and several articles had been thrown out. As the success of the expedition might probably depend on the complete state of the still, every effort was made for its recovery. The whale-boat was moored over the place, and the bottom searched with the oars. When any object was felt, it was pushed into the sand, and one of the men descended by the oar to the bottom. The work was most laborious and the men at length became much exhausted, without having recovered the still-head. In the morning they resumed the search, and were finally successful.

As they advanced, the banks of the river became lined with reeds on both sides, while trees stood leafless and sapless in the midst of them. Wherever they landed the same view presented itself—a waving expanse of reeds, and a country perfectly flat. Their ardor was damped by the dread of marshes, as the channel became contracted and was impeded by immense trees that had been swept down by the floods.

On the 13th they passed a stream flowing in from the south-east, the first in a course of more than three hundred and forty miles. The river had become more open, but on this day's passage it was again filled with trunks of trees whose branches crossed each other in every direction, and in the evening the danger was increased by rapids, down which they were hurried in the darkness before they had time to foresee the difficulty. They halted at the head of more formidable barriers, down which, with great exertions, they passed in safety next morning. At length the river took a general southern direction, but, in its winding course, swept round to every point of the compass with the greatest irregularity. They were carried at a fearful rate down its gloomy and contracted banks, and in the excitement of the moment had little time to pay attention to the country through which they were passing. At three o'clock they approached a junction, and were immediately hurried out into a broad and noble river. The force with which they had been shot out of the Morumbidgee carried them nearly to the opposite bank of the capacious channel into which they had entered, and when they looked for the one they had left, they could hardly believe the insignificant opening that presented itself was the termination of the beautiful stream whose course they had successfully followed. This river was evidently the great channel of the streams from the south-eastern quarter of the island. The Morumbidgee entered it at right-angles, and was so narrowed at the point of junction, that it had the appearance of an ordinary creek.

The new river was from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards in width, and improved as they descended. Its reaches were of noble

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breadth and splendid appearance. At length it began to change; the banks became steep and lofty, and water-worn. On the 22d the boats came suddenly to the head of a foaming rapid, which it was too late to avoid, and their only safety was in making a clear passage. But the boat struck with the fore part of her keel upon a sunken rock, and turning round, presented her bow to the rapid, while the skiff floated away in the strength of it. They succeeded, however, in getting her off, without great injury.

The river became wider as they advanced, and the wind being fair, they hoisted sail and made rapid progress. As they were sailing in a reach with the intention of landing, a large concourse of natives appeared under the trees and seemed disposed to resist them. As they continued to approach, the savages held their spears ready to hurl at them. Wishing to avoid a conflict, Captain Sturt lowered the sail, and putting the helm to starboard, passed quietly down the stream. The disappointed natives ran along the banks, endeavoring to secure an aim at the boat, but, unable to throw with certainty, in consequence of its onward motion, they flung themselves into the most extravagant attitudes, and worked themselves into a state of frenzy by loud and vehement shouting. The boat was at length stopped by a sand-bank which projected into the channel, and the savages here renewed their threats of attack. Finding it impossible to avoid an engagement, Captain Sturt gave arms to the men, with orders not to fire till he had discharged both his barrels. On nearing the sand-bank, he made signs to the natives to desist, but without success. He then leveled his gun, but when his hand was on the trigger M'Leay called out that another party of blacks had made their appearance on the left bank of the river. There were four men, who ran at the top of their speed; the foremost threw himself from a considerable height into the water, and struggling across, placed himself between the savages and the boat. Forcing them back from the water, he trod its margin with great vehemence; at one time pointing to the boat, at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces of the most forward, and stamping with passion on the sand; his voice, at first distinct and clear, was lost in hoarse murmurs. The party in the boats, astonished at this singular and unexpected escape, allowed the boat to drift at pleasure, and after pushing off from a second shoal, their attention was attracted to a new and beautiful stream, coming apparently from the north. The bold savage who had so unhesitatingly interfered in behalf of the whites, had been in their company for several days, and had sometimes assisted them in return for their kindness to him. He now continued in hot dispute with the natives on the sand-bar, and Captain Sturt was hesitating whether to go to his assistance, when he saw a party of about seventy blacks on the right bank of the newly discovered river. Hoping to make a diversion in favor of his late guest, he landed among them, at which the first party ceased their wrangling, and came swimming across the river.

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JUNCTION OF THE MURRAY AND THE DARLING.

Before proceeding, they rowed a few miles up the new river, which presented a breadth of one hundred yards, and a depth of twelve feet. The conviction was at length impressed upon Captain Sturt that this was the Darling, from whose banks he had been twice forced to retire. He ordered the union jack to be hoisted, and the whole party gave three cheers.

On re-entering the channel of the first-discovered river, they named it the Murray, in compliment to Sir George Murray, who then presided over the colonial department. The skiff was then destroyed, and on the 24th they proceeded down the Murray. They had now daily intercourse with the natives, who sent embassadors forward regularly from one tribe to another, to the great advantage and safety of Capain Sturt's party. He was careful to do nothing to alarm them, although he made a point to show them the effects of a gun-shot by firing at a kite or any other bird that happened to be near. "Yet," continues the captain, "I was often surprised at the apparent indifference with which the natives not only saw the effect of the shot, but heard the report. I have purposely gone into the center of a large assemblage and fired at a bird, that has fallen upon their very heads, without causing a start or an exclamation, without exciting either their alarm or their curiosity." They sometimes became weary of this constant communication with the natives. "Their sameness of appearance," observes Captain Sturt, "the disgusting diseases

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that raged among them, their abominable filth, the manner in which they pulled us about, and the impossibility of making them understand us, or of obtaining any information from them, all combined to estrange us from these people, and to make their presence disagreeable. Yet there was an absolute necessity to keep up the chain of communication, to insure our own safety."

The river at length began to flow southward, a circumstance which gave much satisfaction to Captain Sturt, for he was beginning to feel some anxiety about the men. Their provision was becoming scanty, their eyes were sore, and they were evidently much reduced. After a long deviation to the north-west, the river again flowed southward. It increased in breadth, and soon lost its sandy bed and its current, and became deep, still, and turbid. The hills towered up like maritime cliffs, and the water dashed against their base like the waves of the sea. Other indications of the approach to the sea appeared from time to time. Some sea-gulls flew over their heads, at which one of the men was about to shoot, when Captain Sturt prevented him, for he hailed them as messengers of glad tidings, and thought they ill-deserved such a fate. The natives with whom they communicated on the 6th and 7th of February, distinctly informed them that they were fast approaching the sea, and from what they could understand, that they were nearer to it than the coast-line of Encounter Bay made them.

On the 9th they found a clear horizon before them to the south. They had reached the termination of the Murray; but instead of the ocean, a beautiful lake was spread out before them. The ranges of mountains which were visible on the west, were distant forty miles; they formed an unbroken outline, declining gradually to the south, but terminating abruptly at a lofty mountain northwardly. This was supposed to be the Mount Lofty of Captain Flanders, and the range to be that immediately eastward of St. Vincent's Gulf.

"Thirty-three days had now passed over our heads," says Captain Sturt, "since we left the dépot upon the Morumbidgee, twenty-six of which had been passed upon the Murray. We had, at length, arrived at the grand reservoir of those waters whose course and fate had previously been involved in such obscurity. It remained for us to ascertain whether the extensive sheet of water upon whose bosom we had embarked, had any practicable communication with the ocean." The greatest difficulty they had now to contend with was the wind, which blew fresh from the south-west; and the men were too much reduced for any violent or prolonged effort. Before morning, however, a breeze sprang up from the north-east and they set sail early for the extremity of the lake. They made a good passage, and in the evening arrived at the entrance of a channel about half a mile wide, leading to the south-west. It was bounded on the right by some open, flat ground, and on the left by a line of hills. Upon the first of these hills they observed a large body of natives, who set up the most terrific yells as they ap-

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proached, and came down to meet them with violent threats. They were fully equipped for battle, and were not to be pacified by any signs of peace. Captain Sturt therefore drew off, and the most daring warriors crept into the reeds with their spears poised. He took up his gun to return their salute, but they seemed perfectly aware of the instrument and fled precipitately. He then landed on a flat a mile below, where they could not be taken by surprise. "The full moon rose as we were forming the camp," observes Captain Sturt, "and notwithstanding our vicinity to so noisy a host, the silence of death was around us, or the stillness of night was only broken by the roar of the ocean, now too near to be mistaken for the wind, or by the silvery and melancholy notes of the black swans as they passed over us."

In the morning they attempted to pass the channel to the sea, which was visible at two and a half miles distance, but the passage was so obstructed with shoals that they were sometimes obliged to drag the boat a quarter of a mile, while wading knee-deep in mud. While the men were thus engaged Captain Sturt and M'Leay, with one of the men, crossed over to the sea-shore. He found they had struck the south coast deep in the bight of Encounter Bay. "Our situation," he writes, "was one of peculiar excitement and interest. To the right the thunder of the heavy surf, that almost shook the ground beneath us, broke with increasing roar upon our ears; to the left the voice of the natives echoed through the brush, and the size of their fires at the extremity of the channel seemed to indicate the alarm our appearance had occasioned. The mouth of the channel is defended by a double line of breakers, amidst which it would be dangerous to venture, except in calm and summer weather; and the line of foam is unbroken from one end of Encounter Bay to the other." Captain Sturt would fain have lingered to examine the beautiful country between the lake and the ranges, but the men were weak from scanty diet and great bodily fatigue. He therefore reluctantly yielded to necessity, and returning to the head of the lake, the party re-entered the river on the 13th of February, under as fair prospects as they could have desired.

For some days they were greatly assisted by the breezes from the lake, but, on the 18th, calms succeeded and obliged them to labor continually at the oars. They lost ground fast, and the spirits of the men began to droop under their first efforts. They fancied the boat pulled heavily. The current was not so strong as when they passed down, and the river had fallen so that in many places they were obliged to haul the boat over the shallows.

They reached the rapids of the Murray on the 6th of March, and next morning attempted to pass them with the aid of ropes. As soon as the boat entered the ripple it spun round like a top, and went away with the stream. The ropes were too short, and they had to get in the water and haul the boat up by main force. The rain was falling fast and they were up to their arm-pits in water, when suddenly a large body

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of natives, with their spears, lined the banks above them. As defense was impossible, nothing remained but to continue their exertions. It required but one strong effort to get the boat into still water for a time, but that effort was beyond their strength, and they stood in the stream, powerless and exhausted. At length one of the natives called to them, and they immediately recognized the voice of him who had saved them from the attack of the savages. A man swam over to him for assistance, which was readily given. A second, more dangerous rapid remained to be passed. Fastening a rope to the mast, the men landed and pulled upon it, and the boat shot up the passage with unexpected rapidity. The natives were filled with wonder, and testified their admiration of so dexterous a maneuver by a loud shout.

On the 16th of March, to their great joy, they re-entered the narrow and gloomy channel of the Morumbidgee.*

In the night of the 21st the blacks were discovered stealthily approaching the camp. They were suffered to come near, and two or three had hidden behind a fallen tree, when M'Leay fired a charge of small shot at them. They made a precipitate retreat, but in order to alarm them more effectually a ball was fired into the reeds, which was heard cutting its way through them. All was quiet until three o'clock, when a poor wretch, who had probably thrown himself on the ground when the shots were fired, mustered courage to get up and make his escape. Next day they tried to gain favor with the whites, but Captain Sturt threatened to shoot any that approached, and they kept at a respectful distance, dogging the party from tree to tree. In the evening they remained around the camp, which they again attempted to surprise in the night, but were effectually dispersed by a shot, and retreated across the river. Their spears were found at the fires in the morning, and were all broken up and burned, except those of a black who had befriended the party. As he had kept aloof from the others, Captain Sturt took his spears, nets, and tomahawk, and set out in search of him. On coming near enough, he stuck the spears into the ground, and approaching the man, presented to him his tomahawk. The poor man was speechless, and seemed both ashamed and surprised. He gave a short exclamation at sight of his tomahawk, but refused to grasp it, and it fell to the ground. While they were standing together his two wives came up, to whom, after pointing to the spears and tomahawk, he said something, without looking at Captain Sturt, and they both instantly burst into tears and wept aloud.

* "Wherever we landed on its banks," observes Captain Sturt, "we found the calistemma in full flower, and in the richest profusion. There was also an abundance of grass, where before there had been no signs of vegetation, and those spots which we had condemned as barren were now clothed with a green and luxuriant carpet. So difficult is it to judge of a country on a partial and hurried survey, and so differently does it appear at different periods. I was rejoiced to find that the rains had not swollen the river, for I was apprehensive that heavy falls had taken place in the mountains, and was unprepared for so much good fortune."

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On the 23d they reached the dépôt where they had first embarked on the Morumbidgee, but the men were sadly disappointed in finding no supplies. They continued up the river, which now became swollen with the rains, and poured along its turbid waters with great violence. For seventeen days the men pulled against the current with determined perseverance, but at length they began to give way. Their arms appeared to be nerveless, their faces became haggard, their persons emaciated, their spirits wholly sank; nature was so completely overcome, that, from mere exhaustion, they frequently fell asleep during their most painful and almost ceaseless exertions. No murmur, however, escaped them. Captain Sturt frequently heard them in their tent, when they thought he had dropped asleep, complaining of severe pains and of great exhaustion. "I must tell the captain to-morrow," some of them would say, "that I can pull no more." To-morrow came, and they pulled on, as if reluctant to yield to circumstances. Macnamee, one of the men, at length lost his senses. He related the most extraordinary tales and fidgeted about continually while in the boat; he was, therefore, relieved from the oars.

On the 11th of April they gained their old camp opposite Hamilton's Plains, and Captain Sturt resolved to abandon the boat and send two of the men forward to the plain for assistance. This decision was received with joy, and Hopkinson and Mulholland set forward at the earliest dawn next morning. At length the party that remained at the camp had consumed all their provisions. They therefore buried their specimens and other stores on the evening of the 18th, intending to break up the camp in the morning, when their comrades returned. "They were both," says Captain Sturt, "in a state that beggars description. Their knees and ankles were dreadfully swollen, and their limbs so painful that as soon as they arrived at the camp they sank under their efforts, but they met us with smiling countenances, and expressed their satisfaction at having arrived so seasonably to our relief. They had, as I had foreseen, met Robert Harris on the plain, which they reached on the evening of the third day. They had started early next morning on their return with such supplies as they thought we might immediately want. Poor Macnamee had in a great measure recovered, but for some days he was sullen and silent: the sight of the drays gave him uncommon satisfaction."

They left the camp on the following morning, and reached Pondebadgery on the 28th, where they found Robert Harris, with a plentiful supply of provisions. He had been at the plain two months, and intended to move down the river immediately, had they not made their appearance. On the 5th of May they pursued their journey, and in a week arrived at Yass plains; on the 14th they continued their route, and reached Sidney by easy stages on the 25th, after an absence of nearly six months, during which they had made some very important geographical discoveries.

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BACK'S

ARCTIC LAND EXPEDITION.

From the year 1826, when Franklin made his second overland journey to the Polar Sea, until 1833, no attempt was made by land to continue the survey of the northern coasts of America. But in 1832 great anxiety began to be felt about the fate of Sir John Ross, who had sailed from England in the year 1829, and had not been heard of. He commanded a small vessel called the *Victory*, which was fitted out entirely at the expense of himself and the late Sir Felix Booth, for the purpose of continuing his northern discoveries, and enabling him to vindicate his reputation as an able and enterprising navigator, which latter had been somewhat doubted in consequence of the ill success of a previous voyage to Baffin's Bay.

It was accordingly resolved by the friends of Captain Ross to send an expedition overland to the shores of the Arctic Sea in search of him, and a fitting leader for it was found in the well-tried and experienced Captain Back, who, as Lieutenant Back, had accompanied Franklin in both his expeditions. He no sooner heard of such a project being contemplated, than he hastened from Italy, where he happened to be at the time, and offered his services. Mr. Ross, the brother of Sir John, and father of Captain James Ross, drew up a petition to the king, "praying his Majesty's sanction to the immediate dispatch of an expedition for rescuing or at least ascertaining the fate of his son and brother;" and Captain Back's name being inserted as a leader, the petition was forwarded, and shortly after received the royal assent. A grant of £2,000 was also made by government, while a public subscription soon placed at the disposal of Captain Ross's friends a sum that was more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of the undertaking.

So great was the anxiety felt by the public and private friends of the Arctic explorer, that every thing was done that could be devised for the furtherance of the searching expedition. The Hudson's Bay Company, besides supplying a large quantity of provisions, two boats, and two canoes, gratis, took the expedition under their special protection, by

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issuing a commission under their seal to Captain Back as commander, thereby assuring him the co-operation of all the agents throughout their territories. In the instructions given to him by the Admiralty, Captain Back was directed to proceed to Great Salt Lake, and to winter on or near the head-waters of the Thlew-ee-choh-dezeth, or Great Fish River, which was supposed to flow from that lake, to follow the river to the sea the ensuing summer, and to explore the coast around Cape Garry, where the *Fury* was wrecked, searching everywhere for traces of the lost explorers. Armed with this authority, as well as by that given to him by the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Back, Mr. King, surgeon and naturalist to the expedition, and three men, two of whom had served in a former expedition under Captain Franklin, embarked in the packet-ship *Hibernia*, Captain Maxwell, from Liverpool, and on the 17th February, 1833, sailed for America.*

From New York, Captain Back and his party proceeded by way of Montreal, the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, and Sault St. Marie to Fort William, on Lake Superior, where they arrived on the 20th of May. Here the large canoes were to be exchanged for smaller ones, and a short delay took place in consequence of the difficulty the men had in dividing the lading among them. Resuming their journey, on the 6th of June they reached Fort Alexander, on Lake Winnipeg, where Captain Back found it necessary to remain a few days, to await the arrival of Governor Simpson, who was expected daily. During this period he and Mr. King employed themselves in making a set of observations for the dip of the needle, while the men busied themselves in unpacking and drying the provision and packages, which had got slightly damp during the voyage.

As most of the men for the expedition were yet to be engaged, it was necessary that they should proceed to Norway House—a dépôt of the company near the opposite extremity of Lake Winnipeg—where the brigades of boats from the distant regions of the interior converge on their way to the sea. Captain Back reached there on

* "Eight months after their departure, Captain Ross and the survivors of his party, whom a merciful God had brought in safety through dangers and privations unparalleled in arctic story, arrived in England after an absence of four years and five months. During this protracted period they had made very important geographical discoveries; fixed the position of the northern magnetic pole, and experienced hardships and privations, and encountered dangers, that fill us with admiration and wonder at the endurance and fortitude of the men who dared and overcame them all. Their little vessel, the *Victory*, having become unfit for use, had been abandoned, and the wanderers were at last providentially discovered by a whaler, the *Isabella* of Hull, which conveyed them from the icy regions, where they had been so long immured, to the sunny shores of their native land. Although the principal object of the expedition under Captain Back was thus obviated, yet the dispatches containing the intelligence did not overtake him until after he had reached his winter quarters in the sterile and romantic regions of the north; so that, even had it been desirable, he could not have returned home. As it was, however, he received the intelligence early enough to prevent his wasting time in the now unnecessary search; and he accordingly turned his undivided attention to the second object of the expedition."—*Tytler's "Northern Coast of America."*

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the 17th, but found it a difficult matter to engage men, some of whom were reluctant to encounter the perils of the journey, while others demanded exorbitant rewards, and others again were prevented by their wives. Finally, eighteen able and experienced hands were engaged, part of whom were sent off in advance with Dr. King, while Captain Back, retaining sufficient to man his canoe, remained a few days longer; and then, on the 28th of June, 1833, started for Cumberland House, where two boats and a large supply of stores and provisions awaited him. "This," says he, "was a happy day for me; and as the canoe pushed from the bank, my heart swelled with hope and joy. Now, for the first time, I saw myself in a condition to verify the kind anticipations of my friends. The preliminary difficulties had been overcome. I was fairly on my way to the accomplishment of the benevolent errand on which I had been commissioned."

Entering the Saskatchewan River, they ascended its stream, and on the 5th of July arrived at Cumberland House, where they were received by Mr. Isbister, the company's agent, and Mr. King, who had arrived without accident. Here the greater number of the party embarked in two new *batteaux*, each being laden with a cargo of sixty-one pieces of ninety pounds each, making for both ten thousand nine hundred and eighty pounds, exclusive of men, bedding, clothes, masts, sails, oars, and other spars. They sailed, under the command of Mr. King, on the 6th of July, while Captain Back, still retaining his canoe, remained behind to take some observations and write dispatches for England. Although this occupied him a few days, yet in a very short time he overtook the boats in his light canoe, and proceeded on his way, leaving them to advance more slowly to their wintering ground.

At the Pine Portage they met Mr. A. R. M'Leod, one of the gentlemen who had been appointed by the governor to accompany the expedition. This gentleman no sooner heard of the appointment, than he expressed his willingness to go, and during the following year Captain Back had reason to rejoice in the acquisition of a man who was eminently qualified for the service in all respects. On the 29th of July they reached Fort Chipewyan. Here some slight, though vague, information was obtained from the Indians, regarding the position of the river of which they were in search. They also completed their stock of provisions, leather for making moccasins, guns, and implements for building an establishment in which to pass the winter. Another canoe was also obtained, which, it was thought, might prove convenient in the event of finding shoal rivers to the north; and further instructions having been left for Mr. King, on his arriving with the *batteaux*, they left the fort late on the evening of the 1st of August.

On reaching the Salt River, they met with a large body of Slave Lake Indians, who notified their approach by horrible and discordant sounds. As it was hoped some information might be obtained from them, a council was called by Mr. M'Leod, which was ceremoniously

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opened by passing round the pipe according to Indian custom, from which each counsellor drew a few puffs in solemn silence, and with imperturbable gravity; after which there was a very large amount of talk, resulting in a very small amount of information. On the 8th of August they reached Great Slave Lake, and arrived at Fort Resolution. At this post they remained some days to arrange about an interpreter, complete their stock of necessaries, and repair the canoes; and then, launching forth again, they coasted along the northern shores of Great Slave Lake.

At the eastern extremity of this lake, a river entered it which, it was supposed, flowed from the country where the Thlew-ee-choh took its rise; and toward this river Captain Back directed his course with increasing hope, notwithstanding the account given of it by the Indians, who assured him that it was full of rapids and waterfalls. On the way he experienced the usual alternations of storm and calm, rain and sunshine, while his route was enlivened by occasionally meeting with Indians. One of these fellows, to show his respect for the white men, put on a *surtout* which he had purchased at the fort; and, as the surtouts sent out for the fur trade are made of snuff-colored brown cloth, in the cut of the last century—with a rolling collar about four inches wide reaching halfway up the back of the head, single breast, particularly long skirt, and peculiarly short waist—it may be supposed the awkward son of the forest did not improve his appearance by the adoption of such a garb. Being allowed to remain unbuttoned, it disclosed the fact that he was unprovided with inexpressibles, which produced an irresistibly comical effect.

They now approached the eastern extremity of Great Slave Lake, where was the river whose sources, it was said, rose near the springs of the Thlew-ee-choh. Captain Back had great difficulty here in getting a satisfactory answer from the Indians who accompanied him, as to the whereabouts of this river. Many of them said that it existed, but only one admitted that he had ever seen it; and as that was long ago, when he was a little boy, while hunting with his father in the barren grounds, he expressed great doubts as to his being able to find it. We can not but admire the steady persevering energy of Captain Back, in facing and overcoming the innumerable and often vexatious difficulties which were thrown in his way by these lazy natives. They thwarted him continually; told lies with imperturbable gravity, and sometimes, under pretense of paying a visit to their relations, deserted him altogether.

On the 18th of August they at last reached the object of their search —the river which was to conduct them to a chain of lakes leading to the Thlew-ee-choh. It broke upon them unexpectedly, when rounding some small rocks which shut out from their view a bay, at the bottom of which was seen a splendid fall, upward of sixty feet high, rushing in two white and misty volumes into the dark gulf below. Here they landed, and set about thoroughly repairing the small canoe which was to proceed up the rapids, while the other, and the greater part of the bag-

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gage, was left in charge of La Prise, who undertook to deliver them to Mr. M'Leod; that gentleman having been deputed to choose a convenient situation, at the eastern extremity of Great Slave Lake, whereon to build a winter residence, while Captain Back should proceed in his light canoe as far down the Thlew-ee-choh as practicable, returning again to the establishment before the winter fairly set in.

The true work of the explorers had now fairly begun. Before them the gushing stream, which was called the Hoar Frost River, roared down the scattered rocks like the thundering cannonade which streams through the breach of a stormed fortress, while the forlorn hope of *voyageurs* below prepared to storm the stream, and take possession of the unknown barren grounds that lay beyond.

"A new scene," says Back, "now opened upon us. Instead of the gentle paddling across the level lake, by which we had been enabled to penetrate thus far, we had to toil up the steep and rocky bed of an unknown stream, on our way to the high lands, from which the waters take an opposite course. The labors which had hitherto been so cheerfully undergone, were little more than those to which *voyageurs* are accustomed; but in what was to come, it was evident that extraordinary efforts and patient perseverance would be required to overcome the difficulties of our route." Up this stream, then, they went, carrying canoe and provisions over rocks, mountains, and plains, in order to avoid a succession of rapids which intercepted them all the way up the river. Their old friends the sand-flies, too, assailed them here with extreme vehemence, and, to add to their miseries, Maufelly, the interpreter, fell sick. Having only a box of common pills, and a bottle of brandy, Captain Back at first refused the Indian's request to doctor him, but, being much pressed, he at last indulged him, first with the contents of the box, which made him worse, and then with the contents of the bottle, which made him better.

The scenery here was exceedingly wild. High beetling cliffs overhung dark gorges, through which the water rushed impetuously, while here and there lay quiet sheets of clear water, reflecting on their bosoms the bold outlines that towered overhead, and the variously-colored mosses that covered the rocks and enriched the scene. Among these wild rapids, De Charloît, the bowman, exhibited admirable adroitness and dexterity. In the midst of dangers the most imminent from rapids or falls, he was cool, fearless, and collected; and often, when the pole or paddle was no longer available, he would spring into the curling water, and, with a foot firmly planted, maintain his position, where others would have been swept away in an instant. But, in spite of all his care and exertion, the canoe was sorely buffeted, and the bark hung in shreds along its sides, ripped and broken in every quarter.

On the 29th of August, while the men were out scouring the country in search of the Thlew-ee-choh, which it was supposed must be in the neighborhood of the spot where their tent was pitched, Captain Back

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sallied forth with his gun. "Becoming anxious," says he, "about the men, I took my gun, and following a north-north-west direction, went out to look for them. Having passed a small sheet of water, I ascended a hill, from the top of which I discerned, to my great delight, a rapid, evidently connected with the stream which flowed through the narrow channel from the lake. With a quickened step I proceeded to trace its course, and, in doing so, was further gratified at being obliged to wade through the sedgy waters of springs. Crossing two rivulets whose lively ripples ran due north into the rapid, the thought occurred to me that these feeders might be tributaries of the Thlew-ee-choh; and, yielding to that pleasing emotion which discoverers, in the first bound of their transport, may be pardoned for indulging, I threw myself down on the bank, and drank a hearty draught of the limpid water."

That this was actually the source of the river of which they were in search, was speedily confirmed by the men, who returned soon afterward, saying that they had discovered it on the second day, and described it as being large enough for boats. Proceeding across some small lakes and portages, they traveled toward the river until their canoe, which had been showing unmistakable symptoms of a broken constitution, became at last so rickety as to render it advisable to return. From the appearance of the country, and especially of some blue hills in the distance, it was conjectured that the river was full of rapids, and that their work of next summer would not be child's play.

Their route back to winter quarters was even more harassing than their advance. The rickety canoe having nearly gone to pieces in several rapids, was finally abandoned, and her cargo strapped to the backs of the men, who set off to walk back over land. The account of this journey, as given by the indefatigable leader, is particularly interesting, but our limits forbid our entering upon it in detail. Over hill and dale, through swamp, jungle, and morass, they pursued their toilsome march; now crashing with their heavy loads down the tangled and bushy banks of a small creek, and then slowly clambering up the craggy sides of the opposite bank; sometimes plodding through a quaking swamp, at other times driving through a wood of stunted trees; and all the while assailed by a host of sand-flies and mosquitoes. At last, however, their sorrows, for a time, came to an end. "We had now," says Back, "reached the lake where, in my letter of the 19th of August, I had directed Mr. M'Leod to build an establishment. Proceeding onward, over the even and mossy surface of the sand-banks, we were one day gladdened by the sound of the woodman's stroke; and, guided by the branchless trunks that lay stretched along the earth, we soon came to a bay, where, in agreeable relief against the dark green foliage, stood the newly-erected frame-work of a house. Mr. M'Leod was walking under the shade of the trees with La Prise, and did not hear us till we were within a few yards of him. We were ranged in single file, the men having, of their own accord, fallen into that order; and, with

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swollen faces, dressed and laden as we were, some carrying guns, others tent-poles, etc., we must have presented a strangely wild appearance, not unlike a group of robbers on the stage."

Captain Back and his hardy companions had now reached their winter quarters. In the cold heart of the wilderness, thousands and thousands of miles from the dwellings of civilized men, between whom and them lay the almost impassable barriers of broad foaming rivers and sea-like lakes, whose waters were becoming crusted with the fine intersecting needles of ice, which, ere long, would solidify them nearly to the bottom—high, broken, rugged mountains, dreary morasses, boundless prairies, and dense, dark, interminable forests. "The following day," says he, "being Sunday, divine service was read, and our imperfect thanks were humbly offered to Almighty God for the mercies which had already been vouchsafed to us; and though in this imperious climate, with every thing to do, time was certainly precious, yet, feeling that the first opening of the sacred volume in this distant wilderness ought not to be profaned by any mixture of common labor, I made it a day of real quiet and repose."

Mr. King, who, as has been previously mentioned, was left behind with the two boats, rejoined the party on the 16th of September, having incurred not a little difficulty in consequence of his want of experience in these climes, and had been occasionally imposed upon by the *voyageurs*. The whole party now set briskly to work to complete their buildings. Trees were soon felled, branched, squared, and put together, with a celerity peculiar to Canadians and half-breeds, who, being all but born with the ax in their hands, become very expert in the use of it. Though the trees were small, a sufficient number for their purpose were speedily procured; slabs and planks were sawn, stones chipped, mud and grass collected for mortar; and, in a few days, as if by magic, a dwelling-house was raised, sufficiently weather-tight to shelter the whole party during a winter that was to last fully eight months. All establishments in the Indian country, however lowly and innocent in appearance, being dignified with the title of *Fort*, Captain Back thought proper to call this one Fort Reliance. Its exact position was in latitude 62° 46′ north, longitude 109° west. It consisted of a house fifty feet long by thirty broad, having four separate rooms, with a spacious hall in the center for the reception and accommodation of Indians. Each of the rooms had a fireplace and a rude chimney. A miserable apology for a room, with many a yawning crevice inviting the entrance of the cold elements, was, out of courtesy, called a kitchen; and another house, standing at right angles to this one on the western side, formed a dwelling for the men. An observatory was also constructed at a short distance from the establishment, wherein certain mysterious and complicated instruments were fixed and erected; iron in all forms being carefully excluded, and a fence run round it to guard it more effectually from the men, as they walked about with their guns, ice chisels, and axes.

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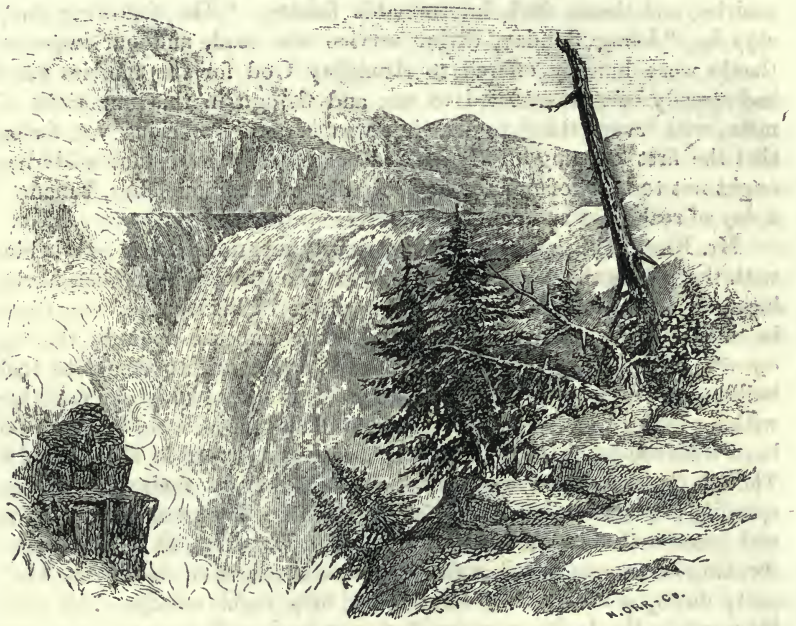
The site of the establishment was a level bank of gravel and sand, covered with rein-deer moss, shrubs, and trees, looking more like a park than an American forest. It formed the northern extremity of a bay, from twelve to fifteen miles long, and from three to five miles broad, which was named after Mr. M'Leod. The river Ah-hel-dessy fell into this bay from the westward, and another small river from the east. In



ANDERSON'S FALLS.

the Ah-hel-dessy, not far from their winter-quarters, there was a magnificent cascade, to which Captain Back gave the name of Anderson's Falls.

Here they took up their abode, and the miseries through which they were doomed to pass during that dreary winter began even at this time. Fish, upon which they depended in a great measure, began to fail at the very commencement of the season. From one place to another the nets were shifted, with the hope of finding a larger supply; but, so far from succeeding in this, the men who were sent found that there was scarce sufficient to maintain themselves from day to day, and on more than one occasion returned to the fort, being unable to support themselves. Deer also failed them; for, although there were plenty of these animals in the

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country, they kept so far away from the fort, and continued so long among the barren grounds, where it was exceedingly difficult to approach them, that very few were obtained, and these at long intervals. The bags of pemmican which Mr. King had brought in his boats were intended for the expedition of the following summer; and as it could not be carried on without that article of food, nothing but the utmost extremity would induce Captain Back to break upon it.

During all this period, and for months afterward, the fort was besieged by starving Indians, who flocked to it in the vain hope of obtaining assistance from its almost equally unfortunate inmates. As this, however, was a disposition which it would have been ruinous to the expedition to encourage, Captain Back positively refused any assistance in the shape of food, except to those of them who, from infirmity or sickness, were absolutely incapable of going forth to hunt. One of this class was picked up in the woods and brought to the fort. A miserable old woman, "clad," says Back, "in deer-skin, her eyes all but closed, her hair matted and filthy, her skin shriveled, and feebly supporting, with the aid of a stick held by both hands, a trunk which was literally horizontal, she presented, if such an expression may be pardoned, the shocking and unnatural appearance of a human brute. It was a humiliating spectacle, and one which I would not willingly see again. Poor wretch! Her tale was soon told: old and decrepit, she had come to be considered as a burden even by her own sex. Past services and toils were forgotten, and, in their figurative style, they coldly told her, that 'though she appeared to live, she was already dead,' and must be abandoned to her fate. 'There is a new fort,' said they, 'go there; the whites are great medicine men, and may have power to save you.' This was a month before; since which time she had crawled and hobbled along the rocks, the scanty supply of berries which she found upon them just enabling her to live." This pitiable object was brought to the fort, fed and taken care of—being permitted to live in the hall, where she crawled about on all fours at will, moaning over the fire, or creeping into Mr. King's room, whom she found to be the only one who could alleviate her sufferings. These, however, had been greater than she could bear. Notwithstanding all their care, she sank from day to day, until she appeared a living skeleton, and was found dead at last in a tent, beside the ashes of a small fire.

Famine in its worst form now began to stare them in the face. Day after day brought fresh intelligence from the various fisheries of their ill success, while parties of starving natives arrived from the hunting grounds, in the hope of getting a few scraps of food at the fort. Captain Back, with characteristic benevolence, imparted to them as much as could be spared from his own little stock, endeavoring to revive their drooping spirits and urge them on to action. It was in vain, however. The scourge was too heavy, and their exertions were completely paralyzed. No sooner had one party been prevailed on to

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leave the fort, than another, still more languid and distressed, feebly entered, and confirmed, by their half-famished looks and sunken eyes, their heart-rending tale of suffering. They spoke little, but crowded in silence round the fire, as if eager to enjoy the only comfort remaining to them. And, truly, fire was a comfort of no ordinary kind, when it is remembered that the temperature during that terrible winter fell to seventy degrees *below* zero of Fahrenheit!

It is difficult for those who have not experienced it, to comprehend the intensity of this degree of cold. Captain Back and his friend Mr. King made a few experiments during their long dreary winter, which will serve to convey some idea of it. A bottle of sulphuric ether was placed on the snow when the temperature was sixty-two degrees below zero. In fifteen minutes the interior upper surface of the bottle was coated with ice, while the ether became viscous and opaque. A small bottle of pyroligneous acid frozé in less than thirty minutes at a temperature of fifty-seven degrees minus; and a surface of four inches of mercury exposed in a saucer became solid in two hours, at the same temperature. On the 4th of February so intensely cold was it, that a higher temperature than twelve degrees above zero could not be obtained in the house, even although there were eight large logs of wood blazing in the chimney of a small room. As might be imagined, cold, of such a peculiarly sharp nature, used to prove inconvenient in more ways than one, and Captain Back tells us that his ink froze, and that in making an attempt to finish a water-color sketch he signally failed—the material becoming frozen even while he sat so close to a huge fire as considerably to endanger the legs of his trowsers!

On the 25th of April, 1834, while the snow still lay deep on the ground, and every thing wore the same unchanging, and seemingly unchangeable, aspect that it had worn ever since October, the winter-packet arrived, bringing intelligence of the safe arrival of Sir J. Ross and his crew in England. To those who were to have devoted the ensuing summer to the search, this was a subject of unmixed pleasure, both as assuring them of the safety of their enterprising countrymen, and as setting them free to devote themselves entirely to the secondary object of the expedition.

Part of the men were now sent to the only clump of pines which afforded trees of a sufficient size to saw up into planks for building a boat—this conveyance being deemed better than a canoe for the summer journey. The famine still continued to press heavily upon them. Many of the natives died, while some of them tried to allay the cravings of hunger by eating parts of their deer-skin shoes and coats. At the fisheries little or nothing was caught, and at the fort they were obliged reluctantly to break upon the supply of pemmican. The solitude and desolation of the establishment was extreme, and perhaps no better idea of it could be conveyed than by the quotation of a paragraph from Back's journal in which he speaks of the death of two tame ravens.

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"For the last fifteen days," says he, "our habitation had been rendered more cheerful by the presence of two ravens, which having, by my express direction, been left unmolested, had become so tame as scarcely to move ten paces when any one passed them; they were the only living things that held communion with us, and it was a pleasure to see them gambol in their glossy plumage on the white snow. A party of men had arrived over night, and among them was an Iroquois, who, perceiving the birds together, and being ignorant of my wishes, could not resist the temptation of a double shot, and so killed them both. In any other situation such an event would, perhaps, have seemed too trifling to be noticed; but in our case the ravens were the only link between us and the dreary solitude without, and their loss therefore was painfully felt. * * * When they were gone, I felt more lonely, and the moaning wind seemed as if complaining of the barbarity."

On the 7th of June, things being considered in a sufficiently advanced state to permit of operations being commenced, Captain Back and his party set out once more upon their travels. The boat, which was thirty feet long, was placed upon runners, and dragged over the yet unmelted ice of the lakes and swamps, across many of which they had to pass ere they could launch upon the Thlew-ee-choh. The men had each a small sled, or runner, on which to drag a certain amount of the baggage and provisions—averaging about one hundred pounds—and away they went with great merriment at the grotesque appearance they cut as they stumbled and slipped over the jagged surface of the ice. In a very short time this work began to tell upon the runners of the sledges, which peeled up, and otherwise evinced symptoms of very speedy dissolution. In this dilemma the captain bethought himself of two pitsaws which they had with them. These were got out, cut into strips, nailed to the runners, and in a few hours away they went again with increased speed, and very much diminished tear and wear.

Mr. M'Leod, with a party of Indians, was sent on ahead of the main body to hunt, and make *caches* of the meat, to be picked up as the party behind came up to them. An encamping-place of this advance-guard was fallen upon by Captain Back while he was straying a little from his party. As he stood looking at it, he observed a tin kettle half buried in the snow, which on examination was found to contain thirty-four balls, a file broken in three pieces, an awl, a fire-steel, and a crooked knife. This, the most valuable portion of an Indian's possessions, had been thrown away, according to a custom prevailing among that people, either as an expiatory sacrifice for some calamity, or as a token of extreme affliction for the loss of a wife or child. The captain usually kept ahead of his party, being desirous of finding the caches, and laying the meat on an exposed place in his track, so as to avoid waste of time in collecting it. In this way they continued their route for many days, over every sort of lake, pond, river, swamp, creek, or pool, that can or

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can not be imagined; sometimes comfortably, and sometimes miserably. The want of fire was their chief discomfort.

Toward the middle of June the weather became very cold and boisterous, especially Midsummer's-day, which was the coldest, blackest, and most wintry day they had. On the 22d of June, being Sunday, divine service was read in the tent, where, to the credit of the men, be it mentioned, they all came clean and shaved, notwithstanding the discomforts to which they were exposed.

On the 28th they arrived near the banks of the Thlew-ee-choh, and on the afternoon of the same day were fairly launched upon its head waters. These, however, were full of ice, and it was not until several days afterward that Captain Back felt it safe to dismiss his extra hands, and the Indians who had accompanied him thus far to carry provisions. On the 3d of July, however, having assembled them on the banks of the river, he relieved them of their burdens, and arranged the party which was to accompany him to the Polar Sea. And greatly did it surprise the Indians to see a boat manned by Europeans, and stored with the provision of the southern country, after having been hauled, carried, and dragged over every imaginable kind of obstacle for full two hundred miles, at last fairly launched on the clear waters of the barren lands. Mr. M'Leod was dismissed at this point, with instructions to collect provisions against their return, and to meet them again in September on the banks of the Thlew-ee-choh.

While he and his party were debating as to which part of the country would be best to return by, provisions being somewhat scarce, the fog cleared away, and discovered the branching antlers of twenty reindeer spread over the summit of the adjacent hills. "To see and pursue was the work of a moment, and in a few minutes not an active hunter remained in the encampment. It was a beautiful and interesting sight; for the sun shone out, and lighting up some parts, cast others into deeper shade; the white ice reflected millions of dazzling rays; the rapid leaped and chafed in little ripples, which melted away into the unruffled surface of the slumbering lake; abrupt and craggy rocks frowned on the right, and, on the left, the brown landscape receded until it was lost in the distant blue mountains. The foreground was filled up with the ocher-colored lodges of the Indians, contrasting with our own pale tents; and to the whole scene animation was given by the graceful motions of the unstartled deer, and the treacherous crawling of the wary hunters."

The very first day introduced them to the perils which they were to encounter in that rugged river. Coming up to a strong rapid, and fall, down which the boat could only be run in a light state, all the baggage was carried over the rocks, and four good hands left in the boat. They pushed off into the stream, and ran the first fall in safety; but having steered too much to the left, they were drawn on a ledge of rock, forming part of the second; this brought the boat up with a crash which

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threatened immediate destruction, and called forth a shriek from the prostrate crew. The steersman jumped out on the rock and tried to lift her off, but without success. Another moment, and the fierce current swung her stern round, and it seemed as if nothing could save her from descending in a gush of green water straight on to a sharp rock below, against which a wave of five feet high was breaking. Happily the steering-oar had been left projecting out astern, and, as the boat swung, it caught a rock, which pitched her out broadside to the current, when she was carried down in safety.

The party now consisted of eight boatmen, Mr. King, and the commander, and seldom has so small a band of adventurers experienced such a hazardous, comfortless, and truly rough-and-tumble journey as they did. The weather, which had been all along boisterous and cold, became worse and worse as they went on, so that they were frequently wet all day, and owing to the want of firewood, they were of necessity wet all night. The river expanded sometimes into immense lakes, which often detained, and sometimes threatened to arrest them altogether; at other places it narrowed into a deep and rapid stream, which gushed in a black boiling mass through high cliffs, or foamed over a rugged bed of broken rocks and boulder-stones—terminating not unfrequently in a stupendous fall. Obstacles of this kind, however they may interrupt the progress of ordinary men, are no barriers in the way of nor'-westers; so they swept through the gorges, maneuvered skillfully down the rapids, and made portages to avoid the falls, with a degree of facility and safety that was little short of miraculous. In one place they had a narrow escape, which is but a specimen of what was of daily occurrence. "A little sheet of water," says Back, "bounded to the right by mounds and hills of white sand, with patches of rich herbage, where numerous deer were feeding, brought us to a long and appalling rapid, full of rocks and large boulders; the sides hemmed in by a wall of ice, and the current flying with the velocity and force of a torrent. The boat was lightened of her cargo, and I stood on a high rock, with an anxious heart, to see her run it. I had every hope which confidence in the judgment and dexterity of my principal men could inspire; but it was impossible not to feel that one crash would be fatal to the expedition. Away they went, with the speed of an arrow, and, in a moment, the foam and rocks hid them from my view. I heard what sounded in my ear like a wild shriek, and saw Mr. King, who was a hundred yards before me, make a sign with his gun, and then run forward. I followed, with an agitation which may be conceived; and, to my inexpressible joy, found that the shriek was the triumphant whoop of the crew, who had landed safely in a small bay below. This was called Malley's Rapid, in consequence of one of the party, so called, having lost himself in the adjacent willows for some time."

On the 13th of July, a glimpse of sunshine tempted the captain to halt for the purpose of taking observations, and, while he was thus engaged, the men were permitted to scour the country in pursuit of deer and

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musk-oxen, which literally swarmed in the barren grounds, and infused life and animation into many a wild, picturesque scene. The hunters soon returned with four fine bucks, which afforded them an agreeable change from the customary meal of pemmican.

The latitude was 65° 38′ 21″ north, and longitude 106° 35′ 23″ west. At this place the river began to take an easterly bend, which perplexed and annoyed them much; causing great anxiety as to whether it would ultimately lead them to the frozen sea, or terminate in Hudson's Bay. In any case, they had nothing for it but to push on, and their labors were rewarded afterward by their finding that the river trended again in a northerly direction, and their hopes were further increased by the discovery, on the 16th of July, of some old Esquimaux encampments. Once, indeed, they thought they saw tents of the Esquimaux ahead, but on a nearer approach they turned out to be some luxuriant clumps of willows, which were inhabited by thousands of geese. They had selected the spot as being a convenient one for the operation of casting their feathers. Geese, while in this condition, are most superb runners, and put the hunters to their utmost mettle sometimes to catch them; leading them through bog, pool, and swamp, with a dexterity that often brings their pursuers into many an awkward and watery predicament.

On the 28th of July, they met the first Esquimaux, who, as usual on their first seeing Europeans, exhibited at once their consternation and astonishment, by shouts, yells, antics, and gesticulations of the most savage character; laboring under the impression, apparently, that by so doing they would frighten their new visitors away. As is also usual on such occasions, of course they found themselves mistaken, for the boat continued to approach the shore despite the brandishing of spears and other belligerent demonstrations; whereupon the whole nation formed in a semi-circle round the spot where the boat grounded, and stood on the defensive. Captain Back, however, soon established friendly relations with them, by walking boldly up, unarmed and alone, at the same time calling out *Tima*—peace—with great emphasis, tossing up his arms in true Esquimaux style, and, finally, shaking hands all round. This quieted them, and they soon mingled with the men, from whom they received a few buttons with great delight.

A portage had to be made at this place; so, to divert the attention of the poor natives, and prevent their being tempted to steal, Captain Back went up to their tents and sketched them. He describes them as being neat and well-made, not so cunning as those further to the west, and altogether a harmless, inoffensive race. His description of the taking of a portrait is so humorous that we give it in his own words: "The only lady," says he, "whose portrait was sketched, was so flattered at being selected for the distinction, that, in her fear lest I should not sufficiently see every grace of her good-tempered countenance, she intently watched my eye; and, according to her notion of the part I was penciling, protruded it or turned it, so as to leave me no excuse for

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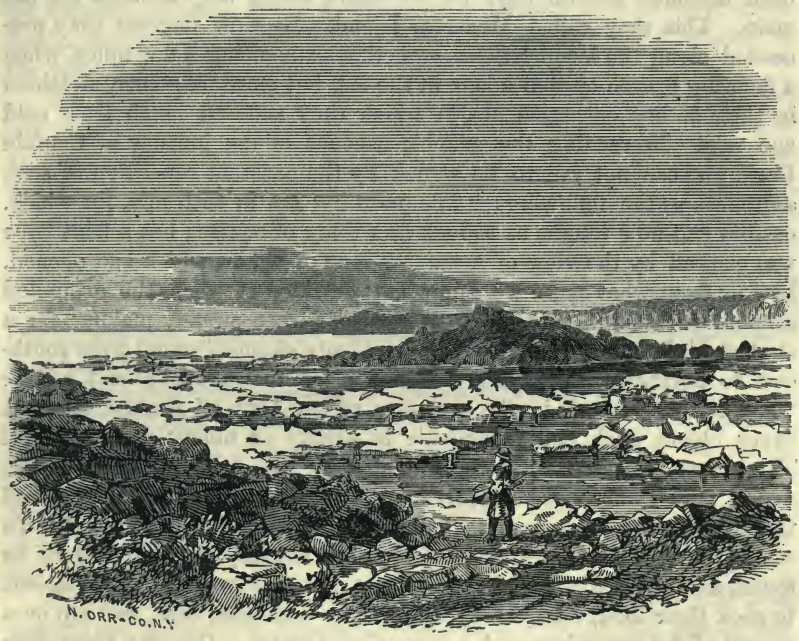
not delineating it in the full proportion of its beauty. Thus, seeing me look at her head, she immediately bent it down, stared portentously when I sketched her eyes; puffed out her cheeks when their turn arrived; and, finally, perceiving that I was touching in the mouth, opened it to the full extent of her jaws, and thrust out the whole length of her tongue!" From these friendly natives they received assistance in carrying the boat over a very bad portage—a task to which the men were quite unequal; so that to them Captain Back was indebted for aid, without which he would not have reached the sea at all.



VIEW SEAWARD FROM MONTREAL ISLAND.*

Leaving these interesting denizens of the north, the party pursued their way, and, on the 29th of July, were gladdened with a sight of the first headland in the Polar Sea, which was named Victoria Headland. This, then, was the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh, which, after a violent and tortuous course of five hundred and thirty geographical miles, running through an iron-ribbed country, without a single tree on the whole line of its banks, expanding into fine large lakes with clear horizons,

* This view derives a more than ordinary interest at present from the fact that it represents the spot, where, according to the accounts of the Esquimaux, as given to Dr. Rae, the bodies of a part of Sir John Franklin's company were found. These accounts state that the unfortunate explorers perished upon the western bank of the river, opposite Montreal Island, and consequently upon the very spot from whence the above view was taken.

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most embarrassing to the navigator, and broken into falls, cascades, and rapids, to the number of no less than eighty-three in the whole, pours its waters into the Polar Sea in latitude 67° 11′ north, and longitude 94° 30′ west.

The mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh opened into a broad firth, the western shore of which was so beset by ice, that they resolved on coasting to the eastward, which was more open, till some favorable opportunity offered for crossing over. So stormy was the weather, however, that they succeeded in this at length with great difficulty, after having been detained several days on an island which they mistook for the main. This they called Montreal Island. By slow degrees they proceeded along the ice-girt shore, sometimes advancing a few miles, when a favoring breeze opened a lane in the ice, but more frequently detained in their dreary encampments, in which they suffered much from cold and rain. In reading the graphic account of the journey of Captain Back, one can not fail to be struck by the constant repetition of such sentences as the following: "The morning set in with rain, for which, custom had now taught us to look as a thing of course; but a faint hope was excited by the view of a narrow lane of water, which had opened, how or from what cause we knew not, outside, between the grounded ice and the main body; and preparations were already making for a start at high water, when the wind suddenly chopped round from south-east to north-west, and fixed us once more to the spot;" and, again: "A wet fog ushered in the morning of the 14th of August, and left every object dark and indefinable at eighty or ninety paces distant. The breeze increased, and was fast packing the seaward body of ice, which now came with considerable velocity toward the shore, and threatened to lengthen our tedious and most annoying detention." To render their position even more deplorable, scarcely any fuel was to be found, and they experienced the greatest difficulty in procuring sufficient to cook their food, often being obliged to breakfast, dine, and sup on a morsel of dry pemmican and a cup of cold water. One day three deer came within shot, and were killed. No savoury steaks, however, gratified their palates with an unaccustomed meal;—they could not be cooked for want of dry fuel. The low flat country, too, was the picture of desolation. It was one irregular plain of sand and stones; and had it not been for a rill of water, the meandering of which relieved the monotony of the sterile scene, one might have fancied one's self in one of the parched plains of the east, rather than on the shores of the Arctic Sea."

Nevertheless, with unflinching ardor did Captain Back and his gallant crew push forward, in the hope of reaching a more open sea, and connecting their discoveries with those of Captain Franklin at Point Turnagain. Indeed, a spirit of endurance and cheerfulness distinguished the whole party, which nothing seemed capable of damping. On the 7th of August they reached the extreme point of land which terminates

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the wide mouth of the river, and whence the coast trends to the westward. This was named Point Ogle, and another cape, seen far to the west, was named Point Richardson. Several portions of the coast of Boothia Felix were also seen in the distance to the northward. Here they were completely baffled in every attempt made to advance. The ice became more firmly wedged every day; one of the men fell sick; the season was far advanced, and any further attempts to proceed would have been foolhardy; so, under these untoward circumstances, Captain Back resolved to retrace his steps. Before doing so, however, the British flag was unfurled, and the land taken possession of, with three enthusiastic cheers, in the name of his majesty William IV. The latitude of the place was 68° 13′ north, longitude 94° 58′ west.

Our limits do not permit us to follow the adventurous *voyageurs* as they retraced their route up the foaming cataracts of the Thlew-ee-choh. In the middle of August they left the cold precincts of the Arctic Sea, and on the 17th September met Mr. M'Leod, according to appointment, at Sand-Hill Bay. He had long been expecting them, and had spent many an anxious hour in watching the distant objects in the direction of their route. With this gentleman they returned to Fort Reliance, "after an absence of nearly four months; tired, indeed, but well in health, and truly grateful for the manifold mercies we had experienced in the course of our long and perilous journey."

Preparations were soon set on foot to spend another winter in the wilderness. Once more the woods resounded with the woodman's ax, and the little rooms glowed with the blazing fires of wood. Again the nets were set and the guns loaded, and the white man and the red ranged the woods in company; while Captain Back and Mr. King found ample and interesting occupation in mapping their discoveries and writing their journals.

On the 28th of May, 1835, Captain Back bade adieu to the polar regions and returned to England, where he arrived on the 8th of September, after an absence of two years and seven months. The remainder of the party returned by the Hudson's Bay Company's ship in October.

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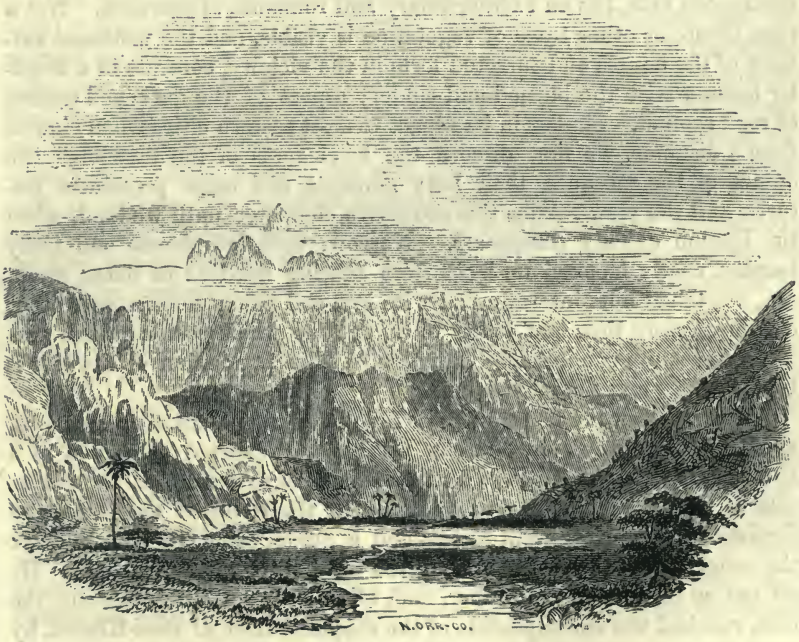
WELLSTED'S

TRAVELS IN OMAN.



SCENERY OF OMAN.

Lieutenant Wellsted, of the Indian Army, was employed for some years in the survey of the southern and western coasts of Arabia, undertaken by the government of the East India Company. During this time his attention was directed toward attaining a knowledge of the interior of the country, and for this purpose he applied for permission to accompany the army of Mohammed Ali, which was dispatched to the conquest of Yemen; but before he received the necessary authority, the Pasha's troops were defeated with great slaughter in the defiles of Assaïr. He

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then determined to proceed to Muscat, visit the interior of the country of Oman—that part of Arabia bordering on the Persian Gulf—and endeavor, if possible, to penetrate to Derreyeh, the capital of the Wahabees, in the interior of the peninsula. Furnished with the sanction of the Indian government and a letter to the Imam of Muscat, he sailed from Bombay in November, 1835, and on the 21st of that month landed at Muscat.

Upon visiting Seyd Sayid, the Imam, the latter showed the utmost willingness to further Lieutenant Wellsted's views. He presented him with a noble Nedjid steed, a brace of gray-hounds, and a gold-mounted sword, offered to defray all the expenses of camels, guides, etc., and ordered letters to be sent to the chiefs of the different districts of Oman, requiring them to receive him with all possible attention. "To persons arriving from seaward," says the traveler, "Muscat, with its fort and contiguous hills, has an extraordinary and romantic appearance. Not a tree, shrub, or other trace of vegetation is visible, and the whitened surfaces of the houses and turreted forts in the vicinity, contrast in a singular manner with the burned and cindery aspect of the darkened masses of rock around. Similar in its aspect to most eastern cities when viewed from a distance, we first discern the level roofs of the dwellings, the domes of the mosques, their lofty minarets, and other prominent features, and the view retains this attractive character until we land, when the illusion quickly disappears. Narrow, crowded streets and filthy bazaars, nearly blocked up by porters bearing burdens of dates, grain, etc., wretched huts intermingled with low and paltry houses, and other dwellings more than half fallen to decay, but which yet continue tenanted, meet the eye in every direction." The population of the city is between fifty and sixty thousand.

After visiting the hot springs of Imam Ali, which are near the coast, about twenty miles from Muscat, Lieutenant Wellsted embarked in a boat for Sur, a small sea-port near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Oman. Here he was received by the shekh of the place, and furnished with guards until camels and a guide could be procured for the country of Jaïlan, inhabited by the tribe of Beni-Abou-Hassan. He set out on the 1st of December, and, after a day's journey among the hills, reached the encampments of the shepherd-tribe of Beni-Khaled, by whom he was received with true Bedouin hospitality. He had no sooner seated himself on a skin before the door of one of their huts, than some young and handsome girls arrived, bringing with them a huge bowl of milk. "Out of compliment to them," says he, "I took a long draught; but no, this was insufficient. Was it bad?—try again, and again! In vain I extolled it to the skies; I was not permitted to desist until I had swelled almost to suffocation, and sworn by the beard of the Prophet that I could and would take no more. They were then delighted, and we became such excellent friends that, with the assistance

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of a few presents and some fair speeches, we parted with expressions of mutual regret."*

On the evening of the 3d, Wellsted reached the tents of the tribe of Beni-Abou-Hassan. As soon as the intelligence of his arrival spread, he was surrounded with numbers of the Bedouins. Their curiosity was unbounded, and they expressed their astonishment at all they saw in the most boisterous manner, leaping and yelling as if they were half crazy. The shekh, however, endeavored to dissuade him from going on to the tribe of Beni-Abou-Ali, saying that they hated the English, who, under Sir Lionel Smith, had defeated them with great slaughter in 1821. No Englishman had visited their country before or since this foray (which was undertaken on account of piracies alleged to have been committed by the tribe), and Lieutenant Wellsted himself was not without apprehensions of his reception; but he determined to proceed.

The next afternoon he reached the tents of Beni-Abou-Ali. He says: "No sooner had I proclaimed myself an Englishman, and expressed my intention of passing a few days among them, than the whole camp was in a tumult of acclamation; the few old guns they had were fired from the different towers, match-locks were kept going till sunset, and both old and young, male and female, strove to do their best to entertain me. They pitched my tent, slaughtered sheep, and brought milk by gallons. A reception so truly warm and hospitable not a little surprised me. Before us lay the ruins of the fort we had dismantled; my tent was pitched on the very spot where we had nearly annihilated their tribe, reducing them from being the most powerful in Oman to their present petty state. All, however, in the confidence I had shown in thus throwing myself amid them, was forgotten. After their evening prayers, the young shekh, accompanied by about forty men, came to the tent, and expressed his intention of remaining with me as a guard during the night."

After Wellsted had visited the wife and sister of the old shekh, who was absent on a journey to Mecca, the whole of the tribe, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, assembled for the purpose of exhibiting their war-dance. "They formed a circle, within which five or six of their number entered. After walking leisurely around for some time, each challenged one of the spectators by striking him gently with the flat of

* At this place Lieutenant Wellsted received the following letter from the Imam, which is curious as a specimen of Oriental correspondence:

"In the name of God, Most Merciful, from Seyd the Sooltan, to his Excellency, the esteemed, respected, beloved, the perfect Captain Wellsted, from the Eastern Government, peace be with you from the Most High God; and, after that your letter reached us, which was a proof of your love in remembering us, we greatly rejoiced at your arriving at Sur, and your departure for Jaïlan, which is as we directed it, and from thence to Semmed, and which was gratifying to you, and therefore pleasing to us: and, furthermore, any thing which you require from us, whether little or much, it is only for you to request it, and it is on our part to grant it. Peace be to you, and farewell.

True: SEYD, SOOLTAN."

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his sword. His adversary immediately leaped forth, and a feigned combat ensued. They have but two cuts, one directly downward at the head, and the other horizontally across the legs. They parry neither with the sword nor shield, but avoid the blows by leaping or bounding backward. The blade of their sword is three feet in length, straight, thin, double-edged, and as sharp as a razor." After exercising their skill in firing at a mark, during which some capital shots were made, they all dispersed. Toward evening a large party of Geneba Bedouins arrived, and two of their camels were matched to run against the same number belonging to the Beni-Abou-Ali. The animals did not appear to take an equal relish in the sport with their masters, for they could not be set going without much trouble, and were afterward very untractable. Their speed, when at full gallop, was not very great, perhaps a third less than that of a horse.

Finding that the skekh of the Genebas was a lively, intelligent fellow, Wellsted proposed to accompany him into the desert for a few days, and received a ready consent. They set off the next morning with their camels, and were soon careering over the sands. "While sweeping across these solitary and boundless wastes," remarks the traveler, "although destitute of trees, mountains and water, or any of the features common to softer regions, there is something in their severely simple features, their nakedness and immensity, which reminds me of the trackless ocean, and impresses the soul with a feeling of sublimity. The aspect of my companion is in perfect keeping with the peculiar attributes of his native land. His sinewy form, and clean and compact limbs, are revealed by the scantiness of his garments; his dark and ruddy countenance is lighted up by the kindling of his resolute eye; his demeanor is honest and frank, and his whole appearance breathes a manly contempt of hardship. 'You wished,' said the shekh, 'to see the country of the Bedouins—*this*,' he continued, striking his spear into the firm sand, '*this* is the country of the Bedouins.'"

The Beni Geneba, or "Wandering Children," are a scattered race of about three thousand five hundred men, the greater number of whom are found occupying the south-eastern shore of Arabia. They present some peculiarities which render them, in a measure, distinct from other Bedouins. It is a remarkable fact that a race in many respects similar is found in almost every part of the coast of Arabia, and even along the north-western shore of India. In some districts they are considered as a separate and degraded race, with whom the Bedouins will neither eat, intermarry, nor associate. The whole coast abounds with fish, and as the natives have but few canoes, they generally substitute a single inflated skin, or two, with a flat board across them. The whole of this tribe are in bad repute with their neighbors, and it is said that they make no scruple of plundering boats which may be unfortunate enough to fall into their clutches. It was the Beni Geneba who approached the American sloop-of-war *Peacock*, when aground near Mazurah, in 1835,

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with the intention, it was supposed, of plundering her; this intention, however, they stoutly denied to Lieutenant Wellsted. The latter was two days in reaching their encampment, where he remained but one night, and then returned to Beni-Abou-Ali. The country over which he passed was low and sandy, with here and there a few stunted bushes.

On the 10th, he resumed his journey, directing his course northward to the town of Semmed, and the Akhdar Mountains. "The old men," says he, "begged I would come again and pass a month with them, in which case they promised to build a house like those in India, and keep me in great state. The ladies were equally pressing in their entreaties, and the whole tribe accompanied me to the skirts of the village of Beni-Abou-Hassan. 'If you will visit us next year,' said young Sooltan, 'my father will have returned from Mecca, and I will accompany you with a party of our own and the Geneba Bedouins, as far as the limits of the Maharas.' This I promised, if circumstances permitted, and after shaking hands with all present, which they had learned was our custom, we parted with mutual expressions of regret. I can not forget the unaffected kindness which I experienced from this simple people, and shall ever recall the week spent with them and their neighbors as the most agreeable in my travels."

Leaving these hospitable people, Wellsted traveled along the edge of the desert until he entered the Wady Bethá, a long, shallow valley, leading to the mountain region of Oman. After a march of forty-two miles he encamped at the hamlet of Bediah, in a little oasis. The water is conveyed from springs in the hills, by subterranean channels, made with great labor, to the fertile plains below. All the large towns and oases have four or five of these artificial rivulets, which afford them a never-failing supply for irrigation. "The isolated spots to which water is thus conveyed possess a soil so fertile, that nearly every grain, fruit, or vegetable, common to India, Arabia, or Persia, is produced almost spontaneously; and the tales of the oases will be no longer regarded as an exaggeration, since a single step conveys the traveler from the glare and sand of the Desert into a fertile tract, watered by a hundred rills, teeming with the most luxuriant vegetation, and embowered by lofty and stately trees, whose umbrageous foliage the fiercest rays of a noon-tide sun can not penetrate. The almond, fig, and walnut-trees are of enormous size, and the fruit clusters so thickly on the orange and lime-trees, that scarcely a tenth part can be gathered. Above all towers the date-palm, adding its shade to the somber picture."

For two days further the route followed the Wady Bethá, and on the 13th, he reached the town of Ibrah, where he was kindly received, and furnished with a sheep and several bowls of milk. He gives the following description of the place: "The instant you step from the desert within the grove a most sensible change of atmosphere is experienced. The air feels cold and damp; the ground in every direction is saturated with moisture; and, from the density of the shade, the

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whole appears dark and gloomy. There are still some handsome houses at Ibrah; but the style of building is quite peculiar to this part of Arabia. To avoid the damp, and catch an occasional beam of the sun across the trees, they are usually very lofty. A parapet encircling the upper part is turreted; and on some of the largest houses guns are mounted. The windows and doors have the Saracenic arch, and every part of the building is profusely decorated with ornaments of stucco in bas-relief, in very good taste. The doors are also cased with brass, and have rings and other massive ornaments of the same metal. Ibrah is justly renowned for the beauty and fairness of its females. Those we met in the streets evinced but little shyness, and on my return to the tent I found it filled with them. They were in high glee at all they saw: every box I had was turned over for their inspection, and whenever I attempted to remonstrate against their proceedings, they stopped my mouth with their hands. With such damsels there was nothing left but to laugh and look on."

Beyond Ibrah, the road was infested with predatory parties of the desert Arabs, who sometimes appeared in view, but did not venture to attack the caravan. One day Lieutenant Wellsted was chatting with the guide Hamed, who rode beside him, concerning camels, and the latter related many singular cases of the attachment which the Bedouins bear to those animals. "In order to draw further information from him," says the traveler, "I professed my incredulity on certain points which he had mentioned. A party at this moment happened to be approaching from an opposite direction, and Hamed, somewhat nettled, proposed to test the truth of his statements by what I should witness. The parties approached: 'May God Almighty break the leg of your camel!' bawled out Hamed to the foremost of the party, who was riding somewhat in advance of the others. Without a moment's hesitation the stranger threw himself from his beast, and advanced sword in hand on Hamed, who would probably have had but little reason to congratulate himself on his experiment, if several of our party had not thrown themselves before him, and explained the story. But the Arab still appeared deeply offended, and replied to all that was brought forward in explanation by asking, 'Why he abused his camel, and in what manner it had harmed him?' The matter was adjusted by a few presents, and I passed on, determined in my own mind not to trust again to an Arab's delicacy in settling a question of this nature."

On the 16th he reached the oasis of Semmed. The shekh, who lived in a large and strongly-built fort, invited him to breakfast. The meal was sumptuous and plentiful; but so strictly do the Arabs regard the laws of hospitality, that it required much entreaty to induce the shekh, who was a man of high birth, to take his seat at the table with his guest. He insisted upon waiting on him in the capacity of an attendant, in order that he might not be neglected. On returning to his tent, Wellsted found a great crowd collected there, who were kept in order by a little

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urchin about twelve years of age, whose father, a man of great influence in that region, had been killed by the Bedouins a few years before. The boy had taken complete possession of the tent, and allowed none of his countrymen to enter but with his permission. He carried a sword longer than himself, and also a stick, with which he occasionally laid about him. He appeared to be perfectly well acquainted with the number, resources, and distribution of the native tribes, and his conversation on these and other subjects was free and unembarrassed, and highly entertaining to the traveler.

At Semmed, Wellsted was joined by Lieutenant Whitelock, who had come from Muscat across the mountains, to meet him, and the two set out for Neswah, accompanied by a guard of seventy men, as the road was infested with robbers. On the 21st, after two days' journey through a rugged country, they reached the town of Minnà, which the traveler thus describes: "Minnà differs from the other towns in having its cultivation in the open fields. As we crossed these, with lofty almond, citron, and orange-trees, yielding a delicious fragrance on either hand, exclamations of astonishment and admiration burst from us. 'Is this Arabia?' we said; 'this the country we have looked upon heretofore as a desert?' Verdant fields of grain and sugar-cane stretching along for miles are before us; streams of water, flowing in all directions, intersect our path; and the happy and contented appearance of the peasants agreeably helps to fill up the smiling picture. The atmosphere was deliciously clear and pure, and as we trotted joyously along, giving or returning the salutation of peace or welcome, I could almost fancy we had at least reached that Araby the Blest, which I have been accustomed to regard as existing only in the fictions of our poets."

The next day the travelers reached Neswah, a place of considerable size, at the foot of the range of Djebel Akhdar. They proceeded at once to the residence of the shekh. whom they found seated before the castle-gate, with an armed guard of about fifty men, standing on either side. The fort, which the natives consider impregnable, is of circular form, one hundred yards in diameter, and ninety feet in height, with a superstructure of equal strength, rising to the height of one hundred and fifty feet. The shekh gave the travelers a house, and during their stay they were not molested in any way by the inhabitants. They made Neswah their head-quarters, and while preparing for the journey to Derreyeh, made several excursions into the surrounding country.

The first of these was to the celebrated Djebel Akhdar or Green Mountains. After a ride of three hours they reached the town of Tanuf, where the shekh resides, whose authority is paramount on the mountains. Here they were lodged in the mosque, which, strange as it may appear, is generally used in Oman as a caravanserai. The shekh endeavored to dissuade them from going further, representing the natives as little better than savages, and drawing frightful pictures of the dangers of the paths, but they persisted in setting out next morning. When,

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however, the path led up the steep side of the rocky height, with a precipice yawning below, they began to suspect that the dangers were not much exaggerated. Along the face of one of these their route continued for some distance; "the path was a stair-like projection, jutting out from the face of the cliff, and overhung by threatening masses of rock, while below it sank perpendicularly to the depth of seven or eight hundred feet."

After several hours of such travel, they reached a village called Seyk, the inhabitants of which hospitably pressed them to stay for the night, but they were anxious to push on to a place called Shirazi. "Our reception there, however," remarks Wellsted, "led me to regret that I did not take advantage of the kind offer of these villagers; for a wilder, more romantic, or more singular spot than was now before us, can scarcely be imagined. By means of steps we descended the steep side of a narrow glen, about four hundred feet in depth, passing in our progress several houses perched on crags or other acclivities, their walls built up in some places so as to appear but a continuation of the precipice. These small, snug, compact-looking dwellings have been erected by the natives, one above the other, so that their appearance from the bottom of the glen, hanging as it were in mid-air, affords to the spectator a most novel and interesting picture. Here we found, amid a great variety of fruits and trees, pomegranates, citrons, almonds, nutmegs, and walnuts, with coffee-bushes and vines."

At Shirazi they were denied entrance into the houses, and conducted to a sheep-pen, from which they were soon ejected by the owner of the sheep. They then encamped under a rock to shelter them from the wind, kindled a fire, and passed the night in tolerable comfort. The next morning the people were a little more courteous, and brought them some dates, milk, and dried fruits. They found Shirazi to be a place of about two hundred houses. The next three days were spent in traversing the country in various directions, in order to determine the position and extent of Djebel Akhdar. The range is about thirty miles in length, and some of its peaks are seven thousand feet above the sea. The valleys are extensively cultivated, and supply an abundance of fruit. The most important production is the vine, which is raised on terraces along the mountain-side, watered by artificial rills. In some of the valleys, where brambles and dense thickets are very numerous, wild-boars, foxes, and hyenas, are said to abound. The Beni Riyam, who inhabit this region, are a small tribe, and quite distinct from the Bedouins of the plain, who call them *kaffirs*, or infidels. They drink wine to excess, and are considered to be niggard and sullen in the exercise of their hospitality. Their manners are far more rude and unfriendly than those of the wild tribes of the desert below.

"During my progress in this country," says Wellsted, "with a view to initiate myself into their manners and domestic life, I mixed much with the Bedouins, frequently living and sleeping in their huts and

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tents. On all occasions I was received with kindness, and often with a degree of hospitality above, rather than below, the means of those who were called upon to exercise it. The medical character which I assumed proved then of much service to me, although I was often teased for assistance where it was not required, or where it was wholly unavailing. The character of the Bedouin presents some singular contradictions. With a soul capable of the greatest exertions, he is naturally indolent. He will remain within his encampment for weeks, eating, drinking coffee, and smoking his narghileh; and then mount his camel, and away off to the Desert, on a journey of two or three hundred miles. Whatever there may be his fatigues or privations, not a murmur escapes his lips. In excuse for their slothful habits at other periods, it may, however, be observed that the Koran prohibits all games of chance, and that their own rude and simple manners completely relieve them from the artificial pleasures and cares of more civilized life."

From what he was able to learn from the Arabs, Lieutenant Wellsted saw no reason to doubt the possibilty of penetrating to Derreyeh, the capital of the Wahabees, and he therefore dispatched Lieutenant Whitelock, who had agreed to accompany him, to Muscat, to procure the necessary funds. The British Agent, however, refused to advance any money, owing to some informality in Wellsted's papers, and the travelers were in a state of great perplexity until the Imam of Muscat, hearing of their dilemma, immediately offered to furnish them with what funds they needed. The delay, however, was fatal to the present prosecution of their plans. During his stay at Neswah, Wellsted and all his servants were attacked with fever and delirium, and their only chance of recovery was to return at once to the sea-coast. He accordingly left Neswah on the 22d of January, 1836, for the port of Sib.

On the 28th, the party halted at Semmayel, the half-way station between the two places, and took up their quarters in a small, but neat Cadjan hut. "A beautiful stream of water glided along before the door. Weary and faint from the fatigue of our day's journey, in order to enjoy the freshness of the evening breeze, I had spread my carpet beneath a tree. An Arab passing by, paused to gaze upon me, and touched by my condition and the melancholy which was depicted in my countenance, he proffered the salutation of peace, pointed to the crystal stream which, sparkling, held its course at my feet, and said: 'Look, friend; for running water maketh the heart glad.' With his hands folded over his breast, that mute but most graceful of Eastern salutations, he bowed and passed on. I was in a situation to estimate sympathy; and so much of that feeling was exhibited in the manner of this son of the desert, that I have never since recurred to the incident, trifling as it is, without emotion."

On the 30th they reached Sib, on the coast, the climate of which had not been exaggerated, and the whole of the party rapidly recovered. By the 20th of February Wellsted judged that they were able to re-

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sume their march, and accordingly wrote to the Imam, requesting a guide to Bireimah, the frontier station of the Wahabees. Although the season was far advanced, he hoped to be able to join some caravan for Derreyeh. He was greatly disappointed, however, on learning that the Wahabees had made a sudden irruption into the northern parts of Oman, and that the inhabitants of Abree, on the road to Bireimah, were engaged in hostilities. Nevertheless he determined to make the attempt, and accordingly left Sib on the 24th. The party followed the coast as far as the port of Suweik, where they arrived on the 1st of March. Here they were hospitably received by the shekh, Seyd Hilal, who was a cousin of the Imam, and who lived in more state than any other chief in Oman. Wellsted says: "A huge meal, consisting of a great variety of dishes, sufficient for thirty or forty people, was prepared in his kitchen, and brought to us on large copper dishes twice a day during the time we remained. The shekh, after his evening meal, usually passed several hours with us. On one occasion he was accompanied by a professed story-teller, who appeared to be a great favorite with him. 'Whenever I feel melancholy or out of order,' said the shekh, 'I send for this individual, who very soon restores me to my wonted spirit.' From the falsetto tone in which the story was chanted, I could not follow the thread of the tale, and upon my mentioning this to him, the shekh very kindly sent me the manuscript, of which the reciter had availed himself. With little variation, I found it to be the identical Sinbad the Sailor, so familiar to the readers of the Arabian Nights. I little thought, when first I perused these fascinating tales in my own language, that it would ever be my lot to listen to the original, in a spot so congenial and remote."

On the 4th they left Suweik, and turned inland toward Bireimah. They were accompanied for some distance by Shekh Hilal and his warriors, who galloped at full speed over the plains on their steeds of the purest Arabian blood. The whole country was in a state of great alarm, owing to an anticipated visit from the Wahabees, and the very first night their guard decamped, taking with them all the camels. The travelers procured others the next day, however, with a ragged guard of six men, and, after riding several hours, encamped at the entrance of a pass in a branch of the Djebel Akhdar. Their course the next day lay through this pass; the mountains rose on either hand in steep precipices of bare rock, to the height of from three to four thousand feet, terminating in abrupt and pointed forms. On the 7th they reached the town of Muskin, in the territory of the Beni Kalban. Their progress through this part of the country was rendered slow and tedious, in consequence of its being divided into separate districts, all in a manner independent of each other, and acknowledging but slightly the power of any general authority. On the 10th they left Muskin and proceeded to Makiniyat, the shekh of which place strongly urged them to return. Persons were plundered every day on the road beyond, and the authority of the Imam

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was but slightly regarded. Nevertheless, the travelers determined to push forward, and after two days' journey over a succession of barren, sandy plains, reached the town of Obri.

This is one of the largest and most populous towns in Oman. The inhabitants are mostly husbandmen, and agriculture is carried on to a much greater extent than in any other part of the country. Toward evening the travelers were visited by the shekh, who was a sinister-looking person, and did not receive them in the friendly manner to which they had been accustomed. "Upon my producing the Imam's letters," says Wellsted, "he read them, and, without returning any answer, took his leave. About an hour afterward he sent a verbal message to request that I should lose no time in quitting his town, as he begged to inform me, what he supposed I could not have been aware of, that it was then filled with nearly two thousand Wahabees. This was, indeed, news to us; it was somewhat earlier than we anticipated falling in with them—but we put a good face on the matter, and behaved as coolly as we could."

The next day the shekh came again. He positively refused to conduct them to Bireimah, and all their arguments failed to produce the slightest effect. They then requested a letter to the Imam, containing his refusal in writing, which he promised to give. His object was evidently to force the travelers away from the place, and the appearance of things was such that they had no wish to remain. The Wahabees had been crowding around them in great numbers, and seemed only waiting for some pretext to commence an affray. "When the shekh came and presented me with the letter for the Imam," says Wellsted, "I knew it would be vain to make any further effort to shake his resolution, and therefore did not attempt it. In the mean time news had spread far and wide that two Englishmen, with a box of 'dollars,' but in reality containing only the few clothes that we carried with us, had halted in the town. The Wahabees and other tribes had met in deliberation, while the lower classes of the townsfolk were creating noise and confusion. The shekh either had not the shadow of any influence, or was afraid to exercise it, and his followers evidently wished to share in the plunder. It was time to act. I called Ali on one side, told him to make neither noise nor confusion, but to collect the camels without delay. In the mean time we had packed up the tent, the crowd increasing every minute; the camels were ready, and we mounted on them. A leader, or some trifling incident, was now only wanting to furnish them with a pretext for an onset. They followed us with hisses and various other noises, until we got sufficiently clear to push briskly forward; and, beyond a few stones being thrown, we reached the outskirts of the town without further molestation. I had often before heard of the inhospitable character of the inhabitants of this place. The neighboring Arabs observe that to enter Obri a man must either go armed to the teeth, or as a beggar with a cloth, and that not of decent quality, around

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his waist. Thus for a second time end our hopes of reaching Derreyeh from this quarter. I did not yet despair, however, but determined to push on for Sib, embark there, and endeavor, from the port of Schinas, to cross over to Bireimah.

"On my return from Obri to Suweik," Wellsted continues, "contrary to the wish of the Bedouins, who had received intelligence that the Wahabees were lurking around, I left the village where we had halted alone, with my gun, in search of game. Scarcely had I ridden three miles from the walls, when, suddenly turning an angle of the rocks, I found myself within a few yards of a group of about a dozen horsemen, who lay on the ground, basking listlessly in the sun. To turn my horse's head and away, was the work scarcely of an instant; but hardly had I done so ere the whole party were also in their saddles, in full cry after me. Several balls whizzed past my head, which Seyd acknowledged by bounding forward like an antelope. He was accustomed to these matters; and their desire to possess him unharmed, alone prevented my pursuers from bringing him down. As we approached the town, I looked behind me. A shekh, better mounted than his followers, was in advance, his dress and long hair streaming behind him, while he poised his long spear on high, apparently in doubt whether he was sufficiently within range to pierce me. My good stars decided that he was not, for reining up his horse, he rejoined his party, while I gained the walls in safety.

"The day before Seyd came into my hands he had been presented to the Imam by a Nedjid shekh. Reared in domesticity, and accustomed to share the tent of some family in that country, he possessed in an extraordinary degree all the gentleness and docility as well as the fleetness, which distinguish the pure breed of Arabia. To avoid the intense heat, and spare their camels, the Bedouins frequently halted during my journey for an hour about mid-day. On these occasions Seyd would remain perfectly still, while I reposed on the sand, screened by the shadow of his body. My noon repast of dates he always looked for and shared. Whenever we halted, after unsaddling him, and taking off his bridle with my own hands, he was permitted to roam about the encampment without control. At sunset he came for his corn at the sound of my voice, and during the night, without being fastened, he generally took up his quarters at a few yards from his master. During my coasting voyages along the shores of Oman, he always accompanied me, and even in a crazy open boat across the ocean from Muscat to India. My health having compelled me to return to England overland, I could not, in consequence, bring Seyd with me. In parting with this attached and faithful creature, so long the companion of my perils and wanderings, I am not ashamed to acknowledge that I felt an emotion similar to what is experienced in being separated from a tried and faithful friend."

On the 19th of March the travelers reached Suweik, where the shekh

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received them with all his former kindness. He was much amused, but by no means surprised at their ill success, and seemed to wonder that they had gotten off so well. He did not encourage them to persevere, but as they insisted on proceeding to Schinas, he furnished them with a boat. After a voyage of four days they reached the latter port, which is a small, insignificant place. The shekh was absent, and from the persons left in charge of the town, they could obtain neither answers to their questions, nor common civility. Wellsted succeeded, nevertheless, in procuring a messenger to carry a letter to the Wahabee chief, at Bireimah; but, after waiting four days, received intelligence that the Wahabees were advancing southward. All hope of reaching Derreyeh being thus cut off, he returned to Muscat, which was the end of his travels in Oman.

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EXPLORATIONS OF THE WHITE NILE.

WERNE'S VOYAGE.

After the conquest of Shendy and Sennaâr—(an account of which will be found in "Cailliaud's Journey to Ethiopia")—Mohammed Ali turned his attention to the exploration of the White Nile, in the hope of thereby reaching the gold region of Central Africa. He had been disappointed in the scanty results obtained in the mountains of Fazogl by the expedition under Ismail Pasha, and by a later one, which was accompanied by the German mineralogist and traveler, Russegger, and believed he should find in the White Nile a more convenient means of access to the rich auriferous districts inhabited by the negro tribes. In the expeditions which had been undertaken for the subjugation of the countries of Soudan, the river had been ascended to the land of the Dinkas, in latitude 10° north, and he now determined to send an armed fleet as far as it should be found navigable.

This expedition sailed from Khartoum, at the junction of the Blue and White Niles, in November, 1839, and, by the 27th of January, 1840, advanced as far as the country of the Elliabs, in latitude 6° 35′ north, which was the extreme point reached, without finding any tokens of the golden region. Mohammed Ali, dissatisfied with these results, appointed a second voyage of discovery, the very same year. Suliman Kashif, a bold Circassian, who had commanded the first expedition, was also selected to take charge of the second. The preparations were all completed by the beginning of November, which is the most favorable season for the voyage, as the wind is fresh from the north and north-east, and the river swollen by the summer rains. They were obliged to wait, however, for the arrival of Messrs. D'Arnaud and Sabatier, two French engineers, who had been detained at Korosko, in Nubia, waiting for camels, and the departure did not finally take place until the 23d.

Dr. Ferdinand Werne, a German physician, who, with his brother, had temporarily entered the Egyptian service, traveled from Cairo to Khartoum, for the purpose of taking part in the first expedition up the river, but did not succeed in his object. He spent the summer of 1840 in the country of Takka, on the Atbara River, during which time he gained

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the good-will of Achmet Pasha, the Governor of Soudan, and was permitted to accompany the second expedition. He kept a very complete journal of the voyage, and although he devotes too much space to ill-natured comments on D'Arnaud and Sabatier, and the Egyptian officers, he gives a great many interesting particulars concerning the scenery and inhabitants of this hitherto unexplored river. In spite of its faults, his work, which was published in Berlin in 1848, with an introduction by the celebrated geographer, Karl Ritter, is the most animated and picturesque which has yet appeared on the subject.

Leaving Khartoum on the afternoon of the 23d of November, 1840, the vessels of the expedition rounded the point of junction, and sailed into the White Nile, before a light northern wind. "The decks of the vessel," says Werne, "with their crowd of manifold figures, faces, and colored skins, from the Arabian Raïs who plies the oar, to the ram which he thinks of eating as the Paschal Lamb; the towering latteen sails, with the yard-arms, on which the long streamers, adorned with the crescent and star, wave before the swollen sails; the large crimson flags at the stern of the vessel, as they flutter lightly and merrily over the ever-extending waters; the singing, mutual hails and finding again, the ships cruising to and from the limit fixed for to-day; every thing was, at least for the moment, a picture of cheerful, spiritual life. With a bold consciousness, strengthened by the thought of many a danger happily overcome, I looked beyond the inevitable occurrences of a threatening future to a triumphant re-union with my brother."

On the 29th they passed the village of El Ais, on the road from Sennaâr to Kordofan. This was the limit of Egyptian rule, and the southern boundary of the dominions of the Arabian races of Ethiopia: beyond it lay the territories of the native negro tribes. Cartridges were served out and muskets loaded, for the vessels were now in a hostile country; but the carelessness with which this was done did not augur well for the discipline of the Egyptian forces. The powder-room stood open, and the men, with lighted pipes, passed continually to and fro unrestrained, over the open hatchway. The vegetation on the river banks became more dense and luxuriant as they advanced; the stream expanded in breadth, and was studded with bowery islands. "Among the trees standing in the water were large, white aquatic flowers, visible even at a distance, which glistened forth magnificently from a floating world of flowers, in the moist splendor of the morning. It was the double white lotus."

A later traveler gives the following description of the scenery of this part of the river: "The forests were taller and more dense than in Egyptian Soudan, and the river more thickly studded with islands, the soil of which was entirely concealed by the luxuriant girdle of shrubs and water-plants in which they lay imbedded. The *ambak*, a species of aquatic shrub, with leaves resembling the sensitive-plant and winged, bean-like blossoms of a rich yellow hue, grew on the edge of the shore,

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with its roots in the water and its long arms floating on the surface. It formed impenetrable ramparts around the islands, and shores, except where the hippopotamus and crocodile had trodden paths into the forests, or the lion and leopard had come down to the river's margin to drink. Behind this floating hem of foliage and blossoms appeared other and larger shrubs, completely matted together with climbing vines, which covered them like a mantle and hung from their branches dangling streamers of white, and purple, and yellow blossoms. They even stretched to the boughs of the large mimosa, or sont-trees, which grew in the center of the islands, thus binding all together in rounded masses. Some of the smaller islands resembled floating hills of vegetation, and their slopes and summits of impervious foliage, rolling in the wind, appeared to keep time with the rocking of the waves that upheld them."

After passing the island of Aba, in the country of the Shillooks, they reached a spot where the river was crossed by a ledge of flat rocks, upon which it can be forded during the summer. "A number of scattered water-plants," says Werne, "form floating islands of large and small dimensions, frequently presenting quite a surprising appearance. At noon we came so close to such an island, which had been held together by a kind of water couch-grass, and was joined on to the shore, that we tore off one entire portion of it, and set it moving like a little aquatic world of the most diversified description of plants. The base of this floating, vegetable world was formed by the pale green velvet-plant everywhere met with, and which spreads itself like the auricula, has fibrous roots, and is intermixed with green reeds, but appears to have no flowers. The stalk-like moss, spreading under the water, with slender white suckers, like polypi on the long streaks beneath, was another principal ingredient in the formation of this island. Then comes a kind of convolvulus, with lilac-colored flowers, with its seeds, like those of the convolvulus, in capsule-like knobs, and leaves like those of buttercups. The character of the whole of this island-world acquires such a blooming appearance here, that one believes one's self transported to a gigantic park situated under water. Entire tracts are covered with the blooming lotus. The trees, shrubs, and creepers, with their manifold flowers, enjoy a freedom unknown in Europe, where every plant is restricted to its fixed season."

On the 1st of December they saw the mountain of the Dinkas, on the eastern bank of the river, and the next day discovered one of the villages of this tribe. Werne remarks: "The Dinkas were seen at a distance, jumping in the air while they raised one arm, and struck their shields with their spears. This appeared to me rather a challenge than an expression of joy, as I concluded from the war-dances, the representation of which I had before witnessed. Their city is said to stretch far beyond this ridge, which the trees prevented us from remarking. Long swampy islands, with reeds and other plants, entwined one with the other, extend from their country to the middle of the stream. This is

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the case also, though on a reduced scale, on the other side. The distance of the shores from one to another is more than an hour. The reeds form in this manner a protection, which even when the water is at the highest is not to be overcome. In the same manner the Shillooks on the western shore have a marsh of reeds, under water, for protection.

"The right shore is a magnificent low country. Tamarinds, creepers of a large species, and the lotus shining in great numbers, like double white lilies. This stellated flower opens with the rising of the sun, and closes when it sets. I noticed, however, afterward, that where they are not protected in some way from the ardent heat, they likewise close when the sun approaches the zenith. Some of their stalks were six feet long, and very porous; from which latter quality these stems, as well as the flower and the larger leaves—dark-green above, and red-brown beneath, with a flat serrated border—have a magnificent transparent vein; but become so shriveled, even during the damp night, that in the morning I scarcely recognized those which I had over night laid close to my bed on the shore. The ancient Egyptians must, therefore, have been quick in offering up the lotus. The extraordinarily small white seed lies in a brownish, wool-like envelop, and fills the whole capsule. Not only are the bulbs, as large as one's fist, of the lotus eaten, but also the seed just mentioned; they mix it with sesame, and other grain, among the bread-corn, which circumstance I ascertained afterward, as we found a number of these lotus-heads strung in lines to dry. To our taste, the best way to dress the bulbs, and to free them from the marshy flavor they leave behind in the mouth, is to drain the water off several times in cooking them; they then taste nearly like boiled celery, and may be very nourishing."

For several days they sailed slowly over this sea of water and grass, past marshy shores fringed with the lotus. The river became narrower, with firm banks, at some points, and here they were enabled to notice the density of the population. The lower grounds were cultivated with fields of okra and rice, and flocks of sheep were seen. Werne estimates the Shillook tribe at two millions of souls, which is probably not an exaggeration. He says: "There is certainly no river in the world, the shores of which are, for so great a distance, so uninterruptedly covered with habitations of human beings. We cannot conceive whence so many people derive their nourishment. There are some negroes on the left shore, lying without any clothing on them, in the grass; therefore the ground can not be covered to any height with water. They made gestures, and greeted us with uplifted arms; but our people thought that we could not trust such a friendly welcoming, for they might have concealed their spears in the grass, in which, perhaps, a whole troop of men were hidden. Neither these Shillooks nor the Jengähs, up the river, possess horses or camels, but merely sheep and cows. When they take a horse or camel from the Turks, they do not

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kill it—probably not eating the flesh of these animals—but put out its eyes as a punishment for having brought the enemy into their country."

They here met with the beautiful *dhelleb*-palm, which has a long, slender shaft, swelling in the middle, and tapering toward the top and bottom, crowned with a feathery crest of leaves. The giant *adansonia digitata*, or baobab-tree of Senegambia, also made its appearance. On the afternoon of the 7th, they passed the mouth of the River Sobàt, the only tributary stream which comes to the White Nile from the east. Its source is supposed to be in the country of the Gallas, south of the kingdom of Shoa. Its breadth, at its entrance into the Nile, is six hundred and fifty feet. Werne ascended it about eighty miles, on the return voyage of the expedition, and found that its shores are higher than those of the Nile, and that the surface of the country became more elevated as he ascended. From this fact he infers that the White Nile, as far as it has been explored, flows in a depressed basin of the table-land of Central Africa. They here left the territories of the Shillooks and the Dinkas, and entered the land of the Nuehrs. Giraffes and ostriches were occasionally seen on the shores.

On the 9th, the river expanded into an immense shallow lake, covered with reeds and water-plants, through which they made their way by narrow and winding channels. In some points the firm land was invisible from the mast-head. Swarms of gnats hovered over this stagnant region, and became a dreadful pest to the voyagers. On this day an accident occurred, which gave Werne an opportunity of gaining the confidence and good-will of the black soldiers who accompanied the expedition. "One of them," he writes, "a *tokruri*, or pilgrim from Dar-Fur, had, in a quarrel with an Arab, drawn his knife and wounded him. He jumped overboard to drown himself, for he could not swim, and was just on the point of perishing when he drifted to our ship, where Feizulla-Captain no sooner perceived him than he sprang down from behind the helm and saved him, with the assistance of others. He was taken up and appeared nearly dead, and on intelligence being conveyed from the other vessels that he had murdered a Moslem, some of our people wished to throw him again immediately into the water. This, however, being prevented, they thought of making an attempt to resuscitate him, by standing him up on his head. I had him laid horizontally upon his side, and began to rub him with an old cloth belonging to one of my servants. For the moment no one would assist me, as he was an '*abd*' (slave), until I threatened the captain that he should be made to pay the Pasha for the loss of his soldiers. After repeated rubbing, the tokruri gave some signs of life, and they raised him half up, while his head still hung down. One of the sailors, who was a fakeer, and pretended to be a sort of awakener of the dead, seized him from behind, under the arms, lifted him up a little, and let him, when he was brought into a sitting posture, fall thrice violently on his hinder end, while he repeated passages from the Koran, and shouted in his ears, whereupon the tokruri answered

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with a similar prayer. Superstition goes so far here, that it is asserted such a pilgrim may be completely and thoroughly drowned, and yet retain the power of floating to any shore he pleases, and stand there alive again."

On the 10th, Werne writes: "A dead calm throughout the night. Gnats! No use creeping under the bed-clothes, where the heat threatens to stifle me, compelled as I am, by their penetrating sting, to keep my clothes on. Leave only a hole to breathe at; in they rush, on the lips, into the nostrils and ears, and should one yawn, they squeeze themselves into the throat and tickle us to coughing, causing us to suffer real torture, for with every respiration again a fresh swarm enters. They find their way to the most sensitive parts, creeping in like ants at every aperture. My bed was covered in the morning with thousands of these little tormenting spirits—compared with which the Egyptian plague is nothing—which I had crushed to death with the weight of my body, by continually rolling about. I was not only obliged to have a servant before me at supper-time, waving a large fan, made of ostrich-feathers, under my nose, so that it was necessary to watch the time for seizing and conveying the food to my mouth, but I could not even smoke my pipe in peace, though keeping my hands wrapt in my woollen bournus, for the gnats not only stung through it, but even crept up under it from the ground. The blacks and colored men were equally ill-treated by these hungry and impudent guests."

The grassy sea in which they found themselves was the *Bahr El-Ghazal*, or Gazelle Lake, into which an unexplored stream, called the Gazelle River, flows from the south-west, and adds its waters to those of the White Nile. They were three days in crossing this lake, as the wind was very light. The plague of gnats continued, and the vessels were in some danger from the herds of hippopotami, which threatened to overturn them, by rising suddenly from the muddy bottom. On the 12th they left the lake, and entered a region of marshes, through which the Nile found its way in a number of narrow and tortuous channels. "High reeds," says Werne, "but more low ones, water couch-grass, and narrow grass, the pale-green aquatic plant, the lilac convolvulus, moss, water-thistles, plants like nettles and hemp, form on the right and left a soft, green mixture, upon which groups of the yellow-flowing ambak-tree rose, and which itself was partly hung round with luxuriant creepers, covered with large cup-like flowers, of a deep yellow color. * * * One can scarcely form an idea of the continual and extraordinary windings of the river. Half an hour ago we saw, on the right, the Muscovite's vessel, and on the left the other vessels ahead *on a line* with us, separated, however, by the high grass, from which their masts and sails joyfully peeped forth. I could scarcely persuade myself that we had proceeded from the one place, and shall steer to the other. There is something cheerful and tranquilizing in this life-like picture of ships seeking and finding each other again in the immeasurable grass-sea,

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which gives us a feeling of security. It must be a sight to the people of this region that they can not comprehend, owing to the distance."

They saw no more natives until the 20th of December, when they entered the land of the Keks, or Kyks, and passed two or three wretched villages. The people were of a livid color, and naked; they smear themselves, as the Shillooks are said partly to do, with Nile-slime, as a protection against the stings of gnats. On seeing the vessels, these poor creatures lifted both hands high in the air, and let them slowly fall, by way of greeting. A woman likewise saluted them by placing her elbows close to her body, and waving her hands, with the palms upward. She had an ivory ring around her head, and another around her neck; which last must have been either ingeniously put together, or slipped over her head in her youth. A man turned toward his hut, as if inviting the voyagers in; another stood alone, lifted his hands, and jumped around in a circle upon one spot.

For two weeks after leaving the Gazelle Lake, the navigation of the river was the most tedious and perplexing that can be imagined. The vessels had great difficulty in finding the true channel, on account of the various arms of the stream, and the deceptive sloughs, or estuaries, which after leading them some distance into the marshes on either hand, would suddenly terminate. The windings were so frequent and so complex, that on one occasion they were obliged to sail a distance of fifteen miles, in order to make two miles in a straight line. The weather was mostly calm, and on account of these windings, they could make very little use of the wind, when there was any. The sky was obscured by heavy white mists, or exhalations, which arose from the stagnant waters and the decaying vegetation, and symptoms of fever began to manifest themselves on board the vessels.

Werne gives the following description of a sunrise in this region: "I looked upon the rising sun with the blissful heart and kindly humor that Nature, in her majesty, calls forth with irresistible power. Dark brown clouds covered the place where he was to disclose himself in all his glory. The all-powerful light of the world inflames this layer of clouds; ruffled, like the billows of the ocean, they become lighted up with an indescribable hue of blue Tyrian purple, from which an internal living fire beams forth on every side. To the south-east, a vessel dips its mast and sails into this flood of gold. Filmy rays and flames of gold display themselves in the center of that deep blue curtain, the borders of which only are kindled with luminous edging, while the core of the sun itself, within the most confined limits, sparkles through the darkest part like a star never to be looked upon. At last he rises, conquering all the atmospheric obstacles of the vaporous earth; the latter stand like clear flakes of gold, attending him on the right, while two strata of clouds, embedded in each other, draw a long beautiful train to the north, ever spreading and dissolving more and more. I write—I try once more to embrace the mightiest picture of ethereal life, but the ship has, in the mean time,

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turned, and the sails cover the sun, so as not to weaken the first impression."

On the 27th, they landed at a Kek village, the inhabitants of which had fled, except one man, who was surrounded and taken on board the commander's vessel. He was of a livid color, owing to the ashes in which he had slept. Suliman Kashif was able to converse with him, through some Dinka slaves who were on board. "When he approached the cabin," said Werne, "bending his body forward in a comically awkward and ape-like position, perhaps to denote subjection, he slid round on the ground, dropped on his knees, and crept into it, shouting repeatedly with all his might, 'Waget tohn agéhn, agiht agiht-waget tohn agéhn agiht agiht,' by which words he greeted us, and expressed his astonishment. He had several holes in the rims of his ears, containing, however, no other ornament than a single little stick. Strings of beads were brought out and hung about his neck; there was no end to his transports; he struck the ground so hard with his posteriors, that it resounded again, and raised his hand on high, as praying. When I bound a string of beads round his wrist, he could not leave off jumping, at such an invaluable ornament, and never once kept still; he sprang up, and threw himself down again, to kiss the ground; again he rose, extended and contracted himself, held his hands over all our heads, as if to bless us, and sang a very pretty song, full of the simple melody of nature. He had a somewhat projecting mouth; his nose and forehead quite regular, as well as the cut of the face itself; his hair was sheared away short, to about the length of half an inch. He might have been about thirty years of age; an angular, high-shouldered figure, such as we have frequently perceived among the Dinkas. There were two incisors wanting above, and four below, which is also the case with the Dinkas; They pull them out, that they may not resemble wild beasts. His attitude and gestures were very constrained, arising, perhaps, partly from the situation in which he found himself; his shoulders were raised, his head bent forward in unison with his bent back; his long legs, the calves of which were scarcely to be perceived, seemed as if broken at the joints of his knees; in short, his whole person hung together like an orang-outang's. Added to this, he was perfectly naked, and no hair, except on his head, to be seen. His sole ornament consisted of leathern rings above the right hand. What a grade of humanity is here! This poor man of nature touched me with his childish joy, in which he certainly felt happier than any of us. He was instructed to go forward and tell his countrymen not to fly before us. Kneeling, sliding along, jumping, and kissing the ground, he let himself be led away by the hand like a child, and would certainly have taken it all for a dream, had not the glass-beads convinced him to the contrary."

On the 3d of January, 1841, they reached a large Kek village, and Werne perceived, to his surprise, that the men and women lived in separate portions of it. "Polygamy prevails here," he remarks, "as gener-

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ally on the White Nile; only, however, the more opulent enjoy this privilege, for the women are bought. I remarked here, for the first time, bodily defects, which, like elephantiasis, are so very rare in the whole land of Soudàn. One had hernia, and many suffered from diseases of the eyes, and wanted medical assistance. Their eyes, indeed, were nearly all suffused with red, as I had previously remarked; and it seems that these people must suffer uncommonly in the rainy season, when they lie, as it were, in the morass. The hair of some of them, who wore it long, was of a reddish color, having lost its natural black hue by the ley of the ashes and water, and heat of the sun; for we did not perceive this in the shorter hairs, and they did not know how to explain the cause of this tinge. The cattle are generally of a light color, of moderate size, and have long beautifully-twisted horns, some of which are turned backward. The bulls have large speckled humps, such as are seen in the hieroglyphics; the cows, on the contrary, only a little elevation on the shoulders. The small reed tokuls, with half-flat roofs, are neat, and serve throughout the day for protection against the sun. I wandered about here quite alone, without being molested or sent back by the people."

The voyage now became a little less difficult: the firm shores appeared on either hand, the main current of the river was no longer lost in broad morasses, and the plague of gnats ceased to torment the voyagers. On the 8th they reached the territories of a tribe called the Bohrs, who are thus described: "The men, though *only* seven feet high, look like trees, in their rough and naked natural forms. Their tonsure is various; large ivory rings adorn the upper part of their arms. They would like to strip these off, but they sit too tightly, because they were placed on the arm before it was thoroughly formed. Now the flesh protrudes above and below the rings. They seat themselves on the shore, sing, and beg for beads, pointing with their forefinger and thumb to the roundness of them. They have bad teeth, almost without exception; from this circumstance, perhaps, that they chew and smoke tobacco, partly to alleviate the eternal tooth-ache. If they did not complain of tooth-ache, yet they showed us the entire want or decay of their teeth, when we gave them biscuit to masticate."

On the 10th, while walking on the shore, Werne was seized by a violent attack of fever, and fell upon the ground in a swoon. When he awoke it was already dark; he fired a gun for assistance, and stumbled along in the direction of the vessels, but suddenly came upon twenty large crocodiles, stretched out in the sand. The beasts instantly began to move, scenting human flesh: he hastened away, plunging through the reeds, and was fortunately found by his servants just as his strength was beginning to fail. For four or five days after this, he had repeated attacks of delirium, and was only saved from death by profuse bleeding. At the end of this time the fever gradually left him, but he remained in a weak condition, and for two or three weeks was unable to support the full luster of the noonday sun.

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Meanwhile the vessels continued slowly to ascend the stream, having already passed the extreme point attained by the expedition of the previous winter. Leaving behind them the Bohrs and the Zhirs, they passed through two other tribes, called the Bundurials and the Tshierrs. The river still came from the south-east, and flowed with a full, strong current. On the afternoon of the 17th, Werne was startled by the cry of "*Djebel!*" (a mountain!) "In spite of the sun," he says, "and all remonstrances, I drag myself up on deck, and see the mountain to the south-west, at a distance of about twenty hours. It seems to form an accumulation toward one point, and may surely be the forerunner of other mountains; therefore, after all, there are Mountains of the Moon. City crowds on city; and the Egyptians look out from the mast for herds of cattle, which are not, however, numerous. An innumerable population moves on the shores; to express their number our crew say, 'As many as flies;' and we sail always by the shore, which is quite black with people, who are standing as if benumbed with astonishment."

These scenes were constantly repeated during the following three or four days. The shores were firm and fertile, the vegetation wonderfully rich and luxuriant, the sky clear, and the people of giant stature, finely developed, and very agile. Every thing indicated their entrance into a region of totally different character from any they had yet seen. The country appeared to be as populous as that of the Shillooks, but the natives, although naked like the former, gave evidence of superior intelligence. The Egyptian captains, however, looked upon all these tribes with equal contempt, calling them "slaves." On the afternoon of the 20th, a great crowd of natives collected on the bank, making signs that they wished for beads, such as had been given to the tribes below. They threatened, in a laughing, jeering manner, to prevent the sailors from towing the vessels unless their requests were heeded. The captain of one of the vessels immediately ordered his men to fire, and ten or twelve of the negroes fell. The remainder of the tribe came running from the villages, but soon hesitated, fearing the effect of these mysterious weapons which they had never before seen. "We halted a moment," remarks Werne; "the unhappy creatures or relatives of the slain came closer to the border of the shore, laid their hands flat together, raised them above their head, slid upon their knees nearer to us, and sprang again high in the air, with their compressed hands stretched aloft, as if to invoke the pity of heaven, and to implore mercy of us. A slim young man was so conspicuous by his passionate grief, that it cut to my heart, and—our barbarians laughed with all their might."

Fortunately for the expedition, the poor creatures were too much overawed to resent this inhumanity, and the vessels proceeded on their course. They learned that they had entered the land of the Baris, the sultan of which, named Làkono, resided at a town further to the south. The bed of the river was now broken with islands; the current became more clear and swift, and on the 23d they reached an island called

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Tsanker, or Tchanker, at the end of which was a reef of rocks, extending across the stream, forming a rapid beyond which, it was evident, at the low stage of the water, the vessels could not pass. "We landed soon afterward on the right shore, as the nearest landing-place to the capital, Belènja, on the mountain of the same name, which was at some distance. They gave us the names of all the mountains lying around in the horizon. As I once looked for the alpine world from Montpelier, and found it, trusting to my good eye-sight, so now I gazed for a long time on this region of heights; their peaks were clearly hung round with a girdle of clouds, apparently shining with a glimmering light in opposition to the clouds hanging before them in our neighborhood."

Of the Baris, Werne says: "The features and form of the head are quite regular among these gigantic people, and are a striking contrast to those of our black soldiers, with their more negro-like physiognomy, although *they* are not, on the whole, ugly. I compare the true Caucasian races, who are present, with these men, and find that the latter have a broader forehead. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Bari might be designated a protoplasma of the black race; for not only do they shoot up to a height of from six and a half to seven Parisian feet, which we have seen also in the other nations, but their gigantic mass of limbs are in the noblest proportions. The form of the face is oval, the forehead arched, the nose straight, or curved, with rather wide nostrils—the alæ, however, not projecting disagreeably; the mouth full, like that of the ancient Egyptians; the orifice of the ears large, and the temples a little depressed. The last we do not find in the Baràbras, and the races akin to them in Abyssinia. The men of Bari have, besides, well-proportioned legs, and muscular arms. It is a pity that they also extract the four lower incisors, for not only is the face disfigured by this custom when they are laughing, but their pronunciation also becomes indistinct. Some wear their hair like a cock's comb from the forehead down to the nape of the neck; others have scarcely the crown of the head covered; the most, however, wear tolerably long hair, in the natural manner, which gives a significant look to many faces. Their good-natured countenances correspond also to their jokes among themselves, which are, perhaps, occasionally directed against us."

The next day the vessels were visited by King Làkono and his suite, whose approach was previously announced by his brother, a gigantic naked negro, smeared from head to foot with red ashes. In the afternoon the king came, attended by a large retinue of followers. His cotton garment and head-dress distinguished his tall figure above all the others. He carried with him his throne—a little wooden stool—together with a scepter, consisting of a club, the thick knob of which was studded with large iron nails, to inspire greater respect. On entering the cabin, he took Selim Capitan, the second in command, to be the leader of the expedition, and saluted him by sucking the ends of his fingers. "When we little expected it," says Werne, "the sultan raised

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his voice, without commanding silence beforehand with his scepter, and sang—his eyes directed firmly and shining on us—a song of welcome, with a strong, clear voice. This was soon ended, and the song had brightened him up surprisingly, for he looked quite merrily around, as far as his eyes, which were apparently affected by a cataract, would allow him. This misfortune might be the cause also why he walked, as if in a mist, with an insecure step on the vessel. According to the translation passed by two interpreters from one to the other into Arabic, he chanted us as being bulls, lions, and defenders of the virgins. He is of an imposing figure, with a regular countenance, marked features, and has somewhat of a Roman nose. We noticed on all the bare parts of his body remains of ocher, apparently not agreeing very well with the skin, for here and there on the hands it was cracked. He was the first man whom we had hitherto found clothed."

On the 25th Werne writes: "King Làkono visited us to-day a second time, and brought with him a young wife from his harem. He took off his hand the orange-colored ring, on which Selim Capitan fixed a longing eye, and presented it to him with a little iron stool, plainly forged in a hurry. We gathered further intelligence about the country, and Làkono was complaisant enough to communicate to us some general information. With respect to the Nile sources, we learn that it requires a month, the signification of which was interpreted by thirty days, to come to the country of Anjan toward the south, where the Tubirih (White Nile), separates into four shallow arms, and the water only reaches up to the ankles. Thirty days seems indeed a long time, but the chain of mountains itself may present great impediments, and hostile tribes and the hospice stations may cause circuitous routes.

"The favorite sultana had certainly not much to boast of in the way of beauty, but she was an amiable-looking woman: she was not at all shy, and looked freely around her. A number of glass-beads were given to her, and she was too much of a woman and negress not to be exceedingly delighted at them. Làkono restrained himself, as at the first time, on the sight of such presents, within the limits of pleasing surprise, without betraying the least symptom of the childish joy which is indigenous in these men of nature. She was, however, very cordial with him, and he with her; he helped her even to pack together her ornaments in a handkerchief, and gave it over to her with a benevolent look. I had the honor also of a friendly smile from her, which I naturally returned. She remarked this immediately to her lord and master, whereupon the latter bowed his entire approbation, and smiled at me.

"We could not get a clear conception of their ideas of religion—the less so, because the interpreter translating into Arabic was a heathen Dinka. It seems that they worship a spirit of nature, for we had been previously told that their god was grander than the mast of our vessel. Whether they reverence him under a tree, as the criminal court of Là-

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kono seems to denote, is a question I do not venture to decide. Horns, teeth, and amulets point to some sort of worship. Legislation appears to be in a peculiar state in the country of Bari. We were told that King Làkono slew criminals with his own hand, by a thrust with a spear, and very quickly (goàm, goàm), without any ceremonies; he sits under a large tree, with a heavy spear in his hand, to pass judgment, and assumes a very angry look."

On the 28th of January, Suliman Kashif determined to return, greatly to the joy of the Egyptian soldiers, and to the regret of Werne, who was anxious to push on to the mountains which beckoned from the southern horizon. "We have remained here at the island three entire days," he writes, "and the *ne plus ultra* is not so much inscribed on the Pillars of Hercules in the water, as desired in the hearts of the whole expedition. The war-dance, which the blacks performed yesterday, has contributed certainly to the final determination to retnrn. Even I thought yesterday that I heard and saw in the fearful battle-song, a declaration of war, and a challenge to the contest. It was almost impossible to persuade one's self that it was merely a mark of honor. The natives marched up and down the island, in columns, brandishing their lances in the air, sang their war-songs, with threatening countenances and dreadful gestures, then fell into still greater ecstasy, ran up and down, and roared their martial chant. It was the middle of the day, about two o'clock, when Selim Capitan, in order to take his leave, and to employ the dreaded people at the moment of our departure, and keep them far from us, threw ten cups of beads on shore, and the cannons on all the vessels were discharged, to bid solemn farewell with twenty-one shots to the beautiful country which must contain so many more interesting materials." The island of Tsanker, according to the observations made by D'Arnaud and Selim Capitan, lies in 4° 30′ north latitude, but according to later calculations in 4° 49′.

The descent of the White Nile was a repetition of the scenes witnessed on the upward voyage, except that whenever the north wind blew strongly, the vessels became unmanageable, and created great damage and confusion by driving against each other. They landed occasionally in the lands of the Keks, Elliabs, and Nuehrs, and invariably found the natives well-disposed, though exceedingly ignorant and stupid. After threading again the bewildering mazes of the region of grass, suffering insupportable torments from the clouds of gnats, they debouched once more into the Gazelle Lake, on the 4th of March, and halted three days to allow D'Arnaud to make a survey of its shores. On the 11th, they bade farewell to gnats, and reached the mouth of the Sobàt, which Suliman Kashif designed to explore. The vessels accordingly entered the river, heading to the south-east, and slowly advanced for twelve days, in which time they only made eighty miles, when their further progress was stopped by sand-bars, and they were forced to return. The banks of the river were steep and bold, and the upland country

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lying behind them abounded with herds of deer and antelopes, some of which numbered three or four thousand.

During this excursion, Werne met with an exciting adventure. He went out to shoot some birds, and was just taking aim at two beautiful finches, when an immense lion suddenly stood before him, as if he had arisen from the earth. "At first," says he, "we stared at each other mutually; he measured me from top to toe, but disregarded the Turkish accouterments and sun-burnt countenance, for my red cap which he seemed not to despise. At last he turned his face from me, and went away slowly with a dreadfully pliable movement of his hinder parts, and his tail hanging down, but could not restrain himself from turning round to look at me once more, while I was trusting to the effect of one or two shots in the eyes or jaws, if it came to a contest of life or death; but I cast a searching look over my shoulders every now and then, right and left, expecting that he might make a spring like a cat, and I kept him in sight before me, when I was about to jump down from the shore on to the sand where the vessels and crew were. I confess openly that I felt an evident throbbing of the heart, and that my nose seemed to have turned white."

On the 26th of March, the vessels again entered the White Nile, and resumed their course toward Khartoum. Their progress was slow, on account of head-winds, and they did not approach the capital until the 22d of April, when messengers came forward to welcome them. On the following day they descended to the junction, and sailed up the Blue Nile to the city, having been absent exactly five months. Werne's journal closes with the following words: "The thunder of cannon rolled down from the vessels—joy and pleasure. I wished to describe our return, but I did not see my brother. Black thoughts suddenly shook me as if a fit of ague had attacked me. When I saw even the window-shutters of our divan closed, where he might wait for me so comfortably in the shade, I trembled violently, and my knees tottered so that they laid me on the bed. I soon, however, got up, and sat before the cabin; and just at the moment when our vessel touched the land, some one pointed him out standing on the shore. I jumped ashore from the deck, and fell down: my brother raised me up. Eleven days after this happy meeting he died in my arms, completely broken by the effects of the climate."

DOCTOR KNOBLECHER'S VOYAGE.

The Government Expedition up the White Nile demonstrated the fact that the native negro tribes possessed an abundance of ivory, and suggested to the Egyptian merchants the benefit of establishing a trade with them. The experiment was tried, and found successful; the natives willingly exchanged their rings and elephants' teeth for glass beads and other cheap trinkets, and a system of barter was thus established, which

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has been continued up to the present time. An annual fleet of trading vessels leaves Khartoum in November, and after obtaining all the ivory which has been collected during the year, returns in March or April. None of these expeditions, however, have contributed much to our knowledge of the river beyond the point reached by Werne, except that which left Khartoum in 1849, and was accompanied by Dr. Knoblecher, the Roman Catholic Apostolic Vicar for Central Africa, an account of which was published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in 1851.*

Dr. Ignatius Knoblecher was specially educated, in the Propaganda at Rome, as a missionary for Central Africa. After studying the Arabic language for a year in Syria, he proceeded to Khartoum, where a Catholic mission had already been established. There, however, the mission found its sphere of operations circumscribed by the jealousy of the government, as all attempts to make proselytes of Mussulmen are forbidden, and the highest ambition of the slaves who are brought from the interior is to be considered faithful followers of the prophet. Dr. Knoblecher was therefore directed to accompany the annual trading expedition up the White Nile, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of establishing a missionary station among some of the native negro tribes near the equator. He experienced much difficulty at the outset, on account of the jealousy of the Egyptian traders, who find the company of a European a restraint upon their violent and lawless practices, but through the influence of the pasha, who was at last brought to give his consent, the missionaries secured a place in the expedition, and on the 13th of November, 1849, set sail from Khartoum. There were seven vessels in the flotilla, and that of Dr. Knoblecher, though the smallest, proved to be the best sailer and usually kept the lead. He

* "On the day of my arrival at Khartoum, Dr. Reitz proposed a visit to Dr. Knoblecher, the Apostolic Vicar of the Catholic Missions in Central Africa, who had returned from Europe about twenty days previous. Preceded by two attendants, we walked through the town to the Catholic Mission, a spacious one-story building in a large garden near the river. Entering a court, in the center of which grew a tall tamarind-tree, we were received by an Italian monk, in flowing robes, who conducted us into a second court, inclosed by the residence of the Vicar. Here we met two other priests, a German and a Hungarian, dressed in flowing Oriental garments. They ushered us into a large room, carpeted with matting, and with a comfortable divan around the sides. The windows looked into a garden which was filled with orange, fig, and banana-trees, and fragrant with jasmin and mimosa blossoms. We had scarcely seated ourselves when the monks rose and remained standing while Dr. Knoblecher entered. He was a small man, slightly and rather delicately built, and not more than thirty-five years of age. His complexion was fair, his eyes a grayish blue, and his beard, which he wore flowing upon his breast, a very decided auburn. His face was one of those which wins not only kindness, but confidence from all the world. His dress consisted of a white turban, and a flowing robe of dark purple cloth. He is a man of thorough cultivation, conversant with several languages, and possesses an amount of scientific knowledge which will make his future explorations valuable to the world. During my stay in Khartoum, I visited him frequently, and derived from him much information concerning the countries of Soudàn and their inhabitants."—*Bayard Taylor's "Journey to Central Africa."*

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had on board a faithful and experienced Nubian pilot, named Suleyman Abou-Zeid.

After fourteen days' sailing, the expedition passed the islands of the Shillooks, and reached that part of the river where the banks are covered with continuous villages. The number of these is estimated at seven thousand. It is worthy of notice that their circular tokuls of mud and reeds are precisely similar in form and construction to those of the tribes on the Niger and Senegal Rivers, with whom the Shillooks have no communication, and from whom they differ in language, appearance, and character. While threading the mazes of the archipelago, a violent whirlwind passed over the river and completely dismasted one of the boats. Beyond the islands the river expands so that the marshy shores are barely visible in some places. The lotus grows abundantly in the shallows, and the appearance of the thousands of snowy blossoms as they flash open at sunrise, is described as a scene of vegetable pomp and splendor, which can be witnessed in no other part of the world.

On the 28th of November the expedition succeeded, after some difficulty, in establishing an intercourse with the Dinkas and Shillooks, who inhabited the opposite banks of the river. The latter in consideration of some colored glass-beads, furnished a number of oxen for provisions. Dr. Knoblecher described their running, when they drove the cattle together, as resembling that of the gazelle; they leap high into the air, drawing up their long legs as they rise, and clear the ground at a most astonishing speed. The next day the vessels reached a large town called Vav, where the people received them without the least appearance of fear, and brought quantities of elephants' tusks to trade for beads. Herds of wild elephants and giraffes were now frequently seen on the banks of the river, and the former sometimes threw up their trunks and spirted water into the air when they saw the vessels. Numbers of white herons were perched composedly upon their backs and heads. The giraffes, as they gazed with wonder at the fleet, lifted their heads quite above the tops of the mimosa-trees. On the 2d of December, the expedition passed the mouth of the Sobat River.

From latitude 9° 26′ to 6° 50′ north there is a complete change in the scenery. The magnificent forests disappear, and the shores become marshy and unhealthy, covered with tall grass, whose prickly stalks render landing difficult, and embarrass the navigation of the shallows. The air is heavy with noxious miasmas and filled with countless swarms of gnats and mosquitoes. The water of the river is partially stagnant, and green with vegetable matter, occasioning serious disorders to those who drink it. Dr. Knoblecher clarified it by means of alum, and escaped with a sore mouth. In order to sleep, however, he was obliged to wear thick gloves and muffle up his face, almost to suffocation. The *Bahr el-Ghazàl*, or Gazelle Lake, lies in latitude 9° 16′ north. It is thus named from the Gazelle River, which flows into it on the western side, and which has never yet been explored. Its depth is about nine feet,

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but the reeds and water-plants with which it is filled reach to the surface, and render the navigation difficult. Its shores are inhabited by the Nuehr negroes, a stupid, imbruted race, many of whom are frequently carried off by the traders and sold as slaves. For this reason it is now very difficult to procure elephants' teeth from them.

After leaving the Gazelle Lake, the course of the White Nile becomes exceedingly tortuous, and its current sluggish. Innumerable estuaries, or blind channels, which lose themselves among the reeds, perplexed the pilots, and delayed the progress of the expedition. The land of the Kyks succeeded to that of the Nuehrs, which terminated about the eighth parallel of latitude. The former are a race of herdsmen, who have great numbers of cattle and sheep. Dr. Knoblecher found them exceedingly shy, on account of the threats of one of their *kogiurs*, or soothsayers, who had warned them against holding any intercourse with the traders. On the 22d of December they reached the village of Angwen, where the king of the Kyks resided. The monarch received them with great kindness, and paid distinguished homage to Padre Angelo Vinco, Dr. Knoblecher's companion, whom, on account of his spectacles and gray beard, he took to be a magician. He begged the Padre to grant him four favors, viz.: abundance of children; the death of the enemy who had slain his father; victory in all his fights, and a cure for the wound in his head. The latter gift was easily bestowed, by means of a plaster, but he was not satisfied until an image of the Virgin had been hung around his neck.

South of the Kyks dwell the Elliàbs, who are less timid than the southern tribes, because they come less frequently into contact with the traders. In their country the White Nile divides into two branches, and here the expedition separated, each division taking a different channel. The water was so low that the vessels stuck fast in the mud, but were relieved by the friendly natives, who dragged them through the shallows by means of long tow-ropes. For this service they were paid in glass-beads. The further the vessels went into regions where intercourse with the Egyptian traders is rare, and therefore fewer outrages are perpetrated, the more friendly, confiding, and unconcerned was the behavior of the natives.

On the 31st of December the expedition reached the country of the Zhirs. The people came down to the water's edge to greet them, the women clapping their hands and singing a song of welcome. On the 2d of January, 1850, Dr. Knoblecher saw in the south-east the granite mountain of Nierkanyi, which lies in the Bari country, in about the fifth degree of north latitude. It was the first elevation he had seen since leaving Djebel Defafangh, in the country of the Dinkas, in latitude 10° 35′. All the intervening space is a vast savannah, interspersed with reedy swamps of stagnant water. The Zhirs own numerous flocks and herds, and cultivate large fields of sesame and dourra. They are very superior to the Nuehrs and Kyks in stature, symmetry of form, and

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their manner toward strangers. In all these tribes, the men go entirely naked, while the women wear a narrow girdle of sheep-skin around the loins. Dr. Knoblecher, however, confirmed the statement of Werne as to the modesty of their demeanor and the evident morality of their domestic life.

After leaving the Zhirs the expedition entered the country of the Baris, and on the 14th of January reached the rapids of the White Nile, at the island of Tsanker, in 4° 49′ north. This was the furthest point reached by all previous expeditions, as they found it impossible to advance further with their vessels. The Nubian pilot, Suleyman Abou-Zeid, determined to make the attempt, and on the following day, aided by a strong north wind, stemmed the rapid and reached the broad, lake-like expanse of river above it. Continuing his voyage, Dr. Knoblecher sailed sixteen miles further, to the Bari village of Tokiman. The country was exceedingly rich and beautiful, abounding in trees, and densely peopled. The current of the river was more rapid, its waters purer, and the air seemed to have entirely lost the depressing miasmatic exhalations of the regions further north. The inhabitants of Tokiman showed great astonishment at the sight of the vessels and their white occupants. Nothing, however, affected them so much as the tones of a harmonica, played by Dr. Knoblecher. Many of the people shed tears of delight, and the chief offered the sovereignty of his tribe in exchange for the wonderful instrument.

On the 16th, the expedition reached the village of Logwek, which takes its name from a solitary granite peak, about six hundred feet high, which stands on the left bank of the Nile. It is in latitude 4° 10′ north, and this is the most southern point which has yet been reached on the White Nile. Dr. Knoblecher ascended the mountain, which commanded a view of almost the entire Bari country. Toward the south-west the river wound out of sight between the mountains Rego and Kidi, near which is the mountain of Kereg, containing rich iron mines which are worked by the natives. Toward the south, on the very verge of the horizon, rose a long range of hills, whose forms could not be observed with exactness, owing to the great distance. Beyond the Logwaya range, which appeared in the east, dwell the Berri tribes, whose language is distinct from the Baris, and who are neighbors of the Gallas—that warlike race, whose domain extends from Abyssinia to the wilds of Mozambique, along the great central plateau of Uniamesi. The natives of Logwek knew nothing whatever of the country to the south. The furthest mountain-range was probably under the parallel of latitude 3° north, so that the White Nile has now been traced nearly to the equator. At Logwek, it was about six hundred and fifty feet wide, and from five to eight feet deep, at the time of Dr. Knoblecher's visit, which was during the dry season. Such an abundance of water allows us to estimate with tolerable certainty the distance to its unknown sources, which must undoubtedly lie beyond the equator.

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The great snow mountain of Kilimandjarò, discovered in 1850 by Dr. Krapf, the German missionary, on his journey inland from Mombas, on the coast of Zanzibar, has been located by geographers in latitude 3° south. It is therefore most probable that the source of the White Nile will be found in the range of mountains, of which Kilimandjarò is the crowning apex. The geographer Berghaus, in a long and labored article, endeavors to prove that the Gazelle River is the true Nile, and makes it rise in the great lake N'Yassi, in latitude 13° south. Dr. Knoblecher, however, who examined the Bahr el-Ghazàl at its mouth, says it is an unimportant stream, with a scarcely perceptible current. He considers the White Nile as being, beyond all question, the true river. He also states that, while at Logwek, some of the natives spoke of people white like himself, who lived far toward the south.

The shortness of Dr. Knoblecher's stay among the Baris did not permit him to obtain much information concerning them. They appeared to be worshipers of trees, like the Dinkas and Shillooks, but to have a glimmering idea of the future existence of the soul. They are brave and fearless in their demeanor, yet cheerful, good-natured, and affectionate toward each other. Werne frequently observed the men walking along the shore with their arms around each other's necks. They are even more colossal in their stature than the Shillooks, many of them reaching a height of seven feet. Their forms are well-knit, symmetrical, and indicate great strength and activity. In smelting and working up the iron ore of Mount Kereg they show a remarkable skill. Many of the spears in Dr. Knoblecher's possession are as elegantly formed and as admirably tempered as if they had come from the hands of a European blacksmith. They also have war-clubs of ebony, which are nearly as hard and heavy as iron. One end is of a sloping, oval form, and the other sharp, and they are said to throw them a distance of fifty or a hundred yards with such precision that the sharp point strikes first, and the club passes through the body like a lance.

On the 17th of January the expedition left Logwek on its return to Khartoum, the traders having procured all the ivory which the natives had collected since the previous year. The missionaries were prevented from accomplishing their object by the jealousy of the traders, who persuaded the Bari chiefs that they were magicians, and that if they were allowed to remain, they would bewitch the country, prevent the rains from falling, and destroy the crops of dourra. In consequence of these reports the chiefs and people, who had been on the most friendly terms with Dr. Knoblecher and Padre Angelo, suddenly became shy and suspicious, and refused to allow the latter to take up their residence among them. The design of the mission was thus frustrated, and the vicar returned with the expedition to Khartoum.

The pictures which these recent explorations present to us, add to the stately and sublime associations with which the Nile is invested, and that miraculous flood will lose nothing of his interest when the mystery which vails his origin shall be finally dispelled.

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MAJOR HARRIS'S

MISSION TO SHOA.

In the beginning of the year 1841, the government of the East India Company determined to send a mission to the kingdom of Shoa, in Southern Abyssinia, for the purpose of making a commercial treaty with Sáhela Selássie, the monarch of that country. With the exception of Drs. Krapf and Isenberg, German missionaries, the former of whom was then residing at Ankober, the capital of Shoa, the country had not been visited by Europeans for nearly two centuries. The nearest point of access by sea was the port of Tajura, in the country of the Danakil, a short distance west of the Straits of Babelmandeb, and thither the mission was directed to proceed. The command was given to Major W. Cornwallis Harris, of the Bombay Engineers, assisted by Captain Douglas Graham; the other persons attached to it were Drs. Kirk and Impey, surgeons; Lieutenants Horton and Barker; Dr. Roth, natural historian; Messrs. Bernatz and Scott, artists; two sergeants, fifteen privates, and five other assistants.

The members of the embassy left Bombay toward the close of April in the steamer *Auckland*, and were conveyed to Aden, whence they shipped for Tajura in the brig-of-war *Euphrates*, on the 15th of May. Dawn of the 17th revealed the town of Tajura, not a mile distant, on the verge of a broad expanse of blue water, over which a gossamer-like fleet of fishing catamarans already plied their busy craft. The tales of the dreary Tehâma, of the suffocating Shimál, and of the desolate plains of the blood-thirsty Adaïel, were for the moment forgotten. The bold gray mountains filled up the landscape, and, rising tier above tier, through coral limestone and basaltic trap, to the majestic Jebel Goodah, towering five thousand feet above the ocean, were enveloped in dirty red clouds, which imparted a wintry tone to the entire landscape. Verdant clumps of date and palm-trees embosomed the only well of fresh water, around which numerous Bedouin females were drawing their daily supply of the precious fluid.

The next day the members of the embassy landed, with their horses,

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baggage, presents, and merchandise. In a spacious crimson pavilion, erected as a hall of audience, Major Harris received a visit of ceremony from the sultan and his principal chiefs. "A more unprincely object," says he, "can scarcely be conceived than was presented in the imbecile, attenuated, and ghastly form of this most meager potentate, who, as he tottered into the marquee, supported by a long witch-like wand, tendered his hideous bony claws to each of the party in succession, with all the repulsive coldness that characterizes a Dankáli shake of the hand. His decrepit frame was enveloped in a coarse cotton mantle, which, with a blue checked wrapper about his loins, and an ample turban perched on the very apex of his shaven crown, was admirably in harmony with the dirt that pervaded the attire of his privy council and attendants.

"The ashes of ancient feuds were still smoking on the arrival of the British; and although I endeavored to impress the minds of all parties with the idea that the amount disbursed at the time of our departure for Shoa, would be diminished in the exact ratio of the delay that we experienced—and although, to judge from the surface, affairs looked prosperous enough toward the speedy completion of carriage, yet there was ever an adverse under-current setting; and the apathy of the savage outweighed even his avarice. Thus for a weary fortnight we were doomed to endure the merciless heat of the Tajura sun, whose tardy departure was followed by a close, muggy atmosphere, only occasionally alleviated by the bursting of a thunder-storm over the peak of Jebel Goodah. Perpetually deceived by the falsest promises, it was yet impossible to discover where to lay the blame. Bribes were lavished, increased hire acceded to, and camels repeatedly brought into the town; but day after day found us again dupes to Danákil knavery, still seated like shipwrecked mariners upon the shore, gazing in helpless melancholy at endless bales which strewed the strand, as if washed up by the waves of the fickle ocean."

Finally, after a series of most provoking delays, the necessary number of camels was procured, the sultan's brother appointed to accompany the mission to Ankober, and the march was commenced on the 30th of May. On reaching the village of Ambabo, however, a few miles from Tajura, another delay of three or four days took place, and nothing but the presence of the war-schooner *Constance*, which was ordered to follow the march of the embassy along the coast, as far as the head of the Gulf, prevented the chiefs from committing further extortions. These delays obliged them to traverse the desert of Tehama at the hottest season of the year. On the night of the 3d of June they started again, traveling westward over the loose rocks of the sea-shore, until they reached the extremity of the gulf, when their path led up the steep sides of the barren hills to the table-land of Warelissan. Dawn disclosed the artillery mules in such wretched plight from their fatiguing night's labor, that it was found necessary to unlimber the gun, and place it with its carriage on the back of an Eesah camel of Herculean

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strength, and although little pleased during the loading, the animal arose without difficulty, and moved freely along with its novel burden.

They spent the day on the scorching table-land, one thousand seven hundred feet above the sea, and having purchased with some cloth the good will of the wild Bedouin tribes, who had mustered to attack them, set out the next night, at moonrise, down the yawning pass of Rah Eesah, which leads to the salt lake of Assál. It was a bright and cloudless night, and the scenery, as viewed by the uncertain moonlight, cast at intervals in the windings of the road upon the glittering spear-blades of the warriors, was wild and terrific. The frowning basaltic cliffs, not three hundred yards from summit to summit, flung an impenetrable gloom over the greater portion of the frightful chasm, until, as the moon rose higher in the clear vault of heaven, she shone full upon huge shadowy masses, and gradually revealed the now dry bed, which in the rainy season must oftentimes become a brief but impetuous torrent. Skirting the base of a barren range, covered with heaps of lava blocks, and its foot ornamented with many artificial piles, marking deeds of blood, the lofty conical peak of Jebel Seeáro rose presently to sight, and not long afterward the far-famed Lake Assál, surrounded by dancing mirage, was seen sparkling at its base.

"In this unventilated and diabolical hollow," says the narrative, "dreadful indeed were the sufferings in store both for man and beast. Not a drop of fresh water existed within many miles; and, although every human precaution had been taken to secure a supply, by means of skins carried upon camels, the very great extent of most impracticable country to be traversed, which had unavoidably led to the detention of nearly all, added to the difficulty of restraining a multitude maddened by the tortures of burning thirst, rendered the provision quite insufficient; and during the whole of this appalling day, with the mercury in the thermometer standing at one hundred and twenty-six degrees under the shade of cloaks and umbrellas, in a suffocating Pandemonium, depressed five hundred and seventy feet below the ocean, where no zephyr fanned the fevered skin, and where the glare, arising from the sea of white salt, was most painful to the eyes; where the furnace-like vapor exhaled, almost choking respiration, created an indomitable thirst, and not the smallest shelter existed, save such as was afforded, in cruel mockery, by the stunted boughs of the solitary leafless acacia, or, worse still, by black blocks of heated lava, it was only practicable, during twelve tedious hours, to supply to each of the party two quarts of the most mephitic brickdust-colored fluid, which the direst necessity could alone have forced down the parched throat, and which, after all, far from alleviating thirst, served materially to augment its horrors."

The sufferings of the party were so terrible, that they were obliged to leave the baggage to the care of the guides and camel-drivers, and push on to the ravine of Goongoonteh, beyond the desert, where there was a spring of water. All the Europeans, therefore, set out at midnight,

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but at the very moment of starting, the camel carrying the water-skins fell, burst the skins, and lost the last remaining supply. "The horrors of that dismal night," says Major Harris, "set the efforts of description at defiance. An unlimited supply of water in prospect, at the distance of only sixteen miles, had for the moment buoyed up the drooping spirit which tenanted each way-worn frame; and when an exhausted mule was unable to totter further, his rider contrived manfully to breast the steep hill on foot. But owing to the long fasting and privation endured by all, the limbs of the weaker soon refused the task, and after the first two miles, they dropped fast in the rear.

"Fanned by the fiery blast of the midnight sirocco, the cry for water, uttered feebly and with difficulty, by numbers of parched throats, now became incessant; and the supply of that precious element brought for the whole party falling short of one gallon and a half, it was not long to be answered. A sip of diluted vinegar for a moment assuaging the burning thirst which raged in the vitals, again raised their drooping souls; but its effects were transient, and after struggling a few steps, overwhelmed, they sunk again, with husky voice declaring their days to be numbered, and their resolution to rise no more." One of the guides pushed forward, and after a time returned with a single skin of muddy water, which he had forcibly taken from a Bedouin. This supply saved the lives of many of the party, who had fallen fainting on the sands, and by sunrise they all reached the little rill of Goongoonteh.

Here terminated the dreary passage of the dire Tehâma—an iron-bound waste, which, at this inauspicious season of the year, opposes difficulties almost overwhelming in the path of the traveler. Setting aside the total absence of water and forage throughout a burning tract of fifty miles—its manifold intricate mountain passes, barely wide enough to admit the transit of a loaded camel, the bitter animosity of the wild blood-thirsty tribes by which they are infested, and the uniform badness of the road, if road it may be termed, everywhere beset with the jagged blocks of lava, and intersected by perilous acclivities and descents—it is no exaggeration to state, that the stifling sirocco which sweeps across the unwholesome salt flat during the hotter months of the year, could not fail, within eight and forty hours, to destroy the hardiest European adventurer.

The ravine in which they were encamped was the scene of a terrible tragedy on the following night. Favored by the obscurity of the place, some marauding Bedouins succeeded in stealing past the sentries; a wild cry aroused the camp, and as the frightened men ran to the spot whence it proceeded, Sergeant Walpole and Corporal Wilson were discovered, in the last agonies of death. One had been struck with a creese in the carotid artery immediately below the ear, and the other stabbed through the heart; while speechless beside their mangled bodies was stretched a Portuguese follower, with a frightful gash across the abdomen. No attempt to plunder appeared as an excuse for the outrage,

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and the only object doubtless was the acquisition of that barbarous estimation and distinction which is to be arrived at through deeds of assassination and blood. For every victim, sleeping or waking, that falls under the murderous knife of one of these fiends, he is entitled to display a white ostrich-plume in his woolly hair, to wear on the arm an additional bracelet of copper, and to adorn the hilt of his reeking creese with yet another stud of silver or pewter. Ere the day dawned the mangled bodies of the dead, now stiff and stark, were consigned by their sorrowing comrades to rude but compact receptacles—untimely tombs constructed by the native escort, who had voluntarily addressed themselves to the task.

Nine miles of gradual ascent next day, brought the caravan safely to the encamping ground at the head of the stream—a swamp surrounded by waving palms and verdant rushes, on a high table-land, affording abundance of green forage to the famished cattle. The next night they made sixteen miles, and on the forenoon of the 12th, reached the village of Suggadera, in the country of the Danakil Debeni—the first habitations they had seen since leaving the sea-coast, ninety miles distant. The banks of the shallow stream at this place were fringed with dwarf-palms, and drooping tamarisks. Flocks of goats, diligently browsing on the fat pods which fall at this season from the acacia, were tended by Bedouin crones in greasy leathern petticoats, who plaited mats of the split date-leaf; while groups of men, women, and children, lining the eminences at every turn, watched the progress of the stranger party.

Journeying forward over waste and dreary plains, crossed here and there by almost exhausted water-courses, they reached on the 15th, the inclosed valley of Gobaad, one thousand and fifty-seven feet above the sea. Hearing that Makobunto, Chief of the Debeni Arabs, was in the neighborhood, Major Harris sent a messenger to him demanding an interview, which took place on the following day. "Attended by a numerous and disreputable retinue, dragging as a gift an obstinate old he-goat, the potent savage sauntered carelessly into our camp during the early hours of the forenoon. Not one whit better clad than the ragged and greasy ruffians in his train, he was yet distinguished by weapons of a superior order—the shaft of his spear, which resembled a weaver's beam, being mounted below the broad glittering blade with rings of brass and copper, while the hilt and scabbard of a truly formidable creese were embellished in like ostentatious fashion. The wearer's haughty air, and look of wild determination, were well in unison with the reputation he had acquired as a warrior chief. Long raven locks floated like eagles' feathers over a bony and stalwart frame. A pair of large sinewy arms, terminated in fingers tipped with nails akin to birds' claws, and the general form and figure of the puissant Makobúnto brought forcibly to mind the Ogre in the nursery tale.

"This had been a day of feasting and carousal; for both Izhák, and

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the son of the Rookhba chief had likewise received sheep, and the slaughter of each had been followed by a general tussel for the possession of the caul. For the purpose of larding the head this is a prize infinitely preferred even to the tail, which appendage in the Adel sheep is so copiously furnished, that the animal is said to be capable of subsisting an entire year upon the absorption of its own fat, without tasting water. It was truly delightful to witness the process of hair-dressing at the hands of the Danákil barber. The fat having been melted down in a wooden bowl, the operator, removing his quid, and placing it in a secure position behind the left ear, proceeded to suck up copious mouthfuls of the liquid, which were then sputtered over the frizzled wig of a comrade, who, with mantle drawn before his eyes to exclude stray portions of tallow, remained squatted on his haunches, the very picture of patience. The bowl exhausted, the operator carefully collects the suet that has so creamed around his chaps as to render him inarticulate; and having duly smeared the same over the filthy garment of him to whom it in equity belongs, proceeds, with a skewer, to put the last finishing touch to his work, which, as the lard congeals, gradually assumes the desired aspect of a fine full-blown cauliflower."*

A WANDERING AFRICAN TRIBE.

The next march led over the high table-land of Hood Ali, a stony level thickly studded with dry grass, and extending in one monotonous plateau as far as the eye could reach. The fetid carrion-flower here pre-

* This original style of hair-dressing is practiced also among the Ababdehs, the Bisharees, and, in fact, all the native tribes of the Nubian Desert and of Sennaâr. Though absurd and disgusting in appearance, it is doubtless a useful protection to the head, as these races wear no turban or any other covering.

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sented its globular purple blossoms among the crevices, and a singular medicinal plant, termed Lab-lubba, was detected by the keen eye of a savage. The usual encamping ground at Arabdéra was found to be pre-occupied by a nomad tribe of Bedouin goat-herds, who monopolized the scanty water. For several days afterward, the character of the journey did not materially vary. The table-land gradually ascended, and the peaks of distant mountains appeared on the horizon. The embassy frequently met with companies of the wandering tribes, moving from one watering-place to another, with their goats and camels. Attempts were made to steal the horses, and the travelers were annoyed by the impudent curiosity of the natives; but they kept a strict watch, and were not threatened with open hostility.

On the 23d they reached the Wady Killulloo, which is considered exactly half-way from the sea-coast to the frontier of Shoa. The worst portion of the road was now behind them, but they were destined to waste many days in that vile spot, in annoying debates and discussions, which at one time caused them to fear that their only chance of proceeding would be to abandon all their baggage. Izhak, the brother of the Sultan of Tajura, the chief of the Hy Somauli tribe, and the chief of the Woemas, all disputed which should have the management of the expedition. The opportunity was also taken of arbitrating old feuds and private quarrels: a vast concourse of armed natives, members of the various tribes, sat day and night in a wide circle, loudly discussing the various questions brought before them. "Throughout this period of irksome detention," says Major Harris, "the thermometer stood daily at 112°, and the temperature of the small tent, already sufficiently oppressive, was considerably raised by the unceasing obtrusions of the wild, dirty, unmannerly rabble who filled the ravine. Imperiously demanding, not suing, for snuff, beads, and tobacco, with paper whereon to write charms and spells for defense against evil spirits, swarms forced themselves in from the first dawn of day to the mounting of the guard at night. Treating the pale-faced proprietors with the most marked insult and contumely, they spat upon the beds, excluded both air and light, and tainted the already close atmosphere with every abominable smell."

At length, on the 28th, it was announced that every point at issue had been satisfactorily arranged, and the journey was to be resumed on the morrow. But other difficulties arose, and meanwhile the ruffians endeavored to plunder the camp of the embassy by night, and vented their spite in throwing stones at the sentries. On the 30th, after a week's delay, they got off, and soon afterward met a messenger who had been sent forward from Tajura, with a letter to King Sáhela Selássie, requesting assistance on the road. He brought a note from Dr. Krapf to Major Harris, but merely assurances of welcome from the king, who was absent from his capital on a military expedition. The rainy season had now fairly set in, and it was believed that the pools along the road would furnish a sufficient supply for the caravan. Their course lay over

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the extensive plain of Merihán, along the base of the grass-clad Bundoora Hills. Water, however, was not so plenty as they had anticipated, and they suffered great distress on the plain of Sultelli, from which they were providentially relieved by a heavy fall of rain at night.

"Singular and interesting indeed," remarks Major Harris, "is the wild scenery in the vicinity of the treacherous oasis of Sultélli. A field of extinct volcanic cones, encircled each by a black belt of vitrified lava, environs it on three sides; and of these Mount Abida, three thousand feet in height, would seem to be the parent, its yawning cup, enveloped in clouds, stretching some two and a half miles in diameter. Beyond, the still loftier crater of Aiúlloo, the ancient landmark of the now decayed empire of Ethiopia, is visible in dim perspective; and in the extreme distance, the great blue Abyssinian range, toward which our toil-worn steps were directed, arose in towering grandeur to the skies."

On the 9th of July, they left these waste volcanic plains, and passing over a narrow ridge of land, descended into the valley of Halik-diggi Zughír, styled by the Adaïel the great Háwash—its breadth being about two and a half miles, and the bed a perfect level, covered with fine grass, on which grazed a troop of wild asses. Mules, horses, and camels, in considerable numbers, were abandoned before the termination of this tedious and sultry march—fatigue, want of water, and lack of forage, having reduced all to such positive skeletons, that they walked with difficulty. Ascending three successive terraces, each of fifty feet elevation, the road finally wound into the confined and waterless valley of Háo, famous for the number of parties that have at various times been surprised and cut up by the neighboring Galla.

From the summit of the height they obtained an exhilarating prospect over the dark lone valley of the long-looked-for Háwash. The course of the shining river was marked by a dense belt of trees and verdure, which stretched toward the base of the great mountain range, whereof the cloud-capped cone that frowns over the capital of Shoa formed the most conspicuous feature. Although still far distant, the ultimate destination of the embassy seemed almost to have been gained; and they had little idea of the length of time that would elapse before their feet should press the soil of Ankóber.

The Háwash, here upward of two thousand two hundred feet above the ocean, forms in this direction the nominal boundary of the dominions of the King of Shoa. It was about sixty yards wide, but swollen from the recent rains, and the current had a velocity of three miles an hour. With the dawning day, preparations were commenced for crossing the river on ten frail rafts which had already been launched—transverse layers of drift-wood rudely lashed together, being rendered sufficiently buoyant, by the addition of numerous inflated hides and water-skins, to support two camel loads. This was the handiwork of the Danákil; and their sharp creeses soon clearing a passage through the

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jungle, every portion of the baggage was in the course of a few hours deposited at the water's edge.

The passage of the river was safely accomplished, and the mission proceeded to Wady Azboti, where they were visited by a spy from the capital. From their camp the lofty peak of Mamrat, the "Mother of Grace," was plainly visible, and they saw the distant glimmer of Ankóber, on the mountain-side. The next day they commenced ascending the hills. "Three thousand feet above the ocean, with an invigorating breeze and a cloudy sky, the climate of this principal pass into Southern Abyssinia was that of a fine summer's day in England, rather than of the middle of July between the tropics. But from the summit of an adjacent basaltic knoll, which we ascended toward the close of day, there burst upon our gaze a magnificent prospect of the Abyssinian Alps. Hill rose above hill, clothed in the most luxurious and vigorous vegetation; mountain towered over mountain; and the hail-clad peaks of the most remote range stretched far into the cold blue sky. Villages, dark groves of evergreens, and rich fields of every hue, checkered the broad valley; and the setting sun shot a stream of golden light over the mingled beauties of wild woodland scenery, and the labors of the Christian husbandman."

They were now fairly within the dominions of Sáhela Selássie, and were surprised that no escort arrived to welcome them. A letter arrived from Dr. Krapf, however, stating that this was owing to the jealousy of the Moslem governor of Farri, the frontier town, who had sent the escort back under the false pretense that the Franks had not been heard of. The next day Dr. Krapf himself arrived, and was able to afford them great assistance, by his intimate acquaintance with the language. The king also sent a message inquiring after their health, and they were abundantly supplied with beef, sheep, bread, beer, and hydromel. The expected escort at length made its appearance, and the embassy was conducted forward with something of the pomp and state which its leader seemed to think was required by its character.

He gives the following account of the final ascent to the elevated mountain region in which Ankóber is situated: "Loaded for the thirty-fifth and last time with the baggage of the British embassy, the caravan, escorted by the detachment of Ayto Kátama, with flutes playing and muskets echoing, and the heads of the warriors decorated with white plumes, in earnest of their bold exploits during the late expedition, advanced, on the afternoon of the 16th of July, to Fárri, the frontier town of the kingdom of Efát. It was a cool and lovely morning, and a fresh invigorating breeze played over the mountain-side, on which, though less than ten degrees removed from the equator, flourished the vegetation of northern climes. The rough and stony road wound on by a steep ascent over hill and dale—now skirting the extreme verge of a precipitous cliff—now dipping into the basin of some verdant hollow, whence, after traversing the pebbly course of a murmuring brook, it

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suddenly emerged into a succession of shady lanes, bounded by flowering hedge-rows. The wild rose, the fern, the tantana, and the honeysuckle, smiled around a succession of highly cultivated terraces, into which the entire range was broken by banks supporting the soil; and on every eminence stood a cluster of conically-thatched houses, environed by green hedges, and partially embowered amid dark trees. As the troops passed on, the peasant abandoned his occupation in the field to gaze at the novel procession; while merry groups of hooded women, decked in scarlet and crimson, attracted by the renewal of martial strains, left their avocations in the hut to welcome the king's guests with a shrill *zughareet*, which rang from every hamlet.

"Lastly, the view opened upon the wooded site of Ankóber, occupying a central position in a horse-shoe crescent of mountains, still high above, which inclose a magnificent amphitheater of ten miles in diameter. This is clothed throughout with a splendidly varied and vigorous vegetation, and choked by minor abutments, converging toward its gorge on the confines of the Adel plains. Here the journey was for the present to terminate, and, thanks to Abyssinian jealousy and suspicion, many days were yet to elapse ere the remaining height should be climbed to the capital of Shoa, now distant only two hours' walk."

The mission had enemies at court, and was detained day after day, waiting for permission to visit the king at Ankóber. Remonstrances sent to him were answered by polite promises, which were not fulfilled, and the monarch appeared quite indifferent to behold the splendid presents they had brought him. The most probable explanation of his conduct was, that he desired to maintain a due respect in the eyes of his subjects, and perhaps also to impress his foreign visitors with a befitting sense of his power and importance. While they were passing the weary days in the little market-town of Alio Amba, robberies became frequent, and a thief-catcher was sent for by some of the inhabitants. Major Harris gives the following curious account of the operations of the detective police at Shoa: "A ring having been formed in the market-place by the crowded spectators, the diviner introduced his accomplice, a stolid-looking lad, who seated himself upon a bullock's hide with an air of deep resignation. An intoxicating drug was, under many incantations, extracted from a mysterious leathern scrip, and thrown into a horn filled with new milk; and this potation, aided by several hurried inhalations of a certain narcotic, had the instantaneous effect of rendering the recipient stupidly frantic. Springing upon his feet, he dashed, foaming at the mouth, among the rabble, and without any respect to age or sex, dealt vigorously about him, until at length he was secured by a cord about the loins, when he dragged his master round and round from street to street, snuffling through the nose like a bear, in the dark recesses of every house, and leaving unscrutinized no hole or corner.

"After scraping for a considerable time with his nails under the foundation of a hut, wherein he suspected the delinquent to lurk, the impen-

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tered, sprang upon the back of the proprietor, and became totally insensible. The man was forthwith arraigned before a tribunal of justice, at which Ayto Kátama Work presided; and although no evidence could be adduced, and he swore repeatedly to his innocence by the life of the king, he was sentenced by the just judges to pay forty pieces of salt. This fine was exactly double the amount alleged to have been stolen."

After a fortnight's uncertainty, news came that the king had taken up his residence in the neighboring palace of Machal-wans, and that he would receive the embassy on the following Monday. Major Harris applied for permission to fire a salute of twenty-one guns; but the most extravagant reports were in circulation relative to the powers of the ordnance imported, the mere report of which was believed sufficient to set fire to the earth, to shiver rocks, and dismantle mountain fastnesses. Men were said to have arrived with "copper legs," whose duty it was to serve these tremendous and terrible engines; and thus, in alarm for the safety of his palace, capital, and treasures, the suspicious monarch still peremptorily insisted upon withholding the desired license.

Still another remonstrance was necessary before the king would consent to be saluted, or to receive them. The morrow was at last appointed, and the officers, mounted on horseback, in full-dress uniform, rode up the hill to the palace, while the gun which they had brought with so much difficulty, bellowed its salutation to the opposite hills. "Just as the last peal of ordnance was rattling in broken echoes along the mountain chain," says Major Harris, "we stepped over the high threshold of the reception hall. Circular in form, and destitute of the wonted Abyssinian pillar in the center, the massive and lofty clay walls of the chamber glittered with a profusion of silver ornaments, emblazoned shields, matchlocks, and double-barreled guns. Persian carpets and rugs of all sizes, colors, and patterns, covered the floor, and crowds of Alakas, governors, chiefs, and principal officers of the court arrayed in their holiday attire, stood around in a posture of respect, uncovered to the girdle. Two wide alcoves receded on either side, in one of which blazed a cheerful wood fire, engrossed by indolent cats, while in the other, on a flowered satin ottoman, surrounded by withered eunuchs and juvenile pages of honor, and supported by gay velvet cushions, reclined in Ethiopic state, his Most Christian Majesty Sáhela Selássie.

"The king was attired in a silken Arab vest of green brocade, partially concealed under the ample folds of a white cotton robe of Abyssinian manufacture, adorned with sundry broad crimson stripes and borders. Forty summers, whereof eight-and-twenty had been passed under the uneasy cares of the crown, had slightly furrowed his dark brow, and somewhat grizzled a full bushy head of hair, arranged in elaborate curls, after the fashion of George the First; and although considerably disfigured by the loss of the left eye, the expression of his manly features, open, pleasing, and commanding, did not, in their *tout ensemble*, belie

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the character for impartial justice which the despot has obtained far and wide—even the Danákil comparing him to "a fine balance of gold."

The presents for the king, including Cashmere shawls, music boxes, cloth, velvet, and three hundred stand of arms, filled the court with wonder and delight, which was raised to its highest pitch by a second peal of twenty-one guns from the cannon, and the tearing into shreds of a sheet suspended on the opposite side of the valley, by a discharge of canister-shot. "Compliments from the throne, and personal congratulations from the principal courtiers and officers of state, closed the

WARRIORS OF SHOA.

evening of this unwonted display; and the introduction, by the hands of the favorite page, of a huge pepper pie, the produce of the royal kitchen, with a command that 'the king's children might feast,' was accompanied by the unheard-of honor of a visit from the dwarf father confessor, who might without difficulty have concealed his most diminutive person beneath the ample pastry. Enveloped in robes and turbans, and armed with silver cross and crosier, the deformed little priest, whose entire long life has been passed in doing good to his fellow-creatures, seating his hideous and Punch-like form in a chair placed for its reception, in squeaking accents delivered himself thus:

"Forty years have rolled away since Asfa Woosen, on whose memory be peace, grandsire to our beloved monarch, saw in a dream that the red men were bringing into his kingdom curious and beautiful commodities from countries beyond the great sea. The astrologers, on being commanded to give an interpretation thereof, predicted with one accord that foreigners from the land of Egypt would come into Abyssinia during his majesty's most illustrious reign, and that yet more and

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wealthier would follow in that of his son, and of his son's son, who should sit next upon the throne. Praise be unto God that the dream and its interpretation have now been fulfilled! Our eyes, though they be old, have never beheld wonders until this day, and during the reign over Shoa of seven successive kings, no such miracles as these have been wrought in Ethiopia.'

"No suitable lodging being obtainable at Machalwans," continues Major Harris, "I deemed it advisable to adopt the king's proposal of proceeding at once into winter-quarters at the capital. Preparatory to setting out thither we had an audience of the king. 'My children,' quoth his majesty, 'all my gun-people shall accompany you; may you enter in safety! Whatsoever your hearts think and wish, that send word unto me. Saving myself, you have no relative in this distant land. Ye have traveled far on my affairs. I will give you what I can, according to that which my country produces. I can not give you what I do not possess. Be not afraid of me. Listen not to the evil insinuations of my people, for they are bad. Look only unto Sáhela Selássie. May his father die, he will accomplish whatsoever ye desire!'

"Instantly on emerging from the forest, the metropolis of Shoa, spreading far and wide over a verdant mountain, shaped like Africa's appropriate emblem, the fabled sphinx, presented a most singular if not imposing appearance. Clusters of thatched houses of all sizes and shapes, resembling barns and hay-stacks, with small green inclosures and splinter palings, rising one above the other in very irregular tiers, adapt themselves to all the inequalities of the rugged surface; some being perched high on the abrupt verge of a cliff, and others so involved in the bosom of a deep fissure as scarcely to reveal the red earthen pot which crowns the apex. Connected with each other by narrow lanes and hedgerows, these rude habitations, the residence of from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, cover the entire mountain-side to the extreme pinnacle—a lofty spire-like cone, detaching itself by a narrow isthmus to form the sphinx's head. Hereon stands the palace of the Negoos, a most ungainly-looking edifice with staring gable ends, well fortified by spiral lines of wooden palissades. They extend from the base to the summit, and are interspersed with barred stockades, between which are profusely scattered the abodes of household-slaves, with breweries, kitchens, cellars, store-houses, magazines, and granaries."

The embassy being at length settled in the capital, and favored with the friendship of the grateful king, Major Harris and his associates soon became familiarized to their novel situation, and during a stay of nearly two years, made themselves intimately acquainted with the people and country of Shoa. There is no space here to describe his excursions with Sáhela Selássie; his hunting trips in the forests of the lowlands, or the many curious and striking ceremonies which he witnessed. A few leading illustrations must suffice. With regard to their religion, he says: "Ethiopia derived her faith from the fountain of Alexandria; but how

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is her Christianity disfigured by folly and superstition! The intolerance of the bigoted clergy, who rule with the iron hand of religious ascendancy, soon proclaimed the British worse than Pagans, for the non-observance of absurd fasts, and blasphemous doctrines. Nevertheless, we were permitted to attend Divine service in the less inimical of the five churches of the capital, and offerings were made according to the custom of the country. The cathedral of St. Michael, distinguished above all its compeers by a sort of Chinese lantern on the apex, being invariably attended by the monarch, came first in order; and after wading through the miry kennels that form the avenues of access, our slippers were put off in accordance with Jewish prejudice, and giving them in charge of a servant to prevent their being stolen, we stepped over the threshold. The scowling eye of the bigoted and ignorant priest sparkled with a gleam of unrepressed satisfaction at the sight of a rich altar-cloth, glowing with silk and gold, which was now unfolded to his gaze; and a smile of delight played around the corners of his mouth, as the hard dollars rung in his avaricious palm.

"The high-priest having proclaimed the munificence of the strangers, pronounced his solemn benediction. Then arose a burst of praise the most agonizing and unearthly that ever resounded from dome dedicated to Christian worship. No deep mellow chant from the chorister—no soul-inspiring anthem, lifted the heart toward heaven. The Abyssinian cathedral rang alone to the excruciating jar of most unmitigated discord; and amid howling and screaming, each sightless orb was rolled in the socket, and every mutilated limb convulsed with disgusting vehemence. A certain revenue is attached to the performance of the duty; and for one poor measure of black barley bread, the hired lungs were taxed to extremity; but not the slightest attempt could be detected at music or modulation; and the dissonant chink of the timbrel was ably seconded by the cracked voice of the mercenary vocalist.

"The Abyssinian Christian will neither eat with the Jew, nor with the Galla, nor with the Mohammedan, lest he should thereby participate in the delusions of his creed. The church and the church-yard are equally closed against all who commit this deadly sin; and the Ethiopian is bound by the same restrictions which prohibited the Jews from partaking of the flesh of certain animals. The Jewish Sabbath is strictly observed throughout the kingdom. The ox and the ass are at rest. Agricultural pursuits are suspended. Household avocations must be laid aside, and the spirit of idleness reigns throughout the day.

"Caucasian features predominate among the Amhára, notwithstanding that the complexion passes through every shade, from an olive brown to the jet black of the negro. An approximation to the thick lip and flattened nose is not unfrequently to be seen; but the length and silkiness of the hair invariably marks the wide difference that exists between the two races. The men are tall, robust, and well-formed; and the women, although symmetrically made, are scarcely less masculine. They

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are rarely beautiful; and their attempts are indeed ingenious to render hideous the broad, unmeaning expanse of countenance bestowed upon them by nature.

"From the king to the peasant the costume of the men consists of a large, loose web of coarse cotton-cloth, enveloping the entire person in graceful folds, but well-nigh incapacitating the wearer from exertion. Frequently disarranged, and falling ever and anon upon the ground, the troublesome garment must be constantly tucked up and folded anew about the shoulders, from which it is removed in deference to every passing superior. A cotton waist-cloth of many yards in length is swathed about the loins, and a pair of very wide, loose trowsers, termed *senáphil*, hang barely to the knee.

"The bulk of the nation is agricultural; but on pain of forfeiting eight pieces of salt, value twenty pence sterling, every Christian subject of Shoa is compelled, whenever summoned, to follow his immediate governor to the field. A small bribe in cloth or honey will sometimes obtain leave of absence, but the peasant is usually ready and anxious for the foray; presenting as it does the chance of capturing a slave, or a flock of sheep, of obtaining honor in the eyes of the despot, and of gratifying his inherent thirst for heathen blood.

"Meals are taken twice during the day—at noon and after sunset. The doors are first scrupulously barred to exclude the evil eye, and a fire is invariably lighted before the Amhára will venture to appease his hunger—a superstition existing that, without this precaution, devils would enter in the dark, and there would be no blessing on the meat. Men and women sit down together, and most affectionately pick out from the common dish the choicest bits, which, at arm's length, they thrust into each other's mouth, wiping their fingers on the pancakes which serve as platters, and which are afterward devoured by the domestics. The appearance of the large, owlish black face, bending over the low wicker table, to receive into the gaping jaws the proffered morsel of raw beef, which, from its dimensions, requires considerable strength of finger to be forced into the aperture, is sufficiently ludicrous, and brings to mind a nest of sparrows in the garden-hedge expanding their toad-like throats to the whistle of the school-boy. Mastication is accompanied by a loud smacking of the lips—an indispensable sign of good-breeding, which is said to be neglected by none but mendicants, 'who eat as if they were ashamed of it;' and sneezing, which is frequent during the operation, is accompanied by an invocation to the Holy Trinity, when every bystander is expected to exclaim, *Mároo!* 'God bless you!'

"A commercial convention betwixt Great Britain and Shoa was a subject that had been frequently adverted to; and his majesty had shaken his head when first assured that five hundred pair of hands efficiently employed at the loom would bring into his country more permanent wealth than ten thousand warriors bearing spear and shield.

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But he had gradually begun to comprehend how commerce, equitably conducted, might prove a truer source of wealth than forays into the territories of the heathen. This conviction resulted in the expression of his desire that certain articles agreed upon might be drawn up on parchment, and presented for signature, which had accordingly been done; and the day fixed for the return of the embassy to Ankóber was appointed for the public ratification of the document by the annexure thereto of the royal hand and seal.

"Nobles and captains thronged the court-yard of the palace of Angollála, and the king reclined on the throne in the attic chamber. A highly illuminated sheet, surmounted on the one side by the Holy Trinity—the device invariably employed as the arms of Shoa—and on the other by the royal achievement of England, was formally presented, and the sixteen articles of the convention in Amháric and English, read, commented upon, and fully approved."

As the mission to Shoa has not been renewed of late years, it may be presumed that no particular advantage was derived from this treaty. Major Harris, in his work, gives no account of his return to the sea-coast.

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PARKYNS'S

LIFE IN ABYSSINIA.

Mr. Mansfield Parkyns, an English gentleman with a taste for traveling, left home about the year 1841, and after rambling over the Continent, and visiting Constantinople and Asia Minor, joined Mr. Monckton Milnes (the poet and member of Parliament), at Smyrna, with whom he ascended the Nile during the winter of 1842–43. On returning to Cairo he determined to set out for Abyssinia, prompted not less by a desire to explore that interesting country than by a native relish for savage life and adventure. In both these objects he succeeded to his heart's content, and after years spent in Abyssinia, Soudan, and Egypt, returned to England in 1850. Three years afterward he published the results of his experiences—a quaint, picturesque, half-savage narrative, which, in its descriptions of Abyssinian life and customs, is more complete and satisfactory than any thing which has appeared since the famous work of Bruce. In this respect, it is greatly superior to the narratives of Mr. Salt and of Bishop Gobat, and may be taken as the most important contribution to our knowledge of the country, which the present century has produced.

Leaving Cairo on the 5th of March, 1843, Mr. Parkyns proceeded to Suez, whence he sailed, on the 25th, in a miserable Arab boat, bound for Djidda. "She was filled to the deck," says he, "cabin and all, with empty rice-bags belonging to that prince of merchants, Ibrahim Pasha; the deck only remained for the passengers, and well-filled it was with them and their luggage. We mustered, I should think, nearly a hundred persons of all races—Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Bedouins, Egyptians, and negroes—men, women, and children, all crowded together, formed a motley group—picturesque, I should perhaps have said, if it had been a little further off." In this craft he spent twenty-three days, the wind being contrary during the greater portion of the time. During his stay in Djidda he formed a plan for visiting Mecca, but was dissuaded by the English consul, who considered the risk of the journey much too great to be encountered. He therefore took passage a second

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time on an Arab boat, bound for Sowakin, on the Nubian coast, and Massawa, the principal sea-port of Abyssinia, where, after a very tedious voyage, he landed about the end of May.

Concerning Massawa and its climate, he makes the following remarks: "In a conversation about the comparative heat of different places, an officer of the Indian navy remarked, that he believed Pondicherry to be the hottest place in India, but still that it was nothing to Aden, while again Aden was a trifle to Massawa. He compared the climate of the first to a hot-bath; that of the second to a furnace; while the third, he said, could be equaled in temperature by nothing but ——, a place which he had never visited, and which it is to be hoped neither he nor any of us will. Toward the latter end of the month of May I have known the thermometer rise to about 120° Fahrenheit in the shade, and in July and August it ranges much higher. Such a climate is of course most unhealthy, especially so during the summer months, when a number of dangerous diseases prevail, such as dysentery and the usual fevers of the tropical countries. The island is a mere rock of coral, without a vestige of vegetation to enliven its fair face. There are cisterns for collecting the rain-water (no spring existing), but most of these have been allowed to fall into disuse, and the inhabitants of the island are obliged to trust to Arkiko, a village on the main-land, distant some three or four miles, for their supply. This water, moreover, is rather brackish. The extreme heat of the place would not appear extraordinary to any one acquainted with its position. Massawa is open on the one side to the sea, while the other is shut in by an amphitheatre of distant hills, sufficiently near, however, to prevent its receiving a breath of air from that direction, but, on the contrary, to collect, as it were, the rays of the sun into the narrow slip of land they inclose."

At this place he was received by a Jew merchant named Angelo, who furnished him with a house, where he remained ten days, while making the necessary arrangements for a journey into the interior. "One part of these arrangements," he says, "and truly a very essential one, was to divest myself of every needless incumbrance, and pack up my stores in a safe place. Accordingly, my best articles of European dress were offered to my friend Angelo, as a recompense for his kindness. I had already given away a large portion at Cairo, and now possessed only three Turkish shirts, three pair of drawers, one suit of Turkish clothes for best occasions, a pair of sandals, and a red cap. From the day I left Suez (March 25th, 1843), till about the same time in the year 1849, I never wore any article of European dress, nor indeed ever slept on a bed of any sort—not even a mattrass; the utmost extent of luxury which I enjoyed, even when all but dying of a pestilential fever that kept me five months on my beam-ends at Khartoum, was a coverlid under a rug. The red cap I wore on leaving Massawa was soon *borrowed* of me, and the sandals after a month were given up; and so for more than three years (that is, till I reached Khartoum) I wore no cov-

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ering to my head, except a little butter, when I could get it; nor to my feet, except the horny sole which a few months' rough usage placed under them. During the whole of this time I never had a headache, though exposed to the sun at all hours of the day, and was never foot-sore, though I walked constantly in the roughest imaginable places."

Setting out on foot with a guide and two servants, he proceeded to the neighboring village of Moncullou, where he was hospitably entertained by the lady of the French Consul at Massawa. It was now the most sultry season of the year, and the heat was so great that the party were obliged to start before daylight, and halt during the hours of mid-day. The next night they reached the village of Ailat, where Parkyns remained for two or three weeks, amusing himself with shooting antelopes and wild boars, and bathing in the natural warm-springs near the place. "The inhabitants of Ailat are Bedouins of the Bellaw tribe, which occupies all the tract of country lying about Arkeeko, and thence to the neighborhood of Ailat. Those of the latter district are by caste mostly soldiers, if they may be so designated. They are easily distinguished from their more peaceful brethren, the herdsmen, by their wearing their hair close-shaved, while the herdsmen arrange their bushy wigs in tufts or tresses on the head. Their manners are most purely pastoral. In the morning they eat a little bread and milk, and the same simple meal repeated in the evening, and seasoned with contentment and a good appetite, completes their daily nourishment."

Two other Englishmen, Messrs. Plowden and Bell, had preceded Mr. Parkyns, and one day, during his sojourn at Ailat, a letter from the former was sent to him from Kiaquor, a village about three days' journey distant, where he lay in a state of great weakness from the effects of a severe fever, which both he and his companion, Mr. Bell, had contracted during their stay at Massawa. They had started for the interior; but Plowden, being unable to continue the journey, remained at Kiaquor, while Bell went on to Adoua to prepare a place for his reception. The fever, however, continued to attack him at intervals, and had reduced him to such a state of weakness that he had remained in this place for several weeks, unable to proceed, till accidentally hearing of the arrival of Parkyns, he wrote to him begging him to join him with all possible dispatch.

Parkyns at once determined to comply with this request. "Having little preparation to make," says he, "we were afoot the next morning long before the sun was up, and when he arose we were some way advanced on our road, with our backs turned to him. I say we had little preparation to make. Our party consisted of four persons—myself, a countryman as guide, a negro servant of Bell's, called Abdallah, from Sennaâr, and an Abyssinian lad who had lately entered my service. The whole of our baggage at starting was a small bag of flour, sufficient for three days' provision, half a pint of honey in a drinking horn, a change of raiment, and my ammunition and arms. Each of us carried his share.

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The plain which we had to cross before arriving at the hills literally teemed with guinea-fowl, which at that early hour appeared unwilling to quit their roosting-places on the trees; and when, as we approached them, they did condescend to budge, they collected on the ground in coveys of some hundreds each. The road, as we advanced, became more and more rough and difficult, till at last we found ourselves ascending and descending almost perpendicular hills, covered with large, round, loose pebbles, and well garnished with the usual proportion of thorny trees, neither of which, as may be imagined, contributed to the comfort of a barefooted pedestrian in one of the hottest climates in the world.

"My boy, wishing to have especial care of the honey, had taken it from the guide, and was carrying it in his leathern case by a strap round his neck; but now, tired and hot, he threw himself down and spilled it on the ground; forgetting that a wide-mouthed drinking-horn will not carry a fluid like clear honey on a hot day, unless it is kept in a vertical position. Without stopping to speak, we all rushed forward knocking our heads together from eagerness, and sucked up the little honey that the greedy sand had left on its surface." Their supply was now reduced to a little flour, "but," adds Parkyns, with the most cheerful resignation, "a man who knows how to appreciate bread and water may with that simple diet go more comfortably through a hard days' march in a hot climate than if attended by the best cook in England with all his *batterie de cuisine;* and for this plain reason, that though the culinary art may procure him some enjoyment at the half-way halt, yet he will find that such temporary pleasure must be severely paid for in the afternoon's walk; meats and all other strong food being of too heating a nature. But, if hungry, don't eat your bread greedily, and then wash it down with buckets of water to prevent choking; sop your bread in the water, and then eat it; you will thus at once appease your hunger and quench your thirst, without being in danger of strangulation, or of having to carry a few extra pounds weight of water rattling about in your stomach for the remainder of the day; above all things, make it an invariable rule *always to drink as little water as possible*, remembering that the more you drink the more you will thirst."

After a long day's march, they reached at night an encampment of the wandering tribe of the Shohos. "We were hospitably received by these people, who lent us skins for beds, and provided us with fire-wood, as we preferred the society of the cows outside to that of their masters' parasites within the huts. Shortly after, the cows being milked, we were supplied with a large bowl of milk for our supper, and, having made our homely repast, were soon all sound asleep. Next morning, having carefully wrapped up the skins on which we had slept, we started before either the sun or our good hosts had risen." On arriving at Kiaquor, Parkyns found Mr. Plowden much better, though still in a deplorable state of weakness. Thinking that a change of air might be benefi-

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cial to him, they determined to proceed together to Adoua, as soon as possible. But at the end of the first day's march, Plowden became much worse, and the hut offered to them was so close and disagreeable that they went on to a village called Maiya, about six miles further, in the hope of finding better accommodation. "But it was a vain hope!" says Parkyns. "At first we found none at all; and it was not till after a vast deal of persuasion and great promises that we induced the good people of the village to consent to our occupying a dwelling for the night; and when they did so, that which they offered was so bad, so very far inferior even to the last, that, rather than be stifled in a hut, we preferred lying in the open air, covered with hides as a protection from the rain, which kept pouring for several hours. Plowden's continued illness compelled us to remain here two days and nights, during which time we amused ourselves as well as we could, contriving tents and huts among the rocks near the inhospitable village."

The invalid was now carried in a litter made of boughs, but on reaching a village named Kouddofelassy, he became so much worse that they were obliged to halt there for five days, during which time they could procure nothing to eat except some honey and a few starved fowls. The rainy season had now set in, and when they resumed their journey, they were frequently interrupted by the heavy showers which fell every day. After fording the river Mareb, which flows down from the Abyssinian highlands to lose itself in the sands of the desert bordering the Red Sea, they traveled more rapidly, and at noon of the second day, through a heavy shower, caught sight of Adoua, the capital of the kingdom of Tigrè.

"When we arrived in sight of Adoua," says Parkyns, "I galloped on ahead of the party, anxious to obtain shelter as soon as possible; but being mounted on a weak and tired mule, and the road being of a stiff and greasy clay, and in many places very steep, I gained but little by my haste; for the mule slid down all the hills, and stumbled or tumbled over all the inequalities of the plain. My attention being thus occupied, and the rain driving in my face, I had not leisure to enjoy a distant view of the city we were approaching; nor could I, till within a short distance of it, see enough to enable me to determine whether Adoua was built in the Grecian or Moorish taste. I own I rather expected to see columns or obelisks, if not an acropolis on some of the neighboring hills. Judge then of my astonishment when, on arriving at this great city, the capital of one of the most powerful kingdoms of Ethiopia, I found nothing but a large straggling village of huts, some flat-roofed, but mostly thatched with straw, and the walls of all of them built of rough stones, laid together with mud, in the rudest possible manner. Being wet, moreover, with the rain, the place presented the most miserably dirty appearance. Before entering the town we had to cross a brook, and to scramble up a steep bank, in ascending which more than one of our party measured his length in the mud, to the extreme delight of some young gentlemen col-

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lected on the top, who laughed and yelled at each successive mishap. This rather annoyed me, especially as, when I took my turn to rise from the recumbent posture, with my nice white trousers considerably darkened by the dirt collected in this and several previous falls, I was welcomed by a double allowance of shouting. It was explained to me that I should only get more if I took any notice of it; and I afterward discovered that it was the fashionable amusement during the rainy season for the young men about town to collect in the vicinity of any slippery place, and, standing there, amuse themselves at the expense of the passers-by. After winding down two or three streets, filled with green

ABYSSINIAN WARRIORS.

mud nearly a foot deep, and barely broad enough to allow a man to pass mounted, we arrived at the house then occupied by Mr. Bell, whom we were glad to find considerably better in health than we had ventured to hope. Right glad also was I to find myself housed, with a prospect of our getting something to eat."

The day afterward, Parkyns's baggage, which he had left behind at Massawa, reached Adoua, and as the governor of the place demanded a heavy duty upon it, he resolved at once to visit Oubi, the Prince of Tigré, who was then in his camp at Howazayn, and ask his interference. Accordingly he left Adoua the next day, and after a journey of several days through the rain reached Oubi's camp, where he was lodged in a grass hut, seven feet long and five feet high. Knowing that it was cus-

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tomary for the king to send food to travelers as soon as he heard of their arrival, Parkyns expected to be treated in a similar manner, and took no provisions with him. He was disappointed in his expectations, however, and found great difficulty in procuring enough to satisfy his appetite. It was not until the fourth evening after his arrival that he received a supply of food from Oubi. It consisted of forty thin cakes, thirty being of coarser quality for the servants, and ten of white "teff" for their own consumption. These were accompanied by two pots of a sort of sauce composed of common oil, dried peas, and red pepper, but, it being fast time, there was neither meat nor butter. To wash all down, there was an enormous horn of honey beer.

"The appearance of an Abyssinian permanent camp," says Parkyns, "is singular, but by no means unpleasing. The diversity of tents—some bell-shaped, some square, like an English marquee, some white, and others of the black woolen stuff made principally in the southern provinces of Tigré; huts of all sizes and colors, and their inmates scattered about in groups, with their horses, mules, etc., form altogether a picturesque and very lively scene. In the center is the dwelling of Oubi, which consists of three or four large thatched wigwams and a tent, inclosed by a double fence of thorns, at the entrances through which guards are stationed, the space between them being divided into courts, in which the soldiers or other persons craving an audience of the king await his pleasure." This audience, on the part of our traveler, was not granted until the sixth day after his arrival. While strolling through the camp, he was summoned by a soldier, and, having hastily gathered together the presents he had brought for Oubi, betook himself to the royal tent. He gives the following account of his reception:

"We had to wait a considerable time in the outer court and doorway before his majesty was pleased to admit us. A crowd of soldiers collected round us, and amused themselves with many facetious remarks on our appearance, such as 'Cat's eyes,' 'Monkey's hair,' 'What nice red morocco their skin would make for a sword-sheath!' etc. These expressions were afterward made known to me; for in those days I was in a state of ignorance as regarded the language; and having myself a tolerably good opinion of my appearance, I judged that their remarks must be highly complimentary. I remember, some years after this, asking a person with whom I had become intimate, and who had never seen any white man but myself, what impression my first appearance had made on him. He answered me very simply that I resembled a rather good-looking Abyssinian who had lost his skin. But I must own that our appearance at the time of our first visit to Howazayn was calculated to excite much amusement. We had only recently adopted the Abyssinian costume, and as yet were not altogether well-practiced in the mode of putting on the cloth. Beside which, our straight hair, not yet long enough to be tressed, was plastered back with butter, and the faces of

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those of our party who were incased in a thin skin, which I am happy to say never was my fate, were as red as a fresh capsicum.

"At last we entered the great hall of the *magnificent palace* of Oubi. It was a round hut, of about thirty feet in diameter, with a large wood fire burning on the floor, which had not even a carpet of grass strewed to hide the dirty face of the original earth. Having been previously instructed, we each of us on entering made a polite but vaguely-directed bow. On such occasions the natives usually put their heads to the ground, but, as we were foreigners, such a mark of humility was dispensed with. I have said that our bow was vaguely directed, because in passing from the glare of a tropical sun at noon into a large apartment lighted only by a small door, over which was suspended a curtain, and which communicated with a tent without, it may be imagined that we could not so much as distinguish a single object within. Oubi, in a very patronizing tone, asked us how we were. An humble bow was the customary answer. He then desired us to be seated, and we accordingly sat ourselves down on the ground, there being no seat in the hut except the one appropriated for his highness's throne. My sight was just beginning to accustom itself to the darkness when we received this permission, but my place being directly under the lee of the horrible wood fire, and sitting as I did within a yard of it, I was nearly suffocated, and in a moment my eyes began to stream from the effect of the smoke, which nearly blinded me. I bore it with the utmost fortitude till I could endure it no longer, and then started up with an exclamation something like 'Oof!' and my eyes red and pouring with tears, at which Oubi laughed amazingly. Great men, I suppose, require more heat than others in these countries, as I can not otherwise account for Oubi's taste in having a large fire in the middle of August, especially in a tropical climate.

"Oubi was seated, reclining on a stretcher, which was covered with a common Smyrna rug, and furnished with a couple of chintz cushions, from beneath one of which appeared the hilt of a Turkish saber. We found him a rather good-looking, slight-made man, of about forty-five years of age, with bushy hair, which was fast turning gray. His physiognomy did not at all prepossess me in his favor. It struck me as indicative of much cunning, pride, and falsity; and I judged him to be a man of some talent, but with more of the fox than the lion in his nature. Our presents were brought in covered with cloths, and carried by our servants. They consisted of a Turkey rug, two European light cavalry swords, four pieces of muslin for turbans, and two or three yards of red cloth for a cloak. He examined each article as it was presented to him, making on almost every one some complimentary remark. After having inspected them all he said, 'God return it to you,' and ordered his steward to give us a cow. Toward evening our promised cow arrived from Oubi—such a cow! as thin as a cat—an absolute bag of bones, which could never have realized any thing approaching to two

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dollars in the market; such as she was, however, she was immediately slaughtered, and before night not an eatable morsel was left.

After this interview and the adjustment of the difficulties concerning his baggage, Parkyns returned to Adoua. "Shortly after this Plowden returned from Axum, and he and Bell set out on a tour to visit Mr. Coffin, at Antichaou, while I prepared for a journey into Addy Abo, a province on the northern frontier of Tigré, then so little known as not to be placed on any map. My principal object in going there was the chase, and if possible to learn something of the neighboring Barea or Shangalla—a race totally unknown except by the reputation they have gained in many throat-cutting visits paid to the Abyssinians. Except for such objects, the nations have not been on visiting terms for many generations. I was told much of the dangers I was to meet with from the climate and the people, and that the only two Europeans who had ever been there had died. My curiosity, however, was raised, and I felt that I could trust to my own prudence not to expose myself to any unnecessary danger. I have, moreover, always found that, of the perils described to a traveler before he undertakes a journey, not more than half need be believed."

Toward the end of September, 1843, he started on this journey, accompanied only by a few native servants. "The road skirts the foot of the hills for a considerable distance, till at last a small plain obelisk, on the right hand, and further on, to the left, a large stone tablet inscribed in Greek characters, proclaim to the traveler his near approach to the city of Axum. From the tablet a sharp turn to the right brings him in view of half the town, which, being situated in an amphitheater of hills, and possessing a tolerably well-built square church, probably of Portuguese construction, forms altogether a rather agreeable *coup d'œil.* The church is prettily situated among large trees, and surrounded by rustic but neatly-built huts. From the tablet, however, to the church, there is a distance of several hundred yards, along which lie scattered, every here and there, unfinished or broken columns, pedestals, and other remnants of the civilization of former ages. The remaining part of the town, with the beautiful obelisk and splendid sycamore-tree, at last come in view, having been hidden by the projecting foot of one of the hills. The obelisk and tree are both of great height, but the latter is remarkable for the extraordinary circumference of its trunk and the great spread of its branches, which cast their dark shade over such a space of ground as would be sufficient for the camp of the largest caravan. The principal obelisk is carved on the south side, as if to represent a door, windows, cornices, etc.; while under the protecting arms of the venerable tree stand five or six smaller ones, without ornament, most of which have considerably deviated from the perpendicular. Altogether they form a very interesting family party."

He was obliged to remain at Axum a few days, having met with some difficulty in procuring provisions for the journey. On starting

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again, he passed the ancient church, which is considered the most sacred in Abyssinia. The custom of the country obliges all persons to dismount and walk, while passing. For some distance after leaving the town, he continued in the high-road to Gondar. "This appellation," says he, "may give an idea of macadamizing, with footpaths along-side, mile-stones, fences, etc.; but here the high-road is only a track worn by use, and a little larger than the sheep-paths, from the fact of more feet passing over it. The utmost labor bestowed on any road in this country is when some traveler, vexed with a thorn that may happen to scratch his face, draws his sword and cuts off the spray. Even this is rarely done; and I have been astonished at seeing many high-ways, and even some of those most used, rendered almost impassable by the number of thorns which are allowed to remain spread across them. An Abyssinian's maxim is, 'I may not pass by this way for a year again; why should I give myself trouble for other people's convenience?'"

Immediately after describing this rough experience, the traveler, with wonderful cheerfulness, bursts into the following rhapsody: "How little are the gifts of nature appreciated by those who, living in the midst of luxury, are accustomed only to wish for a thing in order to obtain it! Ye who have already satiated yourselves with the bounties of Providence, and from constant enjoyment of every thing can no longer find pleasure in any thing, take my advice—leave for a time your lives of luxury, shoulder your rifle, and take a few months' experience of hardship in a hot climate. You will suffer much at first, but in the end will learn what real enjoyment is. You will sleep soundly when you throw yourself down on the bare ground, while in your bed of down at home you might have been tossing about in a fever all night. You will find more real pleasure in a draught of water, even if it be a little dirty, or flavored with tar from the leather bag in which it has been carried, than you ever did in the choicest wine to be got in England. You will devour a half-burned piece of gazelle, and find it more palatable than the cuisine of the greatest gourmand in Paris. And as for fruit, it is true we have none to speak of in Abyssinia, but a good raw onion is not a bad thing by way of luncheon. Shade, a bit of green grass, even coarse though it be, a rippling stream, a cloud—all these are treasures in Africa, though not cared for or heeded in a land where you have trees in every hedge-row, a velvet turf in every garden and in many fields, a river almost every three or four miles, and, as for clouds, perhaps rather too many of them.

"On my arrival at a village I have always found it the better plan to do as native travelers would—wait under a tree till some one asks me in. This is generally soon done, though a little patience is sometimes needed. People often gather round you to look at you, and occasionally make rather personal remarks, though generally they are very civil. Only answer their questions good-naturedly, and take pleasure in making

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yourself agreeable, which you will find will become a habit, and you will be welcome everywhere.

"Part of our next day's journey," he continues, "was disagreeably rough. The road in many places reminded me of the ascent or descent of the pyramids of Gizeh, but was even more difficult, being literally a staircase, formed by enormous blocks of stone, with often a depth of four feet or more between each step. Had I been shod, instead of being barefoot, it would have been scarcely possible for me in many places to have reached the bottom without a fall. It was not till then that I thoroughly understood why the Abyssinians in general never wear shoes, and why those few who have borrowed from their neighbors on the Red Sea the custom of wearing sandals, should only use them in town, and immediately take them off when going on a journey."

After three days' travel Parkyns reached the town of Addàro, where he was hospitably received by the chiefs, but was greatly annoyed by the constant crowd of visitors who flocked into his hut, many of whom had never before seen a European. They also had a superstition that he possessed the secret of making money by magical arts, and carefully watched him wherever he went, in order to detect the process. "I happened to have a good many new dollars," says he, "and whenever I circulated any of them the receiver would sometimes exclaim: 'Wa! this is only just made; look, how it shines!' I often retire to the neighboring hills, when about to take an observation, or for some other reason wishing to be undisturbed, and seek out some snug little nook or corner among the rocks. Scarcely, however, have I time to make my preliminary arrangements, when looking up I find two or three heads curiously peering into my retreat, fully persuaded that they are about to behold the entire process of obtaining dollars from the earth, ready stamped with the august head of her imperial majesty. If a servant of mine returns from market with an ass laden with corn or other provisions, the people at once say it is dollars, which, having been made by me during the week, I had left hidden in the rocks, and that the servant had been to fetch them."

From Addàro he proceeded to Rohabaita, on the northern frontier of Abyssinia, where he remained nine months, familiarizing himself with the language and habits of the people. He became, to all intents and purposes, a genuine Abyssinian, adopting the dress and mode of life of the country, which he retained during the remainder of his residence there. The regular narrative of his travels terminates at this point, but the interest of the remaining portion of his book, which is devoted to an account of the country and people, illustrated with many curious adventures and experiences, is not diminished by this want of continuity. "After waiting two years without receiving any supplies or communications from Europe," he remarks, "I began to think that I should be compelled to remain at any rate for a long period in Abyssinia. So, to be prepared for the worst, I applied to Dejatch Lemma for a govern-

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ment in those parts, offering not only that a regular tribute should be paid him, but also that I would engage to keep in order the hostile Barea, without his putting himself to any inconvenience on their score. He accepted my terms, offering to receive a certain number of guns in lieu of tribute; but the matter was not concluded for some months, as he had to ask his father's consent, and in the mean while, my supplies arriving, I left the country. Notwithstanding that the affair was, both by his wish and my own, kept as secret as possible, it became known to some of the people of the country, and many of those who had fled to the distant provinces came, bringing me presents, and anxiously inquiring when they should be able to return to their former homes.

"I had made my plans for governing, as I thought, to perfection. I considered that if once regularly appointed I should feel myself bound to remain till at least I had done some little good to my poor people, and arranged matters for them, so as to leave them in comparative security. Had I received the sum I expected (£300), after having entered upon my government I should have invested a portion of it in plows, oxen, and seeds. These I should have lent out to poor peasants, counting £2 for each outfit. One or two good harvests would have enabled them to refund the money, not only for these articles, but also for any provisions of corn, etc., with which I might have supplied them during the first year. Thus, at the expiration of two years, up to which time I should have required no taxes, they would have been in comfortable circumstances, and able to look forward to a chance of ameliorating their condition. In this way, without much difficulty, and (if properly arranged) with little risk of loss to myself, I should in a short time have mustered a thick and thriving population.

"During my whole stay at Rohabaita I was looked upon by the people as a chief, or man of importance among them (be it known we were in a state of semi-rebellion), and consulted on all the most important occasions. I, for my part, felt myself as one of them, and entered with the greatest sympathy and zeal into all their proceedings. At a feast no one enjoyed the dance and song more than I did. I had the most guns discharged at a funeral. No hunting party or foraying expedition but I was in it. I took my turn in scoutings and outlyings; and I am afraid I must add, that even on one or two occasions, though of course I had no hand in the act, I was privy to the getting rid of a few disgreeable soldiers who came to annoy our peaceful village, and to rob the poor peasantry of what little their predecessors had left them. The truth is, I did not, nor do even now, consider these other than justifiable homicides. Be it always remembered, the Amhàra are not the lawful rulers of the country; but having conquered it, partly by force, but principally by treachery, they hold it under an iron rod, and pillage the inhabitants to their utmost.

"The high lands of Abyssinia enjoy probably as salubrious a climate

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as any country on the face of the globe. The heat is by no means oppressive, a fine light air counteracting the power of the sun. At certain seasons of the year the low valleys, as of the Mareb and Teccazzé, especially the former, are much to be feared, from the malaria which prevails, and which brings on, in persons exposed to its influence, most terrible inflammatory fevers, of which four cases out of five are fatal; and even in a case of escape from death, the effects on the constitution are such that it will be years before the sufferer recovers its shock, if indeed he should ever do so entirely. More than one of the few Europeans who have visited Abyssinia within the present century have fallen victims to it. Many have died also from dysentery—a complaint which often comes on in the rainy season as an epidemic. These two are the most commonly fatal complaints of Abyssinia.

"The season most to be dreaded is immediately after the rains (about September), and the two or three following months. I once traveled through a whole 'krumt,' or rainy season, across one of the most febrile districts in this part of Africa, viz., the provinces of Shiré, Waldabba, and Walkait, in Abyssinia, and the plains of the Atbara and Soufi, on my way to the capital of Nubia; but then I had the experience of three years, a great part of which time had been passed in the backwoods about the Mareb. When I could get wood, I invariably lighted two large fires, and slept between them. This plan, though not very agreeable till you are used to it, is a capital preventive of disease; for during the day the sun's heat raises the moisture in steam, which, when the evening becomes cool, descends in the form of dew or fog, and in this form is one of the greatest helps to a fever. The heat you have around you answers the purpose of a local sun, and you are in no more danger than during the daytime. But when I say I lay between two fires, it must be understood that they were so close together that I was obliged to cover myself with a piece of hide or a coarse native woolen cloth, to prevent the sparks or embers, which might fly out, setting fire to my cotton clothes. Another plan, which is always adopted by the natives, is not, I think, a bad one: Roll your head completely up in your cloth, which will then act as a respirator.

"As a general rule, abstinence does no harm in these climates, but, on the contrary, it is always a good thing, and often necessary. I never felt lighter in my life, or more free from the many ills that vex humanity, than during this my long period of semi-starvation. Wounds of all kinds healed on me like magic, and I never knew what it was to feel lazy or fatigued. On one or two occasions I remembered being much astonished at the little I suffered from otherwise ugly wounds about the feet. Once, in running down the stony and almost precipitous path which leads to the Mareb, I struck my bare foot against an edge of rock, which was as sharp as a razor, and a bit of flesh, with the whole of the nail of my left foot little toe, was cut off, leaving only the roots of the nail. This latter I suppose to have been the case, as it has grown

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all right again. I could not stop longer than to polish off the bit which was hanging by a skin, for we were in chase of a party of Barea, who had cut the throats of three of Waddy Hil's nephews the night before—(by the way I 'll tell that story afterward, to show what cowardly louts some of the Abyssinians are)—but was obliged to go on running for about twenty miles that afternoon, the greater part of the way up to our ankles in burning sand. Whether this cured it I know not, but I scarcely suffered at all from it next day, and forgot it the day after. Another day I was running after an antelope which I had wounded, and in my eagerness jumped over a bush, and on to the trunk of a fallen tree. Now it so happened that a bough had once stood exactly where my foot now lighted, but, having been broken off, had left a jagged stump, one splinter of which, of about the thickness of a tenpenny nail, entering the ball of my foot, passed so far through that the point appeared like a black spot immediately under the skin, half an inch above the junction of the third and fourth toes, toward the instep, and then broke short off. I got my game, butchered it, and carried it home (some two miles), with the splinter in my foot, which I then drew out with a nail-wrench. A quantity of blood issued from the wound, but, with the exception of a little stiffness for a day or two, which however nowise prevented my walking, I suffered no pain at all. Now, had this occurred to me in Europe, and under a good European diet, I should have been at least a fortnight laid up with a bad foot.

"As for thorns in the feet, it may be easily imagined that, in a country where there is scarcely a tree unfurnished with these appendages, and some of them of the length of three or four inches, the whole ground must be strewed with them, and, consequently, that the feet of a person going barefoot must frequently act, to all intents and purposes, the part of pincushions; yet I can truly say that, after some time, such is the force of habit and the thickness of skin that one gets by use, I thought no more of picking half-a-dozen thorns out of my feet than an English sportsman would of kicking away the clod of clay he may have accumulated on his shooting-boots in crossing a soft-plowed field."

In June, 1844, Parkyns returned to Adoua, where he lived during the greater portion of his stay in Abyssinia. From his interesting pictures of the life and customs of the country, we have only space for a few extracts. "The slaughtering of animals in Abyssinia," he remarks, "is attended with a regular ceremony, as in Mohammedan countries. The animal is thrown down with its head to the east, and the knife passed across its throat while the words, 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' are pronounced by the butcher. Almost before the death struggle is over persons are ready to flay the carcase, and pieces of raw meat are cut off and served up before this operation is completed; in fact, as each part presents itself it is cut off, and eaten while yet warm and quivering. In this state it is considered, and justly so, to be very superior in taste to what it is when cold. Raw meat, if

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kept a little time, gets tough; whereas if eaten fresh and warm it is far tenderer than the most tender joint that has been hung a week in England. The taste is, perhaps from imagination, rather disagreeable at first, but far otherwise when one gets accustomed to it; and I can readily believe that raw meat would be preferred to cooked meat by a man who from childhood had been accustomed to it.

"From the foregoing description, one is apt to run away with the impression that these people are by no means delicate in their choice of food, while, in truth, no nation is more scrupulously so after its own fashion. Besides refusing all animals which have teeth in their upper jaw—as the hare; and all such as have not cloven feet—as the camel, whose foot is only cloven above; and many others, from religious prejudice, of which I shall say more hereafter; they have also various points of delicacy which differ in the several parts of the country. An animal killed by a lion or leopard is by most persons considered eatable, those beasts being reckoned Christian; while, on the contrary, no one could touch the meat of an animal which had fallen a prey to the hyæna, that disgusting scavenger being considered as of the Mussulman religion. The Moslems are very lax in these points, some of them eating the flesh of the wild boar, or the unslaughtered (and, consequently, forbidden) leavings of their brother hyæna.

"When the master of an Abyssinian house takes his meals, all his servants stand round the doorway and look on; which custom, though it has at first a disagreeable effect to a stranger, is in reality a mark of respect to their superior, showing that they are in attendance on him, and not merely eating his bread, and idling their time away. The master's feeding-time, in fact, is a sort of muster for the servants. The dinner-tables in great houses are usually of wood, roughly made, but frequently also of wicker-work neatly put together. When a party is expected, fresh grass is spread on the floor, and the tables are ranged of various sorts and sizes—the highest nearest the master's end of the room—some wooden, some wicker, some broad, others narrow, it being only in a few fashionable establishments that two or three of corresponding size can be found. All of course are very low, being made of the height most convenient for a person seated on the ground; for chairs are unknown in the country. The table being spread, the bread is brought in by servants in large baskets carried on their heads.

"The Abyssinians are of middle stature, averaging, I should think, about five feet seven inches, rather more than less. I have seldom seen natives above six feet, and only one or two reached six feet two inches. In color some of them are perfectly black; but the majority are brown, or a very light copper or nut color. This variety of complexion, observable in both sexes, is, I should think, attributable to the mixture of races of which the nation is composed. The women of the higher classes have remarkably pretty feet and shapes, owing to the absence of the horrible confining fashions: they, however, soon fall off, chiefly, I

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imagine, from climate, though partly perhaps from want of the artificial supports which are usual in European countries. But this to the traveler matters little, as in passing through the country he seldom sees any thing but the beautiful forms of young girls, who go half-naked; while married women, always wearing long loose shirts, and quarries over them, effectually conceal their figures, whether they be good or bad. In feature, as in form, the young Abyssinian women are, perhaps, among the most beautiful of any on the earth.

AN ABYSSINIAN LADY OF FASHION.

"For dress, the male Abyssinians wear a pair of tight cotton inexpressibles, a large belt, and a 'quarry,' or mantle of the same material. As I have before remarked, the dress of the soldiers and peasantry is nearly alike; that of the former being only of a rather more stylish cut. The trowsers are of a soft-textured but rather coarse cotton stuff, made in the country, and are of two sorts; one called 'càlliss,' the other 'coumta.' The former reaches half-way down the calf of the leg, the latter to about three or four inches above the knee. Both, if the wearer be a dandy, are made skin-tight. I might enter into a long account of the peculiar fashions to which these trowsers are subject, parts being doubled, parts single. One year it may be the fashion to have the seam at the side of the 'càlliss,' below the knee, of about two inches long

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only, before it branches off on the thigh; while another year it will be lengthened to six or eight inches. The last was the measure at which I left it. This, however, was considered so very ultra fashionable, that, except Dejatch Shétou, myself, and one or two others, few dared to attempt it.

"The women of Abyssinia are dressed quite as decently as any women in the world, without having a particle of the trouble of the ladies of more civilized nations. There is a distinguishing costume for young girls, and those who, from being married or otherwise, are no longer considered as such. The dress of the former is indeed rather slight, though far more picturesque than that of the latter. Down in our part of the country (about Shiré) the girls merely wear a piece of cotton stuff wrapped round the waist and hanging down almost to the knee, and another (or the end of the former if it be long enough) thrown over the left shoulder, so as to leave the right arm and breast exposed. In other parts of Tigré a black goat-skin, ornamented with cowries, is often substituted for this latter. An ordinary woman wears a large loose shirt down to the feet, with sleeves made tight toward the wrist. This, with a 'quarry' similar to those of the men, but worn rather differently, and a parasol when out of doors, is a complete suit.

"In general, neither sex wears any covering on the head, preferring to tress and butter that with which nature has provided them. The hair of the Abyssinians is admirably adapted for this purpose, being neither short and crisp like a negro's, nor yet of the soft elasticity of a European's, but between the two; sufficiently long to tress well, and even often to hang luxuriantly over the shoulders, but at the same time sufficiently woolly to prevent its being liable to come out of plait as soon as it is done, which ours always does. I had the greatest bother in the world with mine. In the first place, it required twice as much pulling as any body else's, otherwise it would not have remained a moment in its place; and then it had to be tied at the ends and stuck with a 'fixature' of boiled cotton-seeds; and, after all, it never lasted in plait more than a week.

"The Abyssinians, when startled or alarmed, are in the habit of exclaiming, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!'—as a Roman Catholic would cross himself if similarly situated. Great care must be taken to avoid using these words in the presence of a person supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit, when she is in an animated or dancing fit; for even to whisper them to one's self would assuredly cause a terrible convulsion and entire relapse of the sufferer. A friend of mine cautioned me against this while we were going together to visit a sick person. He told me that once, hearing that there was an extraordinary case in a village where he was a perfect stranger, he went to the place, and found a lady engaged in dancing amid a crowd of her friends. No sooner did he approach than she sprang toward him, and ordered him to dance with her; at the same time filling her mouth with

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milk from a can near her, she spirted it into his face. Naturally startled by this unexpected reception, and being a man of decidedly nervous temperament, my poor friend, not approving of this proximity of the devil, ejaculated the fatal words. Scarcely, however, had they passed his lips, when the woman, uttering a terrific scream, threw herself on the ground and tore off all her clothes and ornaments, while her husband, who also, it appears, was more or less affected by the Tigritiya, drew his shotel, and made a ferocious attack on the unwitting offender.

"In Abyssinia the trade of blacksmith is hereditary, and considered as more or less disgraceful, from the fact that blacksmiths are, with very rare exceptions, believed to be all sorcerers, and are opprobriously called 'Bouda.' They are supposed to have the power of turning themselves into hyenas, and sometimes into other animals. I remember a story of some little girls, who, having been out in the forest to gather sticks, came running back breathless with fright; and on being asked what was the cause, they answered that a blacksmith of the neighborhood had met them, and, entering into conversation with him, they at length began to joke him about whether, as had been asserted, he could really turn himself into a hyena. The man, they declared, made no reply, but taking some ashes which he had with him, tied up in the corner of his cloth, sprinkled them over his shoulders, and, to their horror and alarm, they began almost immediately to perceive that the metamorphosis was actually taking place, and that the blacksmith's skin was assuming the hair and color of the hyena, while his limbs and head took the shape of that animal. When the change was complete he grinned and laughed at them, and then retired into the neighboring thickets. They had remained, as it were, rooted to the place from sheer fright; but the moment the hideous creature withdrew they made the best of their way home.

In June, 1845, Parkyns received the funds for which he had so long waited, and in the following month took a final leave of Adoua. Traveling slowly northward, he passed through the dangerous and almost unknown region along the Atbara River, and succeeded in reaching the Blue Nile, below Sennaâr. On arriving at Khartoum he was attacked with a fever which confined him to his bed for five months. He appears to have passed two or three years in Soudan and Nubia, but of his experiences in those countries he has as yet given no account. His story of Abyssinian life closes with the following words, which few travelers have ever been able to say: "During nine years of travel I met with companions of every color, station, and religion; but never picked up with one who gave me a moment's cause to quarrel with him, or from whom I parted otherwise than with regret."

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WOOD'S

JOURNEY TO THE OXUS.

After the voyage of Sir Alexander Burnes up the Indus to Lahore, in 1830, the Indian Government undertook a survey of that stream and the adjacent countries. The right to navigate the river for the purposes of commerce was obtained by treaty with the countries of Scinde, Lahore, and the smaller principalities bordering upon it, in 1832, and three years afterward a survey of the sea-board of Scinde was made. Toward the close of the year 1836, Captain Burnes was appointed by the Governor General of India, chief of a commercial mission, which was to proceed to Affghanistan by way of the Indus, with Lieutenant John Wood, of the Indian Navy, and Lieutenant Leech, of the Bombay Engineers, as assistants.

The mission left Bombay on the 26th of November, 1836. On approaching the coast of Scinde, Captain Burnes directed Lieutenant Wood to make a careful survey of the Indus, from its mouth to the fortress of Attock, below its egress from the Himalayas, where it receives the waters of the river of Cabul. This survey was not completed until the 18th of August, 1837, when he reached Peshawur, on the Affghan frontier, where Captain Burnes and the remainder of the mission had already arrived. They all set out soon afterward for Cabul, and after safely threading the defiles of the famous Khyber Pass, reached that city on the 20th of September, and were favorably received by the Ameer, Dost Mohammed Khan. One of the objects which Captain Burnes had greatly at heart, was to obtain materials for the construction of an entirely new map of Affghanistan, in which actual survey should supersede hearsay information. He obtained permission to visit the valley of Koh Daman, in which are the celebrated gardens of Istalaf, lying north of Cabul, at the foot of the great range of the Hindoo Koosh, or Indian Caucasus.

While Lieutenant Wood was engaged in the survey of this valley, he was summoned back to Cabul, to accompany Dr. Lord on a mission to Turkestan. Toward the end of October, Murad Ali Bey, of Koondooz, had arrived at Cabul with presents for Dost Mohammed, seeking medi-

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cal assistance for his brother, Mohammed Bey, who was a martyr to ophthalmia. Captain Burnes resolved not to lose so favorable an opportunity of securing the good will of these Uzbeck chieftains, and accordingly appointed Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood to accompany Murad Ali back to Koondooz. On the 3d of November, all the necessary arrangements being completed, they set out, intending to cross the Hindoo Koosh by the Pass of Parwan. After a journey of six days, they approached the highest part of the pass, but the snows were so deep, that it was impossible to advance; the guides soon lost the road, the Indian servants were on the point of perishing, from the severe cold, and nothing remained but to return to Cabul, where they arrived on the 13th.

"Our experience of the eastern passes," says Lieutenant Wood, "taught us the importance of not tarrying long in Cabul. We allowed ourselves, therefore, only one day for repose and for reducing our baggage to light marching order; and having got rid of the useless Hindustani servants, now as anxious to remain behind as they were formerly solicitous to go with us, at an early hour on the 15th of November, we set out by the Bamian route for Koondooz." On the morning of the 19th, they crossed the ridge of Hadjikak, which divides the waters of the Affghan river of Helmund from those which flow into the Oxus. This pass being considerably lower than that of Parwan, they met with but little difficulty from the snow; the descent through the wild mountain tribes to the plains of Turkestan was safely accomplished, and they entered Koondooz on the 4th of December.

Lieutenant Wood gives the following account of Koondooz, its chief, and its people: "Koondooz, though the capital of Murad Bey, is one of the most wretched towns in his dominions. Five or six hundred mud hovels contain its fixed population, while dotted among these, and scattered at random over the suburbs, are straw-built sheds intermixed with the Uzbeck tent or kirgah. Gardens and corn-fields alternate in its suburbs and extend even into the town. Nothing, in short, can be imagined less resembling a metropolis. Overlooking the east end of the town is the fortress. This is merely a mound, of an oblong figure and considerable extent, strengthened by a mud wall, and a dry ditch. The wall is in a dilapidated state on all sides but the south, on which is the principal entrance by the bazaar gate. On the north-east end of the fortress is the citadel, the winter residence of Murad Bey. It is an irregular structure of kiln-dried brick, surrounded by a moat. It has many loop-holes for match-locks; there are also guns within it, but none are mounted on the walls.

"Murad Bey, the head of this Uzbeck state, is one of those prominent political characters that unsettled times, and a disorganized state of society produce. Such were Mohammed Ali in Egypt and the late Runjeet Singh in Hindustan. But with all his high qualifications Murad Bey is but at the head of an organized banditti, a nation of plunderers, whom, however, none of the neighboring powers can exterminate. Able

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as he is to bring together, in a surprisingly short space of time, a body of fifteen thousand horsemen, inured to predatory warfare, and to those stealthy attacks for which Turkoman and Uzbeck are equally celebrated, he feels himself perfectly secure from the assault of any of the chieftains by whon he is surrounded, nor, indeed, were they to league together could they successfully oppose him.

"The Uzbecks of Koondooz have genuine Tartar features, though the physiognomy of their chiefs is becoming softened by intermarriage with the Tajik, a Caucasian race whom I believe to be the indigenous inhabitants of Persia, and perhaps of Transoxiana also, and who are now found widely scattered on both sides of the Paropamasian chain. A Tajik is not permitted to marry the daughter of an Uzbeck; but this unjust distinction is the only social difference that now exists between them. The Uzbecks are Sunnee Mohammedans, and consider an intolerant persecution of the other sect as the best evidence of the sincerity of their own faith and of their attachment to the Prophet. They are much fettered by their priests, or Ishán Kajahs, to whom they yield implicit obedience in all things, temporal and spiritual.

"The Koondooz breed of horse is very inferior to that of the Turkoman, or even to that which their countrymen rear about Shehr Sabz and the environs of Bokhara. The animal, to suit Murad Bey and his subjects, must be small and hardy, adapted to the hilly country as well as to the plain. Speed is a secondary consideration; endurance every thing. Their fore and hind quarters are remarkably large. One year from the day on which a colt is foaled, it is mounted and ridden by a light weight for a considerable distance at full speed, after which for two years it is not again saddled, and at three years old it is regularly broken in. Shoes are used only upon the fore feet, and in shape are a perfect circle. Like the rest of their race, the Uzbecks are extremely fond of horses and racing. Many idioms in their colloquial language have reference to them. For instance, if you inquire how far any particular place is distant, you are answered 'ek doweedah' (a gallop); or if you ask what time any operation will require, the answer is the same—'while you may gallop so many miles.'"

There was every probability that Dr. Lord would be compelled to remain the whole winter, in attendance on his royal patient, and Lieutenant Wood determined to employ his time as profitably as possible during this delay. He says: "The great object of my thought by day and dreams by night had for some time past been the discovery of the source of the river Oxus, and, thanks to my fellow traveler's tact and Mirza Buddi's good-will, Murad Bey on the 10th of December conceded his permission to me to trace the Jihun, an appellation by which this river is better known among the Uzbecks.

"Monday the 11th of December was fortunately a market day in Koondooz; so that the articles required for our expedition were at once obtained; and lest Murad Bey might recall the permission he had

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given, we started that same evening for Badakhshan and the Oxus. We adopted the costume of the country, as a measure calculated to smooth our intercourse with a strange people, and we had little baggage to excite cupidity or suspicion. Coarse clothes to barter for food with the inhabitants of the mountains, was our stock in trade; and my chronometers and other instruments the only articles of value which I took with me. Dr. Lord accompanied us for the first few miles, and parted from us with cordial wishes for the success of our expedition.

"The most important of my fellow travelers was Gholam Hussein, Munshi, cook, and '*servant of all work*,' in whom were more sterling good qualities than I at one time believed it possible to find in the breast of a Hindustani. More intimate acquaintance with eastern countries has considerably modified my unfavorable opinion of their inhabitants, and taught me to dissent from those wholesale terms of abuse which Europeans too often lavish on the native population. It will generally be found that our opinions of the people rise as our acquaintance with them increases. Another of our small party was Abdul Ghuni Yesawal, a Tajik by descent, and at heart a genuine Uzbeck. He had been educated for a *mollah* (priest), but had long ago renounced the cloister for the field, and was now, as the affix 'yesawal' implies, an officer of Murad Bey's household. He was a jocund, good-hearted soul, though, perhaps, a little too susceptible of the tender passion. After a day's march, when a glowing fire, and the enlivening cup of tea had mellowed his rugged nature, I have listened to him expatiating on what he termed the three best friends of man, and what, next to life, should be most cared for. These were the Koran, a horse, and a sword. The first he would uncase from its numerous clumsy leather coverings, kiss the volume, and holding it out to the Munshi, swear by *Khoda* there was no book like it. A good horse, he would sagely remark, was a *great blessing*, it was invaluable; for what did it not do?—it procured a man his livelihood, and obtained for him his wives. That, in fact, without the horse, it would be impossible to *steal*, and then the Kattaghan's occupation and glory would be no more. His sword was a very poor one, but that mattered nothing."

For two days they traveled eastward over the open plains of the Oxus, to the town of Talikhan, where they were detained a day on account of the rain. Beyond this place rose a mountain ridge, the frontier of Badakshan. From the top of the pass there was a superb prospect of the snowy peaks of the Hindoo Koosh, and the lateral spurs of the great chain, gradually lessening down into the plains of Tartary. Crossing another pass next day, six thousand five hundred feet above the sea, Lieutenant Wood descended into the valley of the Kokcha River, up the banks of which he proceeded to the town of Jerm, which he reached on the 18th. The country appeared to be depopulated. He did not meet a single traveler on the road; and except partridges, which were very plentiful, and the tracks of wild hogs, there were no indications of

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animal life. Of the city of Fyzabad, once so celebrated throughout the east, scarcely a vestige is left, except the withered trees which once ornamented its gardens.

"On arriving at Jerm," says Lieutenant Wood, "our first applications for food and shelter were unsuccessful, but, after repeated disappointments, we at length prevailed upon an honest Tajik to receive us as his guests, and had soon wherewithal to appease our keen appetites, sharpened by cold and a twenty-four hours' fast. The town of Jerm, although the largest place in Badakhshan, is little more than an extensive cluster of scattered hamlets, containing at the very utmost one thousand five hundred people. The fort is substantially built, and is the most important of any we saw in Murad Bey's dominions." On delivering his letters to Mirza Suleiman, the Governor of Jerm, and informing him of his desire to trace the Oxus to its source, as well as to visit the mines of ruby and lapiz lazuli in the neighborhood, Lieutenant Wood was informed that it was too early for the first of these journeys. He received, however, a guide to the mines of lapiz lazuli, which lie in the depths of the Hindoo Koosh, near the head-waters of the Kokcha. They had not been worked for several years, on account of the poor returns.

"From the 26th of December to the 30th of January," says Lieutenant Wood, "we were detained in Jerm by the inclemency of the season. The snow took the good people of Badakhshan completely by surprise. Not expecting so hard nor so early a winter, they had made no adequate provision for their live stock; and no sooner did the snow cover the ground than there was a cry for fodder and fire-wood. We took up our abode with Hussain, our former host, who, though at first suspicious of his guests, became ere long our warm friend and almost constant companion. It is customary in these countries for relations to live in the same hamlet, often to the number of six or eight families. An outer wall surrounds this little knot of friends, within which each family has its separate dwelling-house, stable, and cattle-shed; and a number of such hamlets form a kishlak, or village."

"The hill-men always go armed, but the inhabitants of the open valleys very rarely do so. Nevertheless there is not a house in Badakhshan without its quota of rusty old matchlocks. In dress the people differ little from the Uzbecks. They wear the same peaked skull-cap, and when a turban is superadded, its color is generally white. At the season of our visit every man wore thick colored worsted stockings, and warm woolen cloaks, or chupkuns. On the cold days three of these cloaks were not an uncommon allowance. The shoes in use resembled half-boots, made from goats'-skin, and mostly of home manufacture. Instead of the heavy kammerband, or shawl, round the waist, the Badakhshi ties a handkerchief, and no native of the country ever thinks of setting out on a journey without a staff in his hand.

"In former times Badakhshan was noted for the social qualities of its

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inhabitants, and we could still discern indications of this generous spirit, but few have now the means of being hospitable; and poverty under a task-master has produced a selfishness that exists not among Tajiks who are free. Among those communities which were styled Yaghi, or rebellious, we always experienced a more hearty welcome than from their kinsmen in the lower valleys, who, though richer, were galled and irritated by their Uzbeck oppressors. Where independence is wanting, it is seldom that man retains his generous feelings.

"On new-year's day, 1838, we visited Ahmed Shah, the pír, or head mollah of Jerm, who had emigrated from Hindustan when the British mission of 1809 was at Peshawur. He had traveled much, and made a long abode in China, which country he entered by the road of Wakhan, and left by that of Kokand. The difficulties of the first of these routes he described as great, arising chiefly from the height of Pamir, the severity of its climate, and the almost total absence of inhabitants. Of that by Kokand he spoke more favorably. The pír was a large, stout, cheerful, old man, who looked much younger than he reported himself to be. He was in China when the lamented Moorcroft's messenger arrived in Yarkand to request permission for his master to visit that city; on which occasion, a mandarin of Ahmed Shah's acquaintance told him that the Chinese had determined not to admit Mr. Moorcroft, for, added the noblemen, we are persuaded were a *firingi* (European), to enter the country some dreadful evil would befall us.

"All our visitors spoke in high terms of Yarkand, and appeared delighted with its climate, and its inhabitants. They expatiated on the peculiarities of the Chinese, and the contrast which they exhibit when compared with other nations. Many accounts of their customs, and habits, which I received when at Jerm, were afterward confirmed by a traveling Jew, who had tried, but failed, to accomplish a journey through their territories. This man was a Russian by birth, and had been for many years a traveler in the countries bordering the Caspian and the lake of Aral. Hearing that records of the missing tribes were to be obtained in Cashmere, or Thibet, he was journeying thither when my Munshi, Gholam Hussein fell in with him at Balkh. This man's original plan was, to penetrate by the route of Kokand, Kashghar, and Yarkand; but, though skilled in the various languages of Central Asia, and conforming to the dress and habits of its people, the cunning of his nation was no match for the honest zeal with which the public functionaries of Kashghar executed the orders of their emperor. Suspicion attached to his character; and after proceeding as far as that town, he was forced to retrace his steps. A large guard, he said, was stationed in a tower above the city gate, from which all caravans could be seen, while yet distant. Before they are permitted to enter the city, each individual is strictly examined; their personal appearance is noted down in writing, and if any are suspected, an artist is at hand to take their likenesses. Interpreters for every current dialect are also present. To each of the persons subjected

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to this vexatious investigation, the Chinese make a present of a few copper coins."

On the 30th of January, Lieutenant Wood learned that the Upper Oxus was frozen, an occurrence which would enable him to visit the ruby mines, and he accordingly set out at once. On approaching the mines, however, the ice became soft and insecure, and as there was no other practicable road except the bed of the river, he was obliged to give up the attempt, and endeavor to ascend the Oxus to its source. The weather promised to be favorable, although the cold was still severe "Proceeding up the valley of the Oxus," continues the narrative, "with the mountains of Shekh Durah on our left hand, and those of Chitral on our right, both rising to a vast height, and bearing, far below their summits, the snows of ages, we arrived early in the afternoon at the hamlet of Ishtrakh. We reached the village in the middle of a heavy snow-fall; and its houses built among fractured pieces of the neighboring mountains, must have been passed unnoticed, but for a Yak, or Kash-gow, as the animal is here called, standing before a door with its bridle in the hand of a Kirghiz boy. There was something so novel in its appearance, that I could not resist the impulse of mounting so strange a steed; but in doing so I met with stout resistance from the little fellow who had it in charge. In the midst of our dispute the boy's mother made her appearance, and very kindly permitted me to try the animal's paces. It stood about three feet and a half high, was very hairy and powerful. Its belly reached within six inches of the ground, which was swept by its bushy tail. The long hair streamed down from its dewlap and fore legs, giving it, but for the horns, the appearance of a huge Newfoundland dog. It bore a light saddle with horn stirrups; and a cord let through the cartilage of the nose, served for a bridle. The good Kirghiz matron was not a less interesting object than her steed. She was diminutive in stature, but active and strong, and wore some half dozen petticoats under a showy blue striped gown, the whole sitting close to her person, and held there, not by ribbons, but by a stout leather belt about the waist. Her rosy cheeks and Chinese countenance, were seen from under a high white starched tiára, while broad bands of the same color protected the ears, mouth, and chin. Worsted gloves covered the hands, and the feet were equally well taken care of. She chid her son for not permitting me to mount the Kash-gow; and I quite won the good woman's heart by praising the lad's spirit, and hanging a string of beads about his neck. Strutting up to her steed with the air of an Amazon, she took the bridle out of her son's hand, and vaulted astride into the saddle. The sight appeared to be new not only to us, but to the inhabitants of Wakhan; for the villagers had thronged round to see her depart. They inquired if she would not take the boy up behind her? 'O no,' was her answer, 'he can walk.' As the mother and son left us, a droll looking calf leisurely trode after its dam; and when the party disappeared amid the falling snow-flakes, the rugged half-clad Wakhanis exclaimed, as if taken

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by surprise, 'None but a Kirghiz boy could thrive under such rough treatment.'

"The Yak, is to the inhabitants of Thibet and Pamir, what the reindeer is to the Laplander in northern Europe. Where a man can walk a Kash-gow may be ridden. Like the elephant he possesses a wonderful knowledge of what will bear his weight. If travelers are at fault, one of these animals is driven before them, and it is said that he avoids the hidden depths and chasms with admirable sagacity. His footing is sure. Should a fall of snow close a mountain-pass to a man and horse, a score of Yaks driven ahead answer the purpose of pioneers, and make, as my informant expresses it, '*a king's highway.*' In this case, however, the snow must have recently fallen; for when once its surface is frozen and its depth considerable, no animal can force its way through it. Other cattle require the provident care of man to subsist them through the winter. The most hardy sheep would fare but badly without its human protection, but the Kash-gow is left entirely to itself. He frequents the mountain slopes and their level summits. Wherever the mercury does not rise above zero, is a climate for the Yak. If the snow on the elevated flats lies too deep for him to crop the herbage, he rolls himself down the slopes and eats his way up again. When arrived at the top, he performs a second summerset, and completes his meal as he displaces another groove of snow in his second ascent. The heat of summer sends the animal to what is termed the old ice, that is to the regions of eternal snow; the calf being retained below as a pledge for the mother's returning, in which she never fails.

"The first Yaks we saw were grazing among the snow on the very summit of the rugged pass of Ish Kashm, and at the village of this name, I procured one for Dr. Lord, and dispatched it to Koondooz in charge of two trusty men. But so cold a climate do these singular animals require, that though winter still reigned in the Koondooz plain, the heat was too great, and the Yak died within a march or two of the town. In fact it began to droop as soon as it had passed Jerm. Some years back, an Affghan nobleman succeeded in bringing two or three of these animals to Cabul, but even the temperature of that city, though situated six thousand feet above sea-level, is not sufficiently cold to suit their constitution. They declined as the snow left the ground, and died early in the spring."*

After following the course of the river for three or four days, sheltering themselves by night in the huts of the Kirghiz, Lieutenant Wood and his attendants reached a place called Issar, where the Oxus divides

* M. de Montigny, late French Consul at Shanghai, who first introduced the *Dioscorea batatas*, or Chinese yam, into Europe, succeeded in bringing four living Yaks to France in the year 1853. A few weeks before M. de Montigny's departure from Shanghai, I saw these Yaks in his stables at that place. They had already passed two years in that semi-tropical climate, and it is therefore probable that they may be successfully naturalized in France.—B. T.

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into two branches. He was for a time undecided which to choose, as the volume of water was nearly equal, but the Kirghiz assured him that the source of the river was a lake upon the *Bam-i-dooniah*, or "Roof of the World," in Pamir, and that the most northerly of the branches flowed from this lake. Upon further examination, he discovered that the current of this branch was much more rapid than that of the other, and that its temperature was colder. The point of junction was ten thousand feet above the sea. A supply of provisions for eight days was procured at this place, and the party, enveloping themselves in cloaks and skins, to protect them from the extreme cold, set out, up the narrow valley of Sir-i-kol. Proceeding slowly forward through the snow, which was very deep, and suffering from the intense cold, they encamped on the third night at a height of thirteen thousand five hundred feet above the sea. Some of the men were so exhausted that they were left behind here, to hunt and keep guard over a *cache* of provisions, while Lieutenant Wood pushed forward with four attendants.

On the second day after this division of the party, the intrepid and persevering traveler achieved his object. "We had no occasion to remark the absence of the snow this day," he says, "for every step we advanced, it lay deeper and deeper; and near as we had now approached to the source of the Oxus, we should not have succeeded in reaching it had not the river been frozen. We were fully two hours in forcing our way through a field of snow not five hundred yards in extent. Each individual of the party by turns took the lead, and forced his horse to struggle onward until exhaustion brought it down in the snow, where it was allowed to lie and recruit while the next was urged forward. It was so great a relief when we again got upon the river, that in the elasticity of my spirits I pushed my pony to a trot. This a Wakanni perceiving, seized hold of the bridle, and cautioned me against the *wind of the mountain*. We had, indeed, felt the effects of a highly rarified atmosphere ever since leaving Wakhan; but the ascent being gradual, they were less than what would be experienced in climbing an abrupt mountain of much less altitude.

"As we neared the head-waters of the Oxus the ice became weak and brittle. The sudden disappearance of a yabu gave us the first warning of this. Though the water was deep where the accident occurred, there fortunately was little current, and, as the animal was secured by his halter to a companian, he was extricated, but his furniture and lading were lost. The kind-hearted Khirakush to whom the animal belonged wrapped him in felts, took off his own warm posteen, and bound it round the shivering brute. Had it been his son instead of his yabu he could not have passed a more anxious night as to the effects of this ducking. The next morning, however, the yabu was alive and well, and the good mule-driver was most eloquent in his thanks to Providence for its preservation.

"Shortly after this accident we came in sight of rough-looking build-

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ing, decked out with horns of the wild sheep, and all but buried among the snow. It was a Khirgiz burial-ground. On coming abreast of it, the leading horseman, who chanced to be of that tribe, pulled up and dismounted. His companion followed his example, and wading through the deep drift they reached a tombstone, the top of which was uncovered. Before this they knelt, all cumbered as they were, and with their huge forked matchlocks strapped to their backs, and offered up prayers to the ever-present Jehovah. The whole of the party involuntarily reined in their horses till the two men had concluded their devotions.

"After quitting the surface of the river we traveled about an hour along its right bank, and then ascended a low hill, which apparently bounded the valley to the eastward; on surmounting this, at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of February, 1838, we stood, to use a native expression, upon the *Bam-i-Dúniah*, or '*Roof of the World*,' while before us lay stretched a noble but frozen sheet of water, from whose western end issued the infant river of the Oxus. This fine lake lies in the form of a crescent, about fourteen miles long from east to west, by an average breadth of one mile. On three sides it is bordered by swelling hills, about five hundred feet high, while along its southern bank they rise into mountains three thousand five hundred feet above the lake, or nineteen thousand above the sea, and covered with perpetual snow, from which never-failing source the lake is supplied. From observations at the western end I found the latitude to be 37° 27′ north, and longitude 73° 40′ east; its elevation, measured by the temperature of boiling water, is fifteen thousand six hundred feet, as my thermometer marked 184° of Fahrenheit. The temperature of the water below the ice was 32°—the freezing point.

"This, then, is the position of the sources of this celebrated river, which, after a course of upward of a thousand miles in a direction generally north-west, falls into the southern end of the sea of Aral. As I had the good fortune to be the first European who in later times had succeeded in reaching the sources of this river, and as, shortly before setting out on my journey, we had received the news of her gracious majesty's accession to the throne, I was much tempted to apply the name of Victoria to this, if I may so term it, newly re-discovered lake; but on considering that by thus introducing a new name, however honored, into our maps, great confusion in geography might arise, I deemed it better to retain the name of Sir-i-kol, the appellation given to it by our guides. The description of this spot given by that good old traveler Marco Polo, nearly six centuries ago, is correct in all its leading points.

"The aspect of the landscape was wintry in the extreme. Wherever the eye fell, one dazzling sheet of snow carpeted the ground, while the sky overhead was everywhere of a dark and angry hue. Clouds would have been a relief to the eye, but they were wanting. Not a breath moved along the surface of the lake; not a beast, not even a bird, was

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visible. The sound of a human voice would have been music to the ear, but no one at this inhospitable season thinks of invading these gelid domains. Silence reigned around—silence so profound that it oppressed the heart, and, as I contemplated the hoary summits of the everlasting mountains, where human foot had never trode, and where lay piled the snows of ages, my own dear country and all the social blessings it contains passed across my mind with a vividness of recollection that I had never felt before.

"In walking over the lake I could not but reflect how many countries owe their importance and their wealth to rivers the sources of which can be traced to the lonely mountains which are piled up on its southern margin. This elevated chain is common to India, China, and Turkistan; and from it, as from a central point, their several streams diverge, each augmenting as it rolls onward, until the ocean and the lake of Aral receive the swollen tribute, again to be given up, and in a circuit as endless as it is wonderful to be swept back by the winds of heaven, and showered down in snowy flakes upon the self-same mountains from which it flowed. How strange and how interesting a group would be formed if an individual from each nation whose rivers have their first source in Pamir were to meet upon its summit; what varieties would there be in person, language, and manners; what contrasts between the rough, untamed, and fierce mountaineer and the more civilized and effeminate dweller on the plain; how much of virtue and of vice, under a thousand different aspects, would be met with among them all; and how strongly would the conviction press upon the mind that the amelioration of the whole could result only from the diffusion of early education and a purer religion!

"Pamir is not only a radiating point in the hydrographical system of Central Asia, but it is the focus from which originate its principal mountain-chains. The Wakhanis name this plain Bam-i-Dúniah, or 'Roof of the World,' and it would indeed appear to be the highest table-land in Asia, and probably in any part of our globe. From Pamir the ground sinks in every direction except to the south-east, where similar plateaux extend along the northern face of the Himalayas into Thibet. An individual who had seen the region betwen Wakhan and Cashmere informed me that the Kuner River had its principal source in a lake resembling that in which the Oxus has its rise, and that the whole of this country, comprehending the districts of Gilgit, Gungit, and Chitral, is a series of mountain defiles that act as water-courses to drain Pamir.

"As early in the morning of Tuesday, the 20th of February, as the cold permitted, we walked out about six hundred yards upon the lake, and having cleared the snow from a portion of its surface, commenced breaking the ice to ascertain its depth. This was a matter of greater difficulty than it at first sight appeared, for the water was frozen to the depth of two feet and a half, and, owing to the great rarity of the atmosphere,

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a few strokes of the pick-ax produced an exhaustion that stretched us upon the snow to recruit our breath. The sounding-lead struck bottom at nine feet. The water emitted a slightly fetid smell, and was of a reddish tinge. The bottom was oozy and tangled with grassy weeds. I tried to measure the breadth of the lake by sound, but was baffled by the rarity of the air. A musket, loaded with blank cartridge, sounded as if the charge had been poured into the barrel, and neither wads nor ramrod used. When ball was introduced the report was louder, but possessed none of the sharpness that marks a similar charge in denser atmospheres. The ball, however, could be distinctly heard whizzing through the air. The human voice was sensibly affected, and conversation, especially if in a loud tone, could not be kept up without exhaustion: the slightest muscular exertion was attended with a similar result. Half a dozen strokes with an ax brought the workman to the ground; and though a few minutes' respite sufficed to restore the breath, any thing like continued exertion was impossible. A run of fifty yards at full speed made the runner gasp for breath. Indeed, this exercise produced a pain in the lungs and a general prostration of strength which was not got rid of for many hours. Some of the party complained of dizziness and headaches; but, except the effect thus described, I neither felt myself, nor perceived in others, any of those painful results of great elevation which travelers have suffered in ascending Mont Blanc. This might have been anticipated, for where the transition from a dense to a highly-rarefied atmosphere is so sudden, as in the case of ascending that mountain, the circulation can not be expected to accommodate itself at once to the difference of pressure, and violence must accrue to some of the more sensitive organs of the body. The ascent to Pamir was, on the contrary, so gradual, that some extrinsic circumstances were necessary to remind us of the altitude we had attained. The effect of great elevation upon the general system had, indeed, been proved to me some time before in a manner for which I was not prepared. One evening in Badakhshan, while sitting in a brown study over the fire, I chanced to touch my pulse, and the galloping rate at which it was throbbing roused my attention. I at once took it for granted that I was in a raging fever, and, after perusing some hints on the preservation of health which Dr. Lord, at parting, had kindly drawn out for me, I forthwith prescribed for myself most liberally. Next morning my pulse was as brisk as ever, but still my feelings denoted health. I now thought of examining the wrists of all our party, and, to my surprise, found that the pulses of my companions beat yet faster than my own. The cause of this increased circulation immediately occurred to me; and when we afterward commenced marching toward Wakhan I felt the pulses of the party whenever I registered the boiling point of water. The motion of the blood is in fact a sort of living barometer by which a man acquainted with his own habit of body can, in great altitudes, roughly calculate his height above the sea."

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"After getting a clear and beautiful meridian altitude of the sun on the 20th, we saddled, and casting a last look at Lake Sir-i-kol, entered the defile leading to Wakhan. On arriving at the station where we had left the hunters, we were agreeably surprised to find they had been successful in the chase, and had slaughtered a *Kutch-kar*, or wild sheep. It was a noble animal, standing as high as a two-year-old colt, with a venerable beard, and two splendid curling horns, which, with the head, were so heavy as to require a considerable exertion to lift them. Though in poor condition, the carcase, divested of offal, was a load for a baggage-pony. Its flesh was tough and ill-tasted; but we were told that in autumn, when the animal is in prime condition, no venison is better flavored."

Returning by way of Jerm, Lieutenant Wood reached Koondooz on the 11th of March, having been absent just three months. Murad Bey, whose health was much shattered, died soon afterward, and Dr. Lord and himself accordingly returned to Cabul, where they arrived on the 1st of May.

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FREMONT'S

EXPLORATIONS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND CALIFORNIA.

JOURNEY TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

In the year 1842, Captain John C. Fremont, of the United States Topographical Engineers, was ordered to explore the country between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, and on the line of the Kansas and Great Platte rivers, which was then but imperfectly known, except by the traders and trappers. He left Washington on the 2d of May, and arrived at St. Louis, by way of New York, on the 22d. Here he collected twenty-one men, principally Creole and Canadian *voyageurs*, who had become familiar with prairie life in the service of the fur companies in the Indian country. Mr. Charles Preuss, a native of Germany, assisted in the topographical part of the survey, and Christopher Carson (more familiarly known, for his exploits in the mountains, as Kit Carson) was their guide. They traveled by steamboat to Chouteau's landing, about four hundred miles by water from St. Louis, and near the mouth of the Kansas river, whence they proceeded twelve miles to Mr. Chouteau's trading-house, where they completed the final arrangements for the expedition.

They set forward on the 10th of June, and on the 14th, late in the afternoon, reached the ford of the Kansas. The river was so much swollen by late rains that they crossed it with difficulty. Journeying westward near the Kansas, and afterward along the banks of the Platte, they caught the first glimpse of the Rocky Mountains on the morning of July 9th. The day was bright, but there was a slight mist, and the mountains, seen at a distance of sixty miles, appeared like clouds along the horizon. On the evening of the 10th they reached St. Vrain's fort, situated on the south fork of the Platte, immediately under the mountains, and about seventeen miles east of Long's Peak. The elevation of the Platte at this point is five thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The neighboring mountains were covered with snow, which extended several hundred feet below the summits on the northern slopes.

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They resumed their journey on the morning of the 12th. Their next point of destination was the fort at the mouth of Laramie's Creek, situated about one hundred and twenty-five miles to the north. On the 14th they encamped on a fork of Horse Creek, near a point where it passes between two ranges of precipitous hills, supposed by Fremont to be the locality called Goshen's Hole. These hills are wrought by the winds and rains into a variety of singular forms. One on the western side resembles a massive fortified place, with remarkable precision of detail. The rock is marl and earthy limestone, white, without the least appearance of vegetation, and much resembles masonry at a little distance. Along the whole line of the parapets appear domes and slender minarets, forty or fifty feet high, giving it every appearance of an old fortified town. On the waters of White River, where this formation exists in great extent, it presents appearances which excite the admiration of the solitary voyageur, and form a frequent theme of their conversation when speaking of the wonders of the country. Sometimes it offers the perfectly illusive appearance of a large city, with numerous streets and magnificent buildings, among which the Canadians never fail to see their *cabaret*—and sometimes it takes the form of a solitary house, with many large chambers, into which they drive their horses at night, and sleep in these natural defenses perfectly secure from any attack of prowling savages.

On the 15th they reached the post of the American Fur Company, above the junction of the Laramie with the Platte, called Fort John, or Fort Laramie. It was a large post, having more the air of military construction than the fort at the mouth of the river. It is on the left bank, on a rising ground, some twenty-five feet above the water ; and its lofty walls, whitewashed and picketed, with large bastions at the angles, gave it quite an imposing appearance. During their stay at the fort the men were engaged in repairs, and in preparing for the chances of a rough road and mountain travel. Fremont engaged an interpreter, and all preparations being made, they struck their tents on the morning of the 21st, and were ready to depart, when a deputation of Indian chiefs waited on them for the purpose of inducing them to stay. The Indians represented that their young men, who had gone to the mountains, were eager to avenge the blood of their relations, which had been shed by the whites; that they would believe Fremont's party were carrying goods and ammunition to their enemies, and would fire upon them. They urged many reasonable objections, but being aware that their object was merely to prevent him from going further into the country, Colonel Fremont replied at length to their speeches, then broke up the conference and set out immediately.

After crossing the Platte on the 28th, they encountered a band of Sioux, who gave them a discouraging picture of the country. The great drought and the plague of grasshoppers had swept it so that scarcely a blade of grass was to be seen, and there was not a buffalo to be found in the whole region. Their people had been nearly starved to death, and

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had marked the road by lodges which they had thrown away in order to move more rapidly, and by the carcasses of horses which they had eaten, or which had perished from starvation. When the interpreter, Bissonette, had conveyed this intelligence, he urged Colonel Fremont to abandon the further prosecution of his exploration, and turn back at once. He was himself about to return, having gone as far as he had engaged to attend the expedition. Colonel Fremont replied by calling up his men, and communicating to them the information he had received. He then expressed his determination to proceed to the end of the enterprise on which he had been sent; but left it optional with them to continue with him or to return. They had still ten days' provisions; and should no game be found when this stock was expended, they had their horses and mules as a last resource. But not a man flinched from the undertaking. "We'll eat the mules," said Basil Lajeunesse; and thereupon they shook hands with their interpreter and his Indians, and parted. With them Colonel Fremont sent back one of the men, whom the effects of an old wound in the leg rendered incapable of continuing the journey on foot. They then deposited the carts and all the baggage not absolutely necessary to their future operations, and next morning continued their route along the Platte, finding an abundance of grass and other vegetation, as well as of game, notwithstanding the representations of the Indians. On the last day of July they left the Platte, and began to ascend the Sweet Water River. On the 3d of August, as they passed over a slight rise near the river, they caught the first view of the Wind River Mountains, which, at the distance of about seventy miles, appeared to be a low and dark ridge. "The view," says Colonel Fremont, "dissipated in a moment the pictures which had been created in our minds, by many travelers who have compared these mountains with the Alps in Switzerland, and speak of the glittering peaks which rise in icy majesty amidst the eternal glaciers nine or ten thousand feet into the region of eternal snows."

Following the course of the Sweet Water they gradually ascended the mountains, and on the 7th, encamped on its banks near the South Pass. Early in the morning they set out for the dividing ridge. "About six miles from our encampment," continues Colonel Fremont, "brought us to the summit. The ascent had been so gradual that, with all the intimate knowledge possessed by Carson, who had made the country his home for seventeen years, we were obliged to watch very closely to find the place at which we had reached the culminating point. This was between two low hills, rising on either hand fifty or sixty feet. When I looked back at them, from the foot of the immediate slope on the western plain, their summits appeared to be about one hundred and twenty feet above. From the impression on my mind at this time, and subsequently on our return, I should compare the elevation which we surmounted immediately at the pass, to the ascent of the Capitol hill from the avenue, at Washington. It is difficult for me to fix positively the

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breadth of this pass. From the broken ground where it commences, at the foot of the Wind River chain, the view to the south-east is over a champaign country, broken, at the distance of nineteen miles, by the Table Rock; which, with the other isolated hills in its vicinity, seem to stand on a comparative plain. This I judged to be its termination, the ridge recovering its rugged character with the Table Rock. It will be seen that it in no manner resembles the places to which the term is commonly applied—nothing of the gorge-like character and winding ascents of the Alleghany passes in America; nothing of the Great St. Bernard and Simplon passes in Europe. Approaching it from the mouth of the Sweet Water, a sandy plain, one hundred and twenty miles long, conducts, by a gradual and regular ascent, to the summit, about seven thousand feet above the sea; and the traveler, without being reminded of any change by toilsome ascents, suddenly finds himself on the waters which flow to the Pacific Ocean. By the route we had traveled, the distance from Fort Laramie is three hundred and twenty miles, or nine hundred and fifty from the mouth of the Kansas."

Continuing their march, they reached in eight miles from the pass, the Little Sandy, a tributary of the Colorado, or Green River of the Gulf of California, and as they advanced, crossed other tributaries of that river, flowing down from the Wind River Mountains, whose loftiest range they were now approaching. After winding their way up a long ravine on the 10th, they came unexpectedly in view of a beautiful lake, which lay across the direction they had been pursuing. "Here," says Fremont, "a view of the utmost magnificence and grandeur burst upon our eyes. With nothing between us and their feet to lessen the effect of the whole height, a grand bed of snow-capped mountains rose before us, pile upon pile, glowing in the bright light of an August day. Immediately below them lay the lake, between two ridges, covered with dark pines, which swept down from the main chain to the spot where we stood. 'Never before,' said Mr. Preuss, 'in this country or in Europe, have I seen such grand, magnificent rocks.' I was so much pleased with the beauty of the place, that I determined to make the main camp here, where our animals would find good pasturage, and explore the mountains with a small party of men."

Early on the morning of the 12th they left the camp, fifteen in number, well armed, and mounted on their best mules. A pack-animal carried their provisions, and every man had a blanket strapped over his saddle, to serve for his bed, while the instruments were carried by turns on their backs. After crossing the first low range, and passing through dense forests with a rich undergrowth of plants, they at length struck the summit of the ridge. "We had reached a very elevated point," continues Fremont, "and in the valley below, and among the hills, were a number of lakes of different levels; some two or three hundred feet above others, with which they communicated by foaming torrents. Even to our great height the roar of the cataracts came up, and we could see

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them leaping down in lines of snowy foam. From this scene of busy waters, we turned abruptly into the stillness of a forest, where we rode among the open bolls of the pines, over a lawn of verdant grass, having strikingly the air of cultivated grounds. This led us, after a time, among masses of rock which had no vegetable earth but in hollows and crevices, though still the pine forest continued. Toward evening we reached a defile, or rather a hole in the mountains, entirely shut in by dark pine-covered rocks."

They wandered about among the crags and ravines until dark, and then hastened down to the camp. In the morning they ascended a mountain-stream, through a defile where the passage was sometimes difficult, until they reached a small lawn where, in a little lake, the stream had its source. "Here," says Fremont, "I determined to leave our animals, and make the rest of our way on foot. The peak appeared so near that there was no doubt of our returning before night; and a few men were left in charge of the mules, with our provisions and blankets. We took with us nothing but our arms and instruments, and, as the day had become warm, the greater part left our coats. Having made an early dinner, we started again. We were soon involved in the most rugged precipices, nearing the central chain very slowly, and rising but little. The first ridge hid a succession of others; and when, with great fatigue and difficulty, we had climbed up five hundred feet, it was but to make an equal descent on the other side; all these intervening places were filled with small deep lakes, which met the eye in every direction, descending from one level to another, sometimes under bridges formed by huge fragments of granite, beneath which was heard the roar of the water. These constantly obstructed our path, forcing us to make long *détours;* frequently obliged to retrace our steps, and frequently falling among the rocks. Maxwell was precipitated toward the face of a precipice, and saved himself from going over by throwing himself flat on the ground. We clambered on, always expecting, with every ridge that we crossed, to reach the foot of the peaks, and always disappointed, until about four o'clock, when, pretty well worn out, we reached the shore of a little lake, in which was a rocky island.

"By the time we had reached the further side of the lake, we found ourselves all exceedingly fatigued, and, much to the satisfaction of the whole party, we encamped. The spot we had chosen was a broad flat rock, in some measure protected from the winds by the surrounding crags, and the trunks of fallen pines afforded us bright fires. Near by was a foaming torrent, which tumbled into the little lake about one hundred and fifty feet below us, and which, by way of distinction, we have called Island Lake. We had reached the upper limit of the piney region; as, above this point, no tree was to be seen, and patches of snow lay everywhere around us, on the cold sides of the rock. From barometrical observations made during our three days' sojourn at this place, its elevation above the Gulf of Mexico is ten thousand feet."

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Soon after they encamped, Colonel Fremont was taken ill, and continued so till late in the night, with violent headache and vomiting. This was probably owing to fatigue, the want of food, and, in some measure, to the rarity of the atmosphere. The night was cold, and their granite beds were not favorable to sleep, therefore, as they were not delayed by any preparation for breakfast in the morning, they set out immediately.

"On every side, as we advanced," continues Fremont, "was heard the roar of waters, and of a torrent, which we followed up a short distance, until it expanded into a lake about one mile in length. On the northern side of the lake was a bank of ice, or rather of snow, covered with a crust of ice. Carson had been our guide into the mountains, and, agreeably to his advice, we left this little valley, and took to the ridges again, which we found extremely broken, and where we were again involved among precipices. Here were ice-fields, among which we were all dispersed, seeking each the best path to ascend the peak. Mr. Preuss attempted to walk along the upper edge of one of these fields, which sloped away at an angle of about twenty degrees; but his feet slipped from under him, and he went plunging down the plain. A few hundred feet below, at the bottom, were some fragments of sharp rock, on which he landed; and, though he turned a couple of somersets, fortunately received no injury beyond a few bruises."

Two of the men had been taken ill, and Fremont himself was again unwell; as he grew worse he sent Basil Lajeunesse, with four men, back to the place where the mules had been left. Finding it unpleasantly cold on the rock, they at length set out to return to the camp, where they all came straggling in one after the other. Toward evening Colonel Fremont recovered and they were relieved by the appearance of Basil and four men with mules and a supply of blankets and provisions.

In the morning Fremont set out, with Mr. Preuss and four men, to ascend the peak toward which all their efforts had been directed. This time they determined to proceed quietly and cautiously, being resolved to accomplish their object if it was within the compass of human means. They went forward by a long defile, which was of easy ascent, but rugged and sometimes slippery with ice, and soon had the satisfaction of riding along the huge wall which formed the central summits of the mountain. It rose at their sides, a nearly perpendicular mass of granite, terminating at two or three thousand feet above their heads in a serrated line of broken, jagged cones. At length they reached a level at the base of the main peak, called Snow Peak by Fremont, and finding good grass they turned the mules loose to graze. The party now began leisurely to climb the ascent. Colonel Fremont availed himself of a comb of the mountain, which stood against the wall like a buttress, and which the wind and sun, joined to the smoothness of the rock, had kept almost free from snow. Up this he made his way very rapidly, until he reached a point where the buttress was overhanging, and there

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was no other way of surmounting the difficulty than by passing around one side of it, which was the face of a vertical precipice of several hundred feet.

"Putting hands and feet in the crevices between the blocks," he continues, "I succeeded in getting over it, and, when I reached the top, found my companions in a small valley below. Descending to them, we continued climbing, and in a short time reached the crest. I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow-field five hundred feet below. To the edge of this field was a sheer icy precipice; and then, with a gradual fall, the field sloped off for about a mile, until it struck the foot of another lower ridge. I stood on a narrow crest, about three feet in width, with an inclination of about 20° north, 51° east. As soon as I had gratified the first feelings of curiosity, I descended, and each man ascended in his turn; for I would only allow one at a time to mount the unstable and precarious slab, which it seemed a breath would hurl into the abyss below. We mounted the barometer in the snow of the summit, and, fixing a ramrod in a crevice, unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before. During our morning's ascent, we had met no sign of animal life, except a small sparrow-like bird. A stillness the most profound and a terrible solitude forced themselves constantly on the mind as the great features of the place. Here, on the summit, where the stillness was absolute, unbroken by any sound, and solitude complete, we thought ourselves beyond the region of animated life; but while we were sitting on the rock, a solitary bee (*bromus, the humble-bee*) came winging his flight from the eastern valley, and lit on the knee of one of the men.

"It was a strange place, the icy rock and the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains, for a lover of warm sunshine and flowers; and we pleased ourselves with the idea that he was the first of his species to cross the mountain barrier—a solitary pioneer to foretell the advance of civilization. I believe that a moment's thought would have made us let him continue his way unharmed; but we carried out the law of this country, where all animated nature seems at war; and, seizing him immediately, put him in at least a fit place—in the leaves of a large book, among the flowers we had collected on our way. The barometer stood at 18·293, the attached thermometer at 44°; giving for the elevation of this summit 13,570 feet above the Gulf of Mexico, which may be called the highest flight of the bee. It is certainly the highest known flight of that insect. From the description given by Mackenzie of the mountains where he crossed them, with that of a French officer still further to the north, and Colonel Long's measurements to the south, joined to the opinion of the oldest traders of the country, it is presumed that this is the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains. The day was sunny and bright, but a slight shining mist hung over the lower plains, which interfered with our view of the surrounding country. On one side we

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overlooked innumerable lakes and streams, the spring of the Colorado of the Gulf of California; and on the other was the Wind River valley, where were the heads of the Yellowstone branch of the Missouri; far to the north, we could just discover the snowy heads of the *Trois Tetons*, where were the sources of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; and at the southern extremity of the ridge, the peaks were plainly visible, among which were some of the springs of the Nebraska or Platte River. Around us, the whole scene had one main, striking feature, which was that of terrible convulsion. Parallel to its length, the ridge was split into chasms and fissures; between which rose the thin lofty walls, terminated with slender minarets and columns."

They reached the camp on the evening of the next day, and on the 17th the party turned their faces homeward. At Rock Independence, where they arrived at their old encampment on the 22d, Colonel Fremont embarked for the purpose of making a survey of the Platte River on their return, but after dragging their boat a mile or two over the sands, he gave up the undertaking until reaching the mouth of the Sweet Water River, where they embarked on the 25th. Proceeding rapidly down the river, they soon approached a ridge where the stream passes between perpendicular rocks of great height, which frequently approach each other so closely overhead as to form a kind of tunnel over the stream, while it foams along below, half choked up by fallen fragments. To this pass the Spanish term "cañon" has been applied. As they neared the ridge, the river made a sudden turn and swept square down against one of the walls of the cañon, with great velocity, and so steep that it had the appearance of an inclined plane. When they launched into this the men jumped overboard to check the velocity of the boat, but were soon in water up to their necks, and the boat ran on. They succeeded, however, in bringing her to a small point of rocks on the right, at the mouth of the cañon. From the summit of the rocks the passage appeared to be a continued cataract, foaming over many obstructions, and broken by a number of small falls. They all again embarked, and at first attempted to check the way of the boat; but they narrowly escaped being swamped, and were obliged to let her go in the full force of the current, and trust to the skill of the boatmen. In some places the stream was contracted to from three to five feet by huge rocks which had fallen in, and was precipitated over them in a fall, or rushed through the contracted opening with tremendous violence. The boat, being of India-rubber, was unhurt by every shock. In this way they passed three cataracts in succession, where about a hundred feet of smooth water intervened, and finally issued from the tunnel with a shout of joy. They stopped at eight o'clock to breakfast on the banks below the cañon, for all were wet, fatigued, and hungry.

They re-embarked at nine, and in about twenty minutes reached the next cañon. Landing to reconnoiter, they found portage was out of the question; the jagged rocks pointed out the course of the cañon on a

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winding line of seven or eight miles. It was simply a narrow, dark chasm in the rock; the perpendicular faces were much higher than in the previous pass, being from two to three hundred feet at the upper end, and five hundred feet further down. Every thing being now secured as firmly as possible, they pushed into the stream and came to the first difficult pass. A strong rope had been fastened to the stern of the boat; three men clambered along the rocks, and with this rope let her slowly through the pass. In one of the narrows, formed by the high rocks which lay scattered about the channel, the boat stuck fast for an instant, and the water flew over them, sweeping away only a pair of saddle-bags, but they quickly forced her through and came into smoother water. The next passage was much worse, and they found themselves in a rather bad position. To go back was impossible; before them the cataract was a sheet of foam; and shut up in the chasm by the rocks, which seemed almost to meet overhead, the roar of the water was deafening. They pushed off again; but soon the current became too strong for the men on shore, and two of them let go the rope. Lajeunesse hung on and was jerked head-foremost into the river from a rock about twelve feet high; the boat shot forward, Basil following in the rapid current, his head only seen occasionally in the white foam. They succeeded at length in turning the boat into an eddy, and Basil Lajeunesse arrived immediately after, declaring that he had been swimming half a mile. They then took him and the two others on board, and again began the rapid descent. They cleared rock after rock, and shot past fall after fall, until they became familiar with the danger, and, yielding to the excitement of the occasion, they broke forth into a Canadian boat-song. They were in the midst of the chorus when the boat struck a hidden rock at the foot of a fall, which whirled her over in an instant. They saved themselves on the rocks upon either side, although with considerable difficulty, as three of the men could not swim. For a hundred yards below the stream was covered with books and boxes, bales and blankets; all their books—almost every record of the journey—their journals and registers of astronomical and barometrical observations, had been lost in a moment.

Colonel Fremont immediately set about endeavoring to save something from the wreck. They descended the stream on each side, and Lajeunesse in the boat alone proceeded down the cañon. The search was continued for a mile and a half, when the bed of the river became choked up with fragments of the rock and the boat could proceed no further. Fortunately they recovered all their registers, except one of Fremont's journals, containing notes and incidents of travel, and various descriptions and observations, many of which were supplied by the other journals. As the day was now declining they set forward over the rocks and joined the rest of the party at Goat Island, a short distance below this rocky pass.

They reached Fort Laramie on the last day of August, and after a

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two days' rest continued their homeward journey down the Platte, which was glorious with the autumnal splendor of innumerable flowers in full bloom. On the morning of October 10th they arrived at the mouth of the Kansas, just four months since they had left Chouteau's trading-post, ten miles above, and on the 17th the expedition arrived safely in St. Louis.

JOURNEY TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.

In order to connect the explorations of 1842 with the surveys of Commander Wilkes on the coast of the Pacific, so as to give a connected survey of the interior of our continent, Colonel Fremont was dispatched to the West in the spring of 1843, to organize another exploring party. After passing two weeks at the little town of Kansas, he completed the preparations necessary for the expedition contemplated by his instructions. The party, consisting principally of Creole and Canadian French, and Americans, amounted in all to thirty-nine men; among whom were several who had been on the first expedition. They set out on the 29th of May; the route now determined on was up the valley of the Kansas River and to the head waters of the Arkansas.

They ascended the Republican Fork of the Kansas, and on crossing an elevated range of rolling hills, on the 30th of June, found themselves overlooking a broad valley, where, about ten miles distant and a thousand feet below them, the south Fork of the Platte flowed along, swollen by the waters of the melting snows. "Traveling along up the valley of the river, here four thousand feet above the sea, in the afternoon of July 1st," says Colonel Fremont, "we caught a far and uncertain view of a faint blue mass in the west, as the sun sank behind it; and from our camp in the morning, at the mouth of Bijou, Long's Peak and the neighboring mountains stood out into the sky, grand and luminously white, covered to their bases with glittering snow."

On the 4th of July they reached St. Vrain's fort, and afterward pursued their route down the Boiling-spring River to its mouth on the Arkansas, where they arrived on the 14th. Here they had expected a re-enforcement of mules and supplies from Taos, but the natives having pillaged the inhabitants of that place, these supplies were cut off. Here Colonel Fremont had the satisfaction of meeting with their old buffalo-hunter, Kit Carson, whose services he again secured. As a supply of mules was absolutely necessary, he sent Carson to the post of Mr. Bent, on the Arkansas, about seventy-five miles below Boiling-spring River, with directions to proceed across the country with what animals he could find, and meet the party at St. Vrain's fort. Returning thither on the 23d, they found Fitzpatrick, the guide, and his party, in excellent health and spirits, and the reliable Kit Carson, who had brought ten mules with their pack-saddles. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who was inured to

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mountain life and knew well the value of provisions in this country, had secured an abundant supply in the camp.

"Having determined to try the passage by a pass through a spur of the mountains made by the Cache-à-la-Poudre River, which rises in the high bed of mountains around Long's peak," continues Fremont, "I thought it advisable to avoid any encumbrances which would occasion detention, and accordingly again separated the party into two divisions —one of which, under the command of Mr. Fitzpatrick, was directed to cross the plains to the mouth of Laramie River, and continuing thence its route along the usual emigrant road, meet me at Fort Hall, a post belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, and situated on Snake River, as it is commonly called in the Oregon Territory, although better known to us as Lewis's fork of the Columbia. Our Delaware Indians having determined to return to their homes, it became necessary to provide this party with a good hunter; and I accordingly engaged in that capacity Alexander Godey, a young man who had been in this country six or seven years, all of which time had been actively employed in hunting for the support of the posts, or in solitary expeditions among the Indians."

On the 13th of August Colonel Fremont crossed the dividing ridge which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific waters, by a road some miles south of the one followed on his return in 1842. They crossed near the Table Mountain, at the southern extremity of the South Pass, which is near twenty miles in width, and was already traversed by several different roads. The elevation of their route on this pass was seven thousand four hundred and ninety feet. Entering here the valley of the Green River—the great Colorado of the West—and inclining southward along the streams which form the Sandy River, the road led for several days over dry and level plains, and on the 15th they encamped in the Mexican territory, on the Green River, sixty-nine miles from the South Pass, and one thousand and thirty miles from the mouth of the Kansas. This was the emigrant trail to Oregon, which they followed along the Green River, and thence toward the Salt Lake. After crossing the dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains, the plants were few in variety, the grass became poor and insufficient, and in this portion of the journey they lost several of their animals.

To avoid delay, Colonel Fremont sent Carson in advance to Fort Hall on the 19th, to make arrangements for a supply of provisions. On the 21st they entered the fertile and picturesque valley of Bear River, the principal tributary to the Great Salt Lake. The stream is here two hundred feet wide, fringed with willows and occasional groups of hawthorns. "We were now entering a region," observes Colonel Fremont, "which, for us, possessed a strange and extraordinary interest. We were upon the waters of the famous lake which forms a salient point among the remarkable geographical features of the country, and around which the vague and superstitious accounts of the trappers had thrown a de-

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lightful obscurity. In our occasional conversations with the few old hunters who had visited the region, it had been a subject of frequent speculation; and the wonders which they related were not the less agreeable because they were highly exaggerated and impossible."

Next morning they crossed Smith's Fork, a clear, broad stream, flowing in through a wide mountain pass. Below, the valley of the Bear River was broad and beautiful, but contracted as they advanced, and at length swept through an open cañon where high vertical rocks rose up from the water's edge. Night came on as they were crossing the ridge around this cañon, and they had great difficulty in groping their way down the steep mountain side, which it was necessary to descend for water and grass. In the morning they found they had encamped near a large party of emigrants, and others were moving along the road below. In an hour's travel they met a small party of Shoshonees, who informed them that a large village had lately come into the valley, from a hunting excursion among the mountains on the west. Colonel Fremont immediately set off to visit their encampment. He had approached within about a mile when, he observes, "suddenly a single horseman emerged from it at full speed, followed by another and another in rapid succession; and then party after party poured into the plain, until, when the foremost rider reached us, all the whole intervening plain was occupied by a mass of horsemen, which came charging down upon us with guns and naked swords, lances, and bows and arrows—Indians entirely naked, and warriors fully dressed for war, with the long red streamers of their war-bonnets reaching nearly to the ground, all mingled together in the bravery of savage warfare. They had been thrown into a sudden tumult by the appearance of our flag, which, among these people, is regarded as an emblem of hostility—it being usually borne by the Sioux and the neighboring mountain Indians, when they come here to war; and we had, accordingly, been mistaken for a body of their enemies. A few words from the chief quieted the excitement; and the whole band, increasing every moment in number, escorted us to their encampment."

They purchased eight horses and a quantity of berries and roots from the Indians, and encamped near them for the night. On the 25th, they reached the famous *Beer Springs*. They are situated in a basin of mineral waters inclosed by the mountains, which sweep around a circular bend of the Bear River. A stream of clear water enters the upper part of the basin from an open valley in the mountains, and discharges into the river. They encamped a mile below, in the vicinity of the springs. In the bed of the river, for a space of several hundred yards, they were very abundant, the effervescing gas rising up and agitating the water in countless bubbling columns. In the vicinity were numerous springs of an entirely different and equally marked mineral character. One of these, at some distance below the camp, throws up a variable jet of water to the height of about three feet.

"Remaining in camp until nearly eleven o'clock, on the 25th," con-

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tinues Fremont, "we traveled a short distance down the river, and halted at noon on the bank, at a point where the road quits the valley of Bear River, and, crossing a ridge which divides the Great Basin from the Pacific waters, reaches Fort Hall, by way of the Portneuf River, in a distance of probably fifty miles, or two and a half days' journey for wagons. An examination of the great lake which is the outlet of this river, and the principal feature of geographical interest in the basin, was one of the main objects contemplated in the general plan of our survey, and I accordingly determined at this place to leave the road, and, after having completed a reconnoissance of the lake, regain it subsequently at Fort Hall."

Pursuing his route, he made preparations on the 1st of September for reaching the lake. He remarks: "Among the useful things which formed a part of our equipage, was an India-rubber boat, eighteen feet long, made somewhat in the form of a bark canoe of the northern lakes. The sides were formed by two air-tight cylinders, eighteen inches in diameter, connected with others forming the bow and stern. To lessen the danger from accidents to the boat, these were divided into four different compartments, and the interior space was sufficiently large to contain five or six persons, and a considerable weight of baggage. The Roseaux being too deep to be forded, our boat was filled with air, and in about one hour all the equipage of the camp, carriage and gun included, ferried across. Thinking that perhaps in the course of the day we might reach the outlet of the lake, I got into the boat with Basil Lajeunesse, and paddled down Bear River."

The channel of the river became so obstructed that they were obliged to leave the boat next day and proceed by land, and on the 3d sent back men and horses for the boat and baggage. Their provisions were beginning to fail, when Carson came up on the 4th with a light supply from Fort Hall. After many difficulties, they saw, on the 5th, an isolated mountain, twelve miles distant, toward which they directed their course, in the hope of obtaining from it a view of the lake, but the deepening marshes obliged them to return to the river, and gain higher ground. On the 6th they again made the attempt. "This time," he continues, "we reached the butte without any difficulty, and, ascending to the summit, immediately at our feet beheld the object of our anxious search—the waters of the inland sea, stretching in still and solitary grandeur far beyond the limit of our vision. It was one of the great points of the exploration; and as we looked eagerly over the lake in the first emotions of excited pleasure, I am doubtful if the followers of Balboa felt more enthusiasm when, from the heights of the Andes, they saw for the first time the great Western Ocean. It was certainly a magnificent object, and a noble *terminus* to this part of our expedition; and to travelers so long shut up among mountain ranges, a sudden view over the expanse of silent waters had in it something sublime. Several large islands raised their high rocky heads out of the waves; but whether or not they were

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timbered, was still left to our imagination, as the distance was too great to determine if the dark hues upon them were woodland or naked rock."

They returned to a grove which was the nearest point to the lake where a suitable camp could be found, and next day built an inclosure for the animals and a small fort for the men who were to remain.

"The provisions which Carson brought with him being now exhausted, and our stock reduced to a small quantity of roots, I determined to retain with me only a sufficient number of men for the execution of our design; and accordingly seven were sent back to Fort Hall, under the guidance of François Lajeunesse, who, having been for many years a trapper in the country, was considered an experienced mountaineer. Though they were provided with good horses, and the road was a remarkably plain one of only four days' journey for a horseman, they became bewildered (as we afterward learned), and, losing their way, wandered about the country in parties of one or two, reaching the fort about a week afterward.

"We formed now but a small family. With Mr. Preuss and myself, Carson, Bernier, and Basil Lajeunesse, had been selected for the boat-expedition—the first attempted on this interior sea; and Badeau, with Derosier, and Jacob (the colored man), were to be left in charge of the camp.

"In view of our present enterprise, a part of the equipment of the boat had been made to consist in three air-tight bags, about three feet long, and capable each of containing five gallons. These had been filled with water the night before, and were now placed in the boat, with our blankets and instruments. We left the camp at sunrise on the 8th, and had a pleasant voyage down the river, in which there was generally eight or ten feet of water, deepening as we neared the mouth in the latter part of the day. In the course of the morning we discoverd that two of the cylinders leaked so much as to require one man constantly at the bellows, to keep them sufficiently full of air to support the boat. On the 9th the channel became so shallow that our navigation was at an end, being merely a sheet of soft mud, with a few inches of water, and sometimes none at all. We took off our clothes, and, getting overboard, commenced dragging the boat, making, by this operation, a very curious trail, and a very disagreeable smell in stirring up the mud, as we sank above the knee at every step. The water here was still fresh, with only an insipid and disagreeable taste, probably derived from the bed of fetid mud. After proceeding in this way about a mile, we came to a small black ridge on the bottom, beyond which the water became suddenly salt, beginning gradually to deepen, and the bottom was sandy and firm. It was a remarkable division, separating the fresh waters of the river from the briny water of the lake, which was entirely *saturated* with common salt. Pushing our little vessel across the narrow boundary, we sprang on board, and at length were afloat on the waters of the unknown sea."

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They steered first for one of the islands, from which to begin their operations. As they advanced into deep water they encountered a strong north wind and a rough sea, and when they were half way across, two of the divisions between the cylinders gave way, so that the bellows were in constant use to keep in a sufficient quantity of air. For a long time they made slow progress, but finally gained the smoother water under the lee of the island, and about noon reached the shore. Carrying with them the instruments, in the afternoon they ascended to the highest point of the island—a bare, rocky peak, eight hundred feet above the lake. From the summit they had an extended view of the lake, inclosed in a basin of rugged mountains, which in some places rose directly from the water in bold and precipitous bluffs. "Following with our glasses the irregular shores," continues Fremont, "we searched for some indications of a communication with other bodies of water, or the entrance of other rivers; but the distance was so great that we could make out nothing with certainty. As we looked over the vast expanse of water spread out beneath us, and strained our eyes along the silent shores over which hung so much doubt and uncertainty, and which were so full of interest to us, I could hardly repress the almost irresistible desire to continue our explorations; but the lengthening snow on the mountains was a plain indication of the advancing season, and our frail linen boat appeared so insecure that I was unwilling to trust our lives to the uncertainties of the lake. I therefore unwillingly resolved to terminate our survey here, and remain satisfied for the present with what we had been able to add to the unknown geography of the region. Out of the drift-wood, we made ourselves pleasant little lodges, open to the water; and, after having kindled large fires to excite the wonder of any straggling savage on the lake shores, lay down, for the first time in a long journey, in perfect security; no one thinking about his arms."

Leaving the lake next day they proceeded toward Fort Hall, and on the 18th emerged on the plains of the Columbia, in sight of the famous "Three Buttes," a well-known landmark in the country. At sunset they encamped with their friends who had preceded them to Fort Hall, and in the morning Colonel Fremont rode up to the fort and purchased several very indifferent horses, and five oxen in fine order, which were received at the camp with great satisfaction. Here the early approach of winter and the difficulty of supporting a large party, determined Fremont to send back a number of the men who had become satisfied that they were not fitted for the laborious service and frequent privation to which they were necessarily exposed.

The party with Colonel Fremont now proceeded down the Snake River, holding occasional intercourse with the Indians by the way, and on the morning of December 9th, arrived at Fort Boise, a simple dwelling-house on the bank of the river below the mouth of *Rivière Boisée*. Here they were hospitably received by Mr. Payette, an officer of the Hudson Bay Company, in charge of the fort, all of whose gar-

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rison consisted in a Canadian *engagé*. On the 13th they left the valley of the great southern branch of the Columbia River, to which the absence of timber and the scarcity of water gave the appearance of a desert, and crossing over to the valley of Burnt River, entered a mountain region, where the soil is good and the face of the country covered with nutritious grasses and dense forests. Continuing their journey northward, they reached the Powder River, whose course they followed a few days, then leaving the emigrant route, they crossed the mountains by an Indian trail to the head-waters of the Umatilah. They were sometimes obliged to cut their way through the forests, which here consist of several varieties of spruce, larch, and balsam-pine, of a regular conical figure. The trees were from sixty to two hundred feet in height, the usual circumference being ten to fifteen feet, and in the pines sometimes twenty-one feet.

On the 23d the trail led along one of the spurs of the mountain on which they had been traveling, descending gradually toward the plain, and they at length emerged from the forest in full view of the plain below, and saw the snowy mass of Mount Hood standing high out above the surrounding country at the distance of one hundred and eighty miles. Here they reached the Wallahwallah River, just after it has issued from narrow ravines, walled with precipices. Next day they crossed a principal fork, below which the scattered waters of the river were gathered into one channel; and passing on the way several unfinished houses and some cleared patches where corn and potatoes were cultivated, they reached, a few miles further, the missionary establishment of Dr. Whitman, which consisted at this time of one adobe house.

"The road on the 25th," says Colonel Fremont, "led over a sandy, undulating plain, through which a scantily-timbered river takes its course. We halted about three miles above the mouth, on account of grass; and the next morning arrived at the Nez Percé fort, one of the trading establishments of the Hudson Bay Company, a few hundred yards above the junction of the Wallahwallah with the Columbia River. Here we had the first view of this river, and found it about twelve hundred yards wide, and presenting the appearance of a fine navigable stream." Continuing down the valley of the Columbia, he reached the Methodist missionary station at the Dalles, on the 4th of November.

"Our land journey," says he, "found here its western termination. The delay involved in getting our camp to the right bank of the Columbia, and in opening a road through the continuous forest to Vancouver, rendered a journey along the river impracticable; and on this side the usual road across the mountain required strong and fresh animals, there being an interval of three days in which they could obtain no food. I therefore wrote immediately to Mr. Fitzpatrick, directing him to abandon the carts at the Wallahwallah missionary station, and as soon as the necessary pack-saddles could be made, which his party required, meet

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me at the Dalles, from which point I proposed to commence our homeward journey."

He then descended the river to Fort Vancouver, where he found the bark *Columbia*, lying at anchor near the landing. She was about to start on a voyage to England, and was now ready for sea; being detained only in waiting the arrival of the express batteaux, which descend the Columbia and its north fork with the overland mail from Canada and Hudson's Bay, which had been delayed beyond the usual time. He immediately waited upon Dr. McLaughlin, the executive officer of the Hudson Bay Company, who supplied him with stores and provisions for his party in their contemplated winter journey to the States; and, also with a boat, and canoes, and men, for their transportation to the Dalles of the Columbia. Near sunset on the 10th the boats left the fort, and in the afternoon of the 18th the party arrived again at the Dalles.

The camp was now occupied in making preparations for the homeward journey, for which he contemplated a new route to the south and south-west, and the exploration of the Great Basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. Colonel Fremont wished to ascertain the character or existence of three principal objects reported to be on this route, which he assumed as leading points on the projected line of return. "The first of these points was the Tlamath Lake, on the table-land between the head of Fall River, which comes to the Columbia, and the Sacramento, which goes to the Bay of San Francisco; and from which lake a river of the same name makes its way westwardly direct to the ocean. From this lake our course was intended to be about south-east, to a reported lake called Mary's at some days' journey in the Great Basin; and thence, still on south-east, to the reputed Buenaventura River, which has had a place in so many maps, and countenanced the belief of the existence of a great river flowing from the Rocky Mountains to the Bay of San Francisco. From the Buenaventura the next point was intended to be in that section of the Rocky Mountains which includes the heads of the Arkansas River, and of the opposite waters of the California Gulf; and thence down the Arkansas to Bent's fort, and home. This was our projected line of return—great part of it absolutely new to geographical, botanical, and geological science—and the subject of reports in relation to lakes, rivers, deserts, and savages, hardly above the condition of mere wild animals, which inflamed desire to know what this *terra incognita* really contained.

"It was a serious enterprise, at the commencement of winter, to undertake the traverse of such a region, and with a party consisting only of twenty-five persons, and they of many nations—American, French, German, Canadian, Indian, and colored—and most of them young, several being under twenty-one years of age. All knew that a strange country was to be explored and dangers and hardships to be encountered; but no one blenched at the prospect. On the contrary, courage and confidence animated the whole party. Cheerfulness, readiness, sub-

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ordination, prompt obedience, characterized all; nor did any extremity of peril and privation, to which we were afterward exposed, ever belie, or derogate from the fine spirit of this brave and generous commencement.

"For the support of the party, I had provided at Vancouver a supply of provisions for not less than three months, consisting principally of flour, peas, and tallow—the latter being used in cooking; and in addition to this, I had purchased some California cattle, which were to be driven on the hoof. We had one hundred and four mules and horses, for the sustenance of which our reliance was upon the grass which we should find, and the soft porous wood which was to be substituted when there was none."

The preparations being fully completed, they set out on the 25th of November, and after proceeding along the tributaries of Fall River, the last branch of which they crossed on the 8th of December, they reached a spring of cold water on the 10th, situated on the edge of a grassy meadow, which their guides informed them was an arm of the Tlamath Lake. A few miles further they entered an extensive meadow, or lake of grass, surrounded by timbered mountains. This was the Tlamath Lake. It was a picturesque and beautiful spot, and rendered more attractive to the travelers by the abundant and excellent grass, which the animals, after traversing pine forests, so much needed; but the broad sheet of water which constitutes a lake was not to be seen. Overlooking it on the west were several snowy knobs belonging to the Cascade range. Next day they visited an Indian village, on the stream at the outlet of the marsh. Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. The language spoken by these Indians is different from that of the Shoshonee and Columbia River tribes. They told Colonel Fremont that they were at war with the people who lived southward and eastward, but he could obtain no certain information from them.

"From Tlamath Lake," says Colonel Fremont, "the further continuation of our voyage assumed a character of discovery and exploration, which, from the Indians here, we could obtain no information to direct, and where the imaginary maps of the country, instead of assisting, exposed us to suffering and defeat. In our journey across the desert, Mary's Lake, and the famous Buenaventura River, were two points on which I relied to recruit the animals and repose the party. Forming, agreeably to the best maps in my possession, a connected water-line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, I felt no other anxiety than to pass safely across the intervening desert to the banks of the Buenaventura, where, in the softer climate of a more southern latitude, our horses might find grass to sustain them, and ourselves be sheltered from the rigors of winter, and from the inhospitable desert."

Continuing their explorations they reached a considerable stream on the 13th, which seemed to be the principal affluent to the lake, and the

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head-water of the Tlamath River. Next day they struck upon another stream, which issued from the mountain in an easterly direction, and turned to the southward below. The natives gave them to understand that it continued a long distance in that direction, uniting with many other streams, and gradually becoming a great river. They now became satisfied that this was the principal stream of the Sacramento. On the 16th they traveled through snow about three feet deep which being crusted, cut the feet of the animals very badly. They were now approaching the summit of a mountain up which they had been ascending through thick forests since the morning of the previous day.

"Toward noon," continues Fremont, "the forest looked clear ahead, appearing suddenly to terminate; and beyond a certain point we could see no trees. Riding rapidly ahead to this spot, we found ourselves on the verge of a vertical and rocky wall of the mountain. At our feet—more than a thousand feet below—we looked into a green prairie country, in which a beautiful lake, some twenty miles in length, was spread along the foot of the mountains, its shores bordered with green grass. Just then the sun broke out among the clouds, and illuminated the country below, while around us the storm raged fiercely. Not a particle of ice was to be seen on the lake, or snow on its borders, and all was like summer or spring. The glow of the sun in the valley below brightened up our hearts with sudden pleasure; and we made the woods ring with joyful shouts to those behind; and gradually, as each came up, he stopped to enjoy the unexpected scene. Shivering on snow three feet deep, and stiffening in a cold north wind, we exclaimed at once that the names of Summer Lake and Winter Ridge should be applied to these two proximate places of such sudden and violent contrast. Broadly marked by the boundary of the mountain wall, and immediately below us, were the first waters of that Great Interior Basin which has the Wahsatch and Bear River Mountains for its eastern, and the Sierra Nevada for its western rim; and the edge of which we had entered upward of three months before, at the Great Salt Lake.

"When we had sufficiently admired the scene below, we began to think about descending, which here was impossible, and we turned toward the north, traveling always along the rocky wall. We continued on for four or five miles, making ineffectual attempts at several places, and at length succeeded in getting down at one which was extremely difficult of descent. Night closed in before the foremost reached the bottom, and they kindled fires to light on the others. One of the mules rolled over and over two or three hundred feet into a ravine, but recovered himself with no other injury than to his pack."

On the 18th they followed an Indian trail along the strip of land between the lake and the high rocky wall from which they had looked down two days before, and on the 20th came to a much larger lake, bordered on its eastern side by a high black ridge which walled it in with a precipitous face. This lake presented a handsome sheet, twenty

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miles in length, to which Colonel Fremont gave the name of Lake Abert, in honor of the chief of the corps to which he belonged. When they came near, the white efflorescences which lined the shore like a bank of snow, and the disagreeable odor which filled the air, told them too plainly that the water belonged to one of those fetid salt lakes which are common in this region. Pursuing their route, they attained an elevated position on the 23d, from which they saw another small lake about ten miles to the southward, toward which a broad trail led along the ridge; and as this appeared the most practicable route, Fremont determined to continue the journey in that direction.

Still moving southward in search of an outlet toward the Pacific, they came, on the 10th of January, 1844, to the end of a basin they had been traversing, where they found a hollow extending into the mountain inclosing it. Colonel Fremont and Mr. Preuss, who were in advance, continued their way up the hollow, to see what lay beyond the mountain. "The hollow," says Fremont, "was several miles long, forming a good pass; the snow deepening to about a foot as we neared the summit. Beyond, a defile between the mountains descended rapidly about two thousand feet; and, filling up all the lower space, was a sheet of green water, some twenty miles broad. It broke upon our eyes like the ocean. The neighboring peaks rose high above us, and we ascended one of them to obtain a better view. The waves were curling in the breeze, and their dark-green color showed it to be a body of deep water. For a long time we sat enjoying the view, for we had become fatigued with mountains, and the free expanse of moving waves was very grateful. It was set like a gem in the mountains, which, from our position, seemed to inclose it almost entirely. At the western end it communicated with the line of basins we had left a few days since; and on the opposite side it swept a ridge of snowy mountains, the foot of the great Sierra."

As they advanced along the shores of the lake, the most conspicuous object was a remarkable rock rising from the surface of the water, which attracted their attention for many miles. It rose six hundred feet above the surface, in the form of a pyramid. This striking feature suggesting a name for the lake, Colonel Fremont called it Pyramid Lake. The Indians whom they met told them of a large river at the southern extremity, which they reached on the 15th, but instead of an outlet, they found the *inlet* of a large fresh-water stream. They were at once satisfied they had discovered a large interior lake, which had no outlet. On the 16th they continued their journey along this stream, and in a week found themselves in the heart of the mountains. The snow deepened as they advanced; their moccasins, which were wet in the heat of the day, froze perfectly stiff as the sun declined, and they had great difficulty to keep their feet from freezing. The mountain passes became difficult, and they endured great hardships from fatigue and cold, but they still pushed on, expecting at every stream to find some outlet from the great laby-

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rinth of mountains which inclosed them. Holding a council with some Indians on the 29th, they found that they were still on waters flowing into the Great Basin, in the edge of which they had been since the 17th of December.

"We explained to the Indians," continues Fremont, "that we were endeavoring to find a pass across the mountains into the country of the whites, whom we were going to see; and told them that we wished them to bring us a guide, to whom we would give presents of scarlet cloth, and other articles, which were shown to them. They looked at the reward we offered, and conferred with each other, but pointed to the snow on the mountain, and drew their hands across their necks, and raised them above their heads, to show the depth; and signified that it was impossible for us to get through. They made signs that we must go to the southward, over a pass through a lower range, which they pointed out: there, they said, at the end of one day's travel, we would find people who lived near a pass in the great mountain; and to that point they engaged to furnish us a guide."

They set forward next day, and on the evening of the 31st held an interesting council with the Indians who had assembled at their camp-fires. The Indians told Fremont that, before the snows fell, it was six sleeps to the place where the whites lived, but that now it was impossible to cross the mountains on account of the deep snow. Fremont said that the men and the horses were strong, and would break a road through the snow; and then showed what he would give for a guide. The Indians told him that if they could break through the snow, at the end of three days they would come down upon grass, where the ground was entirely free. Afterward a young man was brought in who had seen the whites, and who was at length prevailed upon to be their guide.

In the morning Colonel Fremont acquainted the men with his decision, and assured them that from the heights of the mountain before them they would doubtless see the valley of the Sacramento, and with one effort be again in the midst of plenty. They received this decision with cheerful obedience, and immediately prepared to carry it into effect. On the 2d of February they continued their journey. The snow deepened rapidly, and it soon became necessary to break a road. On the 3d they ascended a hollow directly toward the main chain, but the depth of the snow at length obliged them to travel along the steep hill-sides, and next day they had to abandon it altogether. They cut a footing as they advanced along the mountain side, and trampled a road through for the animals; but occasionally one plunged outside the trail and slid along the field to the bottom, a hundred yards below.

"The camp," continues Fremont, "had been occupied all the day in endeavoring to ascend the hill, but only the best horses had succeeded; the animals, generally, not having sufficient strength to bring themselves up without the packs; and all the line of road between this and the springs was strewed with camp-stores and equipage, and horses flounder-

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ing in snow. I therefore immediately encamped on the ground with my own mess, which was in advance, and directed Mr. Fitzpatrick to encamp at the springs, and send all the animals back to the place where they had been pastured the night before.

"To-night we had no shelter, but we made a large fire around the trunk of one of the huge pines; and covering the snow with small boughs, on which we spread our blankets, soon made ourselves comfortable. The night was very bright and clear, though the thermometer was only at ten degrees. Accompanied by Mr. Fitzpatrick, I set out on the 6th, with a reconnoitering party on snow-shoes. We marched all in single file, trampling the snow as heavily as we could. Crossing the open basin, in a march of about ten miles we reached the top of one of the peaks, to the left of the pass indicated by our guide. Far below us, dimmed by the distance, was a large snowless valley, bounded on the western side, at the distance of about a hundred miles, by a low range of mountains, which Carson recognized with delight as the mountains bordering the coast. 'There,' said he, 'is the little mountain—it is fifteen years since I saw it; but I am just as sure as if I had seen it yesterday.' Between us, then, and this low coast range, was the valley of the Sacramento; and no one who had not accompanied us through the incidents of our life for the last few months could realize the delight with which at last we looked down upon it. At the distance of apparently thirty miles beyond us were distinguished spots of prairie; and a dark line which could be traced with the glass, was imagined to be the course of the river; but we were evidently at a great height above the valley, and between us and the plains extended miles of snowy fields and broken ridges of pine-covered mountains."

They returned late in the day, and next morning Fremont advanced with one party, drawing sleighs loaded with baggage, leaving Fitzpatrick with another party to form an intermediate station. On the 11th he received a message from Fitzpatrick, stating that it was impossible to get the mules and horses along—they had broken through the snow, and were plunging about or lying half buried in it. He gave orders for the animals to be sent back to their old pastures, and all the party to turn out with mauls and shovels to beat a road through the snow. Fremont and his party worked at their end of the road, and on the 13th had the satisfaction of seeing the people working down the face of the opposite hill, three miles distant. By the 16th, they succeeded in getting the animals to the first grassy hill, and the same morning Colonel Fremont started on a reconnoitering expedition beyond the mountain. He found some grassy spots where the snow was melting away, and encamped in the evening on a little creek where at last the water found its way toward the Pacific. Following the creek next day, it acquired a regular breadth of about twenty feet; he was now satisfied they had struck the stream on which Mr. Sutter lived, and turning about, reached the camp at dark. The labor of making a road and bringing up the baggage continued, and

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finally, on the 20th of February, they encamped, with all the animals and baggage, on the summit of the pass in the dividing ridge, one thousand miles from the Dalles of the Columbia. The elevation of the encampment was nine thousand three hundred and thirty-eight feet above the level of the sea.

They now considered the difficulties of the mountain to be overcome, having only the descent before them and the valley under their eyes; but this descent was not easy. Deep fields of snow still lay between, and there was a large intervening space of rough mountains, through which they had yet to wind their way. The 23d was their most difficult day. They were obliged to take to the mountain sides, which were steep and slippery with snow and ice, and where the tough evergreens impeded their way. Some, whose moccasins were slippery, were frequently obliged to crawl across the snow-beds. Continuing down the river, which pursued a westerly course through a narrow valley, they occasionally met with excellent grass at their encampments, but sometimes the animals suffered greatly from the scarcity of pasture. The valleys were covered with magnificent forests; some of the pines were ten feet in diameter.

On the 2d of March Mr. Preuss, who was in advance when they encamped, was lost. For several days his absence caused great uneasiness to the party, when, on the evening of the 5th, he made his appearance. Knowing that Fremont would keep near the river, he had walked on without much concern on the first day, going right and left to obtain good views of the country, but the next day it became more serious. He knew not whether the party was in advance or not, but still he kept on, and on the second night again encamped alone. His principal means of subsistence were a few roots, which he obtained with great labor. In the pools he caught some of the smallest kind of frogs, which he swallowed, not so much for the gratification of hunger as in the hope of obtaining some strength. At length he found a fire left by the party, and the tracks of the horses, and following as fast as he could, rejoined his companions in the evening.

On the 6th they descended into broad groves on the river, and, as they passed along, the valley was gay with flowers, some of the banks being absolutely golden with the Californian poppy. Here the grass was smooth and green, and the groves very open; the large oaks throwing a broad shade among sunny spots. Soon afterward they passed a neat adobe house with glass windows, but found only Indians. They now pressed eagerly forward; the hills lowered as they advanced, and on entering a broad valley they came unexpectedly into a large Indian village, where the people wore cotton shirts and various other articles of dress. While they were trying to communicate with the natives, a well-dressed Indian came up and made his salutations in well-spoken Spanish.

"In answer to our inquiries," continues Fremont, "he informed us

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that we were upon the *Rio de los Americanos* (the river of the Americans), and that it joined the Sacramento River about ten miles below. Never did a name sound more sweetly! We felt ourselves among our countrymen; for the name of *American*, in these distant parts, is applied to the citizens of the United States. To our eager inquiries he answered, 'I am a *vaquero* (cowherd) in the service of Captain Sutter, and the people of this *rancheria* work for him.' Our evident satisfaction made him communicative; and he went on to say that Captain Sutter was a very rich man, and always glad to see his country people. We asked for his house. He answered that it was just over the hill before us; and offered, if we would wait a moment, to take his horse and conduct us to it. We readily accepted this civil offer. In a short distance we came in sight of the fort; and passing on the way the house of a settler on the opposite side (a Mr. Sinclair), we forded the river, and in a few miles were met, a short distance from the fort, by Captain Sutter himself. He gave us a most frank and cordial reception—conducted us immediately to his residence—and under his hospitable roof we had a night of rest, enjoyment, and refreshment, which none but ourselves could appreciate. But the party left in the mountains, with Mr. Fitzpatrick, were to be attended to; and the next morning, supplied with fresh horses and provisions, I hurried off to meet them. On the second day we met, a few miles below the forks of the Rio de los Americanos; and a more forlorn and pitiable sight than they presented, can not well be imagined. They were all on foot—each man, weak and emaciated, leading a horse or mule as weak and emaciated as themselves. They had experienced great difficulty in descending the mountains, made slippery by rains and melting snows, and many horses fell over precipices, and were killed; and with some were lost the *packs* they carried. Among these was a mule with the plants which we had collected since leaving Fort Hall, along a line of two thousand miles' travel.

"The next day, March 8th, we encamped at the junction of the two rivers, the Sacramento and Americanos; and thus found the whole party in the beautiful valley of the Sacramento. It was a convenient place for the camp; and, among other things, was within reach of the wood necessary to make the pack-saddles, which we should need on our long journey home, from which we were further distant now than we were four months before, when from the Dalles of the Columbia we so cheerfully took up the homeward line of march."

On the 24th they took leave of Captain Sutter, who accompanied them a few miles on their way, and set out on their journey homeward. They encamped at the Rio de los Cosumnes, and next evening halted at the ford of the Rio de los Mukelemnes, whence the route led through a pleasant country toward the San Joaquin. They touched this river on the 3d of April, ascended its bank for a few days, then crossed a prairie country to the tributaries of the Tule Lake, one of which they ascended toward the pass of the Sierra. "On the 13th," says Fremont,

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"a Christian Indian rode into the camp, well dressed, with long spurs and a *sombrero*, and speaking Spanish fluently. It was an unexpected apparition, and a strange and pleasant sight in this desolate gorge of a mountain—an Indian face, Spanish costume, jingling spurs, and horse equipped after the Spanish manner." The Indian undertook to guide them through the pass, where two others joined him. They here left the waters of the bay of San Francisco, and on the 15th the desert was in full view on their left, apparently illimitable. "Our cavalcade," continues Fremont, "made a strange and grotesque appearance; and it was impossible to avoid reflecting upon our position and composition in this remote solitude. Within two degrees of the Pacific Ocean—already far south of the latitude of Monterey—and still forced on south by a desert on one hand, and a mountain range on the other—guided by a civilized Indian, attended by two wild ones from the Sierra—a Chinook from the Columbia, and our mixture of Americans, French, Germans—all armed—four or five languages heard at once—above a hundred horses and mules, half wild—American, Spanish, and Indian dresses and equipments intermingled—such was our composition. Our march was a sort of procession. Scouts ahead and on the flanks; a front and rear division; the pack-animals, baggage, and horned-cattle in the center; and the whole stretching a quarter of a mile along our dreary path. In this form we journeyed, looking more as if we belonged to Asia than to the United States of America."

On the 17th they left their guide and turned directly eastward along the trail, which was hardly visible. Still continuing in this direction, along a different route, they struck upon the Spanish Trail on the 19th, the great object of their search. The road itself, and its course, which was due north, were happy discoveries to the party, as they wished to bear several degrees northward before crossing the Rocky Mountains. Relieved from the rocks and the brush, they now advanced more rapidly and pleasantly along the beaten road. In the afternoon of the 24th they were surprised by the sudden appearance in the camp of two Mexicans—a man and a boy, named Andreas Fuentes and Pablo Hernandez. They belonged to a party of six persons who had left Pueblo de los Angeles with about thirty horses. The remaining four were the wife of Fuentes, the father and mother of Pablo, and Santiago Giacomo, who had charge of the cavalcade. While waiting at Archilete for a Spanish caravan, they had been attacked by a large party of Indians, whose object was to get possession of the horses. Pablo and Fuentes, in obedience to Giacomo, drove the animals over and through the assailants and made off at full speed across the plain. After riding sixty miles they had left the horses at Agua de Tomaso, a watering-place on the trail, and were hurrying on to meet the caravan, when they discovered Fremont's camp.

On the 25th, Fremont's party arrived at Agua de Tomaso, the spring where the horses had been left, but they had been driven off by the In-

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dians. Carson and Godey volunteered, with the Mexican, to pursue them; and, well-mounted, the three set off on the trail. In the evening Fuentes returned, his horse having failed, but Carson and Godey had continued the pursuit. Next evening a war-whoop was heard, and soon Carson and Godey appeared, driving before them a band of horses, recognized by Fuentes to be part of those they had lost. Two bloody scalps were dangling from Godey's gun. They had entered the mountains toward night-fall and followed the trail by moonlight to a narrow defile, in which they closed upon the Indians in the morning, regardless of the number which the four lodges would imply. "The Indians received them with a flight of arrows shot from their long-bows, one of which passed through Godey's shirt-collar, barely missing the neck; our men fired their rifles upon a steady aim, and rushed in. Two Indians were stretched upon the ground, fatally pierced with bullets; the rest fled, except a little lad that was captured. The scalps of the fallen were instantly stripped off; but in the process, one of them, who had two balls through his body, sprang to his feet, the blood streaming from his skinned head, and uttering a hideous howl. The frightful spectacle appalled the stout hearts of the men, but they quickly dispatched the gory savage." They released the boy, gathered up the surviving horses, returned upon their trail, and rejoined their friends at their camp, in the afternoon of the same day. They rode about a hundred miles in the pursuit and return, all in thirty hours.

Continuing their journey northward over a gloomy and sterile waste, they came on the evening of the 29th to a sandy basin, in which a grassy spot, with its springs and willows, forms a camping-place in the desert, called the Archilete. "The dead silence of the place," says Colonel Fremont, "was ominous; and, galloping rapidly up, we found only the corpses of the two men; every thing else was gone. They were naked, mutilated, and pierced with arrows. Hernandez had evidently fought, and with desperation. He lay in advance of the willow half-faced tent, which sheltered his family, as if he had come out to meet danger, and to repulse it from that asylum. One of his hands, and both his legs, had been cut off. Giacomo, who was a large and strong-looking man, was lying in one of the willow shelters, pierced with arrows.

"Of the women no trace could be found, and it was evident they had been carried off captive. A little lap-dog, which had belonged to Pablo's mother, remained with the dead bodies, and was frantic with joy at seeing Pablo; he, poor child, was frantic with grief, and filled the air with lamentations for his father and mother. *Mi Padre! Mi Madre!*—was his incessant cry. When we beheld this pitiable sight, and pictured to ourselves the fate of the two women, carried off by savages so brutal and so loathsome, all compunction for the scalped-alive Indian ceased; and we rejoiced that Carson and Godey had been able to give so useful a lesson to these American Arabs, who lie in wait to murder and plunder the innocent traveler."

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On the 3d of May they encamped at Las Vegas, and next day came to the Rio de los Angeles. Along the route they had frequent visits from the Indians, who were sometimes very tronblesome. From the camp at which they remained over the 9th, the horses were sent with a strong guard in charge of Tabeau to a neighboring pasture for the day. In the afternoon Carson reported that Tabeau, who early in the day had left his post and rode back to the camp they had left, in search of a lame mule, had not returned. Search was immediately made, and at length the mule was found, mortally wounded by an arrow, and in another place, something like a puddle of blood, which the darkness prevented them from verifying. "In the morning," says Colonel Fremont, "I set out myself with Mr. Fitzpatrick and several men, in search of Tabeau. We went to the spot where the appearance of puddled blood had been seen; and this, we saw at once, had been the place where he fell and died. Blood upon the leaves, and beaten-down bushes, showed that he had got his wound about twenty paces from where he fell, and that he had struggled for his life. He had probably been shot through the lungs with an arrow. From the place where he lay and bled, it could be seen that he had been dragged to the river bank, and thrown into it. No vestige of what had belonged to him could be found, except a fragment of his horse equipment. Horse, gun, clothes—all became the prey of these Arabs of the New World."

On the 17th they left the Spanish trail, which had been their road for four hundred and forty miles, and again found themselves under the necessity of exploring a track through the wilderness. The trail bore off south-eastwardly, across the Wah-Satch range, to Santa Fé, while their course led north-eastwardly along the foot of that range, toward the Utah Lake. They reached the lake on the 25th, having made a circuit of three thousand five hundred miles since leaving the northern extremity of the same sheet of water in September, 1843.

Turning their faces once more eastward, they left the Utah Lake on the 27th, and bearing southward from their old route, crossed the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the 13th of June, at an affluent of the Platte, called Pullam's Fork. Thence they ascended the Platte to examine the mountains at the three remarkable coves called the Parks, in which the head waters of the Platte, the Arkansas, and the Grand River Fork of the Colorado take their rise. From this pass, which Colonel Fremont found to be the best he had seen on the dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains, he descended the waters of the Arkansas, and arrived at Bent's fort on the 1st of July. Twenty miles below Bent's fort he left the river, and crossing over to the Smoky Hill Fork, he proceeded down the waters of the Kansas, and on the last day of July encamped again at the little town of Kansas, on the banks of the Missouri River.

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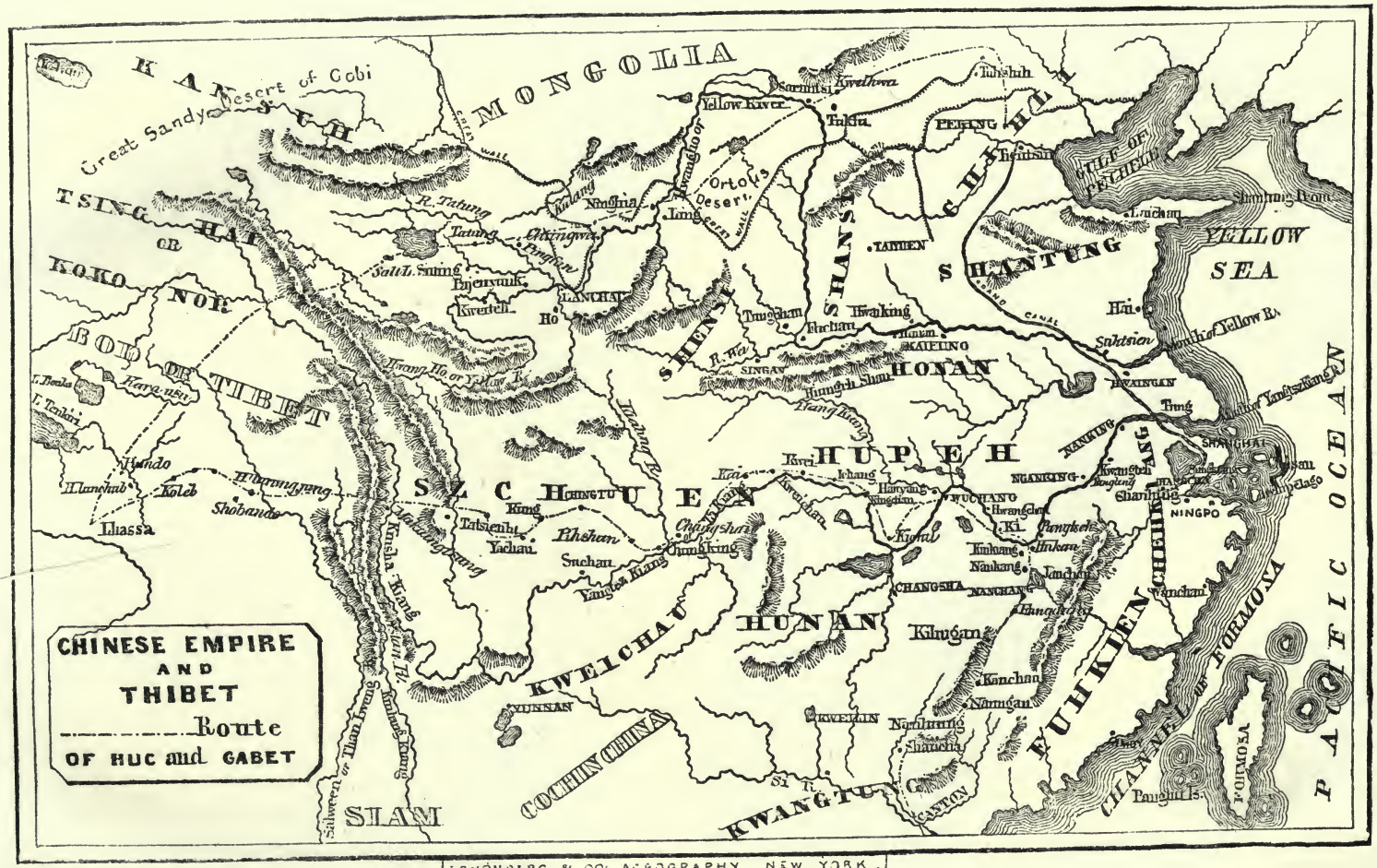

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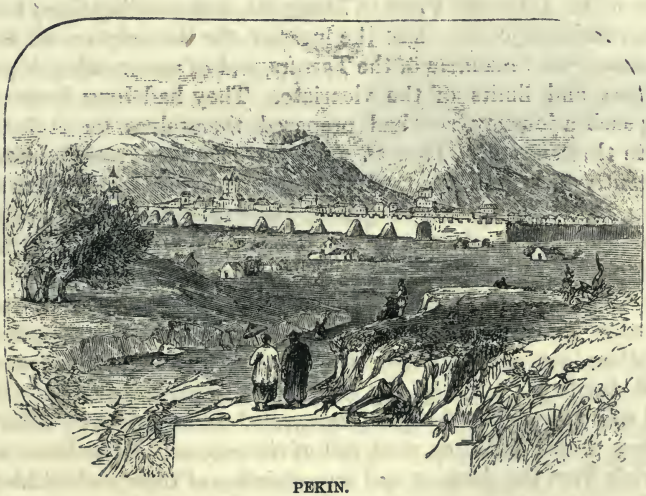
HUC'S

TRAVELS IN TARTARY, THIBET, AND CHINA.

JOURNEY THROUGH TARTARY AND THIBET.



PEKIN.

THE French Catholic Mission at Pekin, which had been very flourishing during the last century, was broken up and scattered by the Emperor Kia-king, who ascended the throne in 1799, and a long time elapsed before the priests connected with it dared to return to the Chinese capital. When they ventured back again, they found the mission entirely deserted: many of the native Christians, to withdraw themselves from the pursuit of the Chinese authorities, had passed the Great Wall, and had gone to seek peace and liberty in the deserts of Tartary; they were living here and there on some patches of land, which the Mongols permitted them to cultivate. By dint of perseverance, the missionaries

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at length succeeded in re-assembling these scattered remnants; they established themselves in the midst of them, and directed from thence the ancient mission of Pekin, the immediate care of which was intrusted to some Chinese Lazarists.

Among the French priests who were sent out to re-establish the mission, were Messrs. Gabet and Huc, the latter of whom reached Pekin in the year 1840, and devoted himself to acquiring the Chinese and Mantchoo languages. In visiting the Christians of Mongolia, Huc and Gabet had more than once occasion to make excursions into the *Land of Grass*, and to sit beneath a Mongol tent; and having thus become acquainted with this nomadic people, they became interested in them, and earnestly desired to undertake the task of Christianizing them. From that time they devoted all their leisure to the study of the Tartar languages, and in the course of the year 1842 the Holy See crowned their wishes by erecting Mongolia into an apostolic vicariate.

In the beginning of the year 1844, Huc and Gabet, who were then living at *He Chuy*, the "Valley of the Black Waters," received a message from the Apostolic Vicar of Mongolia, commanding them to undertake an extensive journey into the interior, for the purpose of studying the character and manners of the Tartars, and of ascertaining, if possible, the extent and limits of the vicariate. They had long been contemplating such a journey, and had prepared themselves for it by all the means in their power. They at once dispatched a young Lama, who had recently been converted, to procure camels and rejoin them at *Pie-lié-Keou*, the "Contiguous Gorges." Here they waited for many days, employing themselves in translating books of prayer and doctrine into the Mongol language, and were finally on the point of engaging a Chinese cart to the town of Tolon-nor, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, when the Lama arrived with their camels. After completing their preparations, service was performed in the chapel, and they proceeded the first day to an inn kept by one of the Chinese converts. Beyond this all was unknown; Mongolia, untraveled for centuries by a European, lay before them; but they were full of courage and enthusiasm, and did not shrink from the dangers and uncertainties of their undertaking.

"The day had scarcely dawned," says Huc, "when we were again on foot; but, before setting off, we had to effect a metamorphosis in our costume. The missionaries who reside in China all wear the dress of the Chinese merchants, and have nothing in their costume to mark their religious character. This custom, it appears to us, has been in some measure an obstacle to the success of their missions. For among the Tartars, a '*black man*,' that is, a secular person, who undertakes to speak of religion, excites only contempt. Religion they consider as an affair belonging exclusively to the Lamas. We resolved, therefore, to adopt the costume worn on ordinary occasions by the Lamas of Thibet; namely, a long yellow robe fastened by a red girdle, and five gilt buttons, with a violet velvet collar, and a yellow cap surmounted by a red

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rosette. We also thought it expedient from this time to give up the use of wine and tobacco, and when the host brought us a smoking urn full of the hot wine so much in favor among the Chinese, we signified to him that we were about to change our modes of life as well as our dress. 'You know,' we added, laughing, 'that good Lamas abstain from smoking and drinking.' But our Chinese friends regarded us with compassion, and evidently thought we were about to perish of privation.

"After leaving this inn we may be considered to have fairly commenced our pilgrimage, and the only companion of our wayfaring for the future was to be the camel driver, Samdadchiemba. This young man was neither a Chinese, a Tartar, nor a Thibetan, but a little of all three, a Dchiahour. At the first glance it was easy to perceive his Mongol origin; he had a deeply-bronzed complexion—a great mouth, cut in a straight line—and a large nose insolently turned up, that gave to his whole physiognomy a disdainful aspect. When he looked at you with his little eyes twinkling between lids entirely without eye-lashes, and with the skin of his forehead wrinkled up, the feeling he inspired was something between confidence and fear. His life had been spent in rather a vagabond manner, in rambling, sometimes about the Chinese towns, and sometimes in the deserts of Tartary—for he had run away, at the age of eleven, from a Lama college, to escape the excessive corrections of his master. This mode of life had of course not tended much to polish the natural asperity of his character, and his intellect was entirely uncultivated; but his muscular strength was immense, and he was not a little proud of it. After having been instructed and baptized by M. Gabet, he had wished to attach himself to the service of the missionaries, and the journey we were about to undertake was precisely in harmony with his rambling and adventurous humor."

SAMDADCHIEMBA.

Their first undertaking was to cross the rugged mountain of *Sainoula*, which is infested with bands of robbers. This, however, they accomplished in safety, and encamped on the other side, on the borders of the great imperial forest. Huc remarks: "The robbers of these countries are in general remarkable for the politeness with which they flavor their address. They do not put a pistol to your head, and cry roughly, 'Your money or your life!' but they say, in the most courteous tone, 'My eldest brother, I am weary of walking on foot. Be so good as to lend me your horse!' or, 'I am without money—will you not lend me your purse?' or, 'It is very cold to-day—be kind enough to lend me your coat.' If the eldest brother be charitable enough to comply, he

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receives thanks; if not, the request is enforced by two or three blows of the cudgel, or, if that is not sufficient, recourse is had to the saber.

"The sun was about to set, and we were still on the immense plateau which forms the summit of the mountain, and whence you obtain an extensive view over the plains of Tartary, and the tents of the Mongols ranged in the form of an amphitheater on the declivities of the hills. The imperial forest extends from north to south for three hundred miles, and nearly eighty from east to west, and it has been used as a hunting-ground by many successive emperors of China; but, for about twenty-seven years past, these huntings have been discontinued, and not only stags and wild boars, but also bears, panthers, wolves, and tigers abound in it. Woe to the woodcutter or the hunter who should venture alone into its recesses. Those who have done so, have disappeared without leaving a vestige behind them."

After three or four days' journey, they crossed the Mongol kingdom of Gechekten, and entered that of Thakar, where they met a camp of Chinese soldiers, whose duty it was to keep the roads safe. They feared these soldiers, however, more than the native robbers, and pitched their tent between two high rocks, where it would be difficult for thieves to approach them. While thus engaged, they saw, on the opposite side of the mountain, several horsemen, "two of whom," says Huc, "hastened toward us, and, dismounting, prostrated themselves at the entrance of our tent. They were Mongol-Tartars. 'Men of prayer,' said they, with much apparent emotion, 'we come to beg you to draw a horoscope. Two horses have been stolen from us to-day, and we have vainly sought to discover the thieves. Oh men whose power and knowledge are without bounds, teach us how we may find them!' 'My brethren,' we replied, 'we are not lamas of Buddha; we do not believe in horoscopes; to pretend to such knowledge is false and deceitful.' The poor Tartars redoubled their solicitations; but when they saw that our resolution could not be shaken, they remounted their horses, and returned to the mountains.

"Samdadchiemba, during this conversation, had remained crouched in a corner by the fire, holding in both hands a bowl of tea, which he never once took from his lips. At length, as they were taking their departure, he knitted his brows, rose from his seat abruptly, and went to the door of the tent. The Tartars were already at a considerable distance; but he uttered a loud shout, and made gestures with his hands to induce them to come back. Thinking, probably, that we had changed our minds, and would consent to draw the horoscope, they returned; but, as soon as they came within hail, Samdadchiemba addressed them:

"'My Mongol brothers,' he said, 'in future be more prudent; take better care of your animals, and they will not be stolen. Remember these words, for they are worth more than all the horoscopes in the world.' And having finished his speech, he marched gravely back to

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his tent, and sat down again to his tea. At first we were vexed with him; but, as the Tartars did not appear angry, we ended by laughing.

"On the following day, the numerous Tartars and Chinese travelers whom we met on the way were a sign to us that we were approaching the large town of Tolon-Noor; and already we could see before us, glittering in the sun, the gilded roofs of the two magnificent lama convents to the north of the town.

"Two motives," Huc continues, "had induced us to visit Tolon-Noor. We wished, in the first place, to complete our stock of traveling utensils; and we also considered it desirable to place ourselves in relation with the lamas of the country, and obtain information concerning some important points in Tartary; and in pursuit of these objects, we had to traverse almost every quarter of the town. Tolon-Noor is not a walled town, but a vast agglomeration of ugly and ill-arranged houses, and in the middle of its narrow and tortuous streets you see open mud holes and sewers; and while the foot passengers walk in single file along the slippery pavement, mules, camels, and carts, make their way through the deep black foul-smelling mud. Often enough the wheeled carriages upset; and then it is impossible to describe the confusion that takes place in these miserable streets. Goods are either stolen by the thieves who watch for such opportunities, or lost in the mud, and the animals are not unfrequently suffocated. But notwithstanding the few attractions of Tolon-Noor, the sterility of its environs, the extreme cold of its winter, and the suffocating heat of its summers, its population is immense, and its commerce prodigious. Russian goods find their way here by the way of *Kiakta;* the Tartars are constantly bringing vast herds of oxen, camels, and horses, and taking back tobacco, linen, and brick tea. This perpetual coming and going of strangers; the hawkers running about with their wares; the traders endeavoring to entice customers into their shops; the lamas, in their showy dresses of scarlet and yellow, endeavoring to attract admiration by the skill with which they manage their fiery horses in the most difficult passes—all these things give the streets a very animated appearance. After having maturely considered the information we had obtained, we determined to direct our course toward the west, and quitted Tolon-Noor on the 1st of October.

"We had not been more than an hour on our way on the following day, when we heard behind us a confused noise as of a number of men and horses, and turning our heads perceived a numerous caravan advancing toward us at a rapid pace. We were soon overtaken by three horsemen, and one of them whom we recognized by his costume for a Tartar mandarin, roared out to us in a deafening voice—'Lord lamas, where is your country?'

"'We are from the sky of the west.'

"'Across what countries have you passed your beneficent shadows?'

"'We come from the town of Tolon-Noor.'

"'Has peace accompanied your route?'

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"'So far we have journeyed happily—and you—are you at peace? What is your country?'

"'We are Khalkas, from the kingdom of Mourguevan.'

"'Has the rain been abundant? Are your flocks in prosperity?'

"'All is at peace in our pastures. Whither is your caravan proceeding?'

"'We are going to bow our foreheads before the Five Towers.'

"During this short conversation the rest of the troop had come up. We were near a brook, the banks of which were bordered with bushes, and the chief of the caravan gave orders to halt, and immediately the camels arriving in a file described a circle, into the midst of which was drawn a vehicle on four wheels.

"'*Sok!*' '*Sok!*' cried the camel-drivers, and the camels obedient to the order lay down all at once as if struck by the same blow. Then, while a multitude of tents rose suddenly, as if by enchantment, along the banks of the brook, two mandarins, decorated with the blue ball, approached the carriage, opened the door, and immediately we saw descending from it a Tartar woman, clothed in a long robe of green silk. It was the queen of the country of the Khalkas, who was going on a pilgrimage to the famous lama convent of the Five Towers, in the Chinese province of Chan-Si. Immediately on perceiving us, she saluted us by raising her two hands, and said, 'My lord lamas, we are going to encamp here—is the place fortunate?' 'Royal pilgrim of Mourguevan,' we replied, 'you can here light the fire of your hearth in peace. For us, we are about to continue our route, for the sun was already high when we folded our tent.'"

After traveling all day in a heavy rain, they encamped that evening on the plain, and were soon afterward visited by the Tartars, who furnished them with some dry fuel. "While we ate our frugal meal," says Huc, "I observed that one of the Tartars was the object of particular attention to the other; and on inquiry we found that the superior had had two years before the honor of serving in the war against the '*rebels of the South*," that is, the English, having marched with the banners of Tchakar. He had, however, never been called upon to fight; for the *Holy Master* (the emperor of China) had in his immense mercy granted peace to the rebels soon after, and the Tartar troops had been sent back to their flocks and herds. He had been told, however, by the Chinese, what kind of people, or monsters rather, these English were—they lived in the water like fish, and when you least expected it they would rise to the surface, and cast at you fiery gourds. Then as soon as you bend your bow to send an arrow at them, they plunge into the water like frogs.

"The Tartar mode of presenting one's self is frank, simple, and free from the innumerable forms of Chinese courtesy. On entering the tent, you wish peace to every body in general, saying *Amor* or *Mendou*, and then go at once and seat yourself at the right hand of the head of the

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family, who is crouching down opposite the door. A little tobacco is then mutually presented, and a few polite common-places exchanged. 'Are your pastures fat and abundant?'—'Are your flocks in good order?'—'Have your mares been fruitful?' etc., pronounced with extreme gravity, and then the lady of the tent stretches out her hand toward the strangers, without speaking, and forthwith they produce the little wooden bowl, which is an undispensable *vade mecum* in Tartary, and she returns it to them filled with tea and milk. In tolerably opulent families, a tray is usually placed before visitors, with a modest collation of butter, oatmeal, and slices of cheese, all in separate boxes of varnished wood; and those who mean to be magnificent in their hospitality, plunge into the warm ashes near the fire a small earthenware bottle full of Mongol wine, a sort of spirit rudely distilled from milk, which one must have been born a Tartar to relish.

"Tchakar—a Mongol word signifying border-country—lies to the north of the great wall of China, and east of Toumet. It is about four hundred and fifty miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, and its inhabitants are all soldiers of the emperor of China, and receive annually a certain sum regulated according to their titles. It is divided into eight banners, distinguished by their color, blue, red, white, and yellow, and bluish, reddish, whitish, and yellowish. Each banner has a separate territory, and possesses a kind of tribunal which takes cognizance of its affairs, and a chief called *Ou-Gourdha;* and from among these eight ou-gourdhas, a governor-general is chosen. Tchakar is, in fact, nothing but a vast camp; and in order that the army shall be at all times in readiness to march, the Tartars are prohibited under severe penalties from cultivating the ground. They are required to live on their pay and the produce of their flocks."

While on their journey through this country, they encamped one night near a collection of Tartar tents, and when preparing to start next morning, found that their horses had disappeared. All their searching proved vain, and nothing was left but to go to the Mongol tents, and declare that the horses had been lost near them. "According to Tartar law," says Huc, "when the animals of caravans go astray, whoever is in the neighborhood is bound to go in search of them, and even to give others in their place, if they can not be found. This would appear a very strange law in Europe. You come and encamp in the neighborhood of a Mongol without his consent, without his knowledge; yet for your cattle, your baggage, your men, he is responsible: if any thing disappears, the law supposes him to be the thief, or at least the accomplice. As soon as we had made our declaration to our Mongol neighbors, the chief said, 'My lord lamas, do not allow grief to enter your hearts! your animals can not be lost. Here are neither roads nor thieves, nor associates of thieves. We will search for your horses, and if they are not found, you shall choose at pleasure among all our herds. We wish you to leave us in peace as you have come.'

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"While he was speaking, eight Tartars mounted their horses, and, taking the long pole and cord which they use, they commenced their search. At first they dispersed in all directions, performing various evolutions, and often returning on their steps. At length they all united in a squadron, and set off at a gallop in the direction by which we had come. 'They are on their track,' said the Mongol chief, who, as well as ourselves, had been watching them. 'My lord lamas, come and seat yourselves in my tent, and we will drink a cup of tea while we await the return of your horses.'

"In about two hours' time a child came in and informed us that the horsemen were returning; and, going out, we saw a cloud of dust advancing, and were soon able to distinguish the eight mounted Tartars, and our two lost animals drawn along by the halter, all coming on at full gallop. As soon as the Tartars came up, they said with the air of satisfaction that succeeds a great uneasiness, that in their country nothing was ever lost. We thanked the generous Mongols for the signal service they had rendered us; and after taking leave of them we finished our packing up, and set off for the Blue Town, the route to which we had quitted to come and furnish ourselves with provisions.

"We had gone nearly three days' march when we came to an imposing and majestic antiquity. It was a great forsaken city, with battlement ramparts, watch-towers, four great gates directed to the four cardinal points, all in perfect preservation, but all sunk three parts into the earth, and covered with thick turf. Since the abandonment of the place, the soil around it has risen to that extent. We entered the city with solemn emotion; there were no ruins to be seen, but only the form of a large and fine town, half buried and enveloped in grass as in a funeral shroud. The inequalities of the ground seem still to point out the direction of streets and the principal buildings; but the only human being we saw was a young Mongol shepherd, who, seated on a mound, was silently smoking his pipe, while his goats grazed on the deserted ramparts around him. Similar remains of cities are not unfrequently to be met with in the deserts of Mongolia, but their history is buried in oblivion. Probably, however, they do not date beyond the thirteenth century; for it is known that at this epoch the Mongols had made themselves masters of the Chinese empire, and according to the Chinese historians, numerous and flourishing towns existed at that time in Northern Tartary. The Tartars could give no information concerning this interesting ruin, but merely say that they call it the old town."

One day they met a Tartar carrying with him the corpse of a relative, whereupon Huc remarks: "In the deserts of Tartary, Mongols are frequently met with carrying on their shoulders the bones of their kindred, and journeying in caravans to the Five Towers, there to purchase, almost at its weight in gold, a few feet of earth whereon to erect a mausoleum. Some of them undertake a journey of a whole year's duration, and of excessive hardship, to reach this holy spot. The Tartar

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sovereigns are sometimes interred in a manner which appears the very height of extravagance and barbarism; the royal corpse is placed in an edifice of brick, adorned with stone images of men, lions, tigers, elephants, and divers subjects from the Buddhist mythology. With the illustrious defunct they inter, in a large vault in the center of the building, considerable sums in gold and silver, precious stones and costly habits.

"These monstrous interments frequently cost also the lives of a number of slaves: children of both sexes distinguished for their beauty are taken, and compelled to swallow mercury till they are suffocated; by this means, it is asserted, the color and freshness of the victims is preserved so well that they appear alive. They are then ranged standing round the corpse of their master to serve him as in life. They hold in their hands the pipe, fan, the little vial of snuff, and the other numerous baubles of Tartar royalty. To guard these buried treasures there is placed in the vault a kind of bow, constructed to discharge a number of arrows one after the other. This bow, or rather these bows, are bound together, and the arrows fixed. This species of infernal machine is so placed that the act of opening the door of the vault discharges the first arrow, the discharge of the first releases the second, and so on to the last. The bow-makers keep these murderous machines all ready prepared, and the Chinese sometimes purchase them to guard their houses in their absence.

"After some days' march we quitted the country of the Eight Banners and entered Western Toumet. The Mongol Tartars of Western Toumet are not nomadic: they cultivate the earth, and apply themselves to the arts of civilized life. We had been more than a month in the desert; our taste had been insensibly modified, and our temperament accommodated by its silence and solitude, and, on re-entering cultivated lands, the agitation, perplexity, and turmoil of civilization oppressed and suffocated us; the air seemed to fail us, and we felt every moment as if about to die of asphyxia. The sensation, however, was of no long duration. After a time we found it more convenient and more agreeable after a day's march to take up our lodging at an inn, well warmed, and well stocked with provisions, than have a tent to pitch, fuel to collect, and our scanty supper to cook, before we could take a little rest. Every thing throughout Toumet bears the stamp of great abundance; nowhere did we see, as in China, houses half in ruins, nor human beings with emaciated bodies half covered with rags; all the country-people seemed neatly and comfortably clothed, and in nothing was their superior condition more evident than in the number of magnificent trees surrounding the villages, and bordering the roads."

Three days after entering Toumet they reached the city of *Koui-Noa-Tchen*, or the *Blue Town*, and after wandering through the streets for some time, put up at a tavern with the following sign: "Hotel of the Three Perfections; Lodging for Travelers on Horse or Camel; All sorts of business negotiated with Unfailing Success." M. Huc says of

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this place: "The commercial importance enjoyed by the Blue Town arises from the lama convents, whose celebrity attracts hither Mongols from the most distant parts; hence the commerce is almost exclusively Tartar. The Mongols bring great herds of oxen, horses, camels, and sheep; they also sell here skins, mushrooms, and salt, the only produce of the deserts of Tartary; and they take in return brick tea, clothes, saddles for their horses, sticks of incense to burn before their idols, oatmeal, millet, and some domestic utensils. Koukon-Khoton is also famous for its camel trade. The place of sale is a vast square, into which run all the principal streets of the town. Elevations shelving on both sides, from one end of the square to the other, give this market the appearance of a field deeply furrowed. The camels are placed in a line, so that their fore feet rest on these elevations, and this position displays, and, in a manner, increases the stature of the animals, already so gigantic. It would be difficult to describe the confusion and uproar that prevails in this market. To the cries of the buyers and sellers who are quarreling or talking, as people talk when a revolt is at its height, are joined the long groans of the poor camels, whose noses are incessantly tweaked to try their address in kneeling or rising.

"When we were about to set off, we summoned the master of the hotel, according to custom, to settle our account; and we calculated that, for three men and six animals for four days, we should have to pay at least two ounces of silver. But we had the agreeable surprise of hearing him say, 'My lord lamas, let us not make any reckoning. Put 300 sapecks (30 cents) into the chest, and let that suffice. My house,' added he, 'is recently established, and I wish to obtain for it a good reputation. Since you are from a distant country, I wish you to tell your illustrious compatriots that my hotel is worthy of their confidence.' 'We will certainly speak of your disinterestedness,' we replied; 'and our countrymen, when they have occasion to visit the Blue Town, will not fail to stop at the Hotel of the Three Perfections.'"

On leaving the Blue Town, the travelers determined to direct their course to the west, through the country of the Ortous, in the hope of being able, finally, to join some caravan for Lhassa, the capital of Thibet, the holy city of the Buddhist faith. After several days of fatiguing travel, they reached the town of Chagan-Kouren, on the banks of the *Hoang-Ho*, or Yellow River, which it was necessary for them to cross. The next morning, however, they found that a sudden rise of the water had taken place. "The Yellow River," says Huc, "had become like a vast sea, to which no limit could be perceived, but merely here and there verdant islets, houses, and small villages that seemed to float upon the water. We consulted several people as to what we should do; but opinions were not unanimous. It was necessary to take some resolution. Turning back was out of the question. We had said that, please God, we would get to Lhassa, let the obstacles be what they might. To turn the river, by going in a northerly direction, would greatly lengthen

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our journey, and compel us also to pass the great desert of Gobi. To remain at Chagan-Kouren till the waters had retired, and till the ground had become hard and dry enough for the feet of our camels, would be the safest course; but this might detain us, perhaps a month, and our purse was too slenderly furnished to admit of our remaining all that time at an inn with five animals. The only alternative then was to place ourselves under the care of Providence, and go on in spite of mud or whatever else there might be; and this at last we determined to do. Samdadchiemba, who had been in an extremely bad humor, expressed himself well satisfied with our intention of going on. 'When one undertakes a journey like ours,' he observed, 'one mustn't be afraid of the five elements. Those who are afraid of dying on the road should never set out—that's the rule.'"

With a great deal of difficulty and danger they finally succeeded in transporting themselves and their camels across the Yellow River, and, after some days spent among the marshes bordering it, across a second inundated arm, called the Paga-Gol. "We had now left behind us the Yellow River and the inundated country," continues the narrative, "and had entered on the Land of Grass, if that name could be given to a country so barren as that of the Ortous. Whichever way you turn, you find nothing but rocky ravines, hills of mud, and plains encumbered with fine movable sand, which the wind sweeps about in all directions. The only pasturage consists in a few thorny shrubs and thin heaths of a fetid odor. Here and there you find a little thin brittle grass, which sticks so closely to the ground, that the animals can not browse it, without scraping up the sand at the same time, and the whole was so dry, that we soon began almost to regret the marshes that had grieved us so much on the banks of the Yellow River. There was not a brook or a spring where the traveler could quench his thirst, only from time to time we met with a pool or tank filled with muddy and fetid water.

"The lamas with whom we had been acquainted in the Blue Town, had warned us of what we should have to endure in this country from scarcity of water, and by their advice we had bought two pails, which proved very serviceable. Whenever we had the good fortune to meet with ponds or wells dug by the Tartars, we filled our buckets, without minding the bad quality of the water, and always took care to use it as sparingly as possible, as if it were some rare and precious liquor. Careful as we were, however, we often had to go whole days without a drop to moisten our lips; and yet our personal privations were nothing compared with the suffering of seeing our animals almost without water, when the scanty herbage that they got was nearly calcined by niter. They grew visibly thinner every day; the aspect of our horse became quite pitiable; he went along, drooping his head quite to the ground, and seeming ready to faint at every step; and the camels seemed to balance themselves painfully on their long legs, while their lean humps hung down like empty bags."

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One afternoon, while traveling through this desolate country, they were overtaken by a violent storm, and after seeking for a long time for shelter, at last, to their great surprise, discovered a series of chambers excavated in the rocky walls of a ravine. Here they found a protection from the weather and a supply of fuel, and were so rejoiced that they sat up nearly all night for the purpose of enjoying the unexpected warmth. "Our animals," says Huc, "were no less happy than ourselves, for we found them stables cut out of the mountain, and, what was more, an excellent supply of forage—a grotto full of oaten straw and millet-stalks. Had it not been for the tempest, in which we imagined we were to perish, our poor beasts would never have had such a feast. We sat for a long time, rejoicing in our preservation, and, at last, lay down on a well-warmed kang, that made us forget the terrible cold that we had endured during the tempest.

"On the fifteenth day of the new moon," he continues, "we met numerous caravans, following, like ourselves, the direction from east to west. The way was covered with men, women, and children, mounted on camels or oxen, all going, as they said, to the lama convent of *Rache-Churin*. When they asked whether our journey had the same goal, and heard our answer in the negative, their surprise was extreme; and this, and the number of pilgrims we saw, piqued our curiosity. At the turning of the defile, we met an old lama, who, having a heavy burden on his back, seemed to get along with extreme difficulty. 'Brother,' said we, 'you are advanced in age; your black hairs are not so numerous as your white; you must be much fatigued. Place your burden on one of our camels, and you will journey more at your ease.'

"The old man prostrated himself in token of his gratitude, and we made one of our camels kneel down, while Samdadchiemba added the lama's baggage to ours. As soon as the pilgrim was relieved of the load that had weighed upon him, his step became lighter, and a pleased expression spread over his features. 'Brother,' said we, 'we know very little about the affairs of your country; but we are astonished to meet so many pilgrims in the desert.' 'We are all going to Rache-Churin,' he replied, in a tone of profound devotion. 'Some great solemnity, doubtless, calls you thither?' 'Yes; to-morrow is to be a great day. A Lama *Bokte* will display his power. He will kill himself, but will not die.'

"We understood in a moment the kind of solemnity which had put the Tartars in motion. A lama was to open his belly, take out his entrails and place them before him, and then return, immediately, to his former state. This spectacle, atrocious and disgusting as it is, is very common in the lama convents of Tartary. The *Bokte* who is to display his power, as the Mongols say, prepares himself for the act by long days of fasting and prayer; and during the whole time he must maintain the most absolute silence, and refrain from all communication with men.

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"When the appointed hour has arrived, the whole multitude of pilgrims repair to the great court of the lama convent, where an altar is erected. At length the *Bokte* makes his appearance; he advances gravely amid the acclamations of the crowd, seats himself upon the altar, and taking a cutlass from his girdle, places it between his knees, while the crowd of lamas, ranged in a circle at his feet, commence the terrible invocations that prelude this frightful ceremony. By degrees, as they proceed in their recitation, the *Bokte* is seen to tremble in every limb, and gradually fall into strong convulsions. Then the song of the lamas becomes wilder and more animated, and the recitation is exchanged for cries and howlings. Suddenly the *Bokte* flings away the scarf which he has worn, snatches off his girdle, and with the sacred cutlass rips himself entirely open. As the blood gushes out the multitude prostrate themselves before the horrible spectacle, and the sufferer is immediately interrogated concerning future events, and things concealed from human knowledge. His answers to all these questions are regarded as oracles.

"As soon as the devout curiosity of the pilgrims is satisfied, the lamas resume their recitations and prayers; and the *Bokte*, taking up in his right hand a quantity of his blood, carries it to his mouth, blows three times upon it, and casts it into the air with a loud cry. He then passes his hand rapidly over his stomach, and it *becomes as whole as it was before*, without the slightest trace being left of the diabolical operation, with the exception of an extreme lassitude. The *Bokte* then rolls his scarf again round his body, says a short prayer in a low voice, and all is over; every one disperses except a few of the most devout, who remain to contemplate and adore the bloody altar."

Huc and Gabet, on learning that this ceremony was to take place at the convent of Rache-Churin, resolved to go thither, witness it, and at the proper moment come forth, declare its diabolical nature, and command the *Bokte* to refrain from the exercise of his infernal power. Fortunately for themselves, they left the road to procure supplies at a Chinese encampment, lost their way, and did not reach the convent until after the magical operation had been performed. "We made but a short stay at Rache-Churin," says Huc, "for as it had not been the will of God that we should reach it at the time favorable to our purpose, of announcing the true faith to the people of Ortous, we were eager to press forward to Thibet, the source of the immense superstition of which we saw here but a few insignificant streams. Shortly after leaving it we fell in with a track very well marked, and frequented by a great number of travelers, but commerce, and not devotion, was the spring that had set them in movement. They were going to the Dobsoon-Noor, or Salt Lake, celebrated over all the west of Mongolia, which furnishes salt, not only to the neighboring Tartars, but to several provinces of the Chinese empire."

Some days after passing the Dobsoon-Noor, they came upon a Mongol encampment in a long, narrow valley. They were very kindly re-

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ceived by the natives, from whom they purchased a sheep. The Mongol butcher who slaughtered it surprised them by detaching the flesh from the bones in one single piece, leaving the clear skeleton hanging. In mentioning this circumstance, Huc remarks: "All the Mongols know the number, name, and place of all the bones of an animal's frame, and never fracture one in cutting up a sheep or an ox. With the point of their large knives, they go straight to the joint, which they sever with a speed and address truly astonishing. These frequent dissections, and the habit of living in the midst of their flocks and herds, render the Tartars extremely skillful in the cure of the maladies of animals. The remedies they employ are the simples they collect in the fields, and which they administer with a cow's horn, in the form of a decoction. If the animal will not open its mouth, they make him swallow the liquid through his nostrils."

The intention of Huc and Gabet had been to continue their course westward through the Tartar country of Alechan, but on meeting with some Tartar princes on their way to Pekin, the latter informed them that this country had been rendered almost uninhabitable by a severe drought, and was ravaged by troops of brigands. One other route remained open to them. This was to recross the Yellow River, which here makes a long bend northward, pass again the Great Wall, and reach the Tartar city of *Kou-Kou-noor*, through the Chinese province of Kan-Sou. "Formerly," says Huc, "such a project would have made us shudder. It would have been to us clear as the day that strangling for ourselves, and the persecution of all the Chinese missions, would have been the inevitable consequences of so foolhardy an attempt. But the season of fear was now passed for us. Our abode in several great towns—the necessity we had been under of transacting our own business—had rendered us more familiar with the habits and usages of the Chinese. The language was no longer an embarrassment. We could speak the Tartar language, and were acquainted with the popular Chinese phrases, a knowledge difficult to acquire while resident in the missions, because the Christians, out of flattery to the missionaries, study to employ only the brief nomenclature that the latter have learned from books. In addition to these moral and intellectual advantages, our long journey had been of great service to us physically. The rain, wind, and sun, had in the course of two months so tanned and hardened our European complexions, that our aspect had become very tolerably savage; and the fear of being recognized by the Chinese no longer affected us."

A few days after this they reached the Yellow River, at the town of *Che-Tsin-Dze*, and re-entered China proper, leaving behind them Mongolia and its nomadic life. Huc, at this point, makes the following remarks upon the country through which they had passed: "The general aspect of Mongolia is wild and gloomy; never is the eye relieved by the charm and variety of a landscape. The monotony of the steppes

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is broken only by ravines, great fissures, and stony sterile hills. Toward the north, in the country of the Khalkas, nature appears more animated; the summits of the mountains are crowned by forests, and the rich pasturage of the plain is watered by numerous rivers; but during the long season of winter the earth is buried under a thick covering of snow. From the side of the Great Wall, Chinese industry glides like a serpent into the desert. Towns begin to rise on all sides; the 'Land of Grass' is being gradually covered by crops, and the Mongol shepherds are by degrees driven back to the north by the encroachments of agriculture.

"The sandy plains occupy perhaps the greater part of Mongolia: and in these not a tree is to be seen; short brittle grass makes its way with difficulty through the barren soil, and creeping thorns, and some scanty tufts of heath, form the only vegetation, the sole pasturage, of Gobi. Water is extremely scarce, being only found in deep wells dug for the use of travelers who are obliged to cross this miserable region."

The travelers proceeded forward, through the cities of Ning-hai, Ho-hia-po, and other unheard-of Chinese towns, in the flourishing province of Kan-Sou. Their disguise was so complete that their real character was not once suspected, except at the "Hotel of Social Relations," in the town of Choang-Long, the landlord of which was a sharp and satirical Chinese. "To give us a proof of his penetration," says Huc, "he asked at once whether we were not English (*Ing-Kie-Li*), the marine devils who were making war at Canton. 'We are not English,' we replied, 'nor are we devils of any sort—land or sea.' 'Don't you know,' said a man who was lounging about, addressing the landlord, 'that all those marine devils have blue eyes and red hair?' 'Besides,' said we, 'if we were marine monsters, how could we live on shore, and go on horseback?' 'Yes, that's true, that's true,' said he; 'the Ing-Kie-Li never dare to quit the sea; as soon as ever they come on shore they tremble and die like fish.'"

A little further, they came to the town of Ho-Kiaou-Y, and finding that the backs of their animals had been severely galled, determined to halt for some days. They established themselves in the "Tavern of the Temperate Climates," and gave Samdadchiemba permission to visit his parents, who lived but a short distance off, and whom he had not seen for eighteen years. "During this eight days' rest," says Huc, "our cattle had recovered sufficiently to attempt the painful road we should have to traverse. But the rugged path by which we had to climb the mountain of Ping-Keou presented difficulties which our camels found almost insurmountable; and we were continually obliged, as we went on, to utter loud cries to warn muleteers who might be advancing toward us on this narrow and dangerous road, where two animals could not pass abreast, that they might have time to turn aside their mules, lest they should be terrified by the sight of our camels, and rush down the precipice. When we had passed the mountain, we came to a village

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whose Chinese appellation signifies the Old Duck; and what struck us most in this place was, that the art of knitting, which we had imagined unknown in China, was here carried on very busily; and, moreover, not by women, but by men. Their work appeared to be very clumsy; the stockings they made were like sacks; and their gloves had no separation for the fingers. It looked very odd, too, to see mustachioed fellows sitting before their doors spinning, knitting, and gossiping, like so many old women."

In January, 1845, four months after their departure from the "Valley of the Black Waters," the travelers reached the trading town of Tang-Keou-Eul, on the frontier of Thibet, and congratulated themselves on being beyond the reach of the Chinese authorities. "So far," says the narrative, "we had followed pretty well the Itinerary that we had traced for ourselves; but by what means were we to penetrate to Lha-Ssa, the capital of Thibet? We learned that *almost every year* caravans left Tang-Keou-Eul for this destination, and in the end reached it; but a terrible account was given to us of the road. A journey of four months had to be made across countries entirely uninhabited, and where travelers were often frozen to death or buried under the snow. During the summer, it was said many were drowned; for it was necessary to cross great rivers without bridge or boat; and beside this, these deserts were ravaged by hordes of robbers, who plundered those who fell into their hands even of their clothes, and left them naked and starving in the wilderness."

A few days after their arrival, however, a small caravan of Khalkhas Tartars passed through the town, on their way to Lha-Ssa, from the borders of Russia. They desired Huc and Gabet to join their party, which the latter were about to do, when they learned that the Tartars expected to make the journey with great rapidity: their animals would not be able to keep up with such a march, and they had not funds to buy others. They therefore reluctantly gave up this opportunity, and resolved to wait for the return of the Thibetan embassy from Pekin, which was not expected for six or eight months. In order to occupy themselves profitably in the mean time, they procured a teacher from the famous Lamasery of Kounboum, which was only forty miles distant, and commenced the study of the Thibetan language. The teacher, who was called Sandara the Bearded, was a shrewd, intelligent young man, under whose instructions they made rapid progress in Thibetan. He pretended, moreover, to be deeply interested in the Christian doctrines which they taught him, but, as they afterward discovered, was something of a hypocrite, and they gave up the idea of his conversion.

After some time had been spent in this way, Sandara invited them to visit the Lamasery, and take up their abode there. They acceded to this proposal with joy. Samdadchiemba had already been sent off to the valley of Kou-kou-noor, to pasture the camels; so they mounted their horses, and, after a long day's ride, reached the famous Buddhist monas-

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tery of Kounboum, where they were at first entertained in Sandara's house. "During the night," remarks Huc, "we tried in vain to sleep—sleep would not come. This country of Amdo, a country unknown in Europe—this great Lamaserai of Kounboum, so renowned among the Buddhists—these conventual manners—the lama's cell in which we were lying—all seemed to float through our brains like the vague, impalpable forms of a dream. We passed the night in forming plans, and as soon as day dawned we were on foot. All was still profoundly silent while we made our morning prayer, not without a sensation of joy and pride that we had been permitted thus to invoke the true God in this famous Lamaserai, consecrated to an impious and lying worship. It seemed to us as if we were about to conquer the vast realms of Buddhism to the faith of Jesus Christ.

"Sandara soon made his appearance, and served us with milk, tea, dried grapes, and cakes fried in butter, and while we were occupied with breakfast he opened a little closet, and took from it a wooden trencher, neatly varnished, and ornamented with flowers and gilded on a red ground. After having dusted it with his red scarf, he spread over it a sheet of rose-colored paper, placed on it four fine pears symmetrically arranged, and covered them with an oval silk handkerchief, called a Khata. It was with this present, he said, we were to go and borrow a house.

"This *Khata*, or 'scarf of happiness,' plays so important a part in Thibetan manners, that it is well perhaps to say a few words about it. It is usually a piece of bluish-white silk fringed at the two ends; but as it is an article indispensable to rich and poor, it of course varies greatly in richness and value. No one ever travels without a stock of *khatas;* if you go to pay a visit of ceremony, or to ask a service, or to return thanks for one, you always begin by displaying a khata to the person whom you wish to honor. If two friends have not seen each other for a long time, and have met by accident, their first care is to offer each other a khata; when you write a letter you inclose a khata in it: in short, the importance attached, by the Thibetans, the Si-Fan, and all the nations who inhabit the country to the west of the Blue Sea, to this ceremony of the khata, is scarcely credible. They form a most considerable article of commerce for the Chinese at Tang-Keou-Eul; and the Thibetan embassies, when they pass through the town, carry away a prodigious quantity of them. As soon as we had done breakfast, we went out to borrow a lodging, preceded by Sandara the Bearded, bearing solemnly in his two hands the famous dish of four pears. This proceeding appeared to us so odd that we felt ashamed of it, and thought all eyes must be fixed upon us. But the lamas whom we met went silently on their way, without turning their heads or paying the slightest attention to us. The little *Chabis*, merry and mischievous as school-boys always are, were the only persons who appeared to know or care what we were doing.

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"At length we entered a small house, the master of which was in the yard, busied in spreading out horse-dung to dry in the sun; but seeing us, he wrapped himself in his scarf and went into his cell. We followed him with Sandara, who offered the khata and the plate of pears, and accompanied them with an harangue in the Oriental Thibetan language, of which we did not understand a word. During this time we kept ourselves modestly retired, like unfortunate men who were not even capable of asking a favor for ourselves. The lama made us sit down on a carpet, offered us milk tea, and said to us in the Mongol language, 'that he was happy that strangers from the far west should have deigned to cast their eyes on his poor habitation.' Had we been speaking French we might have responded by some equivalent compliment; but in Mongol, we could only say that we were indeed from far off; but, that one found in some measure a country wherever one met with such hospitality as his. After drinking a cup of tea, and talking a minute or two of France, Rome, the pope, and the cardinals, we rose to visit the dwelling assigned to our use. For poor wanderers like us it was superb. There was a vast chamber with a great kang, a separate kitchen with stoves, a kettle, and some utensils; and even a stable for our horse and mule. We took possession of our house the same day; and the neighboring lamas helped us to move our baggage, carrying the things for us on their shoulders, as if it were a real pleasure to them to give their assistance. They swept our rooms, lighted the fire under the kang, and set the stable ready for the reception of our animals; and when all was done, the master of the house, according to a rule of hospitality among them, prepared a feast for us. It is thought that, on a moving day, one can not have time to attend to cookery.

"The situation of the Lamaserai of Kounboum is enchanting. Imagine a mountain intersected by a broad, deep ravine, whence spring up large trees, filled with a numerous population of ravens, magpies, and yellow-backed crows. On either side the ravine, and up the sides of the mountain, rise, in amphitheatrical form, the white dwellings of the lamas, each with its little terrace and wall of inclosure, adorned only by cleanliness, while here and there tower far above them the Buddhist temples, with their gilt roofs glittering with a thousand colors, and surrounded by elegant peristyles. The houses of the superiors are distinguished by pennants, floating above small hexagonal turrets, and on all sides the eye is struck by mystical sentences, in the Thibetan character, in red and black, on the doors, on the walls, on the stones, on pieces of linen fixed, like flags, on masts reared above the houses. Almost at every step you meet with conical niches, in which incense and odoriferous wood are burning; and through the streets of the Lamaserai circulates the population of lamas, in their red and yellow dresses, grave in their deportment, and, although under no obligation to silence, speaking little, and that little in a low voice.

"It is to a legend concerning Tsong-Kaba, a great Buddhist reform-

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er, that the Lamaserai of Kounboum owes its name. It signifies "Ten Thousand Images;" and it is said that when the mother of the reformer, in devoting him to a religious life, according to custom cut off his hair and threw it away, a tree sprang up from it, which bore on every one of its leaves a Thibetan character. This tree is still to be seen at the foot of the mountain on which the principal Buddhist temple stands, in a large square inclosure formed by four brick walls. Within this stands the wonderful tree, which appears of great antiquity; and though now not more than eight feet high, three men could hardly embrace its trunk. The wood is of a reddish color, and exquisite odor, very much resembling cinnamon. We were told that during the summer, toward the eighth moon, it produces superb large red flowers; but what most excited our astonishment was that every leaf was really, as we had been before told it was, distinctly marked with a Thibetan character, sometimes lighter, sometimes darker than the leaf, but quite plain. After the most minute investigation, we could discover no traces of fraud on the part of the lamas; and though, doubtless, people will smile at our ignorance, that will matter little if they do not suspect the veracity of our account."*

They remained for three months at Kounboum, but they were living in opposition to a positive law of the Lamaserai, which ordained that those who wished to make a long stay should put on the sacred vestments of a lama. This was brought to their notice, and as they could not conscientiously comply with the law, they offered to withdraw. Thereupon the government of the convent invited them to take up their abode at the little Lamaserai of Tchogortan, half an hour's ride from Kounboum, where they would be at liberty to wear what dress they pleased. "The aspect of Tchogortan is very picturesque, especially in summer. The habitations of the lamas, at the foot of a high mountain, rising almost perpendicularly above them, are shaded by trees, centuries old, whose thick branches serve for a retreat to numerous kites and crows. A few yards below the houses there flows an abundant stream, intersected by numerous dams, constructed by the lamas to turn their prayer mills. At the bottom of the valley, and on the neighboring hills, appeared the black tents of the Si-Fan, and some flocks of goats. The mountain-wall itself serves as a habitation to a few contemplative anchor-

* Colonel Sleeman, in his work on India, speaks of mysterious trees in the forests in certain parts of that country, every leaf of which is marked with the names of the god *Rama*, and his wife, *Sita*, in Sanscrit characters. He examined several of these trees, which the natives call the *Silver-tree*, and invariably found the leaves marked with the sacred names, as if written with a blunt pencil. The Hindoos consider the writing as miraculous, and the Colonel was nearly ready to agree with them, when he one day chanced to see one of the trees growing on the edge of a cliff, in a position where it could not be reached without great difficulty and danger. Curiosity prompted him to run the risk of examining it, and he found its leaves entirely free from the mysterious characters. This led him to believe that in the other instances they had been secretly inscribed upon the leaves by the Hindoo devotees, probably as a devotional act.—B. T.

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ites, who have built their eyries, like eagles' nests, on the highest and most inaccessible spots; some have hollowed them out of the face of the rock, others have stuck a little wooden cell, like a swallow's nest, to its side, and some pieces of wood fastened to the rock serve for a ladder, by which they ascend to their singular habitations.

"In the beginning of July there fell very heavy rains, and when these were over, the country clothed itself, as if by magic, with flowers and verdure. For our camels, too, this was a moment of Palingenesia. Their hair had all fallen off in bunches like old rags, and, for a few days, they were quite naked, and perfectly hideous. But now the hair began to appear again, and in another fortnight they were clothed in their new attire, and really handsome. The old hair furnished us with a new and useful occupation. An old lama, who was a skillful rope-maker, had suggested to us that we might make with it a store of cords for our baggage; and after some lessons from him we set to work. In a short time we could manage it very well, and every morning, when we went to visit our cattle at their pasture, we used to take a bundle of camels' hair, and work as we went along.

"At length, toward the end of the month of September, we heard news that the Thibetan embassy had arrived at Tang-Keou-Eul, and was to stop there but a few days. It was necessary, therefore, that without loss of time we should set about our preparations for this long-looked-for journey to the capital of Thibet. Among other stores we bought a good quantity of garlic, which we were recommended to take as a remedy to the pernicious and even poisonous exhalations proceeding from a certain mountain that we should have to pass. We also got another camel; for, though ours were in magnificent order, three were not sufficient for such an enterprise as this; and we hired a young lama, whom we had known at Kounboum, in the quality of assistant camel-driver. After exchanging a great number of khatas with our friends and acquaintances, we set out on our march toward the Blue Sea, where we were to wait the passing of the Thibetan embassy.

"The Blue Lake or sea, called by the Mongols the Kou-kou-Noor, is an immense reservoir of water more than four hundred miles in circumference. The name of sea is applicable to it, not only on account of its extent, but because its waters are bitter and salt like those of the ocean, and it is subject to the periodical ebb and flow of tide. The marine odor which it exhales is perceptible far off in the desert. Toward the western part there is a little rocky island inhabited by twenty contemplative lamas, who have built there a Buddhist temple, and some habitations where they pass their days in the most profound retirement, far from the anxieties of the world. It is impossible to pay them a visit, for there is not a boat on the whole expanse of waters—at least we never saw one, and the Mongols assured us that no one among their tribes occupied himself with navigation. During the severest cold of winter, however, when the waters are covered by a solid crust of ice,

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the shepherds of the neighborhood go on pilgrimages to the island, and carry to the contemplative lamas their modest offerings of tea, and butter, and Tsamba, receiving in exchange blessings on their flocks and pastures.

"We had sojourned by the Kou-kou-Noor nearly a month, and had been compelled, five or six times, to decamp and follow the Tartar tribes, who, at the least alarm of robbers, changed their place—though they never went far—when, toward the end of October, the Thibetan embassy arrived. We joined this immense troop, which was now further increased by the addition of several Mongol caravans, wishing like ourselves to profit by this excellent opportunity of making the journey to Lha-Ssa. We stopped on the road the following day, that we might see this vast multitude of travelers defile before us; and we made the following estimate of their numbers: There were fifteen thousand long-haired oxen, twelve hundred horses, about the same number of camels, and two thousand men—Thibetans and Tartars—some going on foot, and directing the disorderly march of the cattle; others mounted on horses, camels, and oxen, and fully armed. The embassador traveled in a litter borne by two mules, and escorted by three hundred Chinese soldiers furnished by the province of Kan-Sou, and two hundred brave Tartars, charged by the princes of the Kou-kou-Noor to protect the holy embassy of the Talé Lama as far as the frontiers of Thibet.

"On the 15th of November we quitted the magnificent plains of the Kou-kou-Noor, and entered the country of the Tsaidam Mongols, after crossing the river of the same name. Here the landscape underwent a great change, and became wild and gloomy, and the dry and stony soil bore nothing but brambles impregnated with saltpeter. The people, too, have a morose manner, as if they had been affected by the physical character of their country: they speak very little, and that in so low and guttural a tone that other Mongols have difficulty in comprehending them. In this arid soil salt and borax abound; there is nothing more to be done than to dig a hole two or three feet deep, and the salt collects in it, and crystallizes and purifies of itself. The borax is also collected in little reservoirs, which are soon entirely filled.

"We rested two days in this country in order to collect all the strength possible for the ascent of the dreaded Bourhan-Bota—our long-haired oxen and camels enjoying themselves on the niter and salt, and we feasting on Tsamba and some goats which we got from the herdsmen in exchange for brick tea; and then setting out about three o'clock in the morning, we arrived at nine at the foot of the mountain. The caravan stopped for a moment, and we gazed with anxiety upward at the steep and rough paths, on which we perceived with anxiety a light vapor resting, which was said to be the noxious gas before mentioned. We adopted the precautionary measure, recommended by tradition, of chewing some cloves of garlic, and then commenced the ascent. In a short time the horses appeared to be incapable of bearing their riders; every

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one slackened his pace, all faces turned pale, the heart beat faintly, the limbs refused their office; many lay down, then got up again, made a few steps, then lay down again, and in this deplorable manner toiled up the side of the famous Bourhan-Bota. A part of our troop stopped in a deep hollow of the mountain, where it was said the pestilential vapor was less thick; the rest exerted their utmost energies to reach the top, where, at last, the lungs could play freely, relieved from the murderous carbonic acid gas that had so long oppressed them. To descend on the other side was mere play, for there the air was pure and easily respirable. The people told us that when there was a strong wind, the pernicious effect was little felt; but that it was very dangerous in calm weather, for then, being heavier than the atmospheric air, it remains near the surface of the ground, instead of being in some measure dispersed."

This mountain, however, was but an apprenticeship to Mount Chuga, which was much higher and more rugged. The cold they endured in crossing it was almost insupportable: M. Gabet became very sick, and continued so for many days. In a lake which they passed, they saw a number of dead wild oxen, who had been frozen in, while in the act of swimming across. "By the time we were approaching the most elevated point of Central Asia," says Huc, "a terrible wind had set in from the north, which lasted fifteen days, and increased the rigor of the cold to a degree that threatened us with great misfortunes. The sky was still clear, but the cold was so terrible that even at mid-day the influence of the sun was scarcely perceptible. Even during the day, and of course still more during the night, we were under the continual apprehension of being frozen to death. I may mention one circumstance that will give an idea of the extremity of the cold. Every morning before setting off, the caravan used to take a meal, and then not again till they encamped; but as the Tsamba was a kind of food so little agreeable, that it was difficult to take enough of it at once to support us during the day, we used to soak in tea two or three balls of it to keep in reserve for the day's journey. We wrapped up this boiling paste in very warm linen, and placed it on our breasts; and over this we had our clothing, namely a garment of sheep-skin, then a waistcoat of lamb's-skin, then a short garment of fox's-skin, and over all a great woolen coat. Now during this fortnight we constantly found the balls of Tsamba frozen, and when we drew them from our bosoms, they were so hard that we almost broke our teeth in attempting to eat them. The cattle suffered terribly, especially the mules and horses, which are not so strong as the oxen. We had to dress them in felt carpets, and tie camels'-skin round their heads; and in any other circumstances their appearance would certainly have excited our hilarity, but now we were in no humor for laughing, for, notwithstanding all precautions, the cattle of the caravan were decimated by death.

"As we advanced toward Lha-Ssa, we perceived that we were get-

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ting into a more and more inhabited country; the numerous pilgrims, the caravans, the frequent inscriptions on stones by the road-side, contributed much to lighten the weariness of the road. The Thibetans we met were now no longer exclusively nomadic, cultivated fields appeared, and houses took the place of black tents. On the fifteenth day of our departure, we arrived at Pampou (erroneously set down in maps as Panctou), which, on account of its proximity to Lha-Ssa, is regarded by pilgrims as the vestibule of the holy city. It is a beautiful plain, watered by a large river, the waters of which, distributed into many canals, spread fertility through the country. There is no village in it, properly so called, but extensive farms are seen in all directions, the houses with terraced tops, and surmounted by little turrets, whence float streamers of various colors, covered with Thibetan inscriptions. After three months' traveling through those terrible deserts, where no living thing was to be met with, but robbers and wild beasts, the plains of Pampou appeared to us the most beautiful country in the world. This long and painful journey had brought us so near the savage state, that we were in ecstasy with every thing that belonged to civilization. The houses, the agricultural implements, even a simple furrow, attracted our attention. But what struck us most was the prodigious elevation of temperature which we noticed in the cultivated country. Although we were still in the month of January, the river and the canals were merely bordered by a light covering of ice, and we met no one clothed in furs.

"We were now only separated from Lha-Ssa by a mountain; but it was one extremely steep and difficult of ascent. The Thibetans and Mongols, however, climb it with great devotion; as they believe that those who have the happiness to arrive at its summit, receive a complete remission of their sins; and, certainly, if the mountain have not the power to remit sins, it has that of imposing a pretty severe penance. We had set off an hour after midnight, and we did not arrive until ten o'clock in the morning; having been compelled, on account of the steep and rocky character of the paths, which makes it nearly impossible for a horse to keep his footing, to walk almost the whole way. The sun was just about to set, when, issuing from a defile at the foot of the mountain, we saw lying before us the renowned Lha-Ssa, the metropolis of the Buddhist world, encircled by a multitude of grand old trees, which form with their foliage a girdle of verdure around it; its white houses, with their terraces and turrets; its numerous temples, with their gilded roofs; and high above all, the majestic palace of the Talé Lama. At the entrance of the town, some Mongols with whom we had made acquaintance on the roads, had come to meet us, and invite us to alight at a lodging which they had prepared for us. It was the 13th of January, 1846; just eighteen months after we had quitted the valley of the Black Waters."

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RESIDENCE AT LHA-SSA.

"The day following that of our arrival at Lha-Ssa, we took a guide and traversed the different quarters of the town, in quest of a lodging. The houses of Lha-Ssa are generally large, several stories high, and terminated by a terrace, slightly inclined, to facilitate the running off of the water; they are whitewashed all over, with the exception of some borders, and the door and window-frames, which are painted red or yellow. The reformed Buddhists are particularly fond of these two colors; they are in some sort sacred in their eyes, and are called lamanesque colors. The houses of Lha-Ssa are painted every year, and have, consequently, an admirable appearance of freshness; but the inside is far from being in harmony with the out. The rooms are smoky, dirty, and foul-smelling, and generally encumbered with all sorts of utensils, in most disgusting disorder. Thibetan houses are so many whited sepulchers, true images of all false religions, which vail corruption and falsehood by a certain number of dogmatic truths, and some principles of morality.

"After a long search we found a small lodging in a large house containing already fifty lodgers. Our humble abode was in the upper story, ascended by twenty-six stairs, unfurnished with any kind of balustrade, and so steep and narrow, that to avoid the risk of breaking our necks, every time we mounted them, it was necessary to make use of both hands and feet. Our apartment was composed of one large square room and a small corridor; the former lighted by a narrow window, garnished with three thick wooden bars, and a round skylight. The latter hole served a variety of purposes; it admitted the light, the wind, the rain, and the snow; and also afforded egress to the smoke from our hearth. In order to protect themselves in some measure from the winter's cold, the Thibetans place in the middle of their chambers a basin of baked clay, in which argol may be burned. As this kind of fuel gives more smoke than heat, the advantage of a hole in the roof is obvious; and this inestimable aperture in our chamber enabled us to make a little fire without being quite stifled. It is true this good had its attendant evil in admitting, at times, the rain and snow upon our backs, but when we have led a nomadic life for some time we cease to be disturbed by trifles.

"As soon as we had organized our household, we began to make acquaintance with Lha-Ssa and its inhabitants. Lha-Ssa is not more than two leagues in circumference, and is not shut within ramparts like the Chinese towns. In the suburbs the number of gardens planted with large trees afford a magnificent girdle of verdure to the town. The principal streets are very wide, straight, and tolerably clean; the suburbs most disgustingly filthy. In the latter there is a quarter where the houses are entirely built of ox and rams' horns; these bizarre edifices have not an unpleasant aspect, and are of great solidity. The ox horns being smooth and white, and those of the sheep black and rough, form a

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multitude of singular combinations; the interstices are filled up with mortar; these houses are never whitened—the Thibetans have the good taste to leave them in their savage and fantastic beauty, without attempting to improve them.

"The palace of the Talé Lama well deserves the celebrity it enjoys. Toward the northern part of the town, at a small distance from it, there rises a rocky mountain of no great elevation, and conical in form, bearing the name of Buddha-La, that is, the Divine Mountain, and on this grand site the adorers of the Talé Buddha have reared a palace to their living and incarnate divinity. This palace consists of a cluster of temples, varying in size and beauty; the center temple has an elevation of four stories; the dome is entirely covered with plates of gold, and is surrounded by a peristyle, of which the columns are likewise gilded. Here the Talé Lama has fixed his residence, and from the height of his sanctuary can contemplate, on days of high solemnities, his countless worshipers, thronging the plain and prostrating themselves at the base of the Sacred Mountain. The secondary palaces grouped around, accommodate a crowd of lamas whose continued occupation is to serve and wait on the living Buddha. Two fine avenues, bordered with magnificent trees, lead from Lha-Ssa to this temple, and there may be seen a multitude of pilgrims unrolling between their fingers the long Buddhist rosaries, and the lamas of the court splendidly dressed, and mounted on horses richly caparisoned. There is continual motion in the vicinity of the Buddha-La, but the multitude is generally silent and serious.

"The Thibetan women adopt a custom, or rather submit to a regulation certainly unique in the world. Before going out of their houses, they rub their faces with a sort of black sticky varnish, a good deal like conserve of grapes. As the object is to render themselves hideous, they daub their faces with this digusting cosmetic, till they scarcely resemble human creatures. The following was, we are told, the origin of this monstrous practice:

"About two hundred years ago, the Nomekhan, or Lama King of Anterior Thibet, was a man of the austerest character. At that period, the Thibetan women were not more in the habit of trying to make themselves look ugly than the women of other countries; on the contrary, they were extravagantly addicted to dress and luxury. By degrees, the contagion spread even to the holy family of the lamas; and the Buddhist convents relaxed their discipline, in a manner that threatened a complete dissolution. In order to arrest the progress of this alarming libertinism, the nomekhan published an edict, forbidding women to appear in public unless disfigured in the fashion above mentioned; the severest punishments and the heaviest displeasure of Buddha were threatened to the refractory. It must have required no ordinary courage to publish such an edict; but that the women obeyed it was still more extraordinary. Tradition makes no mention of the slightest revolt on their part. The fair Thibetans vie with each other in making themselves

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frightful, and she who is most offensively besmeared passes for the most pious; the custom appears to be considered as a dogma to be accepted. In the country the law is most rigorously observed; but at Lha-Ssa, women are to be met with who venture to appear with their faces as nature made them; but those who permit themselves this license are considered as women of bad reputation, and they never fail to hide themselves when they catch sight of an agent of the police."

The travelers soon became objects of attention from the populace, and there were many conjectures afloat concerning their character and origin. To avoid all difficulty, they resolved to conform to a regulation which requires all foreigners desirous of dwelling at Lha-Ssa, to present themselves to the authorities. They repaired to the chief of police, to whom they declared they were from the west, from a great kingdom called France, and that they had come to Thibet to preach the Christian religion. The official received this information with apparent satisfaction, and the travelers retired, congratulating themselves on their good fortune. Some days after this, however, they were visited by spies, and presently were summoned before the regent. Their reception was not unfavorable, but they were greatly alarmed on being also conducted before the Chinese embassador, who, they knew, would endeavor to prevent them from remaining in the city.

After a long examination, during which they stated very frankly their true character, the seal of the Grand Lama was affixed to every article of their baggage, and they were kept as prisoners for the night in the regent's house. They were, nevertheless, treated with great kindness, and received assurances of friendly interest from several of the Thibetan officials. The next day their trunks were opened, in the presence of the regent and the Chinese embassador. Huc thus describes the result: "We took off the seal of the Talé Lama, and the two trunks that every body had been long devouring with their eyes, were at last laid open. We took out the contents, one after another, and displayed them on a large table. First appeared some volumes in French and Latin; then some Tartar and Chinese books, church linen and ornaments, sacred vases, rosaries, crosses, medals, and a magnificent collection of lithographs. Every body was lost in admiration at the sight of this little European museum. They stared, jogged each other with the elbow, and clucked with their tongues in sign of approbation. No one had ever seen any thing so wonderful or so beautiful. Every shining white object was silver, every thing that shone yellow was gold. Every countenance expanded, and it seemed to be quite forgotten what dangerous people we were. The Thibetans put out their tongues and scratched their ears; the Chinese made us the most sentimental reverences. The bag of medals made all eyes turn in their sockets. They hoped, probably, that we should make a public distribution of these brilliant pieces of gold on leaving the hall of judgment."

The most suspicious objects were their maps, but Huc succeeded, by

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appealing to the knowledge of the Chinese embassador, and thereby flattering his vanity, in obtaining his testimony that they were engraved, and not made by the travelers themselves. This testimony was conclusive; "the good-natured regent," says Huc, "looked quite radiant and triumphant when, after all, there appeared nothing among our effects to compromise us. 'You see,' said he to the embassador, 'these men are ministers of the Lord of Heaven, and honest men; what would you have of them? Let them go in peace!' These flattering words were received in the hall with a murmur of approbation; and we responded from the bottom of our hearts, '*Deo gratias.*' Our baggage was again shouldered by the people pressed into the service, and we returned to our home with much greater briskness than when we had quitted it. The news of our acquittal quickly spread through the town; the people flocked from all sides to salute us, and the French name was in every mouth."

On the day of their liberation, the regent furnished them with a splendid house, and gave them entire permission to commence the work of proselytism. They erected a chapel in their dwelling, and held daily conversations with many intelligent natives, who came to question them about the religion of the West. Two or three of these appeared to be sincere and devout in their inquiries, and the missionaries began to indulge in splendid dreams of establishing Christianity in the very sanctuary of Buddhism.

"The tranquillity we enjoyed," continues Huc, "the distinguished protection accorded by the government, the sympathy of the people—all gave us the hope that, with the aid of God we might lay, in the very capital of Buddhism, the foundation of a mission whose influence would soon extend to the nomadic tribes of Mongolia. As soon as we imagined our position secure in Lha-Ssa, we began to think of re-establishing communications with Europe. The way of the desert was impracticable; and even supposing it infested neither by robbers nor wild beasts, the length of the passage made us shudder. The route by India seemed the only one possible. From Lha-Ssa to the first English station it was not more than a month's march; and by establishing a correspondent beyond the Himalayas, and another at Calcutta, communication with France became, if not prompt or easy, at least practicable. As this plan could not be executed without the concurrence of the government, we communicated it to the regent, who entered into our views; and it was agreed that when the fine season commenced, M. Gabet should undertake the journey to Calcutta with a Thibetan escort as far as Boutan. Such were our plans for the establishment of a mission at Lha-Ssa; but, at this very moment, the enemy of all good was at work to drive us from a country which he seems to have chosen for the seat of his empire."

This enemy was the Chinese minister, who even became jealous of the popularity of the two foreigners. He endeavored to persuade the regent to expel them, alleging that their design was to overthrow the

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power of the Talé Lama; but the regent remained friendly, and refused to believe these assertions. "The quarrel grew more bitter every day, and matters came to such a pass, that prudence compelled us to resolve on yielding to circumstances, and no longer maintaining a resistance which might compromise the regent our protector, and even become, perhaps, the cause of serious dissensions between China and Thibet. We decided, then, that it would be better to bow the head, and accept our persecution with resignation. Our conduct would at least prove to the Thibetans that we had come among them with pacific intentions, and had no intention of establishing ourselves in the country by violence. Having adopted this resolution, we went to the palace of the regent, who, hearing that we had decided upon quitting Lha-Ssa, looked sorry and embarrassed. He told us that it was his warmest wish to assure us a free and tranquil abode in Thibet, but that alone, and deprived of the support of his sovereign, he was too feeble to repress the tyranny of the Chinese, who, profiting by the infancy of the Talé Lama, arrogated to themselves rights before unheard-of in the country."

On communicating their decision to the Chinese embassador, he at once assumed complete authority over them. It had been their intention to proceed direct from Lha-Ssa to Calcutta, a journey of forty days only; but this he at once prevented, announcing his design of forwarding them through the whole breadth of the Chinese empire to Canton, and giving them but eight days to make the necessary preparations. Samdadchiemba, as a Chinese subject, was not allowed to accompany them, but the minister promised to allow him to return to his parents. Two mandarins and a guard of fifteen Chinese soldiers were appointed to attend the missionaries on their journey. Their farewell interviews with the regent and the other Thibetan officials, were of the most friendly character, and they left the holy city with deep mortification and regret. "Outside of the town," says Huc, "a number of the inhabitants with whom we had been on terms of friendship, and many of whom appeared sincerely disposed to embrace our holy religion, had assembled to salute us once more. Among them was a young physician, still wearing on his breast the cross that we had given him. We alighted from our horses to give them some parting words of consolation, to exhort them to abandon courageously the superstitious worship of Buddha, and adore the God of the Christians, confiding always in his infinite goodness and mercy. When we had remounted our horses, we cast a long last look on the city of Lha-Ssa, still visible in the distance; and said in the depths of our hearts, 'God's will be done!' It was the 15th of March, 1846."

JOURNEY FROM LHA-SSA TO CANTON.

On their return journey, the missionaries determined to change entirely their course of conduct. As two mandarins were to attend them,

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their fear of these personages abated, knowing that they were strong against the weak, but weak against the strong. Their position gave them some advantages, and the only security for their lives seemed to be, to make themselves respected. On reaching the town of Ta-tsien-lou, on the frontier of the Chinese empire, they demanded palanquins and bearers. The governor at first refused, but after a violent debate yielded the point. They then determined to revolt against the decrees of the "Tribunal of Rites," on the subject of costume. "We cast aside," says Huc, "our Thibet dress—the frightful wolf-skin cap, the checked hose, and the long fur tunic, that exhaled so strong an odor of beef and mutton, and we got a skillful tailor to make us some beautiful sky-blue robes in the newest fashion of Pekin. We provided ourselves with magnificent black satin boots, adorned with soles of dazzling whiteness. So far the aforesaid tribunal of rites had no objection; but when we proceeded to gird up our loins with red sashes, and cover our heads with embroidered yellow caps, we caused a universal shudder among all beholders, and the emotion ran through the town like an electric current, till it reached the civil and military authorities. They cried aloud that the red sash and the yellow cap were the attributes of imperial majesty —allowable only to the family of the emperor, and forbidden to the people under pain of perpetual banishment. On this point the tribunal of rites would be inflexible, and we must reform our costume accordingly. We, on our side, alleged, that being strangers traveling as such, and by authority, we were bound to conform to the ritual of the empire—but had the right of following the fashion of our own country, which allowed every one to choose the form and color of his garments, according to his own fancy. They insisted—they became angry—they flew into a furious passion; we remained calm and immovable, but vowing that we would never part with our red sashes and yellow caps. Our obstinacy was not to be overcome, and the mandarins submitted—as they ought to do."

After passing a terrific mountain-chain, the summits of which were covered with snow, they descended into the populous and fertile plains of the province of Sse-Tchouen. It was now the month of June, and they were delighted with the sight of rich fields and ripening harvests. In this thorough and patient cultivation they recognized China. Huc also noticed a peculiar musky odor in passing through the villages, *à propos* of which subject he observes: "Travelers in remote countries have often remarked, that most nations have an odor which is peculiar to them. It is easy to distinguish the negro, the Malay, the Tartar, the Thibetan, the Hindoo, the Arab, and the Chinese. The country itself even, the soil on which they dwell, diffuses an analogous exhalation, which is especially observable in the morning, in passing either through town or country; but a new-comer is much more sensible of it than an old resident, as the sense of smell becomes gradually so accustomed to it as no longer to perceive it. The Chinese say they perceive also a

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peculiar odor in an European, but one less powerful than that of the other nations with whom they come in contact. It is remarkable, however, that in traversing the various provinces of China, we were never recognized by any one except by the dogs, which barked continually at us, and appeared to know that we were foreigners. We had, indeed, completely the appearance of true Chinese, and only an extremely delicate scent could discover that we did not really belong to the 'central nation.'"

After a march of twelve days, during which they traveled a distance of three hundred miles from the frontier, they reached the large town of Tching-tou-fou, the capital of the province of Sse-Tchouen. Here an examination was held, and they were at first in some doubt as to their future fate. They were taken before the chief provincial commissioner and the inspector of crimes, both of whom asked them many questions, which they answered with so much dignity, propriety, and good-humor, that at last the balance turned in their favor. The next day they were taken before the viceroy of the province, who, after another examination, the particulars of which were taken down, to be forwarded to Pekin, decided to send them to Canton, there to be delivered over to the French embassador. This trial, and the subsequent preparations for their further journey, detained them seventeen days, during which time they had ample leisure to inspect the place. Huc gives the following description of it:

"Tching-tou-fou, the capital of the province of Sse-Tchouen, is one of the finest towns in the empire. It is situated in the middle of an admirably fertile plain, watered by beautiful streams, and bounded toward the horizon by hills of graceful and varied forms. The principal streets are of a good width, paved entirely with large flagstones, and so clean that you can scarcely, as you pass through them, believe yourself to be in a Chinese town. The shops with their long and brilliant signs, the exquisite order with which the merchandise displayed in them is arranged, the great number and beauty of the tribunals, pagodas, and of what we must call literary institutions, all contribute to make of Tching-tou-fou a town in some measure exceptional; or at least this is the impression we retained concerning it, when subsequently we had visited the most renowned cities of the other provinces."

The viceroy, in framing the regulations to be observed during their journey, ordered that the same honors should be paid to them on the road as to functionaries of the very highest rank. Those who failed to show them the proper respect were sometimes harshly treated by the mandarins who had them in charge, and the character they had assumed obliged them to maintain an indifference to this tyranny which they did not feel. After two or three days they reached the great *Yang-tse-Kiang* (Son of the Sea), or Blue River, and the mandarins proposed to travel by water. The fatigues of the land-journey made this a desired change, but their pleasure was less than they had imagined. At mid-

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night they halted at the town of Kien-tcheou, and lodged at the "Hotel of Accomplished Wishes." In this place, they had a violent dispute with the mandarins, who wished to prevent them from visiting the communal palace, where they insisted upon taking up their residence. All sorts of threats, objections, and entreaties were made, but the missionaries were inflexible in their resolution, and finally achieved their design. Every victory of this kind added to the respect with which they were treated. Their journey for some weeks was a repetition of these scenes, but their knowledge of Chinese character always enabled them to come off victorious. Their route followed the course of the Yang-tse-Kiang, sometimes in boats on the river, and occasionally leading over mountain-chains, in order to cut off some of its many windings. In the town of Leang-Chan they carried their effrontery so far, as to take the place of judges, and try three Chinese Christians, who had been brought before the proper tribunal. This was not only allowed by the authorities, to the great astonishment of the missionaries, but the decision of the latter, liberating the accused converts, was accepted, and carried into effect!

At the town of Yao-Tchang, they had rather a picturesque experience. They took lodgings at the "Hotel of the Beatitudes," which was the reverse of what its name indicated. They then sent one of the mandarins to seek a better place, and in a short time he returned, saying that they should occupy the theater, which was spacious and airy. "A porter appeared, who took up our baggage," says Huc, "and in the twinkling of an eye, we had left the Hotel of Beatitudes to become tenants of the theater of Yao-tchang. This theater formed part of a great Bonze convent, and was situated in an immense court-yard opposite to the principal pagoda. Its construction was rather remarkable, in comparison with the numerous edifices of this kind to be met with in China. Twelve great granite columns supported a vast square platform surmounted by a pavilion richly ornamented, and supported on pillars of varnished wood.

"A broad stone staircase, situated at the back of the building, led to the platform, first into an apartment intended for the actors, and thence to the stage by two side doors, which served for entrances and exits. Upon the stage were placed some chairs and a table, and there we supped by the light of the moon and stars, as well as of a number of lanterns, which the directors of the theater had had kindled in our honor. It was really a charming spectacle, and one altogether unlooked for. If we had not taken the precaution to have the great gate of the Bonze convent shut, we should soon have had the whole population of Yao-tchang in the space that was intended to serve for a pit. It is certain that the inhabitants of this place had never seen on their stage any thing they would think as curious as ourselves. We heard a tumultuous mob outside, demanding with loud cries to be allowed a sight of the two men from the western seas at supper. They seemed to think we must have

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some quite peculiar and extraordinary method of eating. Some succeeded in getting upon the roof of the Bonze convent, and some had climbed over the inclosure and up into some high trees, whence they could command a view of us, and where we saw them jumping about among the leaves like large monkeys. These curious and intrepid persons must have been much disappointed to see us eating our rice with chop-sticks, quite in the established Chinese fashion.

"The evening was delightfully fine, and the air delicious on this platform, where we begged our servant to place our beds, as we desired to pass the night there. All was made ready, and we wished to go to bed; but our watchful observers manifested no inclination to quit their posts, and at last we had to put out the lanterns, in order to drive them home. As they departed, we heard some of them say, 'Why these men are just like us!' 'Not quite,' said another; 'the little devil has very large eyes, and the tall one a very pointed nose. I noticed that difference.'"

Continuing their voyage down the Yang-tse-Kiang, they reached the town of Pa-toung, in the province of Hou-peh, the capital of which is the great city of Wou-chang-fou. Huc remarks: "We passed without accident a place dangerous from its numerous reefs; some of the last met with on this fine river, which beyond this place goes on increasing from day to day, and spreading richness and fertility around it. There is certainly no one in the world to be compared with it for the multitude of men whom it feeds, and the prodigious number of vessels that it bears on its waters. Nothing can be more grand and majestic than the development of this river during its course of one thousand nine hundred and eighty miles. At Tchoung-king, nine hundred miles from the sea, it is already a mile and a half broad; at its mouth it is no less than twenty-one."

Some days after this, however, they encountered a violent gale. The waves rose so high that the junk became almost unmanageable: they were twice driven upon sand-bars, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. At last, after a day of great terror and danger, they reached the town of Kin-tcheou, and found that two boats which had preceded them had been wrecked, and three men drowned. At this place they left the river, and took again to their palanquins. The heat was so great, as it was now the middle of summer, that they traveled mostly by night, accompanied by horsemen bearing torches. Their strength, however, had been so exhausted by the long duration of their fatigues, that on reaching a town called Kuen-kang-hien, they both became seriously ill, and were compelled to suspend their journey. "Every one of the company," says Huc, "delivered his opinion of our condition in the most technical terms, and it was settled by the obliging members of this impromptu consultation that our 'noble and illustrious malady proceeded from a disturbance in the equilibrium of the vital spirits.' The igneous principle, they thought, too long fed by the excessive heat, had ended by exceeding beyond all measure the proper bounds assigned to it, and that,

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consequently, a fire, so to speak, had been kindled in the sublime organization of our body."

For the purpose of subduing this igneous principle, they prescribed green peas, cucumbers, and melons; but before the prescription could be tested, a celebrated physician arrived, who made a long and careful examination of the illustrious patients. "By some means or other," said he, shaking his head, "the cold air has penetrated into the interior, and has put itself in opposition, in many of the organs, with the igneous principle; thence arises the struggle, which must necessarily manifest itself by vomitings and convulsions; we must therefore combat the evil with warm substances." In order to re-establish the said equilibrium there needed only to be introduced into the body a certain quantity of cold, and to lower the extravagant temperature of this igneous principle; therefore it was necessary to favor the return of moisture into all the members. After hanging between life and death for two or three days, the constitutions of the missionaries prevailed, and they gradually recovered their health and strength.

After traveling for some time longer down the Yang-tse-Kiang, they reached the large town of Ou (or Wou)-Chang-fou, the capital of Houpeh, and the chief center of the internal trade of China. They were at first very disagreeably lodged in a little pagoda, and the mandarins seemed disposed to treat them with contempt and arrogance. It was necessary for them to make a strong diplomatic movement: they forced themselves into the presence of the governor of the province, and boldly claimed better treatment. Their boldness had its usual effect: they were installed in a magnificent Buddhist convent, called the "Garden of the Western Gate." Here the mandarins and escort who had accompanied them from Sse-tchouen were dismissed, and they were furnished with others, for the journey to Canton. The principal mandarin was called *Lieou*, or "Willow;" but as he had very large goggle eyes, which were weak and easily provoked to tears, the missionaries generally called him "The Weeping Willow."

"After four days' rest in the Garden of the Western Gate," says Huc, "we began to think of resuming our seemingly interminable journey. We felt our strength and courage nearly exhausted, and we had still nearly nine hundred miles to travel, and that during the hottest season of the year, and constantly in a southerly direction. But trusting in the protection of Providence, we did not doubt of arriving some day safe and sound at Macao."

They traveled for some time eastward through the province of Houpeh, and finally reached the imperial road from Canton to Pekin. Here there were two routes to Nan-Chang, the capital of Kiang-Si, a very rugged path over mountains, and a voyage across the great Pou-Yang Lake, which is dangerous at certain seasons. The lake is forty-five miles long, by from fifteen to eighteen in breadth. After some consultation they chose the latter route. "Our navigation on the Lake Pou-yang,"

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says Huc, "was performed without accident; but it was much slower than we had anticipated, for instead of one day's journey we had two. We had not gone more than half way when the wind changed, and began to blow right a-head, so that we were compelled to make some long tacks. During these two days we seldom saw land, and we could hardly persuade ourselves that we were really in the center of the Chinese empire. The immense extent of water—the long waves raised by the wind—the large vessels that were moving about in all directions, made it look more like a sea than a lake. The innumerable junks that are constantly plowing the surface of the Pou-yang make really a very pretty sight.

"From the Lake Pou-yang to Nan-tchang-fou, the capital of the province of Kiang-si, the country that we traveled through for two days, was a mere desert, in which were seen here and there a few wretched huts built of reeds and some patches of ground half cultivated by poor peasants. The extreme heat of the weather, and our own need of repose, decided us to continue our journey by water. From Nan-tchang-fou we could follow the course of a large river as far as the Mountain Mei-ling, which is just half way, and can be crossed in a single day; after this, the River Kiang would take us all the rest of the way to Canton. We knew that this route was infinitely preferable to the land-journey, particularly if we were furnished with government junks, and well-provisioned. Our efforts were crowned with perfect success; we were provided with a well-armed vessel of war for escort, and two superb junks, one for the mandarins and their suite, and one for ourselves.

"After a delightful voyage of fifteen days we arrived at the foot of the Mountain Mei-ling, when we bade adieu to our mandarin junks, and returned to our palanquin. We arrived toward noon at the summit of the mountain, where there is a sort of triumphal arch, in the form of an immense portal; on one side of which ends the province of Kiang-si, and on the other begins that of Canton. We could not cross this frontier without emotion, for we had now at last set foot in the province which is in direct communication with Europe. It seemed as if we were only a short way from Canton, and Canton represented to us Europe—France, that country so dear to our recollections. We descended the mountain slowly and cautiously, on account of the masses of rock with which the way was thickly strewn, and we arrived in the evening at Nan-hioung.

"On the sixth day after our departure from Nan-hioung, the Tigris had ceased to roll its blue waters through mountains; and we entered on a richly cultivated plain, where from time to time we inhaled a powerful and invigorating breeze, that seemed to expand our chests. It was a breeze from the sea, and Canton was not far off! Standing motionless on the deck of the junk, straining our eyes in that direction, we felt all the tremor that precedes the strong emotions of a return

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after long absence. The last rays of the sun were just fading on the horizon, when we perceived something like an immense forest, stripped of its leaves and branches, and retaining only the trunks of the great trees. The current, the breeze, and the tide, were now sweeping us on rapidly to the roads of Canton; and soon, among the innumerable masts of Chinese junks, we distinguished some more elevated than the rest, and the peculiar structure of whose yards made us give a sudden start, and filled our eyes with tears. Among the native vessels of China arose the grand and imposing forms of a steam-ship and several East Indiamen; and amid the flags of all colors that were waving in the air, we perceived those of the United States, of Portugal, and of England. That of France was not among them; but when one has been long at the other side of the world, on an inhospitable soil, in China, in short, it seems that all the people of the west form one great family. The mere sight of a European flag makes the heart beat, for it awakens all the recollections of our country.

"In traversing the port of Canton on our mandarin junk, our eyes sought with eager curiosity for all that was not Chinese. We passed alongside of an English brig, and we could not gaze enough at the sailors in their glazed hats, who, ranged in a line along the deck, were watching us passing; assuredly without suspecting that they had under their eyes two Frenchmen just returned from the high table-land of Asia. Probably they were amusing themselves at our Chinese costume, while we were going into ecstasies at their astonishing physiognomies. Those rubicund visages, those blue eyes, those long noses and fair hair, those curious narrow clothes, pasted, as it seemed, upon their limbs—how droll it all was! A pretty trim little vessel, painted green and covered with a white awning, now passed us; and in it were seated three European gentlemen, smoking cigars, enjoying apparently a pleasure-trip. How grotesque in the eyes of an Asiatic would their costume have appeared! They wore black hats and white trowsers, waistcoats, and jackets. A Thibet man would have burst out laughing to see those faces, naked of beard or mustache, but having instead a bunch of red curly hair on each cheek. We understood now how absurd Europeans must look in countries which have no knowledge of their customs and fashions. At length, then, we had reached Canton! This was in the month of October, 1846, six months after our departure from Lha-Ssa.

"In one of the very first newspapers that chance threw into our hands, we read an article that we thought rather curious. It was as follows: 'We have lately received the intelligence of the lamentable death of the two fathers of the Mongol Tartar Mission.' After a slight glance at the Tartar countries, the author of the article continues: 'A French Lazarist of the name of Huc, took up his abode about three years ago among some Chinese families established in the valley of Black Waters, about six hundred miles from the Great Wall. Another Lazarist, whose name is not known to us, joined him with the purpose

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of forming a mission for the conversion of the Mongol Buddhists. They studied the Tartar language with the lamas of the neighboring monasteries; and it appears that, having been regarded as foreign lamas, they were treated in a friendly manner, especially by the Buddhists, who are very ignorant, and who took the Latin of their breviaries for Sanscrit, which they do not understand, but for which they have much veneration. When the missionaries believed themselves sufficiently instructed in the language they proceeded into the interior, with the intention of commencing the work of conversion. After that period very little was heard of them, until in May last information was received that they had been fastened to the tails of wild horses and dragged to death. The immediate cause of this event is not yet known.' It may well be imagined that this article astonished us a little; and we thought we had some reason to doubt its perfect accuracy.

"Two days afterward we had clasped in our arms our old friends and dear brethren at Macao. For a long time we felt in the midst of them like men awakened from a deep sleep. We were astonished to see no longer around us the Thibetan, Tartar, and Chinese physiognomies, and to hear sounding in our ears only that beautiful native tongue whose harmonious accents made every fiber of our souls thrill with joy, and our eyes gush full of delicious tears. France was still far from us, and yet we seemed to have found it again.

"A month after our arrival at Macao, M. Gabet, forgetting his infirmities and sufferings, and listening only to his devotion to the sacred cause in which he was engaged, embarked for Europe, in the hope of exciting the zeal and charity of the Catholics in favor of the interesting populations of Tartary and Thibet, for whose salvation he would gladly have laid down his life. We hoped at the time soon to meet again this companion of all our wanderings, the friend whose existence was in some measure identified with our own. But such was not the will of God. One day we received the afflicting news that this indefatigable and courageous missionary had yielded his last breath on the coast of Brazil. When amid the snows of high Asia, we had been so solicitous to recall the vital warmth into the nearly frozen limbs of our friend, we little thought that God had appointed him to find a grave on the burning shores of South America.

"After a tolerably long residence at Macao, we ourselves set off once more on the road to Pekin, thus traversing China for the third time, and as we have already stated in our former work, the shattered state of our health subsequently obliged us to return to France, after having visited on our way India, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. We embarked first for China in the year 1838, and we were not permitted to see our native country again till 1852."

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FORTUNE'S

JOURNEYS TO THE TEA COUNTRIES OF CHINA.

JOURNEY TO THE GREEN TEA DISTRICTS.

Mr. Robert Fortune, an English botanist and horticulturist, was led to visit China with the object of procuring new varieties of ornamental plants and trees. His success was even beyond his expectations; he procured and forwarded to England many very beautiful and valuable specimens, and after his return published, in 1847, a narrative of his experiences, under the title of "Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China." Shortly after the publication of this volume, he was appointed by the court of directors of the East India Company to proceed again to China, for the purpose of obtaining the finest varieties of the tea-plant, as well as native manufactures and implements, for the government tea plantations in the Himalayas. Leaving England in June, 1848, he reached Hong-Kong, by the overland route, in August.

Mr. Fortune continued his voyage northward to Shanghai, which is nearer the tea-districts. It was a matter of great importance to procure the best seeds and shrubs from those parts of the country where the best teas are produced. He therefore designed to visit the celebrated hill of Sung-lo, in the Hwuy-chow district, where the very finest green teas are grown. But this place is two hundred miles inland, and except the Jesuit missionaries, no European had ever entered the sacred precincts of Hwuy-chow. Mr. Fortune says: "I had two Hwuy-chow men in my service at this time. I sent for them, and inquired whether it was possible to penetrate so far into the country. They replied that we could easily do so, and that they were quite willing to accompany me, only stipulating that I should discard my English costume and adopt the dress of the country. I knew that this was indispensable if I wished to accomplish the object in view, and readily acceded to the terms. My servants now procured me a Chinese dress, and had the tail which I had worn in former years nicely dressed by the barber. Every thing was soon in readiness except the boat which had to be engaged for the first stage of our journey."

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Having engaged a boat, had his head shaved and his tail fastened on, and adopted the complete Chinese costume, Mr. Fortune left Shanghai for the large city of Hang-chow-foo, and arrived there after a three days' voyage on the grand canal. "On the evening of the 22d of October," says he, "I approached the suburbs of Hang-chow-foo, one of the largest and most flourishing cities in the richest district of the Chinese empire. The Chinese authorities have always been most jealous of foreigners approaching or entering this town. As I drew nearer the city, every thing which came under my observation marked it as a place of great importance. The grand canal was deep and wide, and bore on its waters many hundreds of boats of different sizes, all engaged in an active bustling trade. Many of these were sailing in the same direction as ourselves, while others were leaving the city, and hurrying onward in the direction of Soo-chow, Hoo-chow, Kea-king, and other towns. Canals were seen branching off from the grand canal in all directions, and forming the high roads of the country."

The boatmen dissuaded Mr. Fortune from entering the city, but as it was necessary for him to reach the Hang-chow, or Green River, about eight miles distant, he engaged a sedan chair and some bearers to convey him around the walls. The latter, however, to his great surprise, took him directly through the heart of the city—a walk of some distance. Fortunately he was not detected, and was equally successful, after reaching the Green River, in engaging a boat to take him up the river to Hwuy-chow. This was a Chinese craft, full of cargo and with twenty passengers on board, mostly merchants and servants, and all quiet and inoffensive people. There were berths in which the passengers slept, and the price of passage also included meals, which consisted principally of tea, sweet potatoes, and boiled rice.

"The slow progress which we necessarily made suited my purposes exactly, and enabled me to explore the botanical riches of the country with convenience and ease. I used to rise at break of day, and spend the morning inspecting the hills and valleys near the sides of the river, and then return to the boat in time for breakfast. Breakfast over, I generally went on shore again, accompanied by my men, who carried the seeds, plants, or flowers we might discover during our rambles. The first thing we did on these occasions was to ascend the nearest hill and take a survey of the windings of the river, with the number of rapids, in order that we might form some idea of the progress our boat would make during our absence."

During these rambles, Fortune discovered a new variety of palm-tree, the only species to be found in the northern or central provinces of China. It grew upon the hill-sides, in great perfection. It is particularly valuable to the northern Chinese, who use its large, brown hair-like bracts for many purposes. Ropes and cables for their junks are made out of this substance, and seem to last, even under water, for a very long time. Agricultural laborers and coolies are fond of

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wearing hats and cloaks made out of the same substance, which in wet weather keeps out a great deal of rain; and there are many other purposes to which this useful tree is applied.

"I am in hopes," says Fortune, "that one day we shall see this beautiful palm-tree ornamenting the hill-sides in the south of England, and in other mild European countries. With this view I sent a few plants home to Sir William Hooker, of the Royal Gardens at Kew, with a request that he would forward one of them to the garden of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, at Osborne House, Isle of Wight."*

THE HEMP PALM.

"But the most beautiful tree found in this district is a species of weeping cypress, which I had never met with in any other part of China, and which was quite new to me. It was during one of my daily rambles that I saw the first specimen. About half a mile distant from where I was I observed a noble-looking fir-tree, about sixty feet in height, having a stem as straight as the Norfolk Island pine, and weeping branches like the willow of St. Helena. Its branches grew at first at right angles to the main stem, then described a graceful curve upward, and bent again at their points. From these main branches others long and slender hung down perpendicularly, and gave the whole tree a weeping and graceful form. It reminded me of some of those large and gorgeous chandeliers sometimes seen in theaters and public halls in Europe.

"On the evening of the 31st of October," he continues, "we reached Wae-ping. It is a city of considerable size, walled and fortified, and probably contains one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. This place is just on the borders of the district of Hwuy-chow. Soon after leaving Wae-ping one of my guides informed me that we were now on the border of another province, and that here I had better not go much out of the boat. I found that this advice was good and worth attending

* In the *Botanical Magazine* for March, 1850, Sir William Hooker thus writes of it: "A palm, *Chamærops excelsa*, (?) sent to the Royal Gardens by Mr. Fortune, has braved, unharmed, and unprotected by any sort of covering, the severe winter now passed" (1849-50).

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to. The river here is considered the highway or passage from the one district to the other, and this pass is well guarded by soldiers. Each province has its own guard-town. On the Che-kiang side we passed a long, straggling town on the river's banks, chiefly inhabited by troops, who were the guards of the pass, and under the orders of the Hang-chow mandarins. As soon as the boundary-line was crossed we came to another place of like size and appearance, also filled with soldiers, who were under the orders of the authorities of Hwuy-chow-foo, in the province of Kiang-nan. These two parties formed a sort of border guard, and bore each other, I believe, little good-will. They reminded me of our own border clans in ancient feudal times. Boats passing up and down the river were generallly boarded, and had their papers examined by one of the officers."

After a voyage of several days, the boat arrived at the town of Tun-che, distant about twenty miles from the city of Hwuy-chow-foo. The great article of trade here is green tea. For the principal part of the journey, the river had been shut in by high hills, but at this place they retired, leaving an extensive and beautiful valley, which was almost entirely covered with tea plantations. The soil was very fertile, and the tea-shrubs showed a most luxuriant growth. Fortune remained but an hour or two at Tun-che; he hired a chair, took the road for Sung-lo, and before dark saw the far-famed Sung-lo-shan, the hill where green tea is said to have been first discovered. Of this hill he says: "Sung-lo-shan appears to be between two and three thousand feet above the level of the plains. It is very barren, and, whatever may have formerly been the case, it certainly produces but little tea now; indeed, from all I could learn, the tea that grows upon it is quite neglected, as far as cultivation is concerned, and is only gathered to supply the wants of the priests of Fo, who have many temples among these rugged wilds. Nevertheless, it is a place of great interest to every Chinaman, and has afforded a subject to many of their writers.

"When we reached the Sung-lo country I took up my quarters in a house which belonged to the father of my servant Wang. It was nearly dark before we arrived at the house, which was situated among the hills within two miles of the foot of Sung-lo. Had I fixed upon the spot myself I could not have found one better suited to the purposes I had in view. Old Mr. Wang was a farmer who at one time had been well off in the world, but, like many others, had been unfortunate, and was now very much reduced in circumstances. He received us in the kindest manner, and seemed to have great affection for his son. His wife also came to welcome us, at the same time apologizing for the poor reception they gave us, as they were so poor. I tried not to be outdone in politeness, and we were soon on the best possible terms.

"Sung-lo Mountain, which in ordinary weather I could have seen from the windows, was now enveloped in a cloak of mist, and every tree and bush was bent down with heavy drops of rain. At last, on the

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fourth day, the clouds cleared away, the sun shone out again with his usual brilliancy, and the whole face of nature wore a cheerful and smiling aspect. I was now out every day, from morning until evening, busily employed in collecting seeds, in examining the vegetation of the hills, and in obtaining information regarding the cultivation and manufacture of green tea. By this means I obtained a good collection of those tea-seeds and young plants from which the finest green teas of commerce are prepared, and much information of a useful kind.

"I spent a week in the neighborhood of Sung-lo, and then began to think of returning eastward with the collections I had made. All our arrangements being complete, the seeds put up, and the plants packed, I hired a chair, and on the afternoon of the 20th of November, bade adieu to Wang's family, and to the country of the far-famed Sung-lo-shan. In three days we arrived at the city of Yen-chow-fou, a journey which occupied twelve days in going up; and in three days more, that is on the sixth day after leaving Tun-che, we arrived at the town of Nechow.

"Nothing worthy of note occurred until I reached the town of Ning-po. It was as welcome a sight as I had seen for many a day, when the old town, with its pagoda, temples, and ramparts, came in view. It was well known to me in former years, and I felt myself 'quite at home,' after a long and somewhat perilous, although in many respects a pleasant journey."

JOURNEY TO THE BOHEA MOUNTAINS.

After carefully packing his tea-plants in Shanghai, Mr. Fortune took them to Hong-Kong and there shipped them to India, where they afterward arrived in good condition. He then proceeded to Fou-chow-foo—one of the five ports opened to commercial intercourse with foreigners—intending to travel to Ning-po, if possible, by way of the celebrated Bohea Mountains. Having engaged a boat, he sailed up the River Min as far as the town of Sing-kow, a distance of seventy or eighty miles, but on arriving there found that his funds were insufficient for the journey; whereupon he dispatched his servants, with instructions to procure fine specimens of the tea-plant, and returned to Foo-chow. He then sailed to Ning-po in a Portuguese vessel, and awaited the return of his servants at the temple of Tien-tung, near that place, devoting himself in the mean time, to his favorite botanical researches.

In speaking of the fine bamboo woods near Tien-tung, Fortune gives the following description of that most useful of trees: "The bamboo is one of the most valuable trees in China, and is used for almost every conceivable purpose. It is employed in making soldiers' hats and shields, umbrellas, soles of shoes, scaffolding-poles, measures, baskets, ropes, paper, pencil-holders, brooms, sedan-chairs, pipes, flower-stakes, and

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trellis-work in gardens; pillows are made of the shavings; a kind of rush cloak for wet weather is made from the leaves, and is called a *So-e*, or "garment of leaves." On the water it is used in making sails and covers for boats, for fishing-rods and fish-baskets, fishing-stakes and buoys; catamarans are rude boats, or rather floats, formed of a few logs of bamboo lashed firmly together. In agriculture the bamboo is used in making aqueducts for conveying water to the land; it forms part of the celebrated water-wheel, as well as of the plow, the harrow, and other implements of husbandry. Excellent water-pipes are made of it for conveying springs from the hills, to supply houses and temples in the valleys with pure water. Its roots are often cut into the most grotesque figures, and its stems finely carved into ornaments for the curious, or into incense-burners for the temples. The Ning-po furniture, the most beautiful in China, is often inlaid with figures of people, houses, temples, and pagodas in bamboo, which form most correct and striking pictures of China and the Chinese. The young shoots are boiled and eaten, and sweetmeats are also made of them. A substance found in the joints, called tabasheer, is used in medicine. In the manufacture of tea it helps to form the rolling-tables, drying-baskets, and sieves; and last, though not least, the celebrated chop-sticks—the most important articles in domestic use—are made of it.

"However incredulous the reader may be, I must still carry him a step further, and tell him that I have not enumerated one half of the uses to which the bamboo is applied in China. Indeed it would be nearly as difficult to say what it is *not* used for as what it is. It is in universal demand, in the houses and in the fields, on water and on land, in peace and in war. Through life the Chinaman is almost dependent upon it for his support, nor does it leave him until it carries him to his last resting-place on the hill-side, and even then, in company with the cypress, juniper, and pine, it waves over and marks his tomb.

"I was not quite satisfied," continues Fortune, "with the result of my journey up the river Min. Although one of my men had brought me a fine collection of tea-plants and seeds from the celebrated black-tea country, and although the expedition was planned so that he could scarcely have procured them elsewhere, had he wished to deceive me, I confess I felt that it would be much more satisfactory if I could visit the district myself. I did not like the idea of returning to Europe without being perfectly certain that I had introduced the tea-plant from the best black-tea districts of China into the government plantations in the north-western provinces of India. There may also have been a lingering desire to cross the Bohea Mountains, and to visit the far-famed Woo-e-shan. At all events I made up my mind to make another attempt, and determined to start from Ning-po, where the people are not so greatly prejudiced against foreigners as they are further to the south, about Foo-chow and Canton."

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He left Ning-po on the 15th of May, 1849, so completely disguised as a Chinaman that he scarcely knew himself, and set sail for the town of Nan-che, on the southern branch of the Green River. His servant was the possessor of a mandarin flag, of triangular shape, which procured great respect whenever it was displayed, and on more than one occasion was of much service. In two days he reached the Green River, which he ascended rapidly, favored by a fair wind. "There were several passengers on board our boat, besides ourselves," he remarks. "They were all country people from the westward, knew little of foreigners, and seemed to have no idea that I was one. My servant, I believe, told them that I came from some far distant province beyond the Great Wall, and with this information, indefinite as it was, they seemed to be perfectly satisfied. Besides, I was now well acquainted with their habits and manners, I could eat with the chop-sticks as well as any of them, and my dress was, I believe, scrupulously correct, even to the glossy black tail, which had been grafted on my own hair, and which hung gracefully down nearly to my knees."

After a pleasant sail of several days up the beautiful valley of the Green River, Fortune arrived at Nan-che, which he thus describes: "Nan-che, or, as it is sometimes called in the maps, Lanchee, is about thirty-five miles westward from Yen-chow-foo. It is one of the prettiest Chinese towns which I have seen, and reminded me of an English place more than a Chinese one. The houses are generally two-storied, and have a clean and neat appearance. It is built along the banks of the river, and has a picturesque hill behind it: an old tower or pagoda in ruins heightens the general effect of the scene. The town is about two and a half or three miles round, and probably contains about two hundred thousand inhabitants. The river in front of it is covered with boats, which are constantly plying between it and Yen-chow, Hang-Chow, and many other towns both to the east and west."

After leaving Nan-che, the traveler continued his voyage to Chang-shan, near the head-waters of the Green River. From this place it was necessary to take a sedan-chair across the country to the town of Yuk-shan, on the head-waters of a river which flows westward into the great Pou-yang lake. On crossing the boundary between the provinces of Che-Kiang and Kiang-Si, Fortune was narrowly watched by some Chinese merchants, who, being accustomed to seeing foreigners, suspected his true character. His dexterity in using the chop-sticks at dinner, and his familiarity with Chinese customs, however, misled them, and he proceeded without hinderance. On reaching Yuk-shan, he engaged a boat, and sailed down the river Kin-kiang to the large town of Hokow, the great emporium of the black-tea trade. Here it was necessary to leave the river, and hire a sedan-chair with coolies, to carry him across the Bohea Mountains.

Leaving Hokow on the second day after his arrival, he set out in a

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sedan-chair, and by noon reached Yuen-shan, at the foot of the mountains. Coolies, carrying tea-chests, were now met in great numbers. Many of them carried only one chest. These were the finer teas; the chest was never allowed to touch the ground during the journey, and hence these teas generally arrive at their destination in much better order than the coarser kinds. The single chests are carried in the following manner: Two bamboos, each about seven feet long, had their ends lashed firmly to the chest, one on each side. The other ends were brought together, so as to form a triangle. By this means a man could carry the chest upon his shoulders, with his head between the bamboos in the center of the triangle. A small piece of wood was lashed under the chest, to give it an easy seat upon the shoulders. When the coolie wanted to rest, he placed the end of the bamboos upon the ground, and raised them to the perpendicular. The whole weight now rested upon the ground, and could be kept in this position without any exertion.

CHINESE TEA-CARRIER.

"For some time past I had been, as it were, among a sea of mountains," he writes, "but now the far-famed Bohea ranges lay before me in all their grandeur, with their tops piercing through the lower clouds, and showing themselves far above them. They seemed to be broken up into thousands of fragments, some of which had most remarkable and striking outlines. It is difficult to form an estimate of their height, but, comparing them with other mountains known to me, the highest here may be six or eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. There are some spots on the sides of the lower hills under cultivation, but all above these is rugged and wild.

"We arrived at last at the celebrated gates or huge doors which divide the provinces of Fokien and Kiang-see. The pillars of these gates have been formed by nature, and are nothing less than the "everlasting hills" themselves. The arched door-ways of the place bore a great resemblance to the gates of a Chinese city. As we passed through the archway I observed a guard of soldiers lounging about, but they did not take any notice of us, or attempt to examine our baggage. We were soon through the pass, and in another province. The province of Kiang-see had been shut out and left behind us, and our view now

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opened on Fokien. Never in my life had I seen such a view as this, so grand, so sublime. High ranges of mountains were towering on my right and on my left, while before me, as far as the eye could reach, the whole country seemed broken up into mountains and hills of all heights, with peaks of every form."

The next day he traversed another pass, of lesser elevation, and spent the evening at a tea-house among the hills. "I was now," he says, "on the outskirts of the great black-tea country of Fokien. I observed large quantities of tea-plants under cultivation. They were generally to be found on the lower sides of the hills, and also in the gardens of the villagers. About ten o'clock in the forenoon we arrived at Tsong-gan-hien, a large town in the midst of the black-tea country, where nearly all the teas of this district are packed and prepared for exportation. As soon as I was fairly out of the suburbs of the town, I had my first glimpse of the far-famed Woo-e-shan. It stands in the midst of the plain, and is a collection of little hills, none of which appear to be more than a thousand feet high. They have a singular appearance. Their faces are nearly all perpendicular rock. It appears as if they had been thrown up by some great convulsion of nature to a certain height, and as if some other force had then drawn the tops of the whole mass slightly backward, breaking it up into a thousand hills. By some agency of this kind it might have assumed the strange forms which were now before me.

"Woo-e-shan is considered by the Chinese to be one of the most wonderful, as well as one of the most sacred, spots in the empire. One of their manuscripts, quoted by Mr. Ball, thus describes it: 'Of all the mountains of Fokien those of Woo-e are the finest, and its water the best. They are awfully high and rugged, surrounded by water, and seem as if excavated by spirits; nothing more wonderful can be seen. From the dynasty of Csin and Han, down to the present time, a succession of hermits and priests, of the sects of Tao-cze and Fo, have here risen up like the clouds of the air and the grass of the field, too numerous to enumerate. Its chief renown, however, is derived from its productions, and of these tea is the most celebrated.'"

We have no space to copy Mr. Fortune's picturesque account of his visits to the thousand temples, monasteries, and hermitages of Woo-e-shan. He was very hospitably received and entertained by the Buddhist priests, and inspected all the curiosities of this remarkable region. He then continues: "We now proceeded across the hills in the direction of the small town of Tsin-tsun, another great mart for black tea. Our road was a very rough one. It was merely a foot-path, and sometimes merely narrow steps cut out of the rock. When we had gone about two miles we came to a solitary temple on the banks of a small river, which here winds among the hills. This stream is called by the Chinese the river or stream of nine windings, from the circuitous turns which it makes among the hills of Woo-e-shan. It divides the range

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into two districts—the north and south: the north range is said to produce the best teas. Here the finest souchongs and pekoes are produced, but I believe these rarely find their way to Europe, or only in very small quantities."

At the temple, which was inhabited by an old Buddhist priest and his wife, he took up his residence, and at once entered upon the object of his journey. "Having given the old man some money to purchase a dinner for myself and my men," says he, "I made a hasty meal and went out to explore the hills. I visited many of the tea-farms, and was successful in procuring about four hundred young plants. These were taken to Shanghai in good order, and many of them are now growing vigorously in the government tea plantation in the Himalayas.

"I remained two days under the roof of the hospitable Taouist, and saw a great part of the Woo-e hills and their productions. On the evening of the second day, having entered into a fresh agreement with my chair-bearers and coolies, I intimated to the old priest that I intended to proceed on my journey early next morning. He kindly pressed me to stay a little longer, but, when he saw I was in earnest, he went out to his tea plantations and brought me some young plants which he begged me to accept. I felt highly pleased with his gratitude for the small present I had given him, and gladly accepted the plants, which increased my store very considerably; these with the other plants were carefully packed with their roots in damp moss, and the whole package was then covered with oil-paper. The latter precaution was taken to screen them from the sun, and also from the prying eyes of the Chinese, who, although they did not seem to show any great jealousy on the point, yet might have annoyed us with impertinent questions. Early in the morning, our arrangements being completed, we bade adieu to our kind host and hostess, and set off across the hills in the direction of Tsin-tsun."

At the latter place he was upon the head-waters of the River Min, by descending which he might have arrived in four days at Fou-chow-fou; but he decided to return to Ning-po by another route, lying to the eastward of that by which he had come, and passing through the town of Pouching-hien, in the midst of a district which produces tea somewhat inferior to that of Woo-e-shan. A further journey of nearly a hundred miles in a sedan-chair brought him to Ching-hoo, on a branch of the Green River, where he again embarked. His return journey, down the river to Hang-chow-fou, and thence by the grand canal to Shanghai, was mostly over the same ground which he had traversed on his way to the green-tea hills of Sung-lo. "I arrived at Shanghai in due time," says he, in conclusion, "having been absent on this long journey nearly three months. Although I had been eating with chopsticks all this time, I had not forgotten the use of knives and forks, and I need scarcely say I heartily enjoyed my first English dinner. The tea-plants procured in Woo-e-shan reached Shanghai in good order, and most of them are now flourishing on the slopes of the Himalayas."

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RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN AUSTRALIA.*

EYRE'S JOURNEY.

In the spring of 1840, public attention in the town of Adelaide (Southern Australia,) being much engrossed with the subject of an overland communication between Southern and Western Australia, Mr. Edward John Eyre, who had already been engaged in exploring the southern and western interior, volunteered to take the command of any party that might be sent, and bear one third of the expenses. An expedition was accordingly fitted out, and on the 18th of June left Adelaide for the head of Spencer's Gulf. The party consisted of Mr. Eyre; Mr. Scott, his assistant; Baxter, his overseer; Corporal Coles; two men driving each a three-horse dray; and two aboriginal boys to drive the sheep, etc. They had thirteen horses and forty sheep, and stores sufficient for three months, besides an additional supply sent by sea to meet them at the head of Spencer's Gulf.

They encamped near Mount Arden, at the head of the gulf, on the 3d of July, and on the 6th Mr. Eyre set out on horseback, with one of the boys, to reconnoiter Lake Torrens, the great inland Australian sea, which he had previously discovered, and to examine the country north of the dépôt, as to the practicability of a route in that direction. He found the basin of the lake to be from fifteen to twenty miles wide, but its shallow waters left an uncovered belt of three or four miles in width, which was strongly incrusted with a briny deposit, and was so soft as to prevent all access to its waters. He spent several days northward of the dépôt, and followed the Flinders' Range, until the hills became lower and more detached, with intervals of stony valleys, while barren sandy plains still formed the lower level. Water became very scarce, but at length, finding a place which promised a temporary supply, he returned to the camp, after an absence of sixteen days, and conducted it over the region he had explored. The rugged and desolate country, and the want of water, rendered their progress slow and pain-

* For the routes of Mitchell and Leichhardt, see the map of Eastern Australia prefixed to the narrative of Sturt's Expedition, page 580.

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ful; and on exploring the dreary region beyond the limits of Flinders' Range, Mr. Eyre found it to be completely surrounded by Lake Torrens, which, commencing near the head of Spencer's Gulf, takes a circuitous course of fully four hundred miles, with an apparent breadth of from twenty to thirty, and, following the sweep of Flinders' Range, encircles it in the form of a horse-shoe. From a high summit, which he named Mount Serle, Mr. Eyre perceived that he was hemmed in on every side by an impassable barrier, and had no alternative but to conduct his party back to Mount Arden.

On reaching the dépôt, the stores were dug up and repacked for traveling, Mr. Eyre having resolved to continue his explorations westward toward the Great Bight of Australia, still in the hope of finding in that direction an opening toward the interior. On the 13th of September they set forward, and having crossed with some difficulty the narrow channel connecting the head of Spencer's Gulf with Lake Torrens, the main body was sent forward under the charge of the overseer, while Messrs. Eyre and Scott, accompanied by a man and boy, with a dray and several horses, went down for supplies to Port Lincoln, on the west side of Spencer's Bay, intending to rejoin the party at Streaky Bay. Not finding the requisite stores at Port Lincoln, Mr. Scott repaired to Adelaide in a small cutter on the 9th of October, and returned on the 22d with an abundant supply. The cutter was retained to co-operate with the expedition, and sent round to communicate at once with the party at Streaky Bay, while Messrs. Scott and Eyre proceeded overland, and rejoined their companions early in November. On the 6th the whole party moved westward near the coast, and encamped at Fowler's Bay on the 19th. On the way they had frequent intercourse with the natives, who were very polite and friendly toward them, and by guiding them to places where water could be procured, enabled them to move with confidence and celerity. On conducting them to any of the watering-places, the natives gave it up entirely to them; and, although thirsty themselves, would not take a drink without asking permission.

Leaving his party in camp at Point Fowler, Mr. Eyre made several attempts to round the head of the Great Bight; but, after a month spent in fruitless endeavors to penetrate the desolate, parched-up region, in which he lost three horses, and encountered great privations, he dispatched the cutter to Adelaide for assistance, and reduced the party by sending two of the men with her.

Meanwhile he continued his explorations, and finally succeeded in reaching the head of the Bight on the 7th of January, 1841. On the same day he was guided by the natives to some small holes containing excellent water. The natives all assured him that there was no water of any description in the interior, and that the next water along the coast was ten days distant. The whole party was actively engaged until the arrival of the cutter, and had succeeded in examining the coast

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beyond the head of the Great Bight, which, however, presented a dreary prospect for further explorations.

The cutter arrived on the 26th of January, bringing an ample supply of provisions and presents from friends in Adelaide, and having on board a native of King George's Sound, named Wylie, who had been with Mr. Eyre on former expeditions. The cutter was at his disposal within the limits of South Australia; but, being under charter, he could not take her to Cape Arid, or beyond the boundaries of the province. He therefore determined to reduce the party still further, and attempt to force a passage almost alone. He accordingly retained Wylie and the two native boys, and also the overseer, who resolved to continue with him, and prevailed on Mr. Scott and one of the men to return with the cutter, which sailed back on the 31st of January. Having completed all preparations by the 24th of February, he was about setting out on his fearful undertaking, when a shot was heard in Fowler's Bay, and presently Mr. Scott and the commander of the cutter made their appearance. They had been sent back by the governor to bring Mr. Eyre to Adelaide; but as he had matured his plans, and resolved to accomplish the object he had in view, or perish in the attempt, he bade farewell to his friends, and set forward on the 25th.

The continuation of the journey, after passing the Great Bight, was through unheard-of difficulties and privations. The horses at length began to give out under excessive heat and the want of water. One after another was abandoned, as the stock of water which they carried with them began to fail. Every expedient was resorted to; they collected dew, dug up the roots of trees, until finally the overseer began to despond. On the 30th of March a well was dug in a place which indicated moisture, and, to the unbounded joy of all, pure water was obtained. The party remained here a few days to recruit, during which time a large quantity of supplies, which they had been compelled to leave fifty miles behind, was brought up, after making one unsuccessful attempt. They remained twenty-eight days among the sand-hills at this station, during which time their last sheep was killed, and one of the remaining horses slaughtered for food.

On the 27th of April they entered upon the last desperate stage of the journey, in which they had probably one hundred and fifty miles to the next supply of water. On the 27th Mr. Eyre took the first watch of the night, and at half past ten was heading the scattered horses at some distance from the camp, when a sudden flash and the report of a gun startled him, and, on running up, he found the overseer weltering in his blood. The two younger boys had deserted, and carried off a large quantity of provisions, two double-barreled guns, and other small articles. Next day, with only Wylie for a companion, whom he suspected to have been cognizant of the plot to plunder the camp, he collected the horses, and set forward. In the afternoon the two natives were seen advancing, but they kept their distance, and seemed only

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anxious to induce Wylie to come with them. After a forced march of several days they came, on the 3d of May, to an abundant supply of water, and, fearing the natives no longer, Mr. Eyre halted for three days to recruit. He then continued his cheerless route over the unhospitable region, in which, however, the game was more abundant as he advanced toward the west, and the unwholesome flesh of jaded horses was agreeably relieved by that of kangaroos and opossums.

On the 2d of June he was cheered by the sight of two boats, and was soon afterward welcomed on board the whaler Mississippi by Captain Rossiter. He remained on board until the 14th, and then, much recruited, and supplied with provisions and clothing, resumed his journey. On the last of June he caught the first glimpse of the hills behind King George's Sound, and on the 7th of July crossed King's River, and entered the town of Albany, himself and Wylie being the sole wanderers to close the eventful and disastrous journey, which was entered upon under the most hopeful auspices. On the 13th of July he embarked for Adelaide, where he arrived on the 26th, after an absence of one year and twenty-six days.

MITCHELL'S JOURNEY TO TROPICAL AUSTRALIA.

As the colonists of Australia gradually pushed their settlements into the interior, and began to pasture their sheep on the Macquairie and the Darling, they became interested in the exploration of the northern interior of the country, in the hope of finding an overland route to the nearest part of the Indian Ocean, by which the dangerous navigation of the Torres Straits might be avoided. A trade in horses to supply the Indian cavalry made this a desirable object, and not less important to them was the opening of a more direct communication with England; for it was not to be doubted, that on the discovery of a good overland route between Sydney and the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a line of steam communication would be introduced from that point to meet the English line at Singapore.

In this view of the subject, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. L. Mitchell, the Surveyor General, in 1843 submitted a plan of exploration to Sir George Gipps, the Governor. The subject was referred to Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, whose reply was favorable to the expedition; but the governor of the colony still declined to allow the journey to be undertaken. The Legislative Council, however, renewed the petition for this undertaking, to which the governor at length assented in 1845, and the sum of £2,000 was unanimously voted for the outfit of the party.

Preparations were accordingly made, and the expedition set out from

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Buree toward the interior on the 15th of December, 1845. The exploring party consisted of Sir T. L. Mitchell, chief of the expedition; Edmund B. Kennedy, second in command; W. Stephenson, surgeon and collector of objects of natural history; and twenty-six men, who were mostly prisoners of the crown in different stages of probation. The means of conveyance were strong bullock-drays and portable boats.

After an unsuccessful attempt to discover a direct northern route, where they were foiled for want of water, the party turned to the eastward, and followed Sturt's route to the Darling, which they forded on the 4th of March, near the mouth of the Macquarie. They had great difficulty with some of their heavy vehicles in the soft and muddy bed of the river, and were obliged to pave it with logs and branches, covered with earth, before the rest could be got across.

On the 5th they proceeded northward. As they advanced the country opened into slight undulations, well clothed with grass, and good for traveling over, the soil being full of the same hard rock found on the rising grounds nearest to the Darling, in the lowest parts of that river previously explored by Colonel Mitchell. Their guides at length brought them to some water-holes, among verdant grass on a plain, where they encamped fifteen miles from the Darling. On the 7th, the country still improved, and after traveling about seven miles the guides pointed forward to a line of trees as the Narran River. On arriving there they found pure water in great abundance, into which the natives who were with the expedition plunged and rolled about like porpoises. This, however, was but a swampy plain, emanating from the river, which lay among the trees beyond. Here they were obliged to wait several days for the arrival of the drays, during which time they built a bridge over the swampy outlet of the Narran. Meanwhile Colonel Mitchell took the native guides and rode forward to examine the country. He says: "We proceeded along the margin of the Narran, which led us nearly due north, until we forded it, at the desire of our guides, on a good gravelly bottom, the water reaching to our saddle-flaps. We then continued along its banks for about thirty miles, until near sunset, when we tethered our horses, and lay down for the night. The Narran was full of water everywhere, and with this abundance of water there was also plenty of most excellent grass. The *Panicum lævinode* of Dr. Lindley seemed to predominate, a grass whereof the seed is made by the natives into a kind of paste or bread. Dry heaps of this grass, that had been pulled expressly for the purpose of gathering the seed, lay along our path for many miles. I counted nine miles along the river, in which we rode through this grass only, reaching to our saddle-girths, and the same grass seemed to grow back from the river, at least as far as the eye could reach through a very open forest. I had never seen such rich natural pasturage in any other part of New South Wales."

All the drays came in on the 11th, and it now became necessary to wait and refresh the jaded bullocks. On the 13th, the party once more

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moved onward, having before them the prospect of water and grass in abundance, to an indefinite distance. In continuing the journey they set out early each morning and traveled only a few miles, in order that the exhausted animals might have time to feed and refresh. The inhabitants of this region were few, and they were invisible, like the animals of the forests, but they frequently saw impressions of the bare feet of men, women, and children, as well as the prints of emus, kangaroos, and other animals obliged to go to the water. "Here still," observes Mitchell, "was our own race among other animals all new and strange to Europeans. The prints of the foot of man alone were familiar to us. But here he was living in common with other animals, simply on the bounty of nature; artless, and apparently as much afraid of us, and as shy, as other animals of the forest. It seemed strange, that in a climate the most resembling that of Milton's paradise, the circumstances of man's existence should be the most degrading."

By the last of March they began to lose the Narran in the numerous water-courses spread over the country, and it became necessary to find the Balonne, a large river, whose waters were here distributed into different channels. On the 31st they met with some natives who undertook to guide them to the ford "Congo," where white men had crossed the Balonne. As they proceeded, they saw some native women running off at a great distance, two of whom carried unseemly loads under their large cloaks. The eldest of the guides ran and overtook them, to assure them that the white men would do no harm, when it was found that the burdens they carried were mummied bodies. Proceeding westward they came to the Balonne on the evening of April 1st, which they forded next morning, and continued across a watered country until the 3d, when they encamped on the Culgoa, another outlet of the Balonne. Next day they proceeded along the Culgoa to its outlet from the Upper Balonne, whence they continued to ascend the latter river toward the north, with the intention of following it to the watershed between the northern and southern streams.

On the 1st of May they left the main river and ascended a tributary flowing in from the north-west. There was a marked difference between this stream, as well as the country along its banks, and the large river by which they had traveled so far. Its waters, meandering through various narrow channels, lay between finely rounded grassy slopes, with a few trees about the water's edge, marking their course at a distance. On the 2d a large grassy flat brought them to a lake of crystal water, fringed with white lotus flowers. An immense number of ducks floated on its surface. "During the night," observes Colonel Mitchell, "natives were heard near our camp, and we perceived the smoke of their fires, in the bushes behind, in the morning. Yuranigh, the guide, went up to them, accompanied by one of the party bearing a green branch, and he prevailed on three of their tribe to come to our tents. One stood among the carts and tents, apparently quite absorbed in observation.

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Intense curiosity in these men had evidently overcome all their fears of such strangers. They were entirely naked, and without any kind of ornament or weapon, offensive or defensive. With steady fixed looks, eyes wide open, and serious, intelligent countenances, what passed in their minds was not disguised, as is usual with savages." From these people he learned that the river was named Cogoon. In the evening he ascended a hill at a short distance from their place of encampment, "from which," he remarks, "the most interesting sight to me was that of blue peaks at a great distance to the north-west, the object of all my dreams of discovery for years. No white man had before seen these. There we might hope to find the *divisa aquarum*, still undiscovered; the pass to Carpentaria, still unexplored: I called this hill Mount First View, and descended, delighted with what I had seen from its rocky crest.

"On the 8th of May I ascended an elevated north-eastern extremity of Mount Abundance, and from it beheld the finest country I had ever seen in a primæval state. A champaign region, spotted with wood, stretched as far as human vision, or even the telescope, could reach. It was intersected by river lines from the north, distinguishable by columns of smoke. A noble mountain mass arose in the midst of that fine country, extending in a range from south-west to north-east." He named this country Fitzroy Downs.

BOTTLE-TREE OF AUSTRALIA.

"Trees of a very droll form chiefly drew my attention here. The

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trunk bulged out in the middle like a barrel, to nearly twice the diameter at the ground, or of that at the first springing of the branches above. These were small in proportion to their great girth, and the whole tree looked very odd. These trees were all so alike in general form that I was convinced this was their character, and not a *lusus naturæ*." On Mount Bindango, which he ascended on the 11th, these remarkable trees grew in several spots; some of them much resembling bottles, but tapering near the root.

On descending from the latter hill, he found eight natives who had come up to the party in his absence. They were colored with iron-ocher, and had a few feathers of the white cockatoo, in the black hair of their foreheads and beards. A party who had visited them, some days before, were thoughtful and reserved; these were merry as larks, and their white teeth, constantly visible, shone whiter than even the cockatoo's feathers on their brows and chins. Sun never shone upon a merrier group of mortals than these children of nature appeared to be. One among them was a fine powerful fellow, whose voice sounded so strongly, that it seemed as if his very whisper might be heard half a mile off.

On the 14th they were invited by some natives to a ceremonious interview with one who was seated in advance. They found, however, that he was in great terror and had nothing to say, but as he was disposed to handle every thing he could lay hold of, they left him as civilly as they could, but he hung on their rear for some time, with his whole tribe. Early next morning some natives were observed occasionally peeping from a hill overlooking the camp. "Some time after," says Mitchell, "I perceived a figure resembling a large black quadruped, with head erect like a lion, prowling about, among the long grass beside my after breakfast tree. Taking my glass, I recognized the identical big savage of yesterday. He had evidently been watching us all night, and his party were concealed behind the hill. I fired a carbine so that the fellow should hear the bullet whistle near him into the long grass; and at the same time shouted, expressive of my disgust at his conduct, making the men join in a loud *jeering* cheer as he galloped off on all-fours toward his camp."

After pursuing a westerly course for some days they came, on the 18th of May, to a large river, skirted by a dense line of trees, and flowing from north to south. Here Mitchell established the camp for a few days, and made excursions to the neighboring hills. On the 27th he visited a conical peak at some distance to the south-west, which promised an extensive view. "On gaining the summit," he remarks, "the land around me was fair to look on; nothing could be finer than the forms of the hills, half clear of wood—the disposition of open grassy downs and vales—or the beauty of the woods. Water was not wanting, at least there seemed to be enough for the present inhabitants, and to an admirer of nature there was all that could be desired. Deeply impressed with its sublime and solitary beauty, I sketched the scene, and

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descended from that hill, resolved to follow the river upward, as more favorable, in that direction, to the chief object of my mission. I named the hill overlooking that lonely dale, Mount Lonsdale, in honor of my valuable geological friend."

One morning after he had left the camp two natives who were painted white and well armed, came boldly up, followed by two women bearing loads of spears. They were ordered to halt, but, pointing after Mitchell, they motioned to the party to follow him. Finding the men firm, the speaker edged off toward a man at a distance, in charge of the horses. Corporal Graham got between, when the savages came boldly upon him, quivering their poised spears. At length the foremost man turned round and made vulgar gestures of defiance; at this the old soldier discharged his carbine over the head of the savage, who first sprang some feet into the air, and then ran off with all the others. He was afterward seen creeping up under the cover of some large trees, the rest following, and on being met he began to recite what seemed to be a description of the surrounding country, pointing to various localities. He then stuck a spear into the ground and seemed to propose that on one side the ground should be occupied by the strangers, and on the other, by them. Graham assenting to this, they seemed better satisfied, and departed.

Colonel Mitchell now made preparations for continuing his explorations up the river, and set out on the 4th of June, leaving Mr. Kennedy behind with a party, to cultivate a garden, and if possible obtain some information respecting the final course of the river, the native name of which was ascertained to be the Maranóa. After a few days' marching, the branch of the river which they ascended became nearly dry, so that they continued near its channel until the 17th of June, when they encamped for a week among some high ridges near the head of the river. The highest ridge they crossed before encamping was eighteen hundred and thirty-three feet above the sea. Next morning Colonel Mitchell sent out parties in search of water, and then went to ascend a mountain, seven miles off to the north-west. A number of mountain tops were visible from this summit. That eastward of the dépôt camp, was seen in the distance, and named Mount Kennedy, from the officer in charge of the party there. "I was now," observes Colonel Mitchell, "at a loss for names to the principal summits of the country. No more could be gathered from the natives, and I resolved to name the features, for which names were now requisite, after such individuals of our own race as had been most distinguished or zealous in the advancement of science, and the pursuit of human knowledge. I called this hill Mount Owen; a bald-forest hill to the north-east of it, Mount Clift; a lofty truncated cone, to the eastward of these, the center of a group, and one of my zero points, Mount Ogilby; a broad-topped hill far in the north-west, where I wished to continue my route, Mount Faraday; a high table-land intervening, Hope's Table-Land; the loftiest part of the coast ranges, visible on all sides, Buckland's Table-Land."

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The party moved forward on the 26th of June, certain, from examination already made, of finding water for at least three days' journey, and hopeful of a water-course being before them. In passing the foot of Mount Owen they found the elevation to be two thousand and eighty-three feet; the summit was about seven hundred feet higher. On the 28th they came to a river which they followed hopefully, but in a few days it turned gradually to the south-west, and they abandoned it. They now proceeded north-west, in the hope of finding the basin of northern waters, beyond a range of summits which appeared in that direction. On the 2d of July, as Colonel Mitchell and some of the party were in advance, near Mount Faraday, they found a running stream, among some reeds in the hollow of the valley. "The water," says Mitchell, "was clear and sparkling, tasting strongly of sulphur, and Yuranigh, the guide, said this was the head of a river that never dried up. In this land of picturesque beauty and pastoral abundance, within eighty miles of the tropics, we had discovered the first running stream seen on this journey."

They now moved on along the banks of this stream which descended through an open valley toward the north and promised them an abundant supply of water on their proposed route. At length, however, the bed of the river became muddy, the banks became lined with reeds, and on the 7th it expanded into a lake covered with them. When they approached the northern limits of this reedy lake, which they named Salvator, no river flowing out of it was visible, although they found a dry channel which bore marks of a considerable stream at some seasons. Following this dry channel they found its course bore northward, and finally turned to the north-east. "Thus," says Mitchell, "in one day vanished the pleasing prospect we had enjoyed in the morning, of a stream flowing in the direction of our intended route. This might be, I then thought, the tributary to a larger river, which I still hoped would be found to flow westward from the coast ranges, and, finally, take the desired north-west direction."

In a few days they left the banks of this river, and proceeded to the north-west, through an almost impassable thicket. "After working out our way thus, for about ten miles," he continues, "our toils were rewarded with a scene of surpassing beauty, that gradually opened to us. That long-lost tree, the graceful acacia pendula, received us in the foreground, and open plains, blended with waving lines of wood, extended far into bluey distance, beyond which an azure coronet of mountains of romantic forms terminated the charming landscape."

Traversing a broken country, in which they crossed several water-courses bearing westward, they reached, on the 14th, the borders of extensive plains and open downs, extending far to the eastward. "All this rich land," continues Mitchell, "was thickly strewed with small fragments of fossil wood, in silex, agate, and chalcedony. Many of the stones, as already observed, most strikingly resembled decayed wood,

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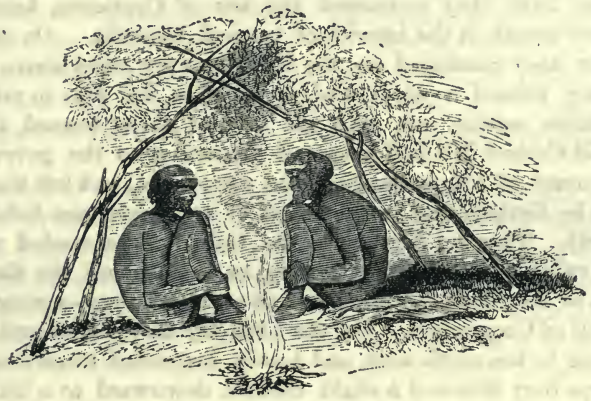
and in one place the remains of an entire trunk lay together like a heap of ruins, the *dilapidated* remains of a tree! I obtained even a portion of petrified bark; but specimens of this were rare."

On the 21st they came to the bed of a river, with water in the channel, bearing northward. Along this they now advanced, believing they had at length discovered the head of a north-western river. On the 25th of July they passed the Tropic of Capricorn; much thunder had been heard through the night toward the north, which, at this season of the year, indicated their approach to that line. "There was no hill or other geographical feature near our route," observes Mitchell, "whereby it might have been possible to mark the limit of tropical Australia. We were the first to enter the interior beyond that line."



NATIVES OF AUSTRALIA.

At length it became evident that this river also bore too far eastward for the Gulf of Carpentaria, and the western tributaries, which they examined, still led them too far to the south-west. On the 7th of August they came to a river bearing westward, which was as large and important as the one they had been following, and contained ponds of water; but its course was *from* the west, and left them no hope that the channel they had been pursuing would turn westward. They encamped for several days in this region, exploring the water-courses of the neighborhood, and determining the route to be pursued. Meanwhile they were occasionally visited by natives. On the 10th, during the absence of Colonel Mitchell, a party armed with clubs came up with evidently hostile intentions. They were suddenly checked, however, when they saw five men drawn up in a line, with incomprehensible weapons in their hands. Just then three dogs from the camp ran at them, and they all took to their heels, greatly laughed at, even by the rest of their tribe. The only casualty befell the shepherd's dog, which, biting at the legs of a native running away, he turned round, and hit

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the dog so cleverly, that it was dangerously ill for months afterward. The whole of them then disappeared, shouting through the woods to their women. It was remarkable, that on seeing the horses, they exclaimed, "Yerraman," the colonial natives' name for a horse, and that of these animals they were not at all afraid, whereas they seemed in much dread of the bullocks.

On tracing the river below the junction, Mitchell found its height to be little more than six hundred feet above the level of the sea. "I could no longer doubt," he continues, "that the division between eastern and western waters was still to the westward. I accordingly determined to retrace our wheel-tracks back to the head of the Salvator, and to explore from thence the country to the north-west, as far as our stock of provisions and the season would permit."

On the 24th they re-crossed the line of Capricorn, having been exactly one month in the interior of tropical Australia. On the 5th of September they encamped on the Salvator a few miles above the lake, where they formed a dépôt, and remained a few days to refresh the horses, before setting out with the best of them toward the west. Meanwhile Colonel Mitchell prepared dispatches to the governor, giving an account of his proceedings and discoveries, and left them at the dépôt, to be forthcoming in the event of any misfortune befalling him or his party. They set forward on the 10th, and proceeded westward from the valley of the Salvator, hoping to find beyond the distant hills what had so long been the object of these researches—a river flowing to the Gulf of Carpentaria. On the 14th day they discovered a rocky gap leading to the north-west, and hastily descended toward it. With eager steps they followed a slight channel downward to a little valley, verdant with young grass, where the red sky of sunset shone reflected from several broad ponds of water.

"As soon as daylight appeared," says Mitchell, "I hastened toward the gap, and ascended a naked rock on the west side of it. I there beheld downs and plains extending westward beyond the reach of vision. Ulloa's delight at the first view of the Pacific could not have surpassed mine on this occasion, nor could the fervor with which he was impressed at the moment have exceeded my sense of gratitude, for being allowed to make such a discovery. From that rock, the scene was so extensive as to leave no room for doubt as to the course of the river, which, thus and there revealed to me alone, seemed like a reward direct from heaven for perseverance, and as a compensation for the many sacrifices I had made, in order to solve the question as to the interior rivers of tropical Australia."

They traced the course of this river in a north-westerly direction until the 23d, when it fell off to the south-west. On the 22d they passed a large river coming in from the north-east, below which the united channel formed a broad, deep river, as large as the Murray. This deep reach continued but a few miles, below which the channel contained

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ponds only, and next day they followed a dry river. The term of one month, to which this western excursion was limited, was now half elapsed, but Mitchell resolved to follow the course of this interesting river a few days longer. Their horses, however, began to droop, and it became necessary to return while the stock of provisions lasted; the natives, too, whose language was unintelligible, manifested a hostile disposition; they therefore turned eastward on the 25th. They returned by the left bank, intending to cut off the great sweep which the river described toward the north, and to meet with any tributaries it might receive from the south. Before leaving the river Mitchell bestowed upon it a name, in which connection he remarks: "It seemed to me, to deserve a great name, being of much importance, as leading from temperate into tropical regions, where water was the essential requisite. This river seemed to me typical of God's providence, in conveying living waters into a dry parched land, and thus affording access to open and extensive pastoral regions, likely to be soon peopled by civilized inhabitants. It was with sentiments of devotion, zeal, and loyalty, that I therefore gave to this river the name of my gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria."

On the 6th of October he climbed Mount Pluto, to make some observations. From this point the camp on the Salvator was visible. "We reached it before sunset," he continues, "and were received with loud cheers. All were well, the natives had not come near, the cattle were in a high condition. The grass looked green and luxuriant about the camp, and the spot proved a most refreshing home both to us and to our jaded horses, on whose backs we had almost constantly been for nearly a month."

They set out on the 10th of October to return, and on the 18th, encamped within a day's ride of the dépôt on the Maranóa. They were anxious to know how Mr. Kennedy and the natives had agreed, and looked forward with impatience to the morrow. The main body of the party had been stationary four months and a half, a long time to remain undisturbed in a country still claimed and possessed by savages.

"On the 19th," continues Colonel Mitchell, "the party was early in motion—old tracks of cattle, when the earth had been soft, and the print of *a shoe*, were the first traces of the white man's existence we met with; nor did we see any thing more conclusive, until the tents on the cliffs overhanging the river were visible through the trees. We saw men, also, and even recognized some of them, before our party was observed; nor did they see us advancing, with a flag on the cart, until Brown sounded the bugle. Immediately all were in motion, Mr. Kennedy coming forward to the cliffs, while the whole party received us with cheers, to which my men heartily responded. Mr. Kennedy ran down the cliffs to meet me, and was the first to give me the gratifying intelligence that the whole party were well; that the cattle and sheep were safe and fat; and, that the aborigines had never molested them. A

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good stock-yard had been set up; a storehouse had also been built; a garden had been fenced in, and contained lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, etc. Indeed, the whole establishment evinced the good effects of order and discipline."

Proceeding by the most direct route homeward, the expedition crossed the Darling on the 9th of December, and on the 14th reached Snodgrass Lagoon, where Colonel Mitchell left the party and proceeded by the settlements on the Nammoy. Of the conclusion of the expedition he says: "The party which I had left in charge of Mr. Kennedy near Snodgrass Lagoon arrived in the neighborhood of Sydney on the 20th of January, and the new governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, kindly granted such gratuities to the most deserving of my men as I had recommended, and also sent the names to England of such prisoners as his excellency thought deserving of her majesty's gracious pardon."

LEICHHARDT'S OVERLAND JOURNEY TO PORT ESSINGTON

Dr. Leichhardt, a German who had settled in Australia, spent the two years after his arrival, in various exploring trips through the country northward of Moreton Bay. On returning to the latter place, at the end of this time, he found the attention of the public, as well as the legislative council, occupied by the subject of an overland expedition to Port Essington on the north coast of Australia. He at once desired to undertake the journey, and confident of success, he prevailed against the solicitations of his friends, and began to make arrangements for the undertaking. Aided by the contributions of a few friends, the preparations were rather hurriedly completed by the 13th of August, 1844, when he set sail from Sydney for Moreton Bay. His companions were Messrs. Calvert and Roper; a lad named Murphy; Wm. Phillips, a prisoner of the crown; and "Harry Brown," a native of the Newcastle tribe; making with himself six persons. At Brisbane he received fresh contributions from his friends, and was reluctantly prevailed upon to increase his party. Mr. Hodgson, a resident of the district; Mr. Gilbert, a zealous naturalist; Caleb, an American negro; and "Charley," an aboriginal of the Bathurst tribe, were added to the expedition.

In the latter part of September the party crossed the coast range, and proceeded over the Darling Downs to Jimba, the last settlement on their route. On the 1st of October they left this place, and set out, full of hope, into the wilderness of Australia. In a few days they came to the Condamine, a large sluggish stream, flowing in a north-westerly course, parallel to the coast range, from whose western slope it receives its tributaries. They followed this river until it bore off toward the

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interior on the left, then continued their course to the north-west over a broken country, interrupted by lagunes and water-courses bearing off to the south-west. Their progress was much obstructed by numerous thickets of acacia and brigaloe scrub, and in the latter part of October the heat was oppressive by day, although the nights were often very cold. It was found, also, that the game was insufficient to supply the party with animal food, and that the want of it was impairing their strength. They were, at the same time, consuming more flour than was consistent with Dr. Leichhardt's plans, and he became convinced that the party, which he had reluctantly increased at Moreton Bay, was too large for the supply of provisions. He therefore, on the 3d of November, made known to his companions the necessity of reducing their number, and although all were anxious to continue the journey, Mr. Hodgson, who suffered most from fatigue, and Caleb, the negro, prepared to return. Previous, however, to their departure, they assisted in killing one of the steers, the meat of which was cut into thin slices and dried in the sun.

On the 3d they were visited by a party of natives, who appeared very friendly. They pointed out honey in one of the trees, helped to cut it out and eat it, and asked for tobacco. They particularly admired the red blankets; were terror-struck at the sight of a large sword, which they tremblingly begged might be returned into the sheath; and wondered at the ticking of a watch, and at the movement of its wheels.

On the 5th they came to a creek flowing westward, which at length took a north-westerly course, and became a considerable river. In a few days the valley of the river became obstructed with thickets, and the river itself divided into numerous branches, which, with the shallow water-courses of occasional floods from the hills, made the whole valley a maze of channels, from which they could only with difficulty extricate themselves. The open forest was sometimes one large field of flowers with bright yellow blossoms, while the scrub plains were thickly covered with grass. They followed the river, which they named the Dawson, until the 14th, when it bore off to the east and they continued in their former direction. On emerging from a dense thicket they were delighted by the view of a lake surrounded by dark verdure, with swarms of ducks playing on its surface. Beyond lay an open forest in which the palm-tree was conspicuous, and along the creek they passed several rocky gullies filled with palms. Beyond the head of "Palm-tree Creek" they reached the channel of a large stream which came down from the north-west, and here turned off to the south. There were numerous lakes and lagunes in this region, and at length they had a constant supply of water in the creek itself. In a few days they entered a mountainous country, the banks of the creek became sometimes steep and broken, rendering their progress slow and difficult, and by the latter part of November they were among high mountain ranges at the head

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of this creek. Here they encamped a few days to reconnoiter the country.

At first the party had suffered from change of diet and habits, but latterly constant exposure and exertion had sharpened their appetites. Iguanos, opossums, and birds of all kinds, were cooked, neither good, bad, nor indifferent being rejected. Dried kangaroo's meat, one of their luxuries, resembled dried beef in flavor, and afforded an excellent broth. They realized how soon man becomes indifferent to the niceties of food. One day a bullock had torn one of the flour bags, and about fifteen pounds of flour were scattered over the ground. They all set to work to scrape it up, and when it became too dirty to mix with the flour, rather than lose so much, they collected about six pounds of it, well mixed with dried leaves and dust, and of this made a porridge, which every one enjoyed highly.

On the 4th of December they crossed the range; thence passing over a country traversed by several creeks and water-courses, that were mostly dry, they came to the foot of Expedition Range on the 9th. The channels of this intervening basin led to the north-east, converging toward a plain that appeared unlimited in that direction. Beyond Expedition Range Leichhardt spent several days reconnoitering the surrounding country, while the men increased the stock of provisions by slaughtering a fat bullock. After Christmas they proceeded northward along the channel of a creek, to which they gave the name of Comet River, and which led them, on the 12th of January, 1845, to a large river coming in from the west, and flowing east and north. On the 13th they encamped near the line of Capricorn, on the new river, to which Leichhardt gave the name of Mackenzie. Having ascertained, by following its course a few days, that it flowed to the north-east, he left it, and resumed his course to the north-west, across beautiful plains and a highly-timbered country. At length they approached a high range of mountains, which rose up from the level plain before them in isolated, gigantic, conical peaks, and on the 2d of February passed through a defile east of two of these summits which he called Scott's and Roper's Peaks. From these the chain extended north-west in a high broken range, which received the name of Peak Range. Leaving Peak Range on the left, they directed their course northward through a hilly country, in which the streams bore eastward, and on the 10th of February came to a creek well supplied with water, which they followed a few days in an easterly direction. As they descended it the water soon disappeared in a sandy bed; it led them to the broad, deep channel of a river, now perfectly dry. They named this river the Isaacs, and now turning their course, they ascended it to the north-west and north, until they reached its sources in a high mountain gorge. They had followed the river about seventy miles, through a country well adapted to pastoral pursuits; water was, however, very scarce, although it was found, by digging, at a short distance below the surface.

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On the 7th of March the party moved through the gorge, and in a few miles came to another system of water, which collected in a creek flowing westward. This stream led them to a large river, to which they gave the name of Suttor, and which they followed by a circuitous course, at first toward the south-west, and afterward to the north, until it joined another called the Burdekin, and the united channel bore off to the east. They found the usual scarcity of water in the Suttor, its bed being only occasionally supplied with water-holes; several miles before its union with the Burdekin, the Suttor is joined by a river as large as itself, coming from the south-west, to which Leichhardt gave the name of Cape River. Within the bed of the Burdekin, which was a mile wide at the junction, there were narrow and uninterrupted belts of small trees, separating broad masses of sand, through which a stream ten yards wide, and two or three feet deep, was meandering, but which at times spread into large sheets of water, occasionally occupying the whole width of the river.

On the 3d of April they set out along the banks of the Burdekin, and ascended the river in a north-westerly direction, until they reached its head waters in a high basaltic table-land, about the middle of May. On this route, as on the Suttor River, they sometimes saw traces of the natives, who, however, were mostly invisible; and if they chanced to come upon any by surprise, they were shy and reserved, and quickly made their escape, or showed signs of hostility. The approaches to the basaltic plains were most difficult, and for a few days they made little progress. Mr. Roper's horse lost its footing on the steep banks of the river, and broke its thigh. As the animal was young and healthy, they saved the meat, and although there was some prejudice against horse-flesh, they found it a good substitute for beef.

Beyond the sources of the Burdekin they passed a series of high mountain ranges, in the eighteenth degree of south latitude, and came on the 23d of May to a river flowing north-west, down which they continued their course. For several days they passed through the most mountainous and rocky country they had seen. The ranges formed the banks of the river itself, which gradually enlarged, and was formed by several channels fringed with drooping tea-trees. As soon as it had left the basaltic formation, fine large flats of sandy soil succeeded on both sides, and further down the country was broken by low ranges of various extent, formed by rocky hills and peaks, which lifted their rugged crests above the open forests that covered their slopes. As they proceeded, the water-holes in the river became large and numerous, and some of the tributaries contained running water.

On the 16th of June they came to a large river flowing in from the east, to which the one they had been following, which they named the Lynd, became a tributary. The new river was called the Mitchell. The bed was broad, sandy, and quite bare of vegetation, showing the more frequent recurrence of floods. A small stream meandered through the

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sheet of sand, and from time to time expanded into large water-holes. The united river continued in a north-westerly course, along which they advanced over a comparatively level country until the 25th of June, when they had passed the sixteenth degree of south latitude, and were considerably beyond the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Dr. Leichhardt therefore determined to leave the Mitchell at this point, to approach the sea-coast, and pass around the bottom of the Gulf.

Accordingly, on the 26th they set forward to the south-west. On the 27th, as Charley and Brown were in search of game, they saw a native sneaking up to the bullocks, while a party of his black companions were waiting with poised spears to receive them. The men hurried up to prevent them, when the native gave the alarm, and all took to their heels, except a lame fellow, who tried to persuade his friends to stand fight. Charley, however, fired his gun, which had the intended effect of frightening them, for they deserted their camp in a great hurry, leaving several articles behind. The women had previously retired, a proof that mischief was intended.

Next day they saw by the smoke rising in every direction that the country was thickly inhabited, and near the lagunes frequently discerned marks of the camp-fires of the natives. In the afternoon they encamped in the belt of trees bordering on a lagune, and Dr. Leichharht had just retired in the evening, sleeping on the ground, as usual, at a little distance from the fire, when he was suddenly roused by a loud noise and a call for help from Calvert and Roper. Natives had attacked the camp. They had doubtless marked the position of the different tents, and as soon as it was dark they sneaked up and threw a shower of spears at the tents of Calvert, Roper, and Gilbert, a few at that of Phillips, and one or two toward the fire. Charley and Brown called for caps and discharged their guns into the crowd of natives, who instantly fled, leaving Roper and Calvert pierced with several spears, and severely beaten by their clubs. Several of the spears were barbed, and could not be extracted without difficulty. Murphy had succeeded in getting behind a tree, whence he fired at the natives, and severely wounded one of them before Brown had discharged his gun. Hearing that Mr. Gilbert had fallen, Dr. Leichhardt hastened to the spot and found him lying on the ground at a little distance from the fire, but every sign of life had departed.

As soon as they recovered from the panic into which they were thrown by this fatal event they extinguished the fires and watched through the night to prevent another surprise. The night was unpleasantly cold, and they passed it in a state of most painful suspense as to the fate of their surviving companions. The dawn of next morning was gladly welcomed, and Dr. Leichhardt proceeded to examine and dress the wounds of his companions. Mr. Roper had received two or three spear-wounds on his head, one spear had passed through his left arm, another into his cheek and injured the optic nerve, and another in his

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loins, besides a heavy blow on the shoulder. Mr. Calvert had received several heavy blows, one on the nose which had crushed the nasal-bones, and others on his arm and hands; besides which a barbed spear had entered his groin, and another his knee. Both suffered great pain, and were scarcely able to move. The spear that terminated Gilbert's existence had entered the chest; from the direction of the wound he had received it when stooping to leave his tent. In the afternoon they buried the body of their ill-fated companion, and afterward made a large fire over the grave, to prevent the natives from detecting it.

Calvert and Roper recovered rapidly, considering the severe injuries they had received, and as it was thought hazardous to remain long at the place, the party set out on the 1st of July. On the 5th they obtained the first sight of the gulf, which was hailed by all with feelings of indescribable pleasure, although Dr. Leichhardt's joy was mingled with regret at not having succeeded in bringing his whole party to the end of what he considered the most difficult part of the journey. He had now discovered a line of communication by land between the eastern coast of Australia and the Gulf of Carpentaria, and had traveled along never-failing, and for the most part, running waters, and over an excellent country, available, almost in its whole extent, for pastoral purposes.

At dusk, on the 7th, a native glided into the camp, and walked up to the fire. Instantly the cry of "blackfellow!" was raised, and every gun was ready. But the stranger was unarmed, and evidently unconscious of his position; and when he saw himself suddenly surrounded by the horses and the men he nimbly climbed a tree and stood immovable in the summit, without heeding the calls and signs for him to descend, or the discharge of a gun. At length Charley was sent up a neighboring tree, whereupon the black began calling and shouting most lustily, until he made the forests re-echo with the wild sounds of his alarm. The horses were frightened, and those that were loose ran away, and the men were much afraid that his cries would bring the whole tribe to his assistance. Dr. Leichhardt then went to a fire at a short distance, where the man could see him distinctly, and made signs for him to descend and go away. He began to be more quiet and to talk; but soon hallooed again, and threw sticks at Leichhardt, at his companions, and at the horses. The whole party now retired a few yards to allow him to escape; and after continuing his lamentations for some time, he ceased; in a few minutes a slight rustling was heard, and he was gone; doubtless delighted at having escaped the pale-faced cannibals. Next morning the whole tribe, well armed, watched them from a distance, but allowed them quietly to load their bullocks and depart, without offering them the least annoyance.

While the party were butchering a steer on the 11th, some natives made their appearance. Leichhardt held out a branch as a sign of peace, when they ventured up to hold a parley, though evidently with great

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suspicion. They examined Brown's hat, and expressed a great desire to keep it. While Dr. Leichhardt went to the tents for some pieces of iron as a present to them, Brown, wishing to surprise them, mounted his horse and began trotting, which frightened them so much that they ran away and did not come again. In passing around the southern extremity of the gulf they had occasional interviews with the natives, who appeared quite amicably disposed, especially on receiving some trifling presents.

After a most tedious and fatiguing march around the head of the gulf, during which their progress was greatly obstructed by the numerous lagunes and creeks along the coast, they approached the head of Limmen Bight, the western extremity of the Gulf of Carpentaria, on the 6th of October. The whole country around the gulf, particularly in the southern part, and on the plains and approaches to the rivers and creeks, was well covered with grass. The large water-holes were frequently surrounded with a thick turf of small sedge, upon which the horses greedily fed. Stiff grasses made their appearance near the sea-coast, on the plains as well as in the forest. From the coast of Limmen Bight they ascended a large river of brackish water, which they named Limmen Bight River. After following its banks to the south-west for about a week, they took a north-westerly course, and on the 19th of October, came to the banks of a fresh-water river, five to eight hundred yards wide, and flowing westwardly to the Bight. They continued their route to the north-west along the banks of this river, which was called the Roper. On the 21st they had the misfortune to lose three of their most vigorous horses, which were drowned in the river. In consequence of this diminution of their number, the remaining animals had to bear their burdens continually, and became so much reduced that it was often necessary to rest a day to recruit them.

By the 6th of November they had left all the eastern waters, and came upon the margin of a sandy table-land, from which they overlooked a large valley bounded by high ranges to the westward. As they advanced the country became mountainous, and on the 17th they were proceeding along the high banks of a western creek, when suddenly the extensive view of a magnificent valley opened out before them. They stood on the brink of a deep precipice, of about eighteen hundred feet in descent, which extended far to the eastward. A large river, joined by many tributaries from different quarters, meandered through the valley, which was bounded by high ranges. They had great difficulty in finding a passage down the precipices, but finally succeeded, and on the 20th arrived safely in the valley. Their horses and cattle were, however, in a distressing condition. The passage along rocky creeks had rendered them very foot-sore, and their feed had latterly consisted of coarse grasses or a small sedge which they did not like. But in the valley all the tender grasses reappeared in the utmost profusion, on which the horses and bullocks fed most greedily.

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By observations on the 24th, Dr. Leichhardt found they were at the South Alligator River, about sixty miles from its mouth, and one hundred and forty from Port Essington. As they advanced the river gradually increased in size, and its banks were fringed with luxuriant vegetation. In a few days their progress along the river was checked by extensive swamps which filled the intervals between densely wooded ridges, and leaving its course they proceeded toward the north. On the 1st of December they encamped near the head of Van Diemen's Gulf. While they were waiting for their bullocks next morning a fine native stepped out of the forest with the confidence of a man to whom the white race was familiar. He was unarmed, but a great number of his companions were watching the reception he should meet with. They received him cordially, and on being joined by one of his party, he uttered distinctly the words, "Commandant!" "Come here!" "Very good!" "What's your name?" The travelers from the wilderness were electrified; their joy knew no bounds, and they were ready to embrace the fellows, who, seeing the happiness they inspired, joined with a merry grin in the loud expression of their feelings. These natives knew the white people of Victoria, and called them Balanda, a name which they derived from the Malays, signifying "Hollanders." They were very kind and attentive to Dr. Leichhardt's party, brought them roots and shell-fish, and invited them to accompany them to their camping-place, where a plentiful dinner was ready.

After crossing a plain next morning they were stopped by a large sheet of salt water, at the opposite side of which a low range was visible, and the natives informed them they would have to go far to the south-east and south before they could cross the river. This was the East Alligator River, which obliged them to make a detour of several days, after which they continued their journey northward. Every day they were visited by the natives in great numbers, some of whom spoke a few English words they had picked up in their intercourse with the people at Victoria. They imitated with surprising accuracy the noises of the various domesticated animals they had seen at the settlement; and it was amusing to hear the crowing of the cock, the cackling of the hen, the quacking of ducks, grunting of pigs, mewing of the cat, etc., evident proofs that these natives had been at Victoria.

The party were now seized with impatience to come to the end of their journey, but were obliged to content themselves with the slow progress of their animals, and at length, on the 14th of December, they came to the sea-shore. A large bay lay before them, with islands and headlands stretching far out into the ocean, which was open and boundless to the north. It was Mount Morris Bay, and they were now entering the neck of Coburg Peninsula. Guided by the natives, they made their way slowly up the peninsula, and on the 17th came to a cart-road which wound around the foot of a high hill; and having passed a fine grove of cocoa-nut palms, the white houses and a row of snug thatched

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cottages burst suddenly upon them. They were kindly received by Captain Macarthur, commandant of Port Essington, and by the other officers, who supplied them with every thing they needed.

After a month's stay at Port Essington they embarked in the schooner *Heroine*, and sailing by way of Torres Strait and the Inner Barrier, a route only once before attempted with success, they arrived safely in Sydney on the 29th of March, 1846. A year afterward, Dr. Leichhardt set out with another party, to cross the heart of the Australian continent, from Moreton Bay to Swan River, on the western coast —a journey which, he estimated, would require two years and a half. Since then, however, nothing has been heard of him or any of his party, and the intrepid explorers have no doubt either perished by hunger and thirst, or been murdered by the natives.

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LYNCH'S

EXPLORATION OF THE DEAD SEA.

After the surrender of Vera Cruz, Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, of the American navy, applied to the government for permission to explore the Dead Sea. An act appropriating $10,000 for this purpose having been passed by Congress, Mr. Lynch received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to make preparations for the expedition. On the 2d of October, 1847, he was appointed to the command of the store-ship *Supply*. While the ship was fitted up for service he had two metallic boats constructed, and shipped ten seamen for their crews. He selected young, muscular, native-born Americans of sober habits, from each of whom he exacted a pledge to abstain from intoxicating drinks. To this abstinence he ascribes their final recovery from the extreme prostration to which they were reduced by fatigue and exposure. Lieutenant Dale and Passed-Midshipman Aulick, both excellent draughtsmen, were chosen to assist him in the projected enterprise.

In November he received orders to proceed to Smyrna, and, through the American Minister at Constantinople, apply to the Turkish government for permission to pass through its dominions in Syria, for the purpose of exploring the Dead Sea, and tracing the river Jordan to its source. For the transportation of the boats two low trucks were made, and stowed away in the hold.

The expedition sailed from New York on the 26th of November, and on the 15th of February, 1848, entered the port of Smyrna. Captain Lynch proceeded to Constantinople and applied for the necessary firman from the Porte. After some delay this was received on the 6th of March: it was addressed to the pashas of Saida and Jerusalem, the highest dignitaries in Syria, calling on them to give Captain Lynch and his companions, seventeen in number, all due assistance in their explorations, and to protect and treat them with a regard due to the friendship existing between the American government and the Sublime Porte.

From Smyrna Captain Lynch embarked for Syria, and anchored off Beyrout on the 25th of March, where the Rev. Eli Smith, of the Amer-

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ican Presbyterian mission, kindly exerted himself in behalf of the expedition. An intelligent young Syrian, named Ameuny, was procured for dragoman of the party, and an Arab, named Mustafa, engaged as cook. The other members of the mission rendered all the assistance in their power. Sailing thence toward Acre, the expedition landed at Haifa, under Mount Carmel, and made preparations at Acre for marching into the interior. The miserable horses, which they obtained with difficulty, were found to be wholly unused to draught, and after much perplexity the experiment of substituting camels for draught-horses was tried, and happily proved successful. The huge animals, three to each truck, with the boats, marched off with perfect ease. This novel experiment was witnessed by an eager crowd of people, and the successful result taught them a new accomplishment of that patient and powerful animal.

The trucks moved on in advance, and on the 4th of April the party took up the line of march after the boats, having sixteen horses, eleven loaded camels, and a mule. From the plains of Acre the road lay over a rugged country, sometimes attaining an elevation of fifteen hundred feet. On the 6th Captain Lynch gained the heights overlooking the Sea of Galilee, and soon afterward reached the city of Tiberias, on its margin. The boats had been dragged with difficulty along a series of valleys and ridges, and with the utmost exertions they were only brought to the precipitous range overlooking the lake, by sunset on the 7th. Next morning all hands went up to bring them down. Sometimes it was feared that, like the herd of swine, they would rush precipitately into the sea, but at length they reached the bottom in safety, and, with their flags flying, were borne triumphantly beyond the walls and amid a crowd of spectators launched upon the waters of Galilee—the Arabs meanwhile singing, clapping their hands, and crying for baksheesh. Buoyantly floated the two *Fannies*, bearing the stars and stripes. Since the time of Josephus and the Romans no vessel of any size had sailed upon this sea, and for many ages but a solitary keel had furrowed its surface.

They had not time to survey this lake, on account of the advancing season and the lessening flood in the Jordan, and therefore left the necessary observations until their return. The bottom is a concave basin; the greatest depth previously ascertained was twenty-seven and a half fathoms, but from copious rains and rapid evaporation, the depth is constantly varying.

Captain Lynch now assigned to each man his special duty. In the land party Mr. Dale was to take the topographical department, Dr. Anderson the geological, Mr. Francis Lynch the botanical, while Mr. Bedlow (an American gentleman who joined the party) was to note the aspect of the country and the incidents of the route. In the water party Lynch assigned to himself, in the *Fanny Mason*, the physical aspect of the river and its banks, the productions, animal and vegetable,

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with a journal of events. To Mr. Aulick, who had charge of the *Fanny Skinner*, was assigned the topographical sketch of the river and its shores.

It was found necessary, from the best information they could obtain respecting the river, to employ camels. As the Jordan was represented to run between high banks, and the navigation to be dangerous, the safety of the party, and the success of the expedition, might depend materially upon the vigilance and alacrity of the land party. Captain Lynch, therefore, placed it under command of Mr. Dale, with directions to keep as near the river as possible, and hasten to the assistance of the water party, should a given signal be heard. To aid in transportation down the Jordan, and upon the Dead Sea, an old frame boat was purchased and fitted up, with the name of *Uncle Sam*.

Proceeding down the river, the party in the boats soon came to a rapid, at the ruins of the bridge of Semakh. From the disheartening account he had received of the river, Captain Lynch had come to the conclusion that it might be necessary to sacrifice one of the boats to save the rest. He therefore decided to take the lead in the *Fanny Mason*, which, being of copper, could be more easily repaired. The boats passed down the rapids without serious injury. Next day they reached a series of rapids, where the channel was so completely obstructed, that it became necessary to transport the boats around the most difficult. Here they labored, up to their waists in water, for several hours. Starting again, they descended a cascade at the rate of twelve knots, and immediately afterward passed down a shoal rapid, where the foremost boat struck, and hung for a few moments on a rock. In passing the eleventh rapid, the velocity of the current was so great that one of the seamen, who lost his hold, was nearly swept over the fall, and with great difficulty gained the shore. In the evening they anchored at the head of the falls and whirlpool of Bŭk'ah.

Next morning the *Uncle Sam* was shattered upon the rocks and foundered, consequently the hope of transporting the tents from place to place along the Dead Sea was abandoned. The metallic boats passed down the first rapid in safety; down the second, a desperate-looking cascade, with a bluff rock obstructing the channel at its foot, they were lowered by ropes, and by the assistance of some Arabs who accompanied the land party, the dangerous passage was made without accident. In this manner they proceeded down the rocky bed of the Jordan, whose winding course enabled the land party to keep equal pace with the boats in their descent.

In the afternoon of the 17th they arrived at El Meshra, the bathing-place of Christian pilgrims. This ford is consecrated as the place where the Israelites passed over with the Ark of the Covenant, and where the Saviour was baptized by John. "Feeling that it would be a desecration to moor the boats at a place so sacred," says Captain Lynch, "we passed it, and with some difficulty found a landing below." They en-

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camped with the land party, who had pitched their tents on the bank, but were aroused at three o'clock in the morning with the intelligence that the pilgrims were coming. Rising hastily they beheld thousands of torch-lights moving rapidly over the hills, and had scarcely time to remove their tents and effects a short distance, when the procession was upon them—men, women and children, mounted on camels, horses, mules and donkeys, rushed impetuously on toward the river. The motley procession continued until daybreak, and, dismounting as they arrived, they disrobed with precipitation, rushed down the bank, and threw themselves into the stream. Absorbed by an impulsive feeling, they seemed perfectly regardless of observation. Each one plunged, or was dipped, three times below the surface, and then filled a bottle from the river. The bathing-dress of many of the pilgrims was a white gown with a black cross upon it. As soon as they had dressed, they cut branches from the *agnus castus*, or willow, and, dipping them in the consecrated stream, bore them away as memorials of their visit. In an hour they began to depart, and in less than three hours the whole crowd was gone. The pageant disappeared as rapidly as it had approached, and left the travelers once more in the silence and solitude of the wilderness. Eight thousand human beings had passed and repassed before their tents, and left no vestige behind them.

The expedition moved on in the afternoon, and in a few hours the boats entered the Dead Sea. On rounding the point, they endeavored to make a west course toward the encampment of their friends; but a fresh north-west wind was blowing, and increased so rapidly, that it was impossible to head it. The sea rose with the increasing wind, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray left incrustations of salt upon their clothes, hands and faces; it conveyed a prickly sensation whenever it touched the skin, and was exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first; but when the wind freshened in its fierceness, it seemed as if their bows "were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea." In the evening the wind suddenly abated, the waves fell, and the boats now glided rapidly over an unrippled surface. On reaching the camp the men made a frugal supper, and then, wet and weary, threw themselves upon the ground beside a fetid marsh;—the dark, fretted mountains behind; the sea, like a huge caldron, before them, with its surface shrouded in lead-colored mist. "Toward midnight, while the moon was rising above the eastern mountains, and the shadows of the clouds were reflected, wild and fantastic, on the surface of the somber sea; when every thing, the mountains, the sea, the clouds, seemed specter-like and unreal, the sound of the convent-bell of Mar Saba struck gratefully upon the ear; for it was the Christian call to prayer, and told of human wants and human sympathies to the wayfarers on the borders of the Sea of Death."

Akîl, an Arab shekh of the border, who had accompanied them from

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Acre, and to whom they had all become much attached, came to see them next morning, previous to his departure. Learning that he was well acquainted with the tribes on the eastern shore, and on friendly terms with them, Captain Lynch prevailed on him to proceed there by land, to apprise the tribes of the approaching party, and make arrangements to supply it with provisions.

On the 20th the boats were sent to sound diagonally and directly across to the eastern shore. At a late hour they returned, having been retarded by a fresh wind and the corresponding heavy swell of the sea. The distance in a straight line to the Arabian shore was nearly eight statute miles, the greatest depth one hundred and sixteen fathoms. In a line running diagonally to the south-east the depth was one hundred and seventy fathoms, almost from shore to shore.

Next day they broke up the camp and moved southward, taking every thing in the boats except a load for the only remaining camel. Soon after noon on the 22d they hauled up the boats below Wady Sudeir and pitched their tents at a little distance from the fountain-stream of Engaddi. They found a broad, sloping delta, whose dusty surface was covered with coarse pebbles and flinty stones, with here and there a lotus-tree or an osher. The course of the stream across the plain was marked by a narrow strip of luxuriant green. In the evening some of the tribe of Ta 'âmirah came in, and being hungry, had begun to devour a pot of rice which was given them, when one of them suggested that perhaps pork had been cooked in the same vessel. Their countenances fell when they learned that this had been the case, and although nearly famished they would not touch the rice, and there was nothing else to give them. Fearing that his provisions would fall short, Captain Lynch advised them to return to their tents. The principal food of the Arab, as of all southern nations of this continent, is rice. These Arabs were such pilferers that strict watch had to be kept over every thing except the pork, which, being an abomination to the Moslem, was left about the camp, in full confidence that it would be untouched.

Provisions were becoming scarce when Dr. Anderson returned on the 23d with a supply from Jerusalem. They were seen shortly after noon creeping like mites along the lofty crags, but did not reach the camp for three hours afterward. With them came four Turkish soldiers, to guard the camp in the absence of the party. The scene at sunset was magnificent; on one hand the wild, towering cliffs, on the other the dull, Dead Sea, and the shadows climbing up the eastern mountain. And Kerak stood castled on the loftiest summit of the range.

Next morning Captain Lynch started with Dr. Anderson for the peninsula, which was visible in the south-east, while Mr. Aulick pulled directly across to Wady Mojeb (the river Arnon of the Old Testament), to sound in that direction, and Mr. Dale remained with the rest of the party to make observations at the camp. Mr. Aulick found the width of the sea to be about nine statute miles, and the greatest depth one hun-

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dred and eighty-eight fathoms. Captain Lynch returned directly across to the western shore, and thus they continued their measurements into the southern sea. On the 25th they passed Wady Sêyâl Sebbeh (Ravine of Acacias), above which the cliff of Sebbeh, or Masada, rose perpendicularly to the height of twelve or fifteen hundred feet. It is isolated by a deep ravine on each side; on the level summit stands a line of broken walls, the remains of a fortress built by Herod. "The peculiar purple hue of its weather-worn rock is so like that of coagulated blood that it forces the mind back upon its early history, and summons images of the fearful immolation of Eleazar and the nine hundred Sicarii, the blood of whose self-slaughter seems to have tinged the indestructible cliff forever."

On the 26th they started early and steered in a direct line for Râs Hish (Cape Thicket), the northern point of the salt mountains of Usdum, sounding every few minutes for the ford. Soon after passing the point, to their astonishment they saw, on the eastern side of Usdum, a lofty, round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. On examination they found the pillar to be solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounder part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upward, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization.

At length they approached the southern extremity of the sea, but from the shallowness of the water the boats grounded three hundred yards from the shore. Mr. Dale landed to observe the latitude. His feet sank first through a layer of slimy mud a foot deep, then through a crust of salt, and then another foot of mud, before reaching the firm bottom. The beach was so hot as to blister the feet. From the water's edge he made his way with difficulty for more than a hundred yards over black mud, coated with salt and bitumen. In returning to the boat one of the men attempted to carry Mr. Dale to the water, but sank down, and they were obliged separately to flounder through. They ran when they could, and described it as like running over burning ashes.

"It was indeed," says Captain Lynch, "a scene of unmitigated desolation. On one side, rugged and worn, was the salt-mountain of Usdum, with its conspicuous pillar, which reminded us at least of the catastrophe of the plain; on the other were the lofty and barren cliffs of Moab, in one of the caves of which the fugitive Lot found shelter. To the south was an extensive flat intersected by sluggish drains, with the high hills of Edom semi-girding the salt plain where the Israelites repeatedly overthrew their enemies; and to the north was the calm and motionless sea, curtained with a purple mist, while many fathoms deep in the slimy mud beneath it lay imbedded the ruins of the ill-fated cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The glare of light was blinding to the eye, and the

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atmosphere difficult of respiration. No bird fanned with its wing the attenuated air, through which the sun poured his scorching rays upon the mysterious element on which we floated, and which alone of all the works of its Maker, contains no living thing within it.

"While in full view of the peninsula, I named its northern extremity 'Point Costigan,' and its southern one 'Point Molyneux,' as a tribute to two gallant Englishmen who lost their lives in attempting to explore this sea."

Toward evening a hot, blistering hurricane arose from the south-east, the thermometer being at 102°. The men, closing their eyes to the blast, were obliged to pull with all their might to stem the rising waves, and after an hour they gained the shore, much exhausted. Captain Lynch had his eyelids blistered, being unable to protect them while steering the boat. Some went up a ravine to escape the stifling wind; others, driven back by the glare, returned to the boats and crouched under the awning. One mounted spectacles to protect his eyes, but the metal became so heated that he was obliged to remove them. At five o'clock, finding the heat intolerable, they went up a dry ravine in search of water, and discovering some pools, they washed and bathed in them, but the relief was only momentary. The wind rose to a tempest, and the heat rather increased than lessened after sunset. At eight o'clock the thermometer was 106°.

The Arabs who accompanied the expedition were indispensable; they brought food when the men were nearly famished, and water when parched with thirst. They acted as guides and messengers, and faithfully guarded the camp. A decided course tempered with courtesy wins at once their respect and good will. Although an impetuous race, not an angry word passed between them and Captain Lynch's party.

The expedition now returned northward to complete the survey. Notwithstanding the high wind, the tendency to drowsiness became irresistible. The men pulled mechanically, with half-closed lids, and except the oarsmen and Captain Lynch, every one in the copper boat was fast asleep. The necessity of steering and observing every thing, alone kept him awake. The drowsy sensation, amounting almost to stupor, was greatest in the heat of the day, but did not disappear at night. Every day this stupefying influence became more painfully apparent, but Captain Lynch resolved to persevere and leave no part of the work undone, endeavoring to be as expeditious as possible without working the party too hard.

They reached Point Costigan in the afternoon of the 30th, and steered across the south-eastern bay, to search for water and for signals from 'Akîl. The heat was still intense, and rendered less endurable by the white spiculæ of the peninsula and the dazzling reflection from the surface of the sea. There were Arabs among the low bushes on the shore; and preparing for hostilities they pulled directly in and hailed them. One of them proved to be Jum'ah, a messenger of 'Akîl, who

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had arrived at Kerak. In the evening the son of Abd' Allah, Christian shekh of Kerak, came with an invitation to visit his father at his mountain fortress, seventeen miles distant. An invitation was also received from the Moslem shekh. Captain Lynch accepted it with a full sense of the risk incurred, but the whole party was so much debilitated by the sirocco and the subsequent heat, that it became absolutely necessary to invigorate it at all hazards.

The deputation from Kerak expressed great delight at seeing fellow-Christians on the shores of this sea, saying that if they had known of their first arrival they would have gone round and invited them over. It was a strange sight to see these wild Arab Christians uniting themselves so cordially to the Americans. These people had never seen a boat, and could hardly believe that any thing so large could be made to float. One of the fellahs from Mezra'a, when he first beheld them, stood for some time lost in thought and then burst forth in joyful shouts of recognition. He was an Egyptian by birth, and being stolen away when young, had forgotten every thing connected with his native country until the sight of the boats reminded him of having seen things resembling them; and the Nile, and the boats upon it, and the familiar scenes of his childhood, rushed upon his memory.

On the 1st of May the horses and mules for which they had sent, arrived, and with them came Mohammed, the son of Abd' el Kadir, the Moslem shekh, and Abd' Allah, the Christian shekh. Mohammed was overbearing in his manners, and his almost insulting conduct awakened distrust. He had come down with about eight men, his brother with fourteen more, and by two and three at a time they continued to drop in, until by nine o'clock there were upward of forty around the camp. Early next morning the party set out; the sailors mounted on miserable cradles, extending along the backs of their mules, while the horses were little better caparisoned. One of the seamen, who had been least affected by the heat, remained at his own request. To him and the Bedouin Jum'ah, who had several Arabs with him, Captain Lynch gave charge of the boats.

Arriving at the brow of a hill, three thousand feet above the Dead Sea, they had before them a high rolling plain, where the grass was withered and the grain blighted by the sirocco and the locust. Turning to the north, they passed along the walls and towers of the town, into which they entered by an arch cut through the rock. The passage was thirty feet high and twelve wide, and about eighty feet long in an irregular line.

The people assembled on dirt-heaps and mud roofs to see the strangers pass, and the room they occupied was crowded the whole day; the doorway sometimes blocked up. It seemed to be regarded as a sort of menagerie. When at length the men were left to themselves, they lay down under a roof for the first time in twenty-three days, having first enjoyed the unwonted luxury of a draught of sweet milk.

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Placing a board against the door, that its fall might rouse them at an attempted entrance, they lay down with their arms in their hands. Mohammed, who had been in an ill-humor at receiving no presents, came in early next morning, very surly. Captain Lynch refused to converse with him, but referred him to 'Akîl, whom he had commissioned to procure horses, and make the necessary purchases. The party would gladly have remained another day for the benefit of the mountain air, and to examine the neighborhood, but from appearances it was deemed unsafe. While they made preparations for departing, the Arabs were in consultation below, Mohammed gesticulating violently. But 'Akîl and his friends they knew would stand by them, and their horses were procured. When they were starting, Mohammed again demanded baksheesh, and, being refused, he said he would not go down with them, and sneeringly asked what they would do if they found a hundred men in their path. They replied that they would take care of themselves, and set out. They had not gone over a mile when Mohammed, black and surly, overtook them with some horsemen. Captain Lynch now had the game in his own hands, and detaching an officer and one of his most trusty men, he directed them to keep by him, and shoot him at the first sign of treachery. At length Mohammed realized that he was a prisoner, and from being insolent and overbearing, he became first respectful, and then submissive.

With a light breeze they steered up the bay and along the coast toward the river Arnon, of the Old Testament, upon which Aroer, one of the principal cities of the Moabites, was situated. Eight miles north of it is the supposed Mount Nebo, from the summit of which Moses viewed the promised land. As they proceeded, the scenery was grand and wild. Wherever there was a rivulet, its course was marked by lines of green cane and tamarisk, and an occasional date-palm. On the 4th of May they stopped for the night in a cove formed by the Zerka Main, the outlet of the hot springs of Callirrhoë. The stream, twelve feet wide and ten inches deep, rushed out with great velocity into the sea. The water is slightly sulphurous to the taste; its temperature ninety-five degrees. They bathed in the sea, and afterward in the stream. It was a delightful transition from the dense, acrid water of the sea, which made their innumerable sores smart severely, to the soft, tepid and refreshing waters of Callirrhoë. The water of the sea was very buoyant; it was difficult to keep their feet beneath the surface. A few days before, they had tried whether a horse and donkey could swim in the sea without turning over; the animals turned a little to one side, but did not lose their balance. A muscular man floated nearly breast-high without the least exertion.

Next day they sounded across to Ain Turâbeh, making a straight line to intersect the diagonal one of the preceding day. Two furlongs from land the soundings were twenty-three fathoms; the next cast, five minutes after, gave one hundred and seventy-four, gradually deepening

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to two hundred and eighteen fathoms; the bottom soft brown mud, with rectangular crystals of salt. At Ain Turâbeh they found their tents in the charge of Sherîf. Two Arabs were sent to meet Mr. Aulick, at the mouth of the Jordan; he returned next day, having completed the topography of the shore, and taken observations at the mouth of the river. Dr. Anderson had collected many specimens in the geological department, and the exploration of the sea was now complete.

On the 9th Mr. Dale went with the interpreter to reconnoiter the route over the desert toward Jerusalem. Two sick seamen were sent to the convent at Mar Saba. In the evening the party bathed in the Dead Sea preparatory to their spending their twenty-second and last night upon it. They had now carefully sounded this sea, determined its geographical position, taken the exact topography of its shore, ascertained the temperature, width, depth, and velocity of its tributaries, collected specimens of every kind, and noted the winds, currents, changes of weather, and all atmospheric phenomena.

On the 10th the tents were struck, and the party ascended the pass of Ain Turâbeh. They proceeded to the convent of Mar Saba, and thence continued their route toward Jerusalem, where they arrived on the 17th. There were many Jewish women and children, clothed in white, under the olive-trees in the valley as they passed. They were families from the city, who thus came to spend the day beneath the shade, away from the stifling air of the Jews' quarter Next day the boats were sent to Jaffa, under the care of Sherîf, and the party remained in camp until the 22d, during which time the officers and men had time to recruit, and to visit Jerusalem and its vicinity. On breaking up the camp, they started to run a line of level across to the Mediterranean, thirty-three miles distant, in a direct line. The desert being passed, they substituted mules for camels, to transport the baggage. They found the depression of the surface of the Dead Sea below that of the Mediterranean to be a little over thirteen hundred feet.

After remaining a few days at Jaffa, the land party, under the command of Mr. Dale, started on the morning of June 6th, for Acre. In the evening Captain Lynch embarked with the remainder in an Arab brig, and arrived at Acre on the next evening. Charles Homer, a seaman, with the land party, was severely wounded on the way by the accidental discharge of a gun. He was sent immediately to Beyrout, in charge of Mr. Bedlow and a few men, and placed under medical attendance.

On the 10th, Captain Lynch started for Nazareth, whence he proceeded to the sources of the Jordan, still taking observations to connect with the preceding ones. Receiving intelligence, on the 19th, that Homer was out of danger, and that Messrs. Aulick and Bedlow were on the way to rejoin him, he started to lead the party over the Anti-Lebanon into the plain of Damascus. After spending a few days in

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Damascus, they proceeded by a mountainous road toward the sea. On the 30th they were four thousand feet above the level of the sea; the road was difficult, and some of the men were sick. Mr. Dale, who was the worst, was sent ahead with Mr. Bedlow, that he might obtain the best medical advice as soon as possible. On arriving at Beyrout next day, nearly the whole party were exhausted, and some required immediate medical attendance, but in a few days they were mostly convalescent. On the 10th Mr. Dale rode to Bhamdûn, twelve miles distant, in the hope of being more speedily invigorated by the mountain air. It was on the dreadful Damascus road, which they had traveled eleven days before, and he arrived thoroughly exhausted, but was much recruited next day. On the second day, however, a sirocco set in, which lasted for three days, and completely prostrated him. He lingered until the 24th, when he died. Determined to take the remains home, if possible, Captain Lynch started immediately with them for Beyrout, and proceeded by a slow, dreary ride down the rugged mountain by torchlight.

On the 30th the physicians advised them to leave at once, as there was no hope of recovery of the sick at Beyrout. Captain Lynch therefore chartered a small French brig for Malta. An accident in transporting the remains to the vessel, and the superstitious fears of the captain and crew, compelled him to land them, and at sunset, as the Turkish batteries were saluting the first night of the Ramadan, they escorted the body to the Frank cemetery, and laid it beneath a Pride of India-tree. A few appropriate chapters of the Bible were read, and some affecting remarks made by the Rev. Mr. Thompson; after which the sailors advanced and fired three volleys over the grave.

At 9 P. M. they embarked on board the *Perle d' Orient* and after a tedious passage of thirty-eight days, during which they suffered much from sickness, debility, and scarcity of food and water, they reached Malta, where they received every possible attention from the American Consul, Mr. Winthrop. On the 12th of September, the *Supply* having arrived, the expedition re-embarked, with only three of its members on the sick-list. They touched at Naples, Marseilles, and Gibraltar, in the hope of procuring supplies, but in the two former they were refused pratique, and from the latter they were peremptorily ordered away. Depending therefore on the rains to replenish their supply of water, they pursued their homeward voyage, and early in December reached the United States.

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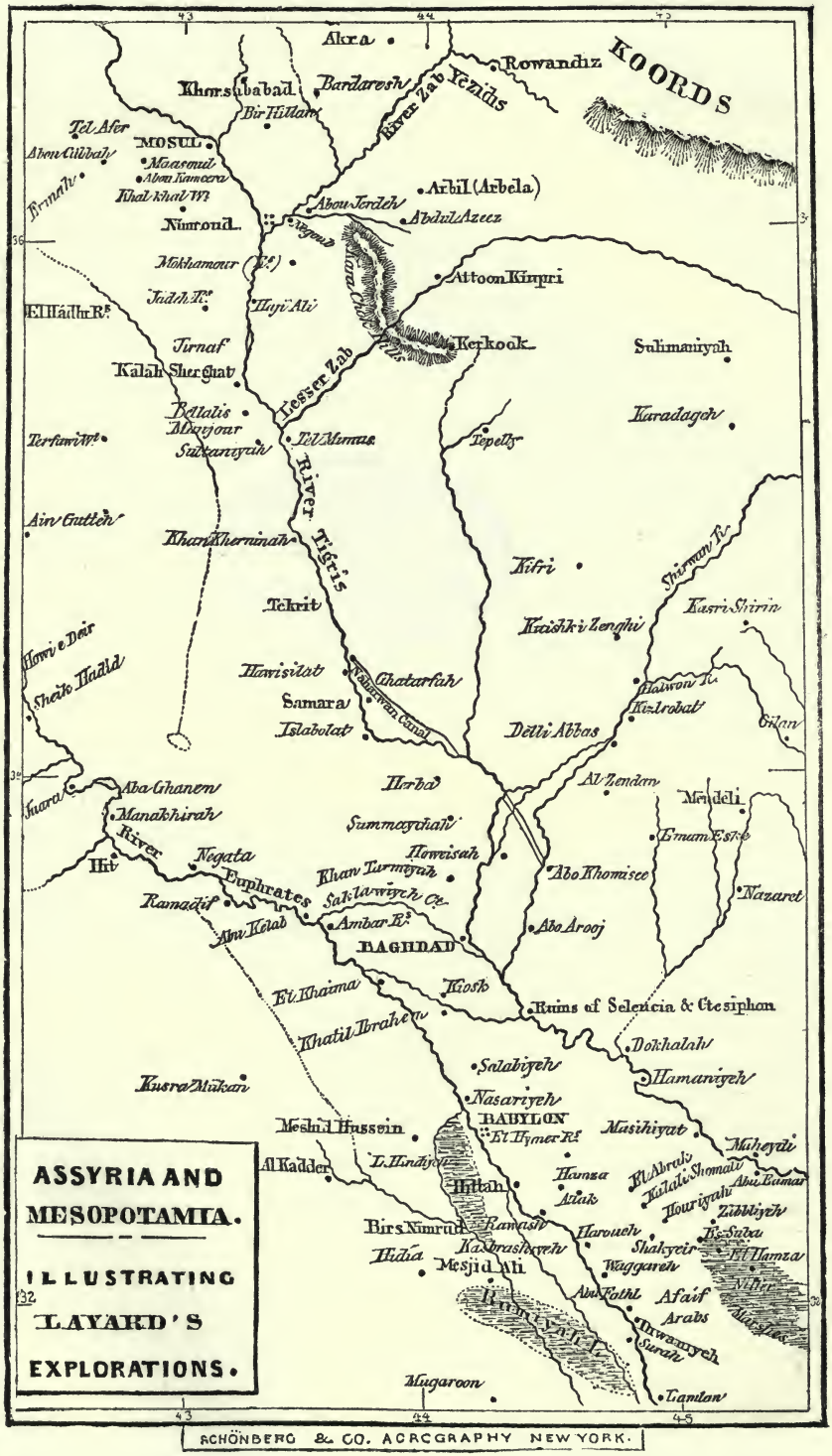

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LAYARD'S

EXPLORATIONS AT NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

FIRST EXCAVATIONS AT NINEVEH.

THE MOUND OF NIMROUD (NINEVEH).

Mr. Austen Henry Layard first visited the East in 1839, and during that and the following year traversed almost every part of Syria and Asia Minor, in company with Mr. Ainsworth, the author of "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand." Extending their journey to the eastward, they reached Mosul, floated down the Tigris to Baghdad, crossed to Persia, visited the ruins of Susa and Persepolis, and after being plundered by a band of robbers in the mountains, returned through Armenia to Europe. While descending the Tigris, from Mosul to Baghdad, Layard stopped to examine the lofty mounds of Nimroud, sixteen miles below the former city. He was impressed by the conviction that extensive remains, perhaps those of a part of ancient Nineveh, were concealed under those shapeless piles of earth, broken pottery and bricks, and then formed the determination of returning to explore them, at some future time.

On passing through Mosul in the summer of 1842, on his return to Constantinople, he found that M. Botta, the French Consul, had com-

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menced excavations in the large mound of Kouyunjik, on the opposite side of the Tigris. Only some fragments of brick and alabaster, upon which were engraved a few letters in the cuneiform, or arrow-headed character, had then been discovered. After reaching Constantinople, Layard wrote to M. Botta, advising him to excavate in the mounds of Nimroud; but the latter gentleman, following the advice of some of the natives, turned his attention to a large mound, upon which the village of Khorsabad was built. After sinking a well for some distance through the rubbish, the workmen came to a wall built of sculptured slabs of gypsum. M. Botta at once directed a wider trench to be formed, and to be carried in the direction of the wall. He soon found that he had opened a chamber, which was connected with others, and constructed of slabs of gypsum covered with sculptured representations of battles, sieges, and similar events. His wonder may easily be imagined. A new history had been suddenly opened to him—the records of an unknown people were before him. He was equally at a loss to account for the age and the nature of the monument. The art shown in the sculptures; the dresses of the figures; their arms and the objects which accompanied them, were all new to him, and afforded no clew to the epoch of the erection of the edifice, and to the people who were its founders. However, it was evident that the monument appertained to a very ancient and very civilized people; and it was natural from its position to refer it to the inhabitants of Nineveh, a city, which, although it could not have occupied a site so distant from the Tigris, must have been in the vicinity of the place. M. Botta had discovered an Assyrian edifice, the first, probably, which had been exposed to the view of man since the fall of the Assyrian empire.

The excavation was continued, and by the beginning of 1845, the monument had been completely uncovered. The researches of M. Botta were not extended beyond Khorsabad, and, having secured many fine specimens of Assyrian sculpture, he returned to Europe with a rich collection of inscriptions, the most important result of his discovery. This success increased Layard's desire to explore the ruins of Assyria. He was more than ever convinced that Khorsabad was not the only relic of Assyrian art, and that, as it could not represent Nineveh, the remains of that city were to be found at Nimroud. He received little encouragement in his desires, until, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning, British Minister at Constantinople, expressed his readiness to incur, for a limited period, the expenses of an exploration. Layard accepted the proposal, set out from Constantinople at once, and, traveling with all speed, reached Mosul by the last of October.

"There were many reasons," says Layard, "which rendered it necessary that my plans should be concealed, until I was ready to put them into execution. Although I had always experienced from M. Botta the most friendly assistance, there were others who did not share his sentiments; from the authorities and the people of the town I could only

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expect the most decided opposition. On the 8th of November, having secretly procured a few tools, and engaged a mason at the moment of my departure, and carrying with me a variety of guns, spears, and other formidable weapons, I declared that I was going to hunt wild boars in a neighboring village, and floated down the Tigris on a small raft constructed for my journey. I was accompanied by Mr. Ross, a British merchant of Mosul, my cawass, and a servant."

On reaching Nimroud, Layard succeeded in engaging six Arabs to work under his direction. The next morning he commenced operations, and was not long left in suspense. Seeing a piece of alabaster projecting above the soil, he ordered his men to dig around it, and found that it was the upper part of a large slab. Its exhumation revealed a second, then a third, and in the course of the morning ten were discovered, the whole forming a square, which was apparently the top of a chamber. Digging down the face of the stones, an inscription in the cuneiform character was soon exposed to view. The next day he hired more workmen, and completed the excavation of the chamber, which was built of slabs eight feet high. "In the rubbish near the bottom of the chamber," says he, "I found several ivory ornaments, upon which were traces of gilding; among them was the figure of a man in long robes, carrying in one hand the Egyptian crux ansata, part of a crouching sphinx, and flowers designed with great taste and elegance. Awad, who had his own suspicions of the object of my search, which he could scarcely persuade himself was limited to mere stones, carefully collected all the scattered fragments of gold leaf he could find in the rubbish; and, calling me aside in a mysterious and confidential fashion, produced them wrapped up in a piece of dingy paper. 'O Bey,' said he, 'Wallah! your books are right, and the Franks know that which is hid from the true believer. Here is the gold, sure enough, and, please God, we shall find it all in a few days. Only don't say any thing about it to those Arabs, for they are asses and can not hold their tongues. The matter will come to the ears of the pasha.' The shekh was much surprised, and equally disappointed, when I generously presented him with the treasures he had collected, and all such as he might hereafter discover."

The news of this discovery soon reached Mosul, and created quite a sensation. It was rumored that immense treasures had been found, and the pasha, who was very oppressive and unpopular, determined to interfere, and stop further excavations. Layard, to avoid difficulty, pretended to acquiesce, but asked for a guard to protect the sculptures, while he made drawings of them. During the few days which intervened while the subject was under discussion, the work had been vigorously prosecuted, and several bas-reliefs representing battles and sieges, and winged bulls, fourteen feet in length, were discovered. The experiment had been fairly tried; there was no longer any doubt of the existence not only of sculptures and inscriptions, but even of vast edifices in the interior of the mound of Nimroud, as all parts of it that had yet been exam-

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ined, furnished remains of buildings and carved slabs. He lost no time, therefore, in acquainting Sir Stratford Canning with his discovery, and urging the necessity of a firman, or order from the Porte, which would prevent any future interference on the part of the authorities, or the inhabitants of the country.

About this time word reached Mosul that the pasha was to be removed, and another appointed in his place. The country was very unsettled, and as it was impossible to continue the excavations at Nimroud, Layard proceeded to Baghdad, to consult Major Rawlinson, and to make arrangements for the removal of the sculptures to England. Returning to Mosul in January, 1846, he found the new governor, Ismail Pasha, who received him with courtesy, and gave him full permission to continue his researches at Nimroud. He took up his residence at Nimroud, and engaged a party of Nestorian Christians to assist him in the work. About the middle of February, the excavations were recommenced, in the north-western side of the mound. One chamber opened into another, and these into halls and courts, the walls of which were of alabaster, covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions. The sculptures assumed a more interesting character, the further they advanced; the monarch, with his attendant ministers and servants, tributary kings, battles, sieges, and finally the gods of a lost religion, colossal figures carved with the most astonishing minuteness of detail, were one after another exposed to view.

"On all these figures," says Layard, "paint could be faintly distinguished, particularly on the hair, beard, eyes, and sandals. The slabs on which they were sculptured had sustained no injury, and could be without difficulty packed and moved to any distance. There could no longer be any doubt that they formed part of a chamber, and that, to explore it completely, I had only to continue along the wall, now partly uncovered.

"On the morning following these discoveries, I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. 'Hasten, O Bey,' exclaimed one of them—'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;' and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

"On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks. While Awad advanced, and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of the figure, the remainder of which was still buried in

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the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

"I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off toward Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learned this with regret, as I anticipated the consequences.

"While I was superintending the removal of the earth, which still clung to the sculpture, and giving directions for the continuation of the work, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahman, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. As soon as the two Arabs had reached the tents, and published the wonders they had seen, every one mounted his mare and rode to the mound, to satisfy himself of the truth of these inconceivable reports. When they beheld the head they all cried out together, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet!' It was some time before the shekh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. 'This is not the work of men's hands,' exclaimed he, 'but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet, peace be with him! has said, that they were higher than the tallest date-tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood.' In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred. I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before night-fall reached the object of my search about twelve feet distant."

The sensation caused by this discovery, and the prejudices of the Moslem Cadi of Mosul, obliged him to suspend operations for a time. By the end of March, however, he uncovered a pair of winged human-headed lions, the human shape being continued to the waist and furnished with arms. "In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, although

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strongly developed to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprung from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions."

The operations having been suspended until further means should arrive from Constantinople, Layard determined to pay a visit to Sofuk, the shekh of the great Arab tribe of Shammar, which occupied nearly the whole of Mesopotamia. On this excursion he was accompanied by Mr. Rassam, the English vice-consul, and his wife, and Mr. Ross. On his return, he received the firman from Constantinople, and a further supply of money, which enabled him to resume the work of excavation. About thirty men, chiefly Arabs, were employed, and their labors were rewarded by the discovery of many more chambers, filled with bas-reliefs of the most interesting character, in perfect preservation. Layard now determined to remove the most valuable specimens, for transportation to England. The slabs were sawed into several pieces, and all the superfluous stone cut away; after which they were packed in felts and matting, and deposited in rough wooden cases. They were then floated down the Tigris to Baghdad, on a raft made of poplar wood and inflated skins.

By this time the summer had arrived, and the heat became so great that the explorer's health began to suffer from his continued labors on a spot where the thermometer frequently reached 115° in the shade. He therefore returned to Mosul, and excavated for a time in the mound of Kouyunjik, where he discovered an entrance formed by two winged figures, leading into a chamber, paved with limestone slabs. As the figures were mutilated and the walls of the chamber without inscriptions, he gave up any further exploration, and returned to Nimroud in the middle of August. His health, however, again gave way, and he then determined to make an excursion to the Tiyari Mountains, inhabited by the Chaldean Christians, and to the Alpine country of Koordistan. His description of this journey, which occupied some weeks, and of the annual religious festival of the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshipers, in the valley of Shekh Adi, are of great interest and value. After his return to Mosul, he accompanied the pasha on a military expedition into the Sinjar Mountains.

"On my return to Mosul," he writes, "I received letters from England, informing me that Sir Stratford Canning had presented the sculptures discovered in Assyria, and had made over all advantages that might be derived from the order given to him by the sultan, to the British nation; and that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for the continuation of the researches commenced at Nimroud,

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and elsewhere. The grant was small, and scarcely adequate to the objects in view." Nevertheless, he determined to persevere, and accomplish as much as possible, with the limited means. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam took the part of overseer and pay-master, and soon acquired an extraordinary influence among the Arabs. After building a winter-residence for himself and servants, Layard recommenced the excavations, on a large scale, on the 1st of November.

The six weeks following the commencement of excavations upon a large scale, were among the most prosperous, and fruitful in events, during his researches in Assyria. One of the most remarkable discoveries was made in the center of the mound, near where the colossal winged bulls had been found. After quarrying out a shaft of about fifty feet in length, and finding nothing but fragments of sculptures in yellow limestone, Layard was about to abandon the work, when a corner of black marble was uncovered, which proved to be part of an obelisk, about seven feet high, containing twenty small bas-reliefs, and an inscription of two hundred and ten lines. The whole was in the best preservation; scarcely a character of the inscription was wanting; and the figures were as sharp and well defined as if they had been carved but a few days before. The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet, and his vizir and eunuchs are introducing men leading various animals, and carrying vases and other objects of tribute on their shoulders, or in their hands. The animals are the elephant, the rhinoceros, the Bactrian, or two-humped camel, the wild bull, the lion, a stag, and various kinds of monkeys.

"I lost no time in copying the inscriptions," says Layard, "and drawing the bas-reliefs, upon this precious relic. It was then carefully packed, to be transported at once to Baghdad. A party of trustworthy Arabs were chosen to sleep near it at night; and I took every precaution that the superstitions and prejudices of the natives of the country, and the jealousy of rival antiquaries, could suggest."

Early in December, a sufficient number of bas-reliefs had been collected to load another raft, and preparations were accordingly made for sending a second cargo to Baghdad. "On Christmas day," says Layard, "I had the satisfaction of seeing a raft, bearing twenty-three cases, in one of which was the obelisk, floating down the river. I watched them until they were out of sight, and then galloped into Mosul to celebrate the festivities of the season, with the few Europeans whom duty or business had collected in this remote corner of the globe.

"The north-west palace," he continues, "was naturally the most interesting portion of the ruins, and to it were principally directed my researches. I had satisfied myself beyond a doubt that it was the most ancient building yet explored in Assyria. Not having been exposed to a conflagration like other edifices, the sculptures, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, which it contained, were still admirably preserved. When the excavations were resumed after Christmas, eight chambers had been

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discovered. There were now so many outlets and entrances, that I had no trouble in finding new rooms and halls—one chamber leading into another. By the end of the month of April I had explored almost the whole building; and had opened twenty-eight chambers cased with alabaster slabs."

Before his means should be completely exhausted, Layard determined to make some excavations in the mounds of Kalah Shergat, further down the Tigris—mounds which equal in extent those of Nimroud and Kouyunjik. The only important object he discovered at this place was a headless sitting figure of black basalt, of the size of life. On his return to Nimroud, he set about the task of removing two of the winged bulls and lions, for transportation to England. With the scanty mechanical contrivances of the country, this was a work of immense labor and difficulty, and weeks were employed in taking the colossal figures from their stations at the doorway of the palace, bringing them to the bank of the Tigris, and shipping them on large rafts, ready to proceed to Bassora. Every thing was at last safely accomplished, and some sheep having been slaughtered to insure a propitious voyage, the rafts disappeared on their doubtful way down the Tigris.

"By the middle of May," says Layard, "I had finished my work at Nimroud. My house was dismantled. The windows and doors, which had been temporarily fitted up, were taken out; and, with the little furniture that had been collected together, were placed on the backs of donkeys and camels to be carried to the town. The Arabs struck their tents and commenced their march. I remained behind until every one had left, and then turned my back upon the deserted village. We were the last to quit the plains of Nimroud; and, indeed, nearly the whole country to the south of Mosul, as far as the Zab, became, after our departure, a wilderness." After making further excavations at Kouyunjik, sufficient to convince him that the mound covered the ruins of a palace of great extent and magnificence, Layard determined to return to Europe, as the funds placed at his disposal were exhausted, and he learned that the British Museum was not inclined to encourage further explorations. Leaving Mosul on the 24th of June, 1847, he took the road to Constantinople, on his way to England.

SECOND VISIT TO NINEVEH.

Layard remained some months in England to recruit his health, and publish the results of his travels and researches. In 1848, he returned to Constantinople and resumed his post as attaché to the British embassy. The interest which his work excited, however, and the acknowledged importance of his discoveries, induced the trustees of the British Museum to propose to him a second expedition into Assyria. He at once accepted this offer, and drew up an extended plan which should

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embrace the thorough exploration not only of the Assyrian remains, but also those of Babylonia, but this was not accepted. He was merely directed to resume the excavations at Nimroud. Mr. Cooper, an artist, was selected by the trustees of the Museum to accompany him—in addition to whom he was joined at Constantinople by Mr. Hormurzd Rassam, and Dr. Sandwith, an English physician. Cawal Yusuf, the head of the preachers of the Yezidis, with four chiefs from the neighborhood of Diarbekir, who had been for some months at Constantinople, completed his party.

On the 28th of August, 1849, the expedition left the Bosphorus in a steamer for Trebizond, where they landed on the 31st, and continued their journey by way of Erzeroum, the lake of Wan, and the mountain country of the Koords, to Mosul. The journey was accomplished without accident, and on arriving at their destination Layard was received with the greatest enthusiasm by his old friends and workmen. He immediately hired his former assistants, secured the services of a hundred men, and commenced a thorough excavation of the mound of Kouyunjik. The accumulation of earth was so great that it was necessary to adopt a system of tunneling, removing only as much earth as was necessary to show the sculptured walls. While the preparations were going forward, he accepted an invitation from the Yezidis, and again witnessed their peculiar religious festival in the valley of Shekh Adi.

On the 18th of October, Layard rode to Nimroud for the first time. He says: "The mound had undergone no change. There it rose from the plain, the same sun-burnt yellow heap that it had stood for twenty centuries. The earth and rubbish, which had been heaped over the excavated chambers and sculptured slabs, had settled, and had left uncovered in sinking the upper part of several bas-reliefs. A few colossal heads of winged figures rose calmly above the level of the soil, and with two pairs of winged bulls, which had not been reburied on account of their mutilated condition, was all that remained above ground of the north-west palace, that great storehouse of Assyrian history and art. Since my departure the surface of the mound had again been furrowed by the plow, and ample crops had this year rewarded the labors of the husbandman. The ruins of the south-west palace were still uncovered. The Arabs had respected the few bas-reliefs which stood against the crumbling walls, and Saleh Shahir pointed to them as a proof of the watchfulness of his people during my long absence."

Collecting together a number of his former workmen, he ordered them to continue the excavations at the points where they had formerly been abandoned. For two months his time was divided between Kouyunjik and Nimroud, excavations being carried on at both places without interruption. "By the end of November," he writes, "several entire chambers had been excavated at Kouyunjik, and many bas-reliefs of great interest had been discovered. The four sides of a hall had now been explored. In the center of each side was a grand entrance, guarded

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by colossal human-headed bulls. This magnificent hall was no less than one hundred and twenty-four feet in length by ninety feet in breadth, the longest sides being those to the north and south. It appears to have formed a center, around which the principal chambers in this part of the palace were grouped. Its walls had been completely covered with the most elaborate and highly-finished sculptures. Unfortunately all the bas-reliefs, as well as the gigantic monsters at the entrances, had suffered more or less from the fire which had destroyed the edifice; but enough of them still remained to show the subject, and even to enable me in many places to restore it entirely.

"There can be no doubt that the king represented as superintending the building of the mounds and the placing of the colossal bulls, is Sennacherib himself, and that the sculptures celebrate the building at Nineveh of the great palace and its adjacent temples described in the inscriptions as the work of this monarch. The bas-reliefs were accompanied in most instances by short epigraphs in the cuneiform character, containing a description of the subject with the name of the city to which the sculptures were brought. The great inscriptions on the bulls at the entrances of Kouyunjik record, it would seem, not only historical events, but, with great minuteness, the manner in which the edifice itself was erected, its general plan, and the various materials employed in decorating the halls, chambers, and roofs. When completely deciphered they will perhaps enable us to restore, with some confidence, both the general plan and elevation of the building."

During the month of December, several discoveries of the greatest interest and importance were made, both at Kouyunjik and Nimroud. At the former place, the grand entrance to the palace of Sennacherib, was discovered, guarded by two human-headed, winged bulls, twenty feet long, and when entire, more than twenty feet high. This entrance led to the uncovering of the whole south-eastern façade of the palace. Ten colossal bulls, with six human figures of gigantic proportions, were here grouped together, and the length of the whole, without including the sculptured walls continued beyond the smaller entrances, was one hundred and eighty feet. On the great bulls forming the center portal of the grand entrance were inscriptions containing the annals of six years of the reign of Sennacherib, besides numerous particulars connected with the religion of the Assyrians. In one of these inscriptions, which has been deciphered by Dr. Hincks, there occurs a most interesting confirmation of the historic record of the Bible. "Hezekiah, king of Judah," says the Assyrian king, "who had not submitted to my authority, forty-six of his principal cities, and fortresses, and villages depending upon them, of which I took no account, I captured, and carried away their spoil. I *shut up* (?) himself within Jerusalem, his capital city. The fortified towns, and the rest of his towns, which I spoiled, I severed from his country, and gave to the kings of Ascalon, Ekron, and Gaza, so as to make his country small. In addition to the former tribute imposed upon

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their countries, I added a tribute, the nature of which I fixed." The next passage is somewhat defaced, but the substance of it appears to be that he took from Hezekiah the treasure he had collected in Jerusalem, thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, the treasure of his palace, besides his sons and his daughters, and his male and female servants or slaves, and brought them all to Nineveh.

At Nimroud, Layard made discoveries which proved to him that the high conical mound at the north-western corner of the ruins, was the remains of a square tower, which he conjectured to have been the tomb of Sardanapalus. From the amount of rubbish, he supposed the tower to have been at least two hundred feet high. In another part of the ruins a vaulted drain was discovered, near which was a perfect arch of brick-work. One of the bronze sockets of the palace-gate, weighing several pounds, was also found in one of the chambers. But the most important discovery of all was made at the commencement of January, 1850. A new chamber was opened in the north-west palace, adjoining the great central-hall. The walls were of plain, sun-dried bricks, and there were no sculptured slabs, but in the earth and rubbish which filled it, were some of the most interesting Assyrian relics yet found. The first objects discovered were two plain copper vessels or caldrons, two feet and a half in diameter, and three feet deep, with their mouths closed by large tiles. They were completely filled with small articles, among which were bronze bells with iron tongues, hundreds of buttons and studs, made of mother-of-pearl and ivory, hooks, rosettes, and the feet of tripods. Near these caldrons were two circular flat vessels, nearly six feet in diameter, and two feet deep.

Behind the caldrons was a heap of curious and interesting objects. In one place were piled without order, one above the other, bronze cups, bowls, and dishes of various sizes and shapes. The upper vessels having been most exposed to damp, the metal had been eaten away by rust, and was crumbling into fragments, or into a green powder. As they were cleared away, more perfect specimens were taken out, until, near the pavement of the chamber, some were found almost entire. Many of the bowls and plates fitted so closely, one within the other, that they have only been detached in England. It required the greatest care and patience to separate them from the tenacious soil in which they were embedded. Around the vessels were heaped arms, remains of armor, iron instruments, glass bowls, and various objects in ivory and bronze. The arms consisted of swords, daggers, shields, and the heads of spears and arrows, which being chiefly of iron fell to pieces almost as soon as exposed to the air.

The most interesting of the ivory relics were, a carved staff, perhaps a royal scepter, part of which has been preserved, although in the last stage of decay; and several entire elephants' tusks, the largest being about two feet five inches long. In the further corner of the chamber, to the left hand, stood the royal throne. "Although it was utterly im-

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possible, from the complete state of decay of the materials, to preserve any part of it entire," says Layard, "I was able, by carefully removing the earth, to ascertain that it resembled in shape the chair of state of the king, as seen in the sculptures of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, and particularly that represented in the bas-reliefs already described, of Sennacherib receiving the captives and spoil, after the conquest of the city of Lachish. With the exception of the legs, which appear to have been partly of ivory, it was of wood, cased or overlaid with bronze, as the throne of Solomon was of ivory, overlaid with gold.

"By the 28th of January," he writes, "the colossal lions forming the portal to the great hall in the north-west palace of Nimroud were ready to be dragged to the river-bank. The walls and their sculptured paneling had been removed from both sides of them, and they stood isolated in the midst of the ruins. We rode one calm cloudless night to the mound, to look on them for the last time before they were taken from their old resting-places. The moon was at her full, and as we drew nigh to the edge of the deep wall of earth rising around them, her soft light was creeping over the stern features of the human heads, and driving before it the dark shadows which still clothed the lion forms. One by one the limbs of the gigantic sphinxes emerged from the gloom, until the monsters were unvailed before us. I shall never forget that night, or the emotions which those venerable figures caused within me. A few hours more and they were to stand no longer where they had stood unscathed amidst the wreck of man and his works for ages. It seemed almost sacrilege to tear them from their old haunts to make them a mere wonder-stock to the busy crowd of a new world. They were better suited to the desolation around them; for they had guarded the palace in its glory, and it was for them to watch over it in its ruin. Shekh Abd-ur-rahman, who had ridden with us to the mound, was troubled with no such reflections. He gazed listlessly at the grim images, wondered at the folly of the Franks, thought the night cold, and turned his mare toward his tents. We scarcely heeded his going, but stood speechless in the deserted portal, until the shadows again began to creep over its hoary guardians."

Layard had long wished to examine the river Khabour (the Chebar of the Old Testament), a branch of the Euphrates, the greater portion of which had never been explored by Europeans. Having procured the escort of Suttum, a shekh of one of the branches of the Shammar tribe, he left Mosul about the end of March, accompanied by Mr. Rassam and the rest of his party. They were absent on this excursion until the 10th of May, having been treated with the greatest hospitality by all the Bedouin tribes whom they visited. They discovered some interesting remains at Arban, on the Khabour—colossal winged bulls and lions, Egyptian scarabei and ornaments, and a curious glass bottle, upon which were old Chinese characters.

During this time the excavations at Kouyunjik had been actively

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carried on. A great number of interesting historical bas-reliefs had been exhumed, together with a colossal figure of Dagon, the fish-god of the Assyrians. Much the most important discovery, however, was that of two small chambers which appear to have been a depositary for the historical archives of the kingdom. To the height of a foot or more they were covered with tablets of baked clay, some entire, but the greater part broken into fragments. "These documents," says Layard, "appear to be of various kinds. Many are historical records of wars, and distant expeditions undertaken by the Assyrians; some seem to be royal decrees, and are stamped with the name of a king, the son of Essarhaddon; others again, divided into parallel columns by horizontal lines, contain lists of the gods, and probably a register of offerings made in their temples. On one Dr. Hincks has detected a table of the value of certain cuneiform letters, expressed by certain alphabetical signs, according to various modes of using them; a most important discovery: on another, apparently a list of the sacred days in each month; and on a third, what seems to be a calendar. The adjoining chambers contained similar relics, but in far smaller numbers. Many cases were filled with these tablets before I left Assyria, and a vast number of them have been found, I understand, since my departure. A large collection of them is already deposited in the British Museum. We can not overrate their value. They furnish us with materials for the complete decipherment of the cuneiform character, for restoring the language and history of Assyria, and for inquiring into the customs, sciences, and, we may perhaps even add, literature of its people. The documents that have thus been discovered at Nineveh probably exceed all that have yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt."

As the summer came on the party was increased by the arrival of several European travelers, among whom was the Honorable Mr. Walpole. The increasing heat prostrated one member of the party after another; they were attacked with fever, and were driven to the cooler region of the Koordish Mountains to recruit. Layard still remained behind, to ship other cargoes of relics on rafts to Baghdad and Bussora, but on the 11th of July was obliged to leave, like the others. In a few days the scattered invalids were collected, and set off on a summer excursion through Koordistan. They proceeded as far as the Lake of Wan, whence some of the party returned to Europe; Layard and the remainder again directed their course toward Mosul, where they arrived on the 30th of August, after an absence of seven weeks. During this time the workmen had all been employed at Kouyunjik, and had succeeded in opening many new chambers, together with a hall, one hundred and forty by one hundred and twenty-six feet, the sides of which were covered with grand historical sculptures.

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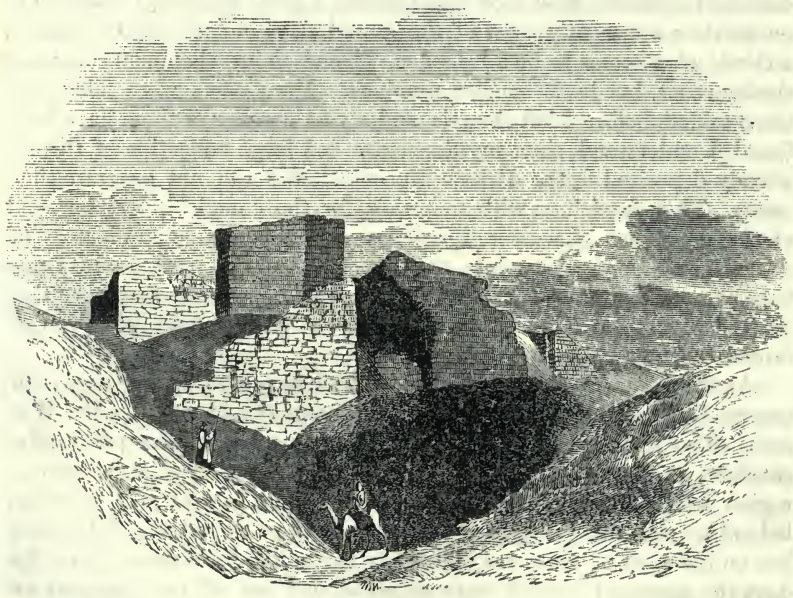
EXPLORATIONS AT BABYLON.

As the winter drew near, and the season became more favorable for a visit to the marshy country of the Euphrates, Layard determined to devote some time to an exploration of the ruins of Babylon. Taking with him a small party of experienced workmen, he left Mosul on the 18th of October, and set out on a raft for Baghdad, accompanied by Mr. Rassam and Mr. Romaine, an English traveler. After a voyage of eight days the party reached Baghdad, but found the country so overrun with Bedouins and other tribes in open revolt against the government, that it was some time before they could venture to leave the city for the ruins of Babylon.



RUINS OF BABYLON.

Finally, on the 5th of December, he left Baghdad, provided with letters from the pasha and from influential Arab shekhs, to the principal chiefs of the southern tribes, and proceeded to Hillah, on the Euphrates. "After riding about four hours," he says, "we perceived a huge hill to the south. As we drew nearer, its flat table-like top and perpendicular sides, rising abruptly from an alluvial plain, showed that it was the work of man, and not a natural elevation. At length we could plainly distinguish around it great embankments, the remains of walls and canals. Gradually, as the caravan slowly advanced, the ruin assumed a definite

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shape. It was the mound of Babel, better known to travelers as the Mujelibé, a name not now given to it by the Arab inhabitants of the surrounding country.

"This is the first great ruin seen on approaching ancient Babylon from the north. Beyond it long lines of palms hem in the Euphrates, which now winds through the midst of the ancient city. To the vast mound of Babel succeed long undulating heaps of earth, bricks, and pottery. A solitary mass of brickwork, rising from the summit of the largest mound, marks the remains known to the Arabs as the 'Mujelibé,' or the 'overturned.'

"Other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country like natural ridges of hills. Some have long been choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides, fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackall skulks through the furrows. Truly 'the glory of kingdoms and the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency is as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. Wild beasts of the desert lie there; and their houses are full of doleful creatures; and owls dwell there, and satyrs dance there. And the wild beasts of the island cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces,' for her day has come.

"Southward of Babel, for the distance of nearly three miles, there is almost an uninterrupted line of mounds, the ruins of vast edifices, collected together as in the heart of a great city. They are inclosed by earthen ramparts, the remains of a line of walls which, leaving the foot of Babel, stretched inland about two miles and a half from the present bed of the Euphrates, and then turning nearly at right angles completed the defenses on the southern side of the principal buildings that mark the site of Babylon, on the eastern bank of the river.

"The Birs Nimroud, the 'palace of Nimrod' of the Arabs, and 'the prison of Nebuchadnezzar' of the Jews; by old travelers believed to be the very ruins of the tower of Babel; by some, again, supposed to represent the temple of Belus, the wonder of the ancient world; and, by others, to mark the site of Borsippa, a city celebrated as the high-place of the Chaldean worship, is a vast heap of bricks, slag, and broken pottery. The dry nitrous earth of the parched plain, driven before the furious south wind, has thrown over the huge mass a thin covering of soil in which no herb or green thing can find nourishment or take root. Thus, unlike the grass-clothed mounds of the more fertile districts of Assyria, the Birs Nimroud is ever a bare and yellow heap. It rises to the hight of one hundred and ninety-eight feet, and has on its summit a compact mass of brickwork, thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight

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broad, the whole being thus two hundred and thirty-five in perpendicular height. Neither the original form or object of the edifice, of which it is the ruin, have hitherto been determined. It is too solid for the walls of a building, and its shape is not that of the remains of a tower. It is pierced by square holes, apparently made to admit air through the compact structure. On one side of it, beneath the crowning masonry, lie huge fragments torn from the pile itself. The calcined and vitreous surface of the bricks fused into rock-like masses, show that their fall may have been caused by lightning; and, as the ruin is rent almost from top to bottom, early Christian travelers, as well as some of more recent date, have not hesitated to recognise in them proofs of that Divine vengeance, which, according to tradition, arrested by fire from heaven the impious attempt of the first descendants of Noah."

The excavations at Babylon produced no important result. The vast accumulation of rubbish, much of which had been already explored, rendered it very difficult and dangerous to carry shafts or tunnels to any distance, as the loose mass continually fell in upon the workmen. The principal articles found were coffins, the contents of which fell to dust when exposed to the air, arrow-heads, glass bottles, and vases of earthenware. Relinquishing, finally, any further explorations at this place, Layard set out on the 15th of January, 1851, for the mounds of Niffer and Wurka, in the country of the Afaij Arabs, about fifty miles south of Hillah, in the midst of the marshes which lie between the Euphrates and the Tigris. This was a perilous journey, as the road was infested with tribes of marauding Arabs, but they were fortunate enough to escape attack. Excavations were carried on for some days in the mounds of Niffer, and great numbers of coffins of glazed earthenware, containing bones and dust, discovered. The mound of Wurka is composed almost entirely of these coffins, which must amount to many hundred thousands.

In a few days Layard was stricken down by fever, and the situation of his party became perilous, on account of the warfare among the Arab tribes. He therefore judged it prudent to return, and succeeded in reaching Baghdad in safety, though completely exhausted, while his Arab workmen were attacked and plundered on the road. He left Baghdad for Mosul on the 27th of February, traveling by land under the protection of Sahiman, one of the shekhs of the Shammar Arabs. After his return to Mosul the excavations at Kouyunjik and Nimroud were carried on for some time, until it became evident that the richest treasures of the mounds had been discovered and secured. The funds appropriated for the purpose were also nearly exhausted by this time, and Layard determined to return to Europe with his collections, leaving Mr. Hodder, an artist who had been sent out by the trustees of the British Museum, to take charge of the exhumed palaces. On the 28th of April he bade adieu to his faithful Arab friends and left Mosul. His second work was published in 1853, and in the following year he was

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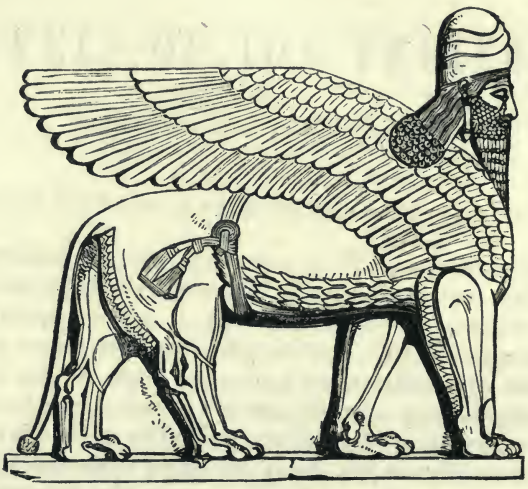
elected a member of Parliament. Few works published in modern times are more interesting and valuable than the narratives of his explorations, and his visits to the tribes of the Assyrian Desert, and the mountains of Koordistan. This outline of his discoveries scarcely gives more than a glimpse of the wealth of information contained in his volumes.



COLOSSAL WINGED LION, FROM NINEVEH.

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TRAVELS OF IDA PFEIFFER.

JOURNEY TO PALESTINE AND EGYPT.

This celebrated traveler is a native of Vienna, where she was born toward the close of the last century. From her earliest childhood, she cherished an intense desire to see the different countries of the world. She could not even meet a traveling carriage without stopping to watch it as it passed out of sight, regarding the postilion, who had accompanied it, as she thought, during the long journey, as the happiest of men. When a little girl of ten or twelve years old, she eagerly devoured every book of travels that came within her reach, and secretly envied the navigator or discoverer, who was permitted to explore the secrets of the natural world. The sight of a distant hill that she could not climb would affect her to tears. Her taste for traveling was gratified by frequent journeys with her parents, and also after her marriage, with her husband, until the cares of a family, which occupied all her time, compelled her to forego the enjoyment.

After the education of her two sons was completed, she once more indulged in the dreams and fancies of her youth, and so insatiable was her longing to visit the scenes of sacred history, that in spite of every obstacle, she resolved to undertake the enterprise. Leaving Vienna on the 22d of March, 1842, she commenced her adventurous journey to the Holy Land. The voyage down the Danube was marked by no incident of special moment, and on the morning of April 6th, she entered the harbor of Constantinople. The sun was just rising over the imperial city, which presented a spectacle of gorgeous magnificence to the eyes of the astonished traveler.

She remained about six weeks in Constantinople, feasting her curiosity with the wonders of the city, but adding no new information to the descriptions given by previous travelers. During her stay in Constantinople, she was invited to make one of a party consisting of Mr. Sattler, the painter of the celebrated cosmoramas, and two German noblemen, on an excursion to Broussa, a beautiful little town at the foot of Mount Olympus. The route was across the Sea of Marmora to Gemlik, the port

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of Bythinia, and thence by land, a distance of four German miles, to Broussa. This part of the journey was to be accomplished on horseback, and as Ida had never attempted that mode of traveling, she felt some natural misgivings as to the result. Her experience shall be told in her own words. "At half-past two o'clock the horses arrived. I swung myself boldly upon my Rosinante, called on my good angel to defend me, and away we started, slowly at first, over stock and stone. My joy was boundless when I found that I could sit steadily upon my horse; but shortly afterward when we broke into a trot, I began to feel particularly uncomfortable, as I could not get on at all with the stirrup, which was continually slipping to my heel, while sometimes my foot slid out of it altogether, and I ran the risk of losing my balance. Oh, what would I not have given to have asked advice of any one! But unfortunately I could not do so without at once betraying my ignorance of horsemanship. I therefore took care to bring up the rear, under the pretense that my horse was shy, and would not go well unless it saw the others before. My real reason was that I wished to hide my maneuvers from the gentlemen, for every moment I expected to fall. Frequently I clutched the saddle with both hands, as I swayed from side to side. I looked forward in terror to the gallop, but to my surprise found that I could manage this pace better than the trot. My courage brought its reward, for I reached the goal of our journey thoroughly skaken, but without mishap."

Upon applying for her passports to the Austrian consul, she was strongly advised not to venture on a journey to the Holy Land. The disturbances on Mount Lebanon were then at their height; the plague was prevailing to a fearful extent; and no traveler, she was told, should encounter such formidable dangers without the most urgent necessity. But she was deaf to these friendly warnings. Finding that nothing could shake her from her purpose, her advisers tried to persuade her to perform the journey in male attire. She refused to do this, shrewdly foreseeing the annoyances to which it would expose her. Her short, spare figure would have seemed to belong to a youth, while her face was like that of an old man. This incongruity, together with the absence of a beard, could not fail, as she thought, to expose her disguise, and hence she determined to retain the simple costume which she then wore, consisting of a kind of blouse, and wide Turkish trowsers.

Embarking on board an Austrian steamboat, she left Constantinople on the 17th of May, not without a certain desolate feeling at finding herself alone among a crowd of people with nothing to sustain her but her trust in heaven. Every thing around her was strange. There was not a person on board to whom she could speak. But, as she glanced upward at the unchanging stars, her despondency passed away, and she soon began to contemplate the new scenes in which she was placed with her usual interest. Her satisfaction was increased, after the vessel had got out of the harbor, by finding among the swarthy Oriental passen-

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gers, an intelligent European gentleman, intending, like herself, to visit the Holy Land. After conversing with him for some time in the French language, she discovered that he was an Englishman, and the well-known artist and author, Mr. W. H. Bartlett. They agreed to make the journey from Beyrout to Jerusalem in company.

A pleasant voyage of eight days among the islands of the Grecian Archipelago brought them to Beyrout, where, without remaining over night, they at once took passage in a sailing vessel for Joppa. In the afternoon of the second day, they came under the walls of that ancient city, and entered the harbor, which is partially closed up with sand, with less difficulty than had been anticipated. She soon had an opportunity of becoming initiated into the customs of oriental hospitality, but the first impression on her mind was far from agreeable. This was at an entertainment at the house of the Austrian consul. "Mats, carpets, and pillows were spread out on the terrace of the house, and a very low table placed in the center. Round this the family sat, or rather reclined, cross-legged. I was accommodated with a chair somewhat higher than the table. Beside my plate and that of the consul were laid a knife and fork, that appeared to have been hunted out from some lumber-closet; the rest ate with a species of natural knife and fork, namely—fingers. The dishes were not at all to my taste. I had still too much of the European about me, and too little appetite, to be able to endure what these good people seemed to consider immense delicacies."

Early the next morning she left Joppa, and after a ride on horseback of some eleven hours, over bad roads, and in extreme heat, she was seized with such a violent giddiness, that she could scarcely keep from falling from her horse. She was ashamed to inform her companion of her sufferings, lest he should regard her as a puny traveler, and perhaps separate from her on the return from Jerusalem to Joppa. She therefore dismounted, and thus saved herself from a fall, staggering along beside her horse, until she felt strong enough to mount and move. Mr. Bartlett had wished to complete the journey—a sixteen hours' ride—at one stretch, and, upon his asking her if she could endure so much fatigue, she assured him that she could hold out for five or six hours longer without much difficulty. Fortunately for her reputation, however, he was soon afterward attacked with the same symptoms which had troubled her, and begun to think that it might be advisable to rest for a few hours in the next village, especially as they could not hope in any case to reach Jerusalem before sunset. Ida felt an inward joy at the opportune occurrence, and well knowing the course he would choose, left the decision entirely to her fellow-traveler. "Thus," says she, "I accomplished my object without being obliged to confess my weakness."

Their resting-place was in the neighboring village, which was on the site of the ancient Emmaus, where the risen Saviour met the disciples, and where there is still a ruin of a Christian church in a tolerable state

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of preservation. She took possession of the entrance-hall of a mosque, near which a delicious spring sparkled forth from a grotto. The water was singularly grateful and refreshing, and she so completely recovered from her indisposition, as to be able to enjoy the beautiful evening. As soon as the shekh of the village heard that a party of Franks had arrived, he dispatched four or five dishes of provisions to them, but they were able to eat only the buttermilk. Soon after, the shekh came in person to pay his respects, and through the medium of the dragoman, kept up a conversation with Mr. Bartlett for some time, much to the discomfiture of Ida, who, wearied with the journey, wished to seek repose. He at length took his leave, but the tired travelers were doomed to enjoy no sleep that night. Mr. Bartlett was seized with the fancy of pursuing the journey at midnight, and to his somewhat strange proposal, Ida unhesitatingly consented. She acknowledged that she felt a little afraid to venture upon the wild and dangerous road at that hour; but she kept her fears to herself, her pride not allowing her to confess the truth.

In the gray morning twilight they approached the holy city; silently and thoughtfully watching for the first glimpses of it in the distance; hoping with the ascent of every hill to behold their sacred goal, till at length the Mount of Olives lay spread before them, and just as the red streaks of dawn had begun to tinge the eastern sky, they stood before the walls of Jerusalem. "I was so lost in reflection, and in thankful emotion," says Ida, "that I saw and heard nothing of what was passing around me. And yet I should find it impossible to describe what I thought, what I felt. My emotion was deep and powerful; my expression of it would be poor and cold."

After devoting a week to visiting the consecrated localities of Jerusalem and its vicinity, she joined a party of German travelers on an excursion to the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. The cavalcade, consisting of Mr. Bartlett, five German nobles, two doctors and herself, together with half a dozen servants, and a body-guard of twelve Arabs, under two Bedouin chiefs, started on the afternoon of June 7th. All were strongly armed with guns, pistols, swords, and lances, presenting a quite formidable appearance to any person with hostile intentions. The road lay through the Via Dolorosa, through St. Stephen's Gate, past the Mount of Olives, over hill and dale. Everywhere the scene was barren. Though many fruit trees were in bloom, there was not a trace of grass or flowers. The goal of the first day's journey was the Greek convent of St. Saba in the Waste about eight miles from Jerusalem. About half an hour before reaching the convent, they entered upon the wilderness where Christ fasted forty days, and was afterward "tempted of the devil." Vegetation here entirely ceases; not a shrub nor a root appears; and the bed of the brook Kedron is completely dry. A deathly silence brooded over the whole landscape, broken only by the foot-falls of the horses echoing sullenly from the rocks. At length, on

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turning sharply round an angle of the road, the caravan came in sight of a large handsome building, surrounded by a strong fortified wall, and rising in the form of terraces toward the brow of a hill. Several other edifices, and in front of all a church, with a small cupola, plainly showed that St. Saba stretched below.

The priests had observed the procession winding down the hill, and at the first knocking the gates were opened. Masters, servants, Arabs, Bedouins, all passed through; but a woman was an unexpected spectacle; and on the approach of Ida, the cry was "Shut the gate;" and she was thus prevented from entering, with the prospect of passing the night in the open air—a fate by no means agreeable considering the dangers of the neighborhood. At length, a lay-brother made his appearance, and pointing to a square solitary tower, some seven or eight hundred paces from the convent, intimated to her that she would find a night's lodging in that place. He procured a ladder from the convent, and going with her to the tower, they mounted by its aid to a little low doorway of iron. The conductor pushed this open, and they crept in. A wooden stair-case led still further to two tiny rooms, situated near the center of the tower. One of these miniature apartments, dimly lighted by the rays of a lamp, contained a small altar, and served as a chapel, while the second was used as a sleeping-room for female pilgrims. A wooden divan was the only piece of furniture in the room. The conductor then took his leave, promising to return shortly, with some provisions, a bolster, and a coverlet. Ida found herself in a strange condition. She was guarded, like a captive princess, by bolt and bar. She could not have fled had she wished to do so, for the conductor had locked the creaking door behind him and taken away the ladder. After examining the capabilities of her prison-house, she mounted the stair-case and gained the summit of the tower. Her elevated position enabled her to gain a wide view of the surrounding country. She could distinctly trace the desert, with its several rows of hills and mountains skirting the horizon. Every thing was bare and desolate. Not a tree, nor a shrub, nor a human habitation was to be seen. Silence brooded heavily over the landscape, and as the sun sunk beneath the mountains, the place seemed ordained as a memorial of our Saviour's fasting, and in an ecstasy of devotion, the pious traveler fell on her knees, to offer up her prayers and praise to the Almightly amid the rugged grandeur of the desert.

The increasing darkness at length drove her back into the little chamber. Shortly afterward, a priest and a lay-brother appeared, and with them Mr. Bartlett. The priest had brought her supper and bedding, while her English fellow-traveler proposed to send a few servants as a guard to relieve the dreariness of the night in the lonely tower. Summoning all her courage, she disclaimed every emotion of fear, and declined the considerate offer.

After a quiet night's rest, she rose with the sun, and at five o'clock

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in the morning the cavalcade took up their line of march toward the Dead Sea. They reached the object of their journey in safety, and on the second day again turned their faces in the direction of Jerusalem. A few days after her return from this excursion, she left the holy city, with a feeling of grateful happiness that she had been permitted to behold those regions, to visit which had so long been a favorite day-dream of her life. On the 11th of June, with the same party which she had accompanied to the Dead Sea, she started for Beyrout by land, intending to go by the way of Nazareth, Galilee, Canaan, and other places of peculiar interest to the Christian traveler. They reached Nazareth on the third day. In the morning, she had been seized on the road with violent headache, nausea, and other feverish symptoms, but she was obliged to conceal her illness, as she had done on the journey to Jerusalem, through fear of being left behind. She was also unwilling to give up visiting the holy places in Nazareth, and hence making a great effort, she accompanied the party through the whole day, though she was obliged every moment to retire into the back-ground that her condition should not be observed. Thanks to her sunburnt skin, through which no paleness could penetrate, her secret was not detected, and toward evening she began to grow better. On the return of her appetite, no more savory refections could be obtained than some bad mutton-broth, and an omelette made with rancid oil. A little bread and wine, however, was at last procured, and served as a substitute for more substantial viands.

After a journey of ten consecutive days, the party arrived at Beyrout on the 21st of June. The distance from Jerusalem is about two hundred miles, allowing for the circuitous route by way of Tiberias. The journey through Syria was one of great toil and hardship. The horses suffered dreadfully, as they were constantly obliged to climb over rocks, stones, and mountains, or to wade through hot sand, in which they sank above the fetlocks at every step. The temperature was subject to sudden changes. By day the heat fluctuated between 18° and 39° Reaumur, and the nights, too, were no less capricious, being sometimes oppressively sultry, and sometimes bitterly cold.

After passing two very unsatisfactory days at Beyrout, she again fell in with the artist Sattler, who proposed that she should join a party with which he was traveling to Damascus. She gladly accepted the proposal, and soon completing her arrangements, was on the way to Mount Lebanon. A European woman is seldom seen in those regions. Ida was an object of great curiosity to all the inhabitants. Wherever they halted, many women and children would gather round her, busily pulling her dress, putting on her straw hat, and looking at her from all sides, while they attempted to converse with her by signs.

They arrived at Damascus on the 3d of July, and after remaining two days in that city set off on a tour to Balbeck. Having visited those celebrated ruins they proceeded on their journey toward Lebanon. In

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a narrow passage of the road, so shut in by chasms and abysses on one side, and walls of rock on the other, as scarcely to admit a foothold for a horse, they suddenly heard the call to "halt." It came from a soldier who was escorting a woman afflicted with the plague. She had been sent from the village where she had been the first victim of the terrible disease to another where it was raging. It was impossible to turn aside. The soldier could only drag the sick woman a few paces up the steep rocky wall, and then they came close to her as they passed. He told the party to cover their mouths and noses. He had anointed the lower part of his own face with tar, as a preventive against contagion. The poor victim was bound on an ass—she appeared resigned to her fate—and turned her sunken eyes upon the company with an expression of entire indifference. The only visible trace of the plague was the yellow appearance of the face. The soldier seemed as cool as if he were walking beside a person in perfect health. As the plague prevailed throughout the valleys of Lebanon, the caravan avoided the villages afflicted by the scourge, encamping for the night in the open fields.

On the 10th of July they arrived safely at Beyrout, having accomplished the journey to Damascus and back, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, in ten days. No vessel was ready to sail for Alexandria until the 28th, when our traveler embarked on board a Greek brig, and, after a voyage of ten days, reached the harbor of that city. The trip was tedious in the extreme. The vessel was crowded with passengers and merchandise. There was no room either by night or day but on deck. During the day-time, she had nothing but an umbrella to screen her from the sun, and at night her cloak was soon wet through by the dew. There was not even an awning of sail-cloth. The company was no better than the accommodations. Their manners were vulgar and offensive, and the Arabs and Greeks seemed disposed to carry the theory of common property into practical effect. A knife, a pair of scissors, a drinking-glass, or any other small article would be taken from the owner without permission and given back, after being used, in a soiled condition. A negro and his master would not hesitate to lie down on the mat or carpet which you had brought on board for your own bedding. One day Ida was using her tooth-brush, when laying it down for a moment, it was snatched up by a Greek sailor, who after coolly cleaning his teeth with it, returned it to the owner with an expression of entire satisfaction. The diet was shocking. As the common fare they had for dinner pilau, stale cheese, and onions, and in the evening anchovies, olives, stale cheese again, and ship-biscuit instead of bread. The provident Ida, however, took no share in these dainties, as she had brought with her a few live fowls, some rice, butter, dried bread, and coffee with which she prepared a comfortable meal for herself.

Upon arriving at Alexandria, the passengers were put in quarantine for ten days. At length they were permitted to disembark at the quarantine hospital, and treading on the soil of Africa for the first time,

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Ida could not but wonder at the courage and perseverance which had enabled her thus far to fulfill what had seemed her almost chimerical project. Her stay in Alexandria was short. On the 17th of August, the same day that she left the quarantine-house, she proceeded to the Nile canal, and took passage for Atfe, on the route to Cairo. In four days she arrived at Cairo, after an interesting and agreeable passage. On the 25th, she made an excursion to the pyramids of Gizeh, and ascended the loftiest of them, the pyramid of Cheops. Returning to Cairo, she was tempted to try an excursion on a camel, and selected a trip to Suez, for that purpose. The journey proved monotonous and wearisome, and she had no wish to attempt another of a similar kind. Leaving Cairo on the 2d of September, she returned to Alexandria, and on the 7th embarked on board a French steam-packet for Malta. She reached this port in just one week, and after an interesting visit, took passage in a steamer, October 4th, for Palermo.

After a sojourn of five days in that city, she embarked for Naples, where she spent about three weeks, diligently exploring the wonders of art and nature presented by that capital, and on the 8th of November arrived at Rome. Here she remained a fortnight, walking about the streets from morning till night, visiting St. Peter's almost every day, and the Vatican several times. Her journey to Jerusalem obtained her an audience of the pope. His holiness received her in a great hall adjoining the Sistine chapel. He was at that time seventy-eight years of age, but with a noble presence, and most winning manners. He asked some questions of the enterprising pilgrim, gave her his blessing, and permitted her at parting to kiss the embroidered slipper. She now hastened to complete the tour of Italy, and in the first week of December returned to Vienna in safety and perfect health, having endured hardships of no slight magnitude in her various wanderings, but with her thirst for seeing foreign lands by no means abated.

JOURNEY TO ICELAND.

Iceland was one of the countries which, from her earliest recollection, had cast a spell over the imagination of Ida Pfeiffer, and within three years from her return from the East, she resolved to brave the perils of an expedition to that inhospitable clime. She left Vienna on the 10th of April, 1845, and passing through Prague, Dresden, Leipsic, and Hamburg, arrived at Copenhagen on the 29th, at which port she took passage in a sailing vessel for Iceland, on the 4th of May. On the seventh day they came within sight of Iceland, but as they approached the coast, a contrary wind sprang up, and they were kept beating about for several days and nights, until at the close of the eleventh day, they reached the harbor of Havenfiord, two miles from Reikjāvick, the capital of Iceland. In spite of the remains of sea-sickness, which made

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every thing dance around her, Ida at once sallied forth to examine the place, which she found to consist of three dwellings built of wood, a few warehouses of the same material, and several huts inhabited by the peasantry.

"The wooden houses," she says, "occupied by the merchants or their factors, are of a single story, with five or six windows in front; a low flight of steps leads to an entrance, in the center of the building, which opens into a vestibule, with two doors communicating with the rooms to the right and left. In the rear is the kitchen, and the court-yard is beyond. Such a house contains four or five rooms on the ground floor, and a few small chambers under the roof.

"The arrangements are entirely European; the furniture, a great deal of which is mahogany, is all brought from Copenhagen, as well as the mirrors, and the cast-iron stoves. Handsome rugs are spread in front of the sofas, neat curtains hang before the windows; the white-washed walls are ornamented with English engravings, and china, silver, cut-glass, etc., are displayed upon the chests or corner-tables. The rooms are scented with roses, mignonette, and pinks, and I even saw one piano-forte here. Any person who should suddenly be set down in a house like this, without having made the journey, would be sure to imagine himself in some town on the continent of Europe, and not in that distant region of poverty and barrenness, the island of Iceland. I next entered some of the huts, which I found to be decidedly more Icelandic. They are small and low, built of lava blocks, filled in with earth, the whole sodded over with grass, and they might easily be mistaken for natural elevations in the ground, if the wooden chimneys, the low doors, and almost imperceptible windows, did not betray that they were tenanted by human beings. A dark and narrow passage, not more than four feet high, leads on one hand to the dwelling-room, and on the other to the store-room, where the provisions are kept, which is also used in winter to stable the cows and sheep. The fireplace is generally at the end of this passage, which is purposely built so low in order to exclude the cold. The walls and floors of these huts are not boarded; the dwelling-rooms are barely large enough to sleep in, and perhaps to turn round; the whole furniture consists of the bedsteads, with a very scanty supply of bedding, a small table, and a few chests; the latter are used for seats as well as the beds. Poles are fastened in the walls to which clothes, shoes and stockings, and other things of that kind are suspended; and a little shelf, with a few books on it, is generally found in each hut. No stoves are needed in these crowded rooms, which are sufficiently heated by the warmth of their numerous inmates."

On arriving at Reikjāvick, she was received into a private family, which treated her with a rare degree of cordiality and affection during her long residence with them. Her host was a worthy baker, to whom she was introduced by the owner of the vessel in which she had been a passenger. Ida soon formed a warm attachment to all the members of

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his excellent household, but was less charmed with the manners of the higher classes in the society of the capital.

"Nothing," says she, "struck me so much as the great dignity of carriage at which the ladies here all aim, and which is so apt to degenerate into stiffness where it is not perfectly natural, or has not become a second nature by habit. They incline their head very coolly when you meet them, with less civility than we should use toward an inferior or a stranger. The lady of the house never accompanies her guests beyond the door of the room, after a call; if the husband is present he goes a little further, but when this is not the case you are often at a loss which way to turn, as there is no servant on the spot to open the street-door for you, unless it may happen to be in the house of the Stiftsamtmann, the first dignitary of the island. I had already observed traces of this formality in Hamburg, and the further I advanced toward the north, the more it increased, till in Iceland it reached its greatest height."

The facilities for traveling in Iceland are not so extraordinary as to tempt the pleasure-seeking tourist. The best season for a journey is from the middle of June to the end of August. Before that time the streams are still so much swollen by the melted snows that it is dangerous to ford them, and many patches of snow cover deep pits and heaps of lava, obstructing the way of the traveler. On the other hand, heavy storms of rain and flurries of snow occur as early as September.

"Upon the whole," says Ida, "I found the difficulties and discomforts of traveling in this country much greater than any I had encountered in the East. I suffered more from the violent tempests, the sharp air, the drenching rain, and the cold, than I had ever done from the heats of Palestine. The latter did not cause my face and lips to chap; but on the fifth day of my journey here, my lips were bleeding, and my face was all in scales, as if I had had the measles. My long dresses were another great drawback to my comfort; it was necessary to be warmly clad, and the weight of my clothes, often increased by the wet, made me at times quite helpless when I was to get on or off my horse. But the greatest annoyance of all, was to stop to rest in a meadow during a violent shower, when my long skirts would soak up all the water from the wet grass; and at such times I often had not a dry thread about me."

Toward the end of June, Ida set off for the Geiser and Hecla, riding the first day as far as the lake of Thingvalla. Coming within sight of the object of her eager curiosity, she found the basin and principal caldron filled with water as clear as crystal and slightly boiling. In this state the neighborhood is dangerous, as they might overflow at any moment. "For fear of missing an explosion," says the traveler, "it is customary to watch during the whole night. An occasional vigil would present no great difficulty to many travelers, but for me it was a serious undertaking. However, there was no remedy, for an Iceland peasant

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is not to be depended upon, and few of them would be roused by an outbreak of Hecla itself.

"At last, after waiting till the second day of my sojourn at the Geiser, the long-desired explosion took place on the 27th of June, at half-past nine o'clock in the morning. The peasant, who came twice a day to inquire if I had yet seen an eruption, was with me when the first dull sounds which announced the event were heard. We hurried to the spot, and as the waters boiled over as usual, and the noise died away, I thought I was doomed to disappointment again; but the last tones were just expiring when the explosion suddenly took place. I have really no words to do justice to this magnificent spectacle, which once to behold in a lifetime is enough.

"It infinitely surpassed all my expectations. The waters were spouted with great power and volume; column rising above column, as if each were bent on outstripping the others. After I had recovered in some degree from my first astonishment, I looked round at the tent—how small, how diminutive it seemed, compared to those pillars of water! And yet it was nearly twenty feet high; it was lying rather lower, it is true, than the basin of the Geiser; but tent might have been piled on tent—yet, by my reckoning, which may not have been perfectly accurate, however—five or six, one above the other, would not have reached the elevation of these jets, the largest of which I think I can affirm, without any exaggeration, to have risen at last to the height of a hundred feet, and to have been three or four feet in diameter."

Her account of Mount Hecla presents a different view of that celebrated volcano from the description given by most previous travelers: "At last the summit was attained, after two more hours of laborious climbing, and I stood upon the highest peak of Hecla; but I looked in vain for a crater—there was no trace of any to be found; at which I was all the more astonished, as I had read minute accounts of it in several books of travels. I walked around the whole summit of the mountain, and clambered to the jokul which lies next to it, but still I saw no opening or crevice, no sunken wall, or any sign whatever, in fact, of a crater. Much lower down on the sides of the mountain I found some wide rents and chinks, from whence the streams of lava must have flowed. The height of this mountain is said to be four thousand three hundred feet.

"The sun had been obscured during the last hour of our ascent, and thick clouds now rushed down upon us from the neighboring glaciers, which concealed the whole prospect from our sight, and prevented our distinguishing any thing for more than ten paces before us. After awhile they dissolved, fortunately not in rain, but in snow, which soon covered the dark crisp lava with large and innumerable flakes; they did not melt, and the thermometer showed one degree of cold (Reaumur).

"Gradually the clear and inimitable blue of the heavens reappeared, and the sun once more rejoiced us with his presence. I remained on

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the top of the mountain till the clouds had opened in the distance and afforded a welcome and extensive view, which I fear my pen is much too feeble to describe. I despair of conveying to my readers a distinct idea of the immense waste which lay displayed before me, with its accumulated masses of lava, and its peculiar appearance of lifeless desolation. I seemed to stand in the midst of an exhausted fire. The blocks were piled in heaps above each other, till they formed high hills; the valleys were choked by vast streams of rock, whose length and breadth I was not able to distinguish, although the course of the last eruption could be plainly traced among them. I was surrounded by the most dreadful ravines, caves, streams, hills, and valleys; I could hardly understand how I had reached this point, and was seized with a feeling of horror at the thought which forced itself upon me, that perhaps I might never be able to find my way out of this terrible labyrinth of ruin."

Having visited every part of Iceland which possessed any claims upon her attention, Ida embarked for Copenhagen on the 29th of July, and traveling through part of Norway and Sweden, returned once more to Vienna after an absence of about six months.

FIRST JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD.

In a little more than six months we find Ida Pfeiffer again on her travels, engaging in a far greater and more perilous enterprise than that from which she received her initiation into the marvels of distant climes. On the 1st of May, 1846, she left Vienna with the intention of embarking at Hamburg for Rio Janeiro. It was not until the middle of June that she sailed from that port, having waited several weeks for the arrival of Count Berchthold, one of her traveling companions in the East, who had engaged to accompany her on the voyage to Brazil. On the 16th of September, they entered the bay and port of Rio Janeiro, where Ida remained above two months, exclusive of the time devoted to different excursions into the interior of the country.

On one of these rural excursions, she met with an adventure in which she had a narrow escape of her life. She was going to Petropolis, a colony founded by Germans in the neighborhood of Rio Janeiro, situated in a region of remarkable beauty, and approached by a romantic road through the virgin forests of the country. They found the journey delightful. Gathering a rich harvest of flowers, plants, and insects, they loitered idly amid the enchantments of the scene without observing that they were followed by a negro, who suddenly sprang upon them in a lonely spot, with a knife in one hand and a lasso in the other, indicating more by gestures than words that he intended to murder and then drag them into the forest. Her description gives a vivid idea of the rencontre.

"We had no arms, as we had been told that the road was perfectly

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safe, and the only weapons of defense we possessed were our parasols, if I except a clasped knife, which I instantly drew out of my pocket and opened, fully determined to sell my life as dearly as possible. We parried our adversary's blows as long as we could with our parasols, but these lasted but a short time; besides, he caught hold of mine, which, as we were struggling for it, broke short off, leaving only a piece of the handle in my hand. In the struggle, however, he dropped his knife, which rolled a few steps from him; I instantly made a dash, and thought I had got it, when he, more quick than I, thrust me away with his feet and hands, and once more obtained possession of it. He waved it furiously over my head, and dealt me two wounds, a thrust and a deep gash, both in the upper part of the left arm; I thought I was lost, and despair alone gave me the courage to use my own knife. I made a thrust at his breast; this he warded off, and I only succeeded in wounding him severely in the hand. The Count sprang forward, and seized the fellow from behind, and thus afforded me an opportunity of raising myself from the ground. The whole affair had not taken more than a few seconds. The negro's fury was now roused to its highest pitch by the wounds he had received: he gnashed his teeth at us like a wild beast, and flourished his knife with frightful rapidity. The Count, in his turn, had received a cut right across the hand, and we had been irrevocably lost, had not Providence sent us assistance. We heard the tramp of horses' hoofs upon the road, upon which the negro instantly left us, and sprang into the wood. Immediately afterward two horsemen turned a corner of the road, and we hurried toward them; our wounds, which were bleeding freely, and the way in which our parasols were hacked, soon made them understand the state of affairs. They asked us which direction the fugitive had taken, and, springing from the horses, hurried after him; their efforts, however, would have been fruitless, if two negroes, who were coming from the opposite side, had not helped them. As it was, the fellow was soon captured. He was pinioned, and, as he would not walk, severely beaten, most of the blows being dealt upon the head, so that I feared the poor wretch's skull would be broken. In spite of this he never moved a muscle, and lay, as if insensible to feeling, upon the ground. The two other negroes were obliged to seize hold of him, when he endeavored to bite every one within his reach, like a wild beast, and carry him to the nearest house. Our preservers, as well as the Count and myself, accompanied them. We then had our wounds dressed, and afterward continued our journey; not, it is true, entirely devoid of fear, especially when we met one or more negroes, but without any further mishap, and with a continually increasing admiration of the beautiful scenery."

On relating their story, after their return to Rio Janeiro, they would scarcely have been believed, had they not been able to show the wounds which they had received in the conflict. The negro was at first thought to have been drunk or insane, but it was afterward discovered that he

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had been punished by his master for an offense, and took that method to wreak his vengeance upon the whites.

The Indians in the interior of Brazil naturally excited the curiosity of the traveler. With a view to observing their manners, she proceeded into the heart of the forest, and in the wretched huts of the Puras found a degree of want and misery, which surpassed all her previous experience of human degradation.

"On a small space, under lofty trees, five huts, or rather sheds, formed of leaves, were erected, eighteen feet long, by twelve feet broad. The frames were formed of four poles stuck in the ground, with another reaching across, and the roof of palm-leaves, through which the rain could penetrate with the utmost facility. On three sides, these bowers were entirely open. In the interior hung a hammock or two; and on the ground glimmered a little fire, under a heap of ashes, in which a few roots, Indian corn, and bananas, were roasting. In one corner, under the roof, a small supply of provisions was hoarded up, and a few gourds were scattered around: these are used by the savages instead of plates, pots, water-jugs, etc. The long bows and arrows, which constitute their only weapons, were leaning in the background against the wall.

"I found the Indians still more ugly than the negroes. Their complexion is a light bronze, stunted in stature, well-knit, and about the middle size. They have broad and somewhat compressed features, and thick, coal-black hair, hanging straight down, which the women sometimes wear in plaits fastened to the back of the head, and sometimes falling down loose about them. Their forehead is broad and low, the nose somewhat flattened, the eyes long and narrow, almost like those of the Chinese, and the mouth large, with rather thick lips. To give a still greater effect to all these various charms, a peculiar look of stupidity is spread over the whole face, and is more especially to be attributed to the way in which their mouths are always kept open. Most of them, both men and women, were tattooed with a reddish or blue color, though only round the mouth, in the form of a moustache. Both sexes are passionately fond of smoking, and prefer brandy to every thing. Their dress was composed of a few rags, which they had fastened round their loins.

"The good creatures offered me the best hut they possessed, and invited me to pass the night there. Being rather fatigued by the toilsome nature of my journey on foot, the heat, and the hunting excursion, I very joyfully accepted their proposition: the day, too, was drawing to a close, and I should not have been able to reach the settlement of the whites before night. I therefore spread out my cloak upon the ground, arranged a log of wood so as to serve instead of a pillow, and for the present seated myself upon my splendid couch. In the meanwhile, my hosts were preparing the monkey and the parrots, by sticking them on wooden spits, and roasting them before the fire.

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In order to render the meal a peculiarly dainty one, they also buried some Indian corn and roots in the cinders. They then gathered a few large fresh leaves off the trees, tore the roasted ape into several pieces with their hands, and placing a large portion of it, as well as a parrot, Indian corn, and some roots upon the leaves, put it before me. My appetite was tremendous, seeing that I had tasted nothing since the morning. I therefore immediately fell to on the roasted monkey, which I found superlatively delicious: the flesh of the parrot was far from being so tender and palatable."

Leaving Rio Janeiro on the 9th of December, Ida embarked in an English vessel for Valparaiso, which port she reached on the 2d of March. The passage round the Cape enabled them to see the shore of Terra del Fuego so distinctly, that they could make out every bush with the naked eye. The coast appeared steep, but not high. The foreground was composed of meager pasture alternating with tracts of sand, and in the background were ranges of woody hills, beyond which rose snow-covered mountains. The country struck Ida as being more inhabitable than Iceland.

The society of Valparaiso did not accord with her ideas of propriety or good taste. She was shocked by the immodest character of the national dances, which were unscrupulously performed in public, and before spectators of the most tender age. Nor did another singular feature of Valparaiso habits find more favor in her sight. "I was equally displeased," says she, "with a remarkable custom prevalent here, in accordance with which the death of a little child is celebrated by its parents as a grand festival. They name the deceased child an *angelito* (little angel), and adorn it in every possible way. Its eyes are not closed, but, on the contrary opened as wide as possible, and its cheeks are painted red; it is then dressed out in the finest clothes, crowned with flowers, and placed in a little chair in a kind of niche, which also is ornamented with flowers. The relations and neighbors then come and wish the parents joy at possessing such an angel; and during the first night, the parents, relations, and friends execute the wildest dances, and feast in the most joyous fashion before the angelito. I heard that in the country it was not unusual for the parents to carry the little coffin to the churchyard themselves, followed by the relations with the brandy bottle in their hands, and giving vent to their joy in the most outrageous manner."

On the 17th of March, she took passage for Canton, and on the 9th of July arrived in Macao Roads, having devoted some three weeks to a thorough exploration of Tahiti, where the vessel stopped to discharge a cargo of provisions for the French garrison on that island. Her arrival at Canton brought her into a new scene of perils, through her ignorance of the customs of the country. "It is only during the last few years that we European women have been allowed to visit or remain in the factories at Canton. I left the vessel without any apprehension; but first I had to consider how I should find my way to the house of a gen-

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tleman named Agassiz, for whom I had brought letters of recommendation. I explained to the captain, by signs, that I had no money with me, and that he must act as my guide to the factory, where I would pay him. He soon understood me, and conducted me to the place, and the Europeans there showed me the particular house I wanted. On seeing me arrive, and hearing the manner in which I had traveled, and the way that I had walked from the vessel to his house, Mr. Agassiz was extremely surprised, and would hardly credit that I had met with no difficulties or injury. From him I learned what risks I, as a woman, had run in traversing the streets of Canton, with no escort but a Chinese guide. Such a thing had never occurred before, and Mr. Agassiz assured me that I might esteem myself as exceedingly fortunate in not having been insulted by the people in the grossest manner, or even stoned. Had this been the case, he told me my guide would have immediately taken to flight, and abandoned me to my fate."

She sailed from Canton on the 25th of August, and after a voyage of nine days arrived at the port of Singapore. The climate of this island, compared to that of other countries, seemed to her delightful; the temperature was uniform; the days and nights were of equal length, as the place was near the equator; and scarcely an interval of twilight attended the rising or setting sun. Her next stage was Ceylon, which she reached on the 7th of October. After remaining on that island about three weeks, she sailed for Calcutta, and arrived in that city on the 4th of November. Here she soon found herself more at home than she had been for many months of miscellaneous wanderings. She received numerous friendly attentions from Sir Lawrence Peel, the chief judge of Calcutta, and Mr. Cameron, a member of the supreme council of India. In the first circles of society she was warmly welcomed as an intelligent traveler, while she accepted their hospitality with her usual unaffected simplicity. "During my stay in Calcutta," she tells us, "I was invited to a large party in honor of Mr. Peel's birthday; but I refused the invitation, as I had no suitable dress. My excuse, however, was not allowed, and I accompanied Lady Cameron, in a simple colored muslin dress, to a party where all the other ladies were dressed in silk and satin, and covered with lace and jewelry; yet no one was ashamed of me, but conversed freely with me, and showed me every possible attention."

After a stay of more than five weeks, Ida left Calcutta for Benares, arriving at the holy city of India on the 28th of December. Her recollections of the Ganges were far from agreeable. During her whole voyage of about a thousand miles, she did not meet with a single spot remarkable for its especial beauty, or one picturesque view. Leaving Benares on the 7th of January, 1848, she proceeded to Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra, the former residence of the Great Mogul of India. Thence she went to Delhi, where she remained for ten days, leaving that renowned imperial city for Bombay. Her mode of traveling was by a wagon drawn by oxen, until her arrival at Kottah, the chief city of

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the kingdom of Rajpootan, when the king Ram-Shegh, who was profuse in his attentions to so great a novelty as a female European traveler, offered her the use of as many camels as she required for the remainder of the journey, and two sepoys on horseback as attendants. In the course of the tour, while making an excursion to the rock temples of Ellora, ten miles from Roja, she had an adventure with a tiger, which she relates as follows:

"I had scarcely left the gates of the town behind, when I perceived a number of Europeans seated upon elephants, coming from the bungalow. On meeting each other we pulled up and commenced a conversation. The gentlemen were on the road to search for a tiger-lair, of which they had received intimation, and invited me, if such a sport would not frighten me too much, to take part in it. I was greatly delighted to receive the invitation, and was soon seated on one of the elephants, in a howdah about two feet high, in which there were already two gentlemen and a native—the latter had been brought to load the guns. They gave me a large knife to defend myself with, in case the animal should spring too high and reach the side of the howdah. Thus prepared, we approached the chain of hills, and, after a few hours, we were already pretty near the lair of the tigers, when our servants cried out softly, '*Bach, Bach!*' and pointed with their fingers to some brushwood. I had scarcely perceived the flaming eyes which glared out of one of the bushes before shots were fired. Several balls took effect on the animal, who rushed, maddened, upon us. He made such tremendous springs, that I thought every moment he must reach the howdah, and select a victim from among us. The sight was terrible to see, and my apprehensions were increased by the appearance of another tiger; however, I kept myself so calm, that none of the gentlemen had any suspicion of what was going on in my mind. Shot followed shot; the elephants defended their trunks with great dexterity by throwing them up or drawing them in. After a sharp contest of half an hour, we were the victors, and the dead animals were triumphantly stripped of their beautiful skins. The gentlemen politely offered me one of them as a present; but I declined accepting it, as I could not postpone my journey sufficiently long for it to be dried."

After a tedious journey of seven weeks, she reached Bombay, where she was invited to stay at the country-house of the Hamburg consul, Mr. Wattembach. Leaving Bombay, April 23d, she bent her course for Baghdad, by way of Bassora, and reached the latter city in one month from the time of her departure. From Baghdad she made two long excursions, one to the ruins of Ctesiphon, and the other to those of Babylon. She then joined a caravan going through the desert to Mosul, a distance of three hundred miles, visited the ruins of Nineveh, and on the 8th of July, started on a journey to Persia. Extending her travels to Asiatic Russia, Armenia, Georgia, and Mingrelia, she arrived at Odessa on the 30th of September. The previous day she stopped at

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what she calls "the strong and beautiful fortress of Sebastopol." Her description presents a clear idea of the condition at that time of the place which has since become so famous in the annals of modern warfare. "The works are partly situated at the entrance of the harbor, and partly in the harbor itself; they are executed in massive stone, and possess a number of towers and outworks which defend the entrance to the harbor. The harbor itself is almost entirely surrounded by hills, and is one of the safest and most excellent in the world. It can hold the largest fleets, and is so deep that the most gigantic men-of-war can lie at anchor close to the quays. Sluices, docks, and quays have been constructed in unlimited splendor and magnificence. The whole of the works were not quite finished, and there was an unparalleled activity apparent. Thousands of men were busy on all sides. Among the workmen I was shown many of the captured Polish nobles who had been sent here as a punishment for their attempt, in 1831, to shake off the Russian yoke. The works of the fortress and the barracks are so large that they will hold about thirty thousand men."

From Odessa she took her departure for Constantinople, and after visiting the principal object of interest in Greece, completed her "First Journey round the World," by returning to Vienna on the 1st of November, the day after it was stormed by the revolutionists of 1848.

SECOND JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD.

On the 18th of March 1851, Ida Pfeiffer once more resumed her journeyings, leaving her native city for London, with the intention of embarking for Australia. The discovery of the gold fields in that country, however, prevented the accomplishment of her purpose, as the rush of emigrants thither was so great as to enhance the cost of living beyond her restricted means. For some time she was at a loss as to what part of the world she should direct her steps, but at length deciding in favor of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies, she set sail for that quarter on the 24th of May, in a vessel bound for the Cape of Good Hope. After a voyage of seventy-five days, she arrived at Cape Town, where she remained about four weeks, and on the 25th of August sailed for the Straits of Sunda. The voyage was completed in forty days, and sailing through the Sea of Java, along the coast of Sumatra, she reached Singapore on the 10th of November. From Singapore, she proceeded to the west coast of Borneo, for the purpose of visiting Sarawak, the independent territory of the English Rajah Brooke.

After exploring this region, she started on the 5th of January, 1852, for a circuitous journey by land and water for Pontianah, a Dutch colony on the west coast of Borneo. The route lay through the country of the Dyaks, a nation of wild and savage tribes, among whom her life was supposed to be not free from danger. She performed the journey,

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however, without unusual inconvenience, and on the 6th of February, found herself safe and sound at Pontianah. After numerous excursions into the interior, she embarked for Batavia, and having visited the most important objects of interest on the island of Java, proceeded to Sumatra. She reached Padang, the chief town of the Dutch settlements in Sumatra, on the 10th of July, and shortly after commenced a journey to the interior among the cannibal Battakers. Her acquaintance strongly advised her against this project. They told her that in 1835, two American missionaries, Messrs. Lyman and Munson, had been killed and eaten by the Battakers, and that no European could venture among them without a military escort. She, however, turned a deaf ear to their protests. On the 19th of July she started on horseback, and in ten days reached the borders of the Battaker territory. Here she was kindly entertained by the comptroller of the settlement, who sent for the regents of the different villages, in order to speak with them concerning her intended journey.

"In the evening," says she, "we sat in solemn conclave surrounded by regents, and by a great crowd of the people, for it had been noised abroad far and wide that here was a white woman who was about to venture into the dreaded country of the wild Battakers. Regents and people all concurred in advising me to renounce so perilous a project; but I had tolerably well made up my mind on this point, and I only wanted to be satisfied as to one thing, namely, whether it was true, as many travelers asserted, that the Battakers did not put their victims out of their pain at once, but tied them living to stakes, and, cutting pieces off them, consumed them by degrees with tobacco and salt. The idea of this slow torture did a little frighten me; but my hearers assured me, with one accord, that this was only done to those who were regarded as criminals of a deep dye, and who had been on that account condemned to death. Prisoners of war are tied to a tree and beheaded at once; but the blood is carefully preserved for drinking, and sometimes made into a kind of pudding with boiled rice. The body is then distributed; the ears, the nose, and the soles of the feet are the exclusive property of the rajah, who has besides a claim on other portions. The palms of the hands, the soles of the feet, the flesh of the head, and the heart and liver, are reckoned peculiar delicacies, and the flesh in general is roasted and eaten with salt. The regents assured me, with a certain air of relish, that it was very good food, and that they had not the least objection to eat it. The women are not allowed to take part in these grand public dinners. A kind of medicinal virtue is ascribed to the trees to which prisoners have been tied when they have been put to death, and the stem is usually cut into sticks five or six feet long, carved into figures or arabesques, and decorated with human hair; and these sticks are taken in the hand by people who go to visit the sick, or when any medicine is to be given."

Resuming her journey the next day, Ida met with no startling

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adventure until the 13th of August, when matters began to assume rather a serious aspect. "More than eighty armed men," says she, "stood in the pathway and barred our passage, and before we were aware of it, their spear-men had formed a circle round me and shut me in, looking the while indescribably terrible and savage. They were tall robust men, full six feet high: their features showed the most violent agitation, and their huge mouths and projecting teeth had really more resemblance to the jaws of a wild beast than to any thing human. They yelled and made a dreadful noise about me, and had I not been in some measure familiar with such scenes, I should have felt sure that my last hour was at hand. I was really uneasy, however: the scene was too frightful; but I never lost my presence of mind. At first I sat down on a stone that lay near, endeavoring to look as composed and confidential as I could; but some rajahs then came up to me with very threatening looks and gestures, and gave me clearly to understand that if I did not turn back they would kill and eat me. Their words, indeed, I did not comprehend, but their action left no manner of doubt, for they pointed with their knives to my throat, and gnashed their teeth at my arm, moving their jaws then, as if they already had them full of my flesh. Of course, when I thought of coming among the wild Battakers, I had anticipated something of this sort, and I had therefore studied a little speech in their language for such an occasion. I knew if I could say any thing that would amuse them, and perhaps make them laugh, I should have a great advantage over them, for savages are quite like children, and the merest trifle will often make them friends. I got up, therefore, and patting one of the most violent, who stood next me, upon the shoulder in a friendly manner, said, with a smiling face, in a jargon half Malay and half Battaker, 'Why, you don't mean to say you would kill and eat a woman, especially such an old one as I am! I must be very hard and tough!' And I also gave them by signs and words to understand that I was not at all afraid of them, and was ready, if they liked, to send back my guide, and go with them alone, if they would only take me as far as the *Eier-Tau*. Fortunately for me, the doubtless very odd way in which I pronounced their language, and my pantomime, diverted them, and they began to laugh. Perhaps, also, the fearless confidence that I manifested made a good impression; they offered me their hands, the circle of spear-men opened, and, rejoicing not a little at having escaped this danger, I journeyed on, and reached in perfect safety a place called *Tugala*, where the rajah received me into his house.

After traveling in Sumatra seven hundred miles on horseback and one hundred and fifty on foot, she returned to Batavia, and renewed her explorations of Java. On the 14th of December, she took her departure for Macassar, the chief settlement of the Dutch on Celebes, visited the Molucca Islands, and returning to Batavia on the 22d of May, 1853, embarked on the 6th of July for San Francisco. She arrived at the golden

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gate on the 27th of August, soon pushed her way into the interior, visited the northern settlements, made acquaintance with the Oregon Indians, and returning to San Francisco, took passage for Panama, December 10th.

After celebrating the new year with friends at Panama, she embarked for Lima, where she arrived on the 19th, and took up her residence at the house of the Hamburg consul, Mr. Rodewald. Thence she proceeded to Quito, which city she left on the 3d of April, returned to Panama, and on the 31st of May sailed from Aspinwall for New Orleans. After a stay of three weeks in that city, she ascended the Mississippi as far as St. Paul, crossed the country to Chicago, and at Milwaukee took passage to the Sault St. Marie, August 26th. On her return, she visited Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo, arriving at the Falls of Niagara on the 10th of September. After a short visit in New York and Boston, she sailed on the 10th of November for Liverpool, but before returning to Vienna, made an excursion to the Azore Islands, where she passed the winter, took a hasty glance at Lisbon, and returned to London June 14, 1854, thus happily ending her second journey round the world.

So far from being satisfied with her achievements, which have never been equaled by any female traveler before her, Ida Pfeiffer is at present (June, 1856) preparing for a voyage to Madagascar. She is a small woman, quiet and unpretending in her manners, tanned and weather-beaten from her travels, but with a keen, dark eye, denoting the boundless enthusiasm and courage which sustain her.

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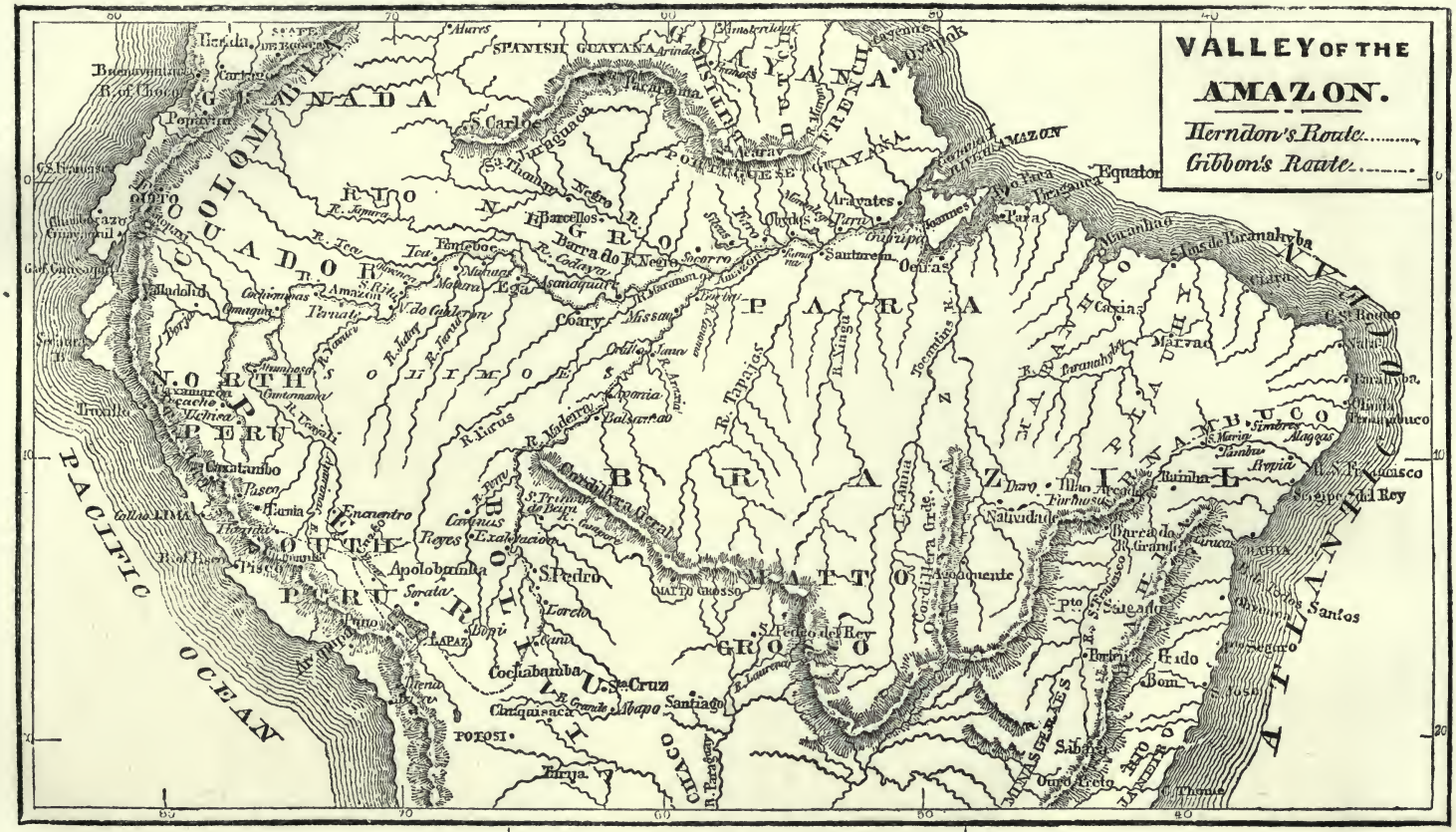

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EXPLORATION OF THE RIVER AMAZON.

JOURNEY OF LIEUTENANT HERNDON.

Lieutenant William Lewis Herndon was attached to the United States sloop-of-war *Vandalia*, of the Pacific squadron, and while that vessel was lying at anchor in the harbor of Valparaiso, in August, 1850, he received a communication from Lieutenant Maury, superintendant of the National Observatory, informing him that orders to explore the valley of the Amazon would be transmitted to him by the next mail-steamer. On the 4th of April, 1851, Lieutenant Lardner Gibbon, of the navy, arrived at Lima with orders from the Navy Department to Lieutenant Herndon, authorizing him to proceed with the exploration, and appointing Lieutenant Gibbon to assist him in the service. After much deliberation it was resolved to divide the party, and Lieutenant Gibbon was instructed to proceed to Cuzco and examine the country eastward of that place, to ascertain whether the river Madre de Dios was connected with the Purus and formed a navigable communication with the Amazon, or should this route be impracticable, to pass around the southern shores of Lake Titicaca to La Paz, and thence by Cochabamba to the Mamoré, and descend that river and the Madeira to the Amazon.

"That the rains might be entirely over and the roads on the mend in the Cordillera," says Lieutenant Herndon, "I fixed upon the 20th of May as the day of departure, and Mr. Gibbon and I set about making the necessary preparation. I engaged the services of Don Manuel Ijurra, a young Peruvian, who had made the voyage down the Amazon a few years before, as interpreter to the Indians; and Captain Gauntt, of the frigate *Raritan* then lying in the harbor of Callao, was kind enough to give me a young master's mate from his ship, named Richards; besides supplying me with carbines, pistols, ammunition, and a tent. Captain Magruder, of the *St. Mary's*, also offered me any thing that the ship could supply, and furnished me with more arms, and fifteen hundred fathoms of the fishing-line now put on board ships for deep-sea soundings."

The *arriero* was ordered to bring the mules on the 20th, but when

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he found this was Tuesday he said it was an unlucky day, and begged them to be ready by Monday, which was lucky. This could not be done, therefore on Wednesday, the 21st of May, they loaded up, after being finally obliged to bribe the old fellow to take on all the baggage, which he represented to be too much for his beasts. The party was short of a servant, and the mules were overloaded, but Lieutenant Herndon was unwilling to delay, and after a hard morning's work in drumming up the Peruvian part of the expedition, he took the broad, beaten road which ascends the river Rimac.

On the 25th they left the coast district and entered that called the Sierra, the climate of which is said to be one perpetual spring. Their encampment here was in a beautiful dell entirely and closely surrounded by mountains, with the snowy summits of the Cordillera, in sight at a short distance. "The nights in the Cordillera at this season," says Herndon, "are very beautiful. The traveler feels that he is lifted above the impurities of the lower strata of the atmosphere, and is breathing air entirely free from taint. I was never tired of gazing into the glorious sky, which, less blue, I think, than ours, yet seemed palpable—a dome of steel lit up by the stars. The stars themselves sparkled with intense brilliancy. A small pocket spy-glass showed the satellites of Jupiter with distinctness; and Gibbon even declared on one occasion that he could see them with the naked eye. The temperature is now getting cool, and I slept cold last night, though with all my clothes on, and covered with two parts of a heavy blanket and a woolen poncho."

On the 2d of June, at two o'clock, they reached the highest point of the road. Here the peaks of the Cordillera presented the appearance of a hilly country on a winter-day; and their snowy tops contrasted with the bright green of the lower ranges, and the placid lakes which lay snug and still in their midst. While Gibbon sketched the Cordillera, and Herndon was boiling snow for the atmospheric pressure, poor Richards lay shivering on the ground, enveloped in *pillons*, a martyr to the *veta*. The sickness caused by rarity of the atmosphere at great elevations is called *veta*, or vein, by the Indians, because they believe it is caused by veins of metal diffusing a poisonous infection. "It is remarkable," observes Herndon, "that although this affection must be caused by absence of atmospheric pressure, yet in no case except this (and Richards was ill before) has it been felt at the greatest elevation, but always at a point below. The affection displays itself in a violent headache, with the veins of the head swollen and turgid, a difficulty of respiration, and cold extremities. I did not observe that our animals were affected, though they trembled and breathed hard, which, I think, was attributable to the steepness of the hill up which we rode. The barometer stood at 16.730, indicating an elevation of sixteen thousand and forty-four feet. Water boiled at 182° 5′; temperature of the air 43°."

The road thence cut along the flank of the mountain, at whose base

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was a series of beautiful lakes. Though not sixty miles from the Pacific, they had crossed the great dividing ridge, and the waters at their feet flowed into the Atlantic.

In the evening they arrived at Morococha, and next morning all went to see the mountain of *Puy-puy*, said to be higher than Chimborazo. The place of view, about three miles distant, was gained by a most toilsome ascent, but the magnificence of the scene amply repaid their labors. A lofty, conical mountain, covered with snow to the cylindrical base on which it rested, rose in solitary majesty from the plain beneath them. Gibbon almost froze in taking a sketch of it, and the rest of the party tired themselves nearly to death in trying to get a shot at a herd of shy vicuñas which were feeding among the distant rocks. They had a fatiguing ride, and enjoyed a late dinner and a good night's rest.

On the 6th, they gradually descended into the region of vegetation, and arrived in the afternoon at the little city of Tarma, which was hailed with delight as a resting-place, after the tedious passage of the Cordillera. From Tarma they made an excursion to Fort San Ramon on the Chănchamayo, during which Mr. Gibbon made a narrow escape. He was riding ahead on a road cut round a precipice several hundred feet deep, when suddenly at a turn before him a bull appeared, followed by several cattle, while the drivers could be heard far behind, urging on the herd. It was too late to retreat; the bull, with lowered crest, and savage, sullen look, had come on and placed his head between the perpendicular rock and the neck of Gibbon's mule, when the sagacious beast, pressing her haunches hard against the wall, gathered her feet close under her and turned as upon a pivot. This placed the bull on the outside, and he rushed by, followed by the rest of the herd in single file.

It was now determined to divide the party; to Gibbon was assigned the task of exploring the Bolivian tributaries, while Herndon took the head-waters and main trunk of the Amazon. It was a bold undertaking, for the party was already small; but the prospect of covering such an extent of territory, and gaining a knowledge of countries and rivers so little known, prevailed over every objection. The equipage, Indian presents, arms and ammunition, instruments, etc., were divided, and Gibbon was directed to hire a guide in Tarma, and as soon as Richards should be able to travel, to start for Cuzco.

Herndon set out with his party on the 1st of July, and at the entrance of the valley of Acobamba took leave of Gibbon, who returned to make the necessary arrangements for his expedition. He was much affected at parting with his friend, whom he felt that he was exposing to unknown perils, while depriving himself of a pleasant companion, and a most efficient auxiliary.

On the 2d they rode over the hill called "Cuesta de la Veta," because of the sickness travelers suffer in passing it. The ascent brought

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them to the plain of Junin, where, on the 6th of August, 1824, Bolivar defeated the Spaniards. Half an hour's ride brought into view the Western Cordillera, the Lake Chinchaycocha, and the pyramid erected by the Prefect Mariano Rivero, to commemorate the battle. On the 6th, they reached the mining-town of Cerro Pasco, among the hills of the Western Cordillera. It is a most curious-looking place, entirely honey-combed, and having the mouths of mines gaping everywhere. The hill of Santa Catalina, from which the best view is obtained, is penetrated in every direction. Vast pits, called "Tajos," surround this hill, from which millions of silver have been taken; and the miners are still burrowing, like so many rabbits, in the bottoms and sides. Immediately after leaving the Cerro, on the 13th, they passed, close at hand, a marshy spot of ground which had some interest for them, as they were not to quit the waters which they saw trickling in tiny streams from it, until, swelled by many others, they poured themselves into the Atlantic by a mouth one hundred and eighty miles broad. This was the source of the Huallaga, one of the head tributaries of the Amazon.

Huanuco, which they reached on the 16th, is one of the most ancient cities of Peru. It is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Huanuco, or Huallaga River, which is here about forty yards wide, and was at this time (the dry season) about two feet deep. Resuming their journey on the 22d, they came on the 1st of August to Juana del Rio, a settlement of five or six houses, but as the houses were all shut up, they crossed the river and walked down about a half a mile to the pueblo of San Antonio del Tingo Maria. *Tingo* is the Indian name for the junction of two rivers, the Monzon emptying into the Huallaga just above the town. Here they prepared to embark on the river, which was a hundred yards broad, and smooth, and deep. After breakfast on the 4th the governor and his wife, with some acquaintances of the party, accompanied them to the river. "After loading the canoes," says Herndon, "the governor made a short address to the canoemen, telling them that we 'were no common persons; that they were to have a special care of us; to be very obedient, etc., and that he would put up daily prayers for their safe return;' whereupon, after a glass all round, from a bottle brought down specially by our hostess, and a hearty embrace of the governor, his lady, and my fat friend of the night before, we embarked and shoved off. We had two canoes; the largest about forty feet long, by two and a half broad; hollowed out from a single log, and manned each by five men and a boy. They are conducted by a *puntero* or bowman, who looks out for rocks or sunken trees ahead; a *popero*, or steersman, who stands on a little platform at the stern of the boat and guides her motions; and the *bogas*, or rowers, who stand up to paddle, having one foot in the bottom of the boat and the other on the gunwale. When the river was smooth and free from obstructions, we drifted with the current; the men sitting on the trunks and boxes, chatting and

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laughing with each other; but, as we approached a mal-paso, their serious looks, and the firm position in which each one planted himself at his post showed that work was to be done."

On the 12th they arrived at the port of Balsayacu and slept at the pueblo, which was half a mile from the port, and consisted, as usual, of one house. At the village of Lupuna, the port of Pachiza, where they arrived on the 17th, the women were engaged in spinning; the balls of cotton thread which they manufacture being generally used as currency. When they had retired to their mats beneath the shed for the night, Herndon asked the governor if he knew a bird called *el alma perdida*. As the latter did not know it by name, the former whistled an imitation of its notes, whereupon an old woman on a mat near them related, with animated tones and gestures, a story in the Inca language, the substance of which was that an Indian and his wife once went out from the village to work, taking their child with them; that the woman went to the spring for water, and finding it dried up, went further to look for another. The husband, alarmed at her long absence, left the child and went in search of her. When they returned, the child was gone; and to their repeated cries as they wandered through the woods the only response was the wailing cry of this little bird, heard for the first time, whose notes their excited imagination syllabled into *pa-pa ma-ma*, the present Quichua name of the bird. This story had probably suggested to the Spaniards the name of "the lost soul."

At Tarapoto they met a fellow-countryman named Hackett, employed in making copper kettles for distilling, and in all kinds of smith and foundry work; he had adopted the habits and manners of the people and seemed settled in the country for life. An American circus company had passed through Tarapoto a few months before; they had come from the Pacific coast and were bound down the Amazon. It seemed probable that the adventure did not pay, as Herndon's party encountered traces of them, in broken-down horses, at several villages on the river. They floated their horses down on rafts.

Chasuta, the port of the district of Tarapoto, is an Indian village of twelve hundred inhabitants. "These Indians," says Herndon, "are a gentle, quiet race; very docile, and very obedient to their priest, always saluting him by kneeling and kissing his hand. They are tolerably good boatmen, but excel as hunters. Like all the Indians, they are much addicted to drink. I have noticed that the Indians of this country are reluctant to shed blood, and seem to have a horror of its sight. I have known them to turn away to avoid killing a chicken, when it was presented to one for that purpose. An Indian whom Ijurra struck did not complain of the pain of the blow, but, bitterly and repeatedly, that his blood had been shed. They eat mosquitoes that they catch on their bodies, with the idea of restoring the blood which the insect has abstracted."

Below Yurimaguas, toward the close of August, they entered the lake

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country; and hence to the mouth of the Amazon, lakes of various sizes, and at irregular distances, border the rivers. They all communicate with the rivers by channels, which are commonly dry in the dry season. They are the resort of immense numbers of water-fowl, particularly cranes and cormorants; and the Indians, at the proper season, take many fish and turtles from them. Many of these lakes are, according to traditions of the Indians, guarded by an immense serpent, which is able to raise such a tempest in the lake as to swamp their canoes, when it immediately swallows the people. It is called in the Inca language, "Yacu Mama," or mother of the waters; and the Indians never enter a lake with which they are not familiar that they do not set up an obstreperous clamor with their horns, which the snake is said to answer.

"On the 3d of September," continues Herndon, "we arrived at the mouth of the Huallaga. Several islands occupy the middle of it. The channel runs near the left bank. Near the middle of the river we had nine feet; passing toward the left bank we suddenly fell into forty-five feet. The Huallaga, just above the island, is three hundred and fifty yards wide; the Amazon, at the junction, five hundred. The water of both rivers is very muddy and filthy, particularly that of the former, which for some distance within the mouth is covered with a glutinous scum, that I take to be the excrement of fish, probably that of porpoises.

"The Huallaga, from Tingo Maria, the head of canoe navigation, to Chasuta (from which point to its mouth it is navigable for a draught of five feet at the lowest stage of the river), is three hundred and twenty-five miles long; costing seventy-four working-hours to descend it; and falling four feet and twenty-seven hundredths per mile. From Chasuta to its mouth it has two hundred and eighty-five miles of length, and takes sixty-eight hours of descent, falling one foot and twenty-five hundredths per mile.

"We now entered upon the main trunk of the Amazon. The march of the great river in its silent grandeur was sublime; in the untamed might of its turbid waters as they cut away its banks, tore down the gigantic denizens of the forest, and built up islands, it was awful. It rolled through the wilderness with a stately and solemn air. Its waters looked angry, sullen, and relentless; and the whole scene awoke emotions of awe and dread—such as are caused by the funeral solemnities, the minute gun, the howl of the wind, and the angry tossing of the waves, when all hands are called to bury the dead in a troubled sea."

They reached Nauta about noon on the 9th, having traveled two hundred and ten miles from the mouth of the Huallaga. Here they purchased a boat, thirty feet long, and engaged twelve rowers and a popero, and set them to work to fit it up with decks and coverings, preparatory to exploring the Ucayali. They started on the 25th, and an hour afterward arrived at the mouth of the Ucayali. This is a beautiful stream, with low, shelving, green banks at its mouth. Being the largest

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tributary above Brazil it is called by some the main trunk of the Amazon, but it is not more than half as wide at its mouth as the latter river. They ascended the Ucayali as far as Sarayacu, where they arrived on the 18th of October. This was a neat-looking Indian village of about a thousand inhabitants, under the government of Franciscan friars, of the college of Ocopa. Herndon had intended to continue as far as Chanchamayo, and also to examine the Pachitea, but he could not find men enough at Sarayacu who were willing to go at that season, and was obliged to desist from further explorations in that direction. On this occasion he observes: "I felt, in turning my boat's head down stream, that the pleasure and excitement of the expedition were passed; that I was done, and had done nothing. I became ill and dispirited, and never fairly recovered the gayety of temper and elasticity of spirit which had animated me at the start until I received the congratulations of my friends at home."

They left Sarayacu on the 28th, and in eight days made the descent to Nauta, which had cost them twenty-three in the ascent—the distance from Sarayacu to the mouth of the river being, by the channel, two hundred and seventy miles. Two of the men deserted at Nauta, although paid as far as Pebas; and fearing to lose more, Herndon collected the few birds and animals he had left here, and started on the evening of November 5th. On the 8th, he arrived at the mouth of the Napo; found it two hundred yards broad, thirty-five to forty feet deep, and of a gentle current. At Chorococha, a settlement just below the Napo, he breakfasted with some Nauta friends, who were here salting fish, and proceeding thence down the river he arrived at Pebas next day. He remained a fortnight in this vicinity, where he greatly increased his collection of animals.

On the 4th of December he reached Tabatinga, the frontier of Brazil. The American flag floated over the boat, and when it was descried at Tabatinga, the Brazilian flag was hoisted at that place. Herndon landed in uniform and was received by the commandant, also in uniform, to whom he presented his Brazilian passport. As soon as his rank was ascertained he was saluted with seven guns. The commandant used much stately ceremony toward him, but never left him a moment to himself until he was safely in bed on board his boat. He insisted on furnishing Herndon with a boat in place of his own, which he said was not large enough for the navigation of the lower part of the Amazon. Herndon at first declined, but finding that the law of the empire forbids foreign vessels to navigate its interior waters, he accepted the proposition, and exchanged boats; thus enabling the commandant to say, in the frontier passport which he issued to Herndon, that the latter was descending the river in a Brazilian vessel.

The party resumed their journey after noon on the 6th. They passed the mouth of the Içа toward evening on the 9th, and found it a fine-looking river, half a mile broad at the mouth, and opening into an

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estuary of a mile in width. It was one hundred and thirty-eight feet deep, and had a current of two and three quarter miles an hour. On the 14th they passed the Juruá, which is half a mile wide at its mouth. The Amazon at this point is a mile and a quarter wide. Concerning the Indians of the Juruá, M. Castelnau has some curious stories, and gives the following passage from Padre Noronho: "The Indians, *Cauamas* and *Uginas*, live near the sources of the river. The first are of very short stature, scarcely exceeding five palms (about three and a half feet), and the last (of this there is no doubt) have tails, and are produced by a mixture of Indians and *Coata* monkeys. Whatever may be the cause of this fact, I am led to give it credit for three reasons: first, because there is no physical reason why men should not have tails; secondly, because many Indians, whom I have interrogated regarding this thing, have assured me of the fact, telling me that the tail was a palm and a half long; and, thirdly, because the Reverend Father Friar José de Santa Theresa Ribeiro, a Carmelite, and curate of Castro de Avelaeñs, assured me that he saw the same thing in an Indian who came from Japurá."

On the 16th they encamped on an island near the mouth of the Jupurá. At this place Herndon estimates the width of the Amazon to be four or five miles. It is separated into several channels by islands. Next day they arrived at Egas, where they remained until the 28th. They now parted with the Sarayacu boatmen, who though lazy enough, were active and diligent compared with the stupid and listless Ticunas who were engaged to succeed them. Still floating onward down the river they entered the Rio Negro on the evening of January 5th, 1852. "We were made aware of our approach to it," says Herndon, "before getting into the mouth. The right bank at the mouth is broken into islands, and the black water of the Negro runs through the channels between these islands and alternates, in patches (refusing to mingle), with the muddy waters of the Amazon. The entrance is broad and superb. It is far the largest tributary of the Amazon I have yet seen; and I estimate its width at the mouth at two miles. There has been no exaggeration in the description of travelers regarding the blackness of its water. Lieutenant Maw describes it perfectly when he says it looks like black marble. It well deserves the name of 'Rio Negro.' When taken up in a tumbler, the water is a light-red color, like a pale juniper water; and I should think it colored by some such berry. A body immersed in it has the color, though wanting the brilliancy, of red Bohemian glass."

Next day they arrived at Barra, the capital of the province of Amazonas. During a sojourn of six weeks at this place, Herndon obtained much useful information respecting the country and its productions, and the character of the rivers Negro and Purus. Having sent Mr. Gibbon to look for the head waters of the Purus, he had hoped to ascend it from its mouth, but now he was too much exhausted to undergo the hardship and exposure necessary for a thorough examination of the river.

Having had the boat thoroughly repaired, and well fitted with palm

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coverings, he sailed from Barras on the 18th of February. Ninety miles below, his boat was made fast for the night to some bushes on the low, western bank of the Madeira. A large island occupies the middle of the Amazon, opposite the mouth of the Madeira, and the latter is divided by a smaller island. The western mouth is three-quarters of a mile wide; the eastern one a mile and a quarter. Herndon looked long and earnestly for the broad *L* that Gibbon was to cut on a tree at the mouth of whatever tributary he should descend, in hopes that he had already come down the Madeira, and, not being able to go up stream to Barra, had gone on down; but it was nowhere to be seen.

On the 1st of March the party entered the mouth of the Tapajos and arrived at Santarem. This city is four hundred and sixty miles from the Rio Negro and six hundred and fifty miles from the sea. It is the largest town in the province, after Pará; the official returns giving it over six thousand five hundred inhabitants, of whom nearly fifteen hundred are slaves. Herndon, however, estimates the population at about two thousand, all the planters for miles around, and all the tapuios engaged in the navigation of the river, being included in the official returns.

Herndon left Santarem on the 28th of March, in the evening. The delegado, whose men were employed in building, could muster him only three tapuios and a pilot, and had, moreover, no conception that he would sail on the day appointed; as the people of the country never do, by any chance. He proceeded, however, without delay, and floated rapidly on toward the mouth of the immense river. At Gurupá, about five hundred miles from the sea, the river is ten miles wide, and the tide is very apparent. About thirty-five miles below Gurupá commences the great estuary of the Amazon. The river suddenly flares out into an immense bay, which is probably one hundred and fifty miles across in its widest part. This might appropriately be called the "Bay of the Thousand Islands," for it is cut up into innumerable channels. The great island of Marajo, which contains about ten thousand square miles, occupies nearly the center of it, and divides the river into two great channels: one, the main channel of the Amazon, which runs out by Cayenne; and the other, and smaller one, the river of Pará.

Entering these intricate channels, Herndon and his party arrived at the Mojú, upon which forty-five miles of descent brought them to the junction of the Acará, which comes in from the south-east. The estuary formed by the junction is called the river Guajará. The descent of the Guajará brought them to the Pará River, five miles above the city, where they arrived in the evening, on the 11th of April. Herndon was so worn out when they arrived that instead of going to the consul's house for letters which he knew must be there, he anchored in the stream, and wrapping himself in his blanket, went to sleep. On the 12th of May he embarked in the United States brig *Dolphin*, having previously shipped his collections on board of Norris's clipper bark the *Peerless*.

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JOURNEY OF LIEUTENANT GIBBON.

On the 9th of July, 1851, Lieutenant Gibbon left Tarma and turned south-east, accompanied by Henry C. Richards, a native of Virginia, and José Casas, a Peruvian of Spanish descent. A mestizo arriero, with his little son, drove their train of mules. The route lay over an elevated mountain district, in which they presently came in sight of the great valley of Juaja, stretching away to the south. High, snow-covered peaks bounded the eastern view.

On leaving the valley of Juaja they passed through a rough mountain country, and in a few days arrived, by a long and tiresome descent, at the town of Huancavelica. The town is situated in a deep ravine, amid a cluster of lofty mountains. It contains about eight thousand inhabitants, and is the capital of the district. After visiting the quicksilver mines Gibbon proceeded eastward toward the town of Huanta, where he entered the province of Ayacucho. "On this part of our journey," says Gibbon, "Indian girls, with *chicha* and *chupe* for sale, are seated at the tops of the steep ascents. Chicha is the favorite drink of the Indians. A party—generally old women—seat themselves around a wooden trough containing maize. Each one takes a mouthful, and mashes the grain between her teeth—if she has any—and casts it back into the trough in the most sickening manner. As the mill-stones are often pretty well worn, the operation requires time and perseverance. The mass, with water added, is then boiled in large coppers, after which it is left to ferment in huge earthen jars. Chupe is the Peruvian national dish, and may be made of any and every thing, so long as it holds its relationship to soup. It is made generally of mutton, potatoes, eggs, rice, all highly seasoned with pepper, etc."

On the way a man in *poncho* and a traveling dress, with an Indian girl behind on his saddle, overtook them and accosted them in English. He was born in New Haven, was proprietor of a circus company, and had been many years in South America. As they slowly wound their way up the mountain, he told his past history; what he had seen, and how often he thought of returning to New England. "But nobody knows me now," he said. "Years ago I heard of the changes there, and don't believe I should know my native place. I have adopted the manners and customs of these people, and if I should return to the United States again, I fear my earnings would not be sufficient. I have worked in this country for years, and am worth nothing at last."

The approach to the Apurimac was among wild mountains; on winding around one of them they came suddenly in sight of the river, its waters foaming as they dashed over a rocky bed. At another turn they entered a tunnel, cut into the mountain, which rises perpendicularly from the river side. Skylights are cut through the rock, and as they

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advance in alternate light and darkness the mules are shy and the arrieros shout at the top of their voices at the train. They came out at the toll-house, which stood on the brink of the abyss and was inhabited by two women, a man, a child, a dog, and two jugs of chicha. The ropes of the suspension-bridge, of bark, were made fast to the posts which supported the roof of the house. Gibbon thought best not to examine too particularly how these ropes were fastened. A windlass in the middle of the house kept the ropes hauled up when they slack off. One woman, a good-looking black, was seated by a large jar of chicha, which she sold to travelers, with her child on the other side; she spun cotton, with a smoking fire close by to keep off the sand-flies, which were here in swarms. A white woman was seated by the windlass, holding her head in her hands. She seemed to have had the small-pox, but the red marks on her face were caused by these annoying flies.

The bridge is eighty yards long and six feet wide, distant one hundred and fifty feet above the dark green waters. There are six floor-ropes, crossed by small sticks, lashed with strips of hide to the cables. This platform is hung to two side-cables by small bark ropes.

As they approached the city of Cuzco the population increased and the land was more highly cultivated. By a paved road they ascended a slight elevation in the valley, then passing under the lofty arch of a stone aqueduct, they halted to gaze upon the ancient curiosity of the New World—the city of Cuzco, centuries ago the seat of the Incas. It was a beautiful view: close against the hills at the west end of the valley stood the ruins of the Temple of the Sun, and near it rose the steeples and roofs of a large city. The floor of the valley was carpeted with green, while afar off were the snow-capped Andes in a clear blue sky.

"I found," says Gibbon, "a very friendly disposition toward the expedition, with a desire to aid me. The prefect offered twenty soldiers as an escort in the low country, to the east of the Andes. A number of young men volunteered to accompany me. A meeting of the citizens was held for the purpose of forming a company to join me. At their suggestion, the President of Peru was applied to for the payment of twenty thousand dollars, appropriated by Congress, for the exploration of the Rio Madre de Dios, supposed to be the same with the river Purus, rising among the mountains to the eastward of Cuzco. I was very much pleased also to hear that a spirited young officer had applied to command the soldiers."

On the 16th of September, he started for the head-waters of the Madre de Dios. The road led along the valley of the Mapacho, then ascended a steep ridge of mountains, and soon attained an elevation of eleven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Gibbon was obliged to leave his instruments in Portocamba on account of bad roads, and take barley for the mules. By law, the cargo of a mule descending the eastern slope of the Andes is one hundred and fifty pounds—one half the usual load. On the 22d he reached the eastern frontier settlement,

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where one hundred men were engaged cultivating the coca-plant. The seed is planted in rows like maize. In two years the bush, five or six feet high, is full grown, bearing bright green leaves, two inches long, with white blossoms, and scarlet berries. The women and boys were gathering the ripe leaves, while the men cleared the fields of weeds. The gathering takes place three times a year, in cotton bags. The leaf is spread out in the sun on mats and dried.

As the party advanced, they were obliged to dismount and literally cut their way through the forest. A most difficult struggle of twelve hours brought them to the Cosnipata River, in the territory of the Chuncha savages. Next day they built a raft and attempted to cross the river; there were falls above and below, and as the river became too deep for the poles, the raft lodged against a small island, after being nearly carried over the falls. In the evening they lay down upon the rocks, under a heavy rain, with loud claps of thunder, which echoed up the Andes. Toward midnight, an old Indian of the company awoke them with the cry that the river was rising; the night was dark, and the rain poured down. On striking a light, they found that a rise of three feet more would carry them off, and that escape from the island was impossible. The old Indian called Gibbon a bad man for bringing him there when he could not swim. A mark was placed by the edge of the water, which was roaring terribly, and they seated themselves very uncomfortably to await their fate. In this state of anxiety, they spent the rest of the night, but as daylight appeared, the storm abated. The water soon lowered, and they passed over to the opposite shore.

Gibbon descended the tributaries to the main head of the Madre-de-Dios, but finding it impracticable to descend the river, he prepared to retrace his steps. "At the end of the sixth day from the head of the Madre-de-Dios," he continues, "we arrived in Cuzco, after an absence of twenty-one days. Richards was still much reduced, but gaining health. The prefect expressed his regrets at not being authorized to send troops with me, and asked the favor of a written account of my visit to the east, in behalf of the Peruvian government."

On the 28th of October, the expedition left Cuzco, well supplied with provisions by the kind hospitality of the people, and proceeded toward the south-east. "The night of November 6th," says Gibbon, "we spent at Caracota. To the left of us we beheld the deep blue waters of the great southern lake Titicaca. The east wind troubled its waters; the white-capped waves reminded us of the trade-wind region of the ocean. Large barren islands intercepted our view; not a tree nor a bush was to be seen; the only living thing in sight was a llama, seeking food among the tumbled-up rocks on the unproductive hills. The scene is wild and deadly silent. Our only view was to the south-east, where we saw tops of islands beyond tops of islands, backed by mountain peaks. Winding round a hill, and descending a ravine, we

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come to an arched gateway, and enter the city of Puno. It is a dry, dusty, uninteresting-looking place, of about five thousand inhabitants, and is the capital of the department of the same name. The town is situated about a quarter of a mile from the west shore of Lake Titicaca.

ILLIMANI, HIGHEST PEAK OF THE ANDES.

They crossed the Desaguedera by a floating bridge, at the southern end of the lake, and continued their journey over the dry table-lands of Bolivia. "Suddenly arriving at the edge of a deep ravine, we saw the tile-roofs of the city of La Paz, near the base of the great snow-capped mountain, Illimani. Descending by a steep, narrow road, and passing the cemetery, the air was found loaded with the perfume of sweet flowers. Springs of fresh water gushed out by the road-side, into which our mules sunk their noses before we could get a drink. As we entered the town, some one called out from a shaded piazza for our passports.

"La Paz is a most busy inland city. The blacksmith's hammer is heard. The large mercantile houses are well supplied with goods. The plaza is free from market people, for there is a regular market-house. The dwellings are well built, of stone and adobe. The home and foreign trade appears to be possessed with a life seldom met with in an inland town, without shipping or railroads. The people appear to be active. There is less lounging against the door-posts. The place has a healthy appearance."

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On the 1st of December they quitted La Paz in a southern direction, proceeding along the edge of the great Titicaca basin, then turning eastward among the Andes, they came to the beautiful city of Cochabamba, which has a population of over thirty thousand. The streets are laid off at right angles. On the south of the main plaza stands a large cathedral, and opposite to it the palace occupies the whole side of the block. It is remarkable for its handsome appearance, being much superior to the palace in Lima. In the center of the plaza is a fountain fed by water from a snow peak on the ridge in sight.

The President and his cabinet being here on a visit, Gibbon hastened to make a commercial proposition to the government. A Brazilian minister had concluded a treaty of limits and navigation between his country and Peru, and was now awaiting the action of the Bolivian government to secure the use of the navigable rivers of Bolivia for the Brazils alone. Gibbon decided to ask the right to navigate these rivers by steamboats or other vessels. In an interview with the President, the latter expressed the hope that a more direct route between the United States and Bolivia might be found than Cape Horn; to which the President replied, that he had heard of Gibbon's arrival in La Paz, and was glad to see him. "My country," said he, "is in its infancy. I would be the more pleased to join hands with the United States, because we are all Americans. You may depend upon me for aid and assistance in your enterprise."

Through the interposition of the British minister at Sucre, the Brazilian envoy sent to Gibbon passports to the authorities on his route, and also wrote to the governor of Matto Grosso on his behalf.

On the 12th of May, 1852, the party bade farewell to Cochabamba, and followed a train of nineteen loaded mules toward the east. "On the river bank the women seated themselves in a row to take the last dram with the men who were going with us. They shouted, sang, and danced; then shaking hands all round, the arrieros called to their mules, and we all moved along single file on our way home through the river bed, which was now dry again, the wet season being just over."

They soon began to descend the Andes, proceeding in a north-easterly direction, along the head waters of the Chaparé. At Espiritu Santo, they saw about a hundred Creoles cultivating patches of coca. "The coca," says Gibbon, "is a great favorite of the Quichua Indian; he prizes it as the Chinaman does his opium. While the one puts to sleep, the other keeps awake. The Indian brain being excited by coca, he travels a long distance without feeling fatigue. While he has plenty of coca, he cares little for food. Therefore, after a journey he is worn out. In the city of Cuzco, where the Indians masticate the best quality of coca, they use it to excess. Their physical condition, compared with those who live far off from the coca market, in a climate equally inhospitable, is thin, weak, and sickly; less cheerful, and not so good look-

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ing. The chewers also use more brandy and less tamborine and fiddle; seldom dance or sing. Their expression of face is doleful, made hideous by green streaks of juice streaming from each corner of the mouth."

Having rested their mules, they pushed on over a level road to Vinchuta, the point where the traders of the province of Mojos reach those of Cochabamba with salt. "The next morning the governor made his appearance, read our passports, and said there was a large canoe ready for us; that she might go off to-morrow. He seemed to be an active little man and very obliging; wanted to know all the news from Cochabamba, and was constantly complaining he had nothing nice to give us, besides which he was very particular to let us know he had the roads put in fine order, as he had been ordered to do by the prefect of his department, as they knew we were coming. The crew of the canoe were stout, fine-looking Indians of the Canichanas tribe. They stood before us with straw hats in hand, listening to the advice of the governor."

On the 25th of May, they entered the canoe. It was made of a log, forty feet long, and four feet wide, being one of the largest used by the Bolivian Indians. From the stream they had a last view of the Andes, far back among the clouds. They soon entered the river Chaparé, which was a hundred yards wide, and twelve feet deep, and increased as they descended.

On the 30th, they reached the Mamoré, and continued their route pleasantly along its smooth, broad surface, sometimes traveling by night.

"After the sun went down," says Gibbon, "the bright moon lit up our water-path through the wilds. The earth seemed asleep as we watched the nodding Indians at their paddles, which hung dripping over the sides of the canoe. At one moment a rustling noise was heard among the canes. We swept close in toward the bank by the current. The burning piece of wood which the old captain kept on his part of the boat, disturbed the black tiger, or a serpent slipped softly from a cluster of canes into the water to avoid us. As we turn, the moon shines directly up the river, and the sheet of water appears like a silvery way. We think of obstruction, and fear we are not going fast enough to see the glad waters of the Atlantic."

They arrived at Trinidad on the 30th of May, where their crew took leave, and returned with the boat. Don Antonio, an active trader of Trinidad, who owned the only two boats from the Amazon on the upper waters, which were of the proper build for the falls of the Madeira, offered one of them to Gibbon, but he had no men to spare, and it was necessary to wait and go with him to Brazil to get them. During this long stay at Trinidad, they made acquaintance with the motley populace, consisting of natives, Creoles, and Spaniards; witnessed a bull-fight, and other amusements and occupations of the people; and meanwhile made an excursion to Loreto, twelve leagues distant.

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Over a hundred Indians died of small-pox while they were in Trinidad, and the people were still suffering with it when they left. The idea of being fastened up amid disease during a long rainy season, while doubting by which route they were to find an outlet to the Atlantic, became daily more painful to Gibbon. Finally, on the 14th of August, Don Antonio found his cargo could not be disposed of in Trinidad, and he must return to Brazil with his boats. He had Brazilian boatmen—negroes and mestizos—who came up from the Amazon with him, and were thought the only kind of people who could be employed upon the expedition.

The baggage was stowed on board the *Igarite*, over which the flag of the United States was hoisted, and Don Antonio embarked his cargo on the *Coberta*, from which the flag of Brazil was suspended. On entering the Mamoré River again they found thirty-three feet of water, the current being one mile an hour. They stopped a week at Exaltacion, then continued down the Mamoré to its junction with the Itenez, and ascending the latter, arrived at Fort Principe da Beira, in Brazil, on the 7th of September.

A canoe came out with two armed negro soldiers, one of whom politely gave his commander's compliments to Gibbon, with the request that they would keep off. Gibbon sent up the letter of the Brazilian minister, after which two old negroes, of the health-department, brought the commander's invitation for them to land at the fort. When they landed, a young negro lieutenant in the emperor's army came to meet Gibbon and offered, in the most polite manner, to escort him to a house in town. As they passed the guard-house the negro soldiers respectfully saluted the American uniform, but they handled the musket very awkwardly.

When Don Antonio arrived, he had his boat fitted up for Gibbon's party, and gave them as pilot a man who had passed up the Madeira with him. The boat was twenty-three feet long, with four feet seven inches beam. Her bottom was of one piece, cut out of a very large tree, with washboards nailed rudely on the sides, caulked with oakum, and well pitched outside and in. The two ends were fastened up by a solid piece of wood, also made water-proof. In this craft they set out on the 14th of September, parting at the fort with Don Antonio, who expected to be two years longer trading off the cargoes of his two small boats.

On the 20th of September they reached the falls. These consist of a series of distinct rapids, several miles apart, down which they passed the empty boats, and transported the baggage along the rocky banks of the river. The channel is broken and obstructed by rocks, over which the waters rush down in numerous streams, and keep up a continuous deafening roar. It is impossible to pass these falls with a steamboat, at any season of the year.

Below the falls the boat was carried along at a rapid rate by the cur-

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rent, which boiled up in great globular swells. They did not, nowever, proceed at night, as the navigation was still obstructed by rocks and occasional rapids, but at their encampment they became aware of a new danger—the treachery of the blacks in their employ. The one on duty shot a dog which was faithfully prowling the woods around the camp, pretending he had taken it for an approaching tiger. Gibbon had placed great confidence in this dog, from which he expected a quick report of savages or wild beasts. From what he had seen of the men he was convinced they were a rough, savage set who would put his party to death as unceremoniously as the dog, and he ordered another man on watch, at which they expressed an impudent dissatisfaction. They lay at night with their pistols prepared for an attack, and by daylight Gibbon was particular to let every man of them see his revolver; he and Richards kept a close watch upon them night and day.

"We are about to pass out of the Madeira Plate," says Gibbon, "having arrived at the north-east corner of the territory of Bolivia. The lands about the mouths of the Beni and Mamoré are now inhabited by wild Indians; some parts of them are free from inundation. Cacao grows wild in the forests. The head of the Madeira contains a number of islands. Here we find the outlet of streams flowing from the Andes and from the Brazils collected together in one large river. Water from hot springs and cold springs, silvered and golden streams joining with the clear diamond brooks, mingled at the temperature of 82° Fahrenheit.

"The Madeira River flows through the empire of Brazil, and keeps the northerly course pointed out for it by the Mamoré. The first falls we met were close to the junction of the Mamoré and Beni, called 'Madeira,' three quarters of a mile long. It is difficult to judge the difference of level between the upper and lower surfaces of the river. As the falls are shelving, and extend a great distance in length, the distance we run during the day is not easily estimated. At one time we go at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, and then not more than one mile in half a day. This fall is not less than fifteen feet. Large square blocks of stone stand one upon another in unusual confusion. The boat was paddled through for a quarter of a mile, and by passing half the baggage out over the rocks, she was sledded and floated through narrow channels close along the eastern bank."

On the 23d they came to the Ribeiras falls, which are two miles long. The baggage was carried five hundred yards over a path on the east bank. Don Antonio transported his vessels on wooden rollers here, and was nearly one month getting up these two miles. The men were anxious to see whether they could not pass this fall with the boat in the water. They launched her down one shoot of twenty feet nearly perpendicular by the rope painters in the bow and stern.

"On the 25th," continues Gibbon, "we came to a number of rocky islands in the river, and took up our quarters on one of them for the

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night. We slept under blankets; there is a heavy dew, and the nights are quite cool. Richards was aroused by a severe pain in his ear; he was suffering all night long. The men told me it was common among the soldiers at the fort, caused by exposing the ear to the night air and dew. The only remedy reported was 'woman's milk,' which was not at hand."

DESCENDING THE RAPIDS OF THE MADEIRA.

Descending the Arares Rapids and Pedreneira Falls next day, they at length reached the Paredao Falls, which they had much difficulty in passing. Here they were surrounded by a party of savage women and children, and two unarmed men, who were quite friendly and manifested great curiosity at every thing they saw. The women were all ugly; the boys cheerful and good-looking. Some of the men who came afterward, left their bows and arrows behind the rocks, and walked up unarmed. The women carried their babies under the arm, seated in bark cloth straps, slung over the opposite shoulder. The infants appeared terribly frightened at the sight of a white man; one of them screamed out when Pedro milked the mother into a tin pot, for the benefit of Richards' ear, which still troubled him. The woman evidently understood what was wanted with it, and stood still for Pedro to milk her as much as he chose.

The Teotoni Falls, at which they arrived on the 30th, were the most

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formidable of them all. The roaring of the water over and through the rocks was like distant thunder. Here Gibbon was attacked with severe bilious fever, which prostrated him, and all the party were worn out and haggard. The passage of the falls was made next day, by carrying the baggage and transporting the boats upon rollers. The men were busy from daylight till dark at the work. Five miles below they passed, on the 2d of October, the San Antonio Falls, at the foot of which they breakfasted with feelings of gratitude at having passed in safety the perils of seventeen cataracts.

As they move on, the land becomes more elevated, and better adapted to cultivation. The forest-trees are small where the lands are free from inundation. Small streams flow in from the east, while on the west "madres," or large pools, have an outlet through the bank. They passed swiftly along by the force of paddles, the current being only one mile an hour, and arrived by moonlight at the town of Borba, on the 14th of October.

"Borba," observes Gibbon, "is a small town of three hundred inhabitants. Two rows of miserable wooden huts stand parallel with a most distressingly dilapidated church; bells, old and cracked, are hung under a small shed near the door. There were no men belonging to Borba to take us on. The authorities ordered the soldiers who came with us to go on. I regretted this, as we were in hopes of getting rid of these impudent, half-savage free negroes, who refused to obey the authorities of the town. A larger boat was fitted out, and we pushed off with three Portuguese passengers.

"During the 21st of October we lay all day by a sand island, unable to proceed until evening. When the wind died away, we paddled on by the light of the moon. As the negroes lifted their paddles out of the water, we dipped the thermometer in the Madeira for the last time, 88° Fahrenheit. Suddenly, the bow of our little canoe touched the deep waters of the mighty Amazon. A beautiful apple-shaped island, with deep-green foliage, and sandy beach encircling it, lies in the mouth of the great serpentine Madeira.

"The distance from the foot of San Antonio Falls to the mouth of the Madeira, is five hundred miles by the river. A vessel drawing six feet water may navigate this distance at any season of the year. A cargo from the United States could reach the foot of the falls, on the Madeira, within thirty days. By a common mule road, through the territory of Brazil, the goods might be passed from the lower to the upper falls on the Mamoré, in less than seven days, a distance of about one hundred and eighty miles; thence by steamboat, on that river and the Chaparé, a distance of five hundred miles to Vinchuta, in four days. Ten days more from the base of the Andes, over the road we traveled, would make fifty-one days' passage from Baltimore to Cochabamba, or fifty-nine days to La Paz, the commercial emporium of Bolivia, where

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cargoes arrive generally from Baltimore in one hundred and eighteen days, by Cape Horn—often delayed on their way through the territory to Peru from the sea-port of Arica. Goods by the Madeira route, sent over the Cordillera range to the Pacific coast, might get there one month before a ship could arrive from Europe on the eastern coast of the United States, by two oceans or the old route."

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RICHARDSON'S

TRAVELS IN THE SAHARA.

Mr. James Richardson, a native of the town of Boston, in England, became interested, like many others of his countrymen, in the project of suppressing the African slave-trade. While at Algiers, in January, 1845, he conceived the design of visiting and exploring the celebrated Oasis of Ghadames, lying in the Sahara, south-west from Tripoli. His principal object was to ascertain to what extent the commerce in slaves was carried on in the desert, and what would be the most feasible plan of preventing it. Full of this idea, he repaired to Tunis and afterward to Tripoli, where he arrived on the 18th of May, of the same year.

At Tripoli, Mr. Richardson received no encouragement, but on the contrary every one endeavored to dissuade him from persevering in what they considered an insane undertaking. Mr. Warrington, the British Consul, nevertheless made application to the pasha on his behalf for the necessary permission which was at first granted, but accompanied by all sorts of remonstrances and objections. The formal permit and passport were not given until the end of July, when through the persistence of Mr. Warrington the pasha ordered passports to be made out for Mr. Richardson, his servant, and camel-driver. On the 2d of August he left Tripoli for Ghadames.

A caravan for Ghadames had started before him, but he pressed forward and overtook it on the evening of the first day. He gives the following account of his equipment: "I had two camels on hire, for which I paid twelve dollars. I was to ride one continually. We had panniers on it, in which I stowed away about two months' provisions. A little fresh provision we were to purchase *en route*. Upon these panniers a mattress was placed, forming with them a comfortable platform. I myself was dressed in light European clothes, and furnished with an umbrella for keeping off the sun. This latter was all my arms of offense and defense. The other camel carried a trunk and some small boxes, cooking utensils, and matting, and a very light tent for keeping off sun and heat." As it was the height of summer the heat was intense, but

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after four days the caravan reached the castle of Yefran, in the Atlas, where there was a cooler air. Here Richardson was stared at by the inhabitants, as he was the first European Christian who had ever visited the place. The commandant of the fortress, however, sent him a brace of partridges, with some milk and grapes, supposing that he had been appointed British Consul for Ghadames.

At this place he left the caravan, in order to visit the district of Rujban, in the mountains, the native-country of his camel-driver, Mohammed. He was lodged in the house of the latter, and remained there eight days, treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by all the inhabitants, many of whom came to him to be cured of various diseases. The shekh of the place, in particular, became very intimate and familiar. "He offered to sell me his authority, his shekhdom," says Richardson, "and retire from affairs. I bid one thousand dollars for the concern. 'No, no,' said he, 'I'll take ten thousand dollars, nothing less.' Then, getting very familiar, he added, 'Now, you and I are equal, you're consul and I'm shekh—you're the son of your sultan, and I'm commander under the sultan of Stamboul.' The report of my being a consul of a remote oasis of the Sahara was just as good to me on the present occasion as if I had her majesty's commission for the consular affairs of all north Africa."

On the 16th, he left Rujban to rejoin the caravan. Nearly all the mountaineers offered him their services, and were willing to leave their homes and go with him anywhere. After four days' march he rejoined the caravan, and encamped on a plateau on the southern side of the Atlas. After crossing the mountains he expected to find a plain, corresponding to that on the northern side; but the country was at first undulating, and then sloped into a sandy level, beyond which rose other heights, called by the natives, Saharan Mountains. During his journey over the desert, Richardson suffered much from the heat and want of sleep, as the caravan traveled principally by night. "Every day," says he, "until I reached Ghadames, there was a sort of point of halting between life and suffocation or death in my poor frame, when the European nature struggled boldly and successfully with the African sun, and all his accumulated force darting down fires and flames upon my devoted head. After this point or crisis was past, I always found myself much better."

The journey from Tripoli to Ghadames may be made in nine days, but the caravan consumed twenty-three. "At dawn of day, on the 25th," continues the narrative, "we started fresh on the last march. Just when day had broken over half the heavens, *I saw Ghadames!* which appeared like *a thick streak of black* on the pale circle of the horizon. This was its date-woods. I now fancied I had discovered a new world, or had seen Timbuctoo, or followed the whole course of the Niger, or had done something very extraordinary. Gradually we neared the city as the day got up. It was dusty, and hot, and disagreeable.

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My feelings were down at zero; and I certainly did not proceed to enter the city in style of conqueror, one who had vanquished the galling hardships of the desert, in the most unfavorable season of the year. We were now met with a great number of the people of the city, come to welcome the safe arrival of their friends, for traveling in the desert is always considered insecure even by its very inhabitants. Among the rest was the merchant Essnoussee, whose acquaintance I had made in Tripoli, who welcomed me much to my satisfaction when thus entering into a strange place. Another person came up to me, who, to my surprise, spoke a few words in Italian, which I could not expect to hear in the desert. He followed me into the town, and the governor afterward ordered him to be my turjeman ("interpreter"). Now, the curiosity of the people became much excited, all ran to see *The Christian!* Every body in the city knew I was coming two months before my arrival. As soon as I arrived in Tripoli, the first caravan took the wonderful intelligence of the appointment of an English Consul at Ghadames. A couple of score of boys followed hard at the heels of my camel, and some running before, to look at my face; the men gaped with wide open mouths; and the women started up eagerly to the tops of the houses of the Arab suburb, clapping their hands and *loolooing*. It is perhaps characteristic of the more gentle and unsophisticated nature of womankind, that women of the desert give you a more lively reception than men. The men are gloomy and silent, or merely curious without any demonstration.

GHADAMES.

I entered the city by the southern gate. The entrance was by no means imposing. There was a rough-hewn, worn, dilapidated gate-way, lined with stone-benches, on which the ancients were once accustomed

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to sit and dispense justice as in old Israelitish times. Having passed this ancient gate, which wore the age of a thousand years, we wound round and round in the suburbs within the walls, through narrow and intricate lanes, with mud walls on each side, which inclosed the gardens. The palms shot their branches over from above, and relieved this otherwise repulsive sight to the stranger. But I was too much fatigued and exhausted to notice any thing, and almost ready to drop from off my camel."

On his arrival, Richardson was conducted to a commodious and tolerably clean house, not far from the residence of the governor. The latter received him in a friendly manner, and was glad to make use of his medicines for his eyes, which were afflicted with ophthalmia. Most of the inhabitants seemed kindly disposed toward the traveler, and though there were occasional cries of "Infidel!" as he passed through the streets, he was not otherwise molested. He adopted the character of a *marabout*, or traveling mendicant saint, and a physician, and was soon busily occupied in administering to the wants of the sick, who flocked to his house. He remained three months in Ghadames, familiarizing himself with the life of the Sahara, and collecting information regarding the routes to Soudan. He formed the design of penetrating as far as Timbuctoo, and after a long consultation with the Touaricks, engaged one of them to take him to that city; but the plan was afterward relinquished. His journal of the residence in Ghadames is quite interesting, though loosely and carelessly written. Our limits will only allow us to quote a few of the most striking passages.

Soon after his arrival, he writes: "During the four or five days of my residence here, the weather has been comparatively temperate; at least, I have not felt the heat excessive. To-day has been close and cloudy: no sun in the afternoon: wind hot, *ghiblee*. I continue to be an object of curiosity among the people, and am followed by troops of boys. A black from Timbuctoo was astonished at the whiteness of my skin, and swore I was bewitched. The Ghadamsee Moors eat sugar like children, and are much pleased with a suck of it. The young men carry it about in little bags to suck."

Toward the end of September, Richardson writes: "To-day, resident thirty days in Ghadames which I have certainly not lost. My expenses of living, including a guard to sleep in the house at night, and Said, are only at the rate of eighteen pence per day; this, however, excludes tea, coffee, and sugar. Besides, Shekh Makouran refuses to take any thing for house-rent, saying, 'It would be against the will of God to receive money from you, who are our sure friend, and our guest of hospitality.' Few patients, in comparison with the past. As the winter approaches, the cases of ophthalmia are less. In the precipitation of leaving Tripoli, brought little ink with me, and most of that I gave away; so am obliged to go about the town to beg a little. The custom is, when one person wants ink, he begs it of another.

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"My taleb, backed with two or three Mussulman doctors, charged me in the public streets with corrupting and falsifying the text of the Word of God. 'This,' he said, 'I have found by looking over your Elengeel (Gospel).' It is precisely the charge which we make against the Mohammedans. But our charge is not so much corrupting one particular revelation as falsifying the entire books of the Jews and the Christians, of giving them new forms, and adding to them a great number of old Arabian fables. A taleb opened the Testament at the Gospel of St. Mark, and read, *that Jesus was the Son of God.* Confounded and vexed at this, he said, '*God neither begets nor is begotten*' (a verse of the Koran). An Arab from the Tripoline mountains turned upon me and said, 'What! do you know God?' I answered sharply, 'Yes; do you think the knowledge of God is confined to you alone?' The bystanders applauded the answer.

"In general, the ignorant of the population of this part of north Africa, as well as southern Morocco and Wadnoun, think the Christians are not acquainted with God, something in the same way as I heard when at Madrid, that Spaniards occasionally asked, if there were Christians and churches in England. But in other parts of Barbary, I have found, on the contrary, an opinion very prevalent, that the religion of the English is very much like the religion of the Moors, arising, I have no doubt, from the absence of images and pictures in Protestant churches.

"Speaking to the Moor of the Sahara, I said, 'The Sahara is always healthy; look at these Touaricks, they are the children of the desert.' He replied, 'The Sahara is the sea *on land*, and like sea, is always more healthy than cultivated spots of the earth. These Touaricks are chiefly strong and powerful from drinking camels' milk. They drink it for months together, often for four or five months, not eating or drinking any thing else. After they have drunk it some time, they have no evacuations for four or five days, and these are as white as my bornouse. It is the camels' milk which makes the Touaricks like lions. A boy shoots up to manhood in a few years; and there's nothing in the world so nourishing as camels' milk.' Caillié mentions that the chief of the Braknas lived for several months on nothing but milk; but it was cows' milk. Many of the Saharan tribes are supported for six months out of twelve on milk.

"Treating some Moors with coffee and loaf-sugar, one asked me if there were blood in sugar, for so he had heard from some Europeans in Tripoli. I told him in loaf-sugar. 'What, the blood of pigs?' one cried. 'How do I know?' I rejoined; 'if the refiner has no bullock's blood, why not use that of pigs?' This frightened them all out of their senses. They will not eat loaf-sugar again in a hurry."

After giving up the idea of crossing the desert to Timbuctoo, Richardson resolved to proceed to Kano, in the kingdom of Houssa, by way of Ghat and the unvisited country of Aheer, or Asben, which lies in a desert, south-west of Fezzan. Toward the end of November, prepara-

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tions were made for the departure of a caravan to Ghat and Soudan, and the traveler determined to be of the party. The governor of Ghadames, after some hesitation, gave his permission, and Shekh Makouran, the owner of the house in which Richardson lived, had a testimonial drawn up, and signed by the Kadi in behalf of the people of Ghadames, stating that during his residence there he had conducted himself well, and had given offense to no one. He then purchased a she-camel for $25, hired another to carry the baggage, and procured a complete Arab dress. The shekh, who had treated him with the greatest kindness, furnished him with a store of cakes for the journey, made of honey and dates.

The 24th was fixed upon for the departure of the caravan, but as the day drew nigh the place was disturbed with rumors that the Shanbah, a predatory desert tribe, were lurking in the neighborhood, ready for attack. On the afternoon of the appointed day, the camels were loaded, and the whole population of Ghadames collected to see the caravan start, but just as it was passing the gate, a man and boy who had come in from the desert, cried out that the Shanbah were on the road. All was now confusion and dismay; the caravan halted, and a Senawanee, or native of Senawan, was sent forward as a scout. He did not return until next day at noon, when he reported that the supposed Arabs were merely a herd of stray cattle. The merchants, entirely relieved by this news, at once put the caravan in motion.

"Mounted on my camel, pressing on through the desert," says Richardson, "my thoughts still lag behind, and as I turn often to look back upon the city of merchants and marabouts, its palms being only now visible in the dingy red of the setting sun, I endeavor to form a correct opinion of its singular inhabitants. I see in them the mixture of the religious and commercial character, blended in a most extraordinary manner and degree, for here the possession of wealth scarcely interferes with the highest state of ascetic devotion. To a religious scrupulousness, which is alarmed at a drop of medicine that is prohibited falling upon their clothes, they add the most enterprising and determined spirit of commercial enterprise, plunging into the desert, often in companies of only two or three, when infested with bandits and cut-throats, the journeys the mean while extending from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Niger, as low down to the western coast as Noufee and Rabbah. But their resignation to the will of heaven is without a parallel. No murmur escapes them under the severest domestic affliction; while prayer is their daily bread. Besides five times a day, they never omit the extraordinary occasions. The aspirations of the older and retired men continue all the live-long day; this incense of the soul, rising before the altar of the Eternal, is a fire which is never extinguished in Ghadames! Intelligent, instructed, and industrious, they are the greatest friends of civilization in north Africa and the great desert."

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The caravan consisted of eighty persons and two hundred laden camels. After traveling for three days in a south-eastern direction, the road turned to the south, entered the gorge of a low mountain range, and gradually ascended to an elevated table-land of the desert. Here, for several days, the journey was exceedingly laborious and exhausting, from the heat and blinding glare of the sand by day, and the extreme coldness of the nights, which sometimes prevented them from sleeping. "I notice as a thing most extraordinary," says Richardson, "after seven days from Ghadames, two small trees! the common desert-acacia. Another phenomenon, I see two or three pretty blue flowers! As I picked one up, I could not help exclaiming, *Elhamdullah* ('Praise to God!') for Arabic was growing second-born to my tongue, and I began to think in it. An Arab said to me, 'Yâkob, if we had a reed and were to make a melodious sound, those flowers, the color of heaven, would open and shut their mouths (petals).' This fiction is extremely poetical."

THE WELLS OF MISLAH.

"But here in the center of this wilderness of sand," he continues, "we had an abundant proof of the goodness of a good God. While mourning over this horrible scene of monotonous desolation, and wondering why such regions were created in vain, we came upon *The Wells of Mislah*, where we encamped for the day. These are not properly wells, for the sand being removed in various places, about four or five feet below the surface, the water runs out. Indeed, we were obliged to make our own wells. Each party of the ghafalah dug a well for itself. Ghafalahs are divided into so many parties, varying in size from five men and twenty camels, to ten men and forty camels. Three or four wells were dug out in this way. Some of the places had been scooped out

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before. Water may be found through all the valley of Mislah. A few dwarfish palms are in the valley, but which don't bear fruit. The camels, finding nothing else to eat, attacked voraciously their branches. These pits are considered as the half-way station between Ghadames and Ghat."

On the 13th of December, the caravan encountered a company of Touaricks, led by Ouweek, a predatory chief. A halt was made, a violent dispute took place, and finally all parties, after having made their customary prayers, squatted upon the ground, and commenced a solemn deliberation. Richardson, who took little notice of what was going on, was lying upon the ground eating some dates, when he was informed that Ouweek had determined to put him to death, as he was a Christian and an infidel. The people urged him either to give himself up, or offer a ransom, but when the latter was proposed to Ouweek, he fiercely demanded a thousand dollars. "Hereupon," says Richardson, "all the people cried out that I had no money. The *quasi*-bandit, nothing receding, 'Why, the Christian's mattress is full of money,' pointing to it still on the camel, for he was very near me, although I could not distinguish his features. The Touaricks who had come to see me before I arrived at the well, observed, 'He has money on his coat, it is covered with money,' alluding to the buttons. All our people, again, swore solemnly I had no money but paper, which I should change on my arrival at Ghat. The bandit, drawing in his horns, 'Well, the Christian has a nagah.' 'No,' said the people, 'the camel belongs to us; he hires it.' The bandit, giving way, 'Well, the Christian has a slave, there he is,' pointing to Said, 'I shall have the slave.' 'No, no,' cried the people, 'the English have no slaves. Said is a free slave.' The bandit, now fairly worsted, full of rage, exclaimed, 'What are you going to do with me, am I not to kill this infidel, who has dared to come to my country without my permission?' Hereat, the messenger from Ghat, Jabour's slave, of whom the bandit was afraid, and dared not lay a hand upon, interposed, and, assuming an air of defiance, said, 'I am come from my sultan, Jabour; if you kill the Christian, you must kill me first. The order of my sultan is, No man is to say a word to the Christian.' Our people now took courage from this noble conduct of the slave, declaring, 'If Yâkob is beaten, we will all be beat first; if Yâkob is to be killed, we will be killed likewise.' Ouweek now saw he must come down in his pretensions. The bargain was struck, after infinite wrangling, for two articles of clothing, of the value of four dollars!"

On the day following this adventure, the caravan reached the remarkable group of rocky hills, called the *Kasr Genoon*, or Demon's Palace, and early in the morning of the 15th approached Ghat. The plain contracted and became a narrow valley, between rocky ridges, in the bottom of which appeared the dark-green belt of the palm-trees. Richardson thus describes his arrival and reception: "We were now met by the friends of the Ghadamsee merchants, but with the exception

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of Essnoussee and two or three others, I received few salutes of welcome; and when we got up to the gates of the city at noon, not a single person of our caravan offered me the least assistance, either in interpreting or otherwise. I felt myself in a most deplorable predicament, but I reflected that all men must each one look after his own business, so our people were now each one occupied with his own affairs. I felt much the want of a good Moorish or Arab servant. Said was of no use whatever in this case. Strangers and loungers crowded and clamored round me, anxious to look at the face of 'the Christian.' It was covered with my traveling handkerchief, and when I untied my face to gratify their curiosity, they burst out with the rude and wild expression of surprise, '*Whooh! Whooh! Whey!*'

"Several of the Ghat people then asked me what I wanted. I told them, the Governor of Ghat. I was not understood. At last came up

GHAT.

to me a young Tripoline Moor of the name of Mustapha, who volunteered his services as Touarghee and Arabic interpreter, but of course, our conversation was always in Arabic. Amid a cluster of Touaricks and Ghat townsmen, the governor, was pointed out. Several shekhs were present, but it appears they gave precedence to the governor's son from a feeling of shamefacedness. Haj Ahmed's son is a very nice polite young gentleman, as smart as a Parisian dandy. After a little delay he conducted us to a house, in which some of his father's slaves were living. It was a dark, dreadful, dilapidated hovel. The young gentleman most earnestly apologized, protesting, 'the town is full of people, merchants, and strangers. We have nothing better left in the town. Perhaps you will come and live in our house out of the town.' We looked out our baggage, which had been conveyed for us by Arabs of

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our caravan, and were astonished to find it scattered about outside the city gates, the caravan people having thrown it down there. However, nothing was lost, and this at once impressed me with the remarkable honesty of the Ghatee people."

Richardson was received in a very friendly manner by the Governor of Ghat, Shekh Jabour, the chief marabout, and afterward by Shafou, the Sultan of the country. The Touaricks are more bigoted than the inhabitants of Ghadames, and he was frequently insulted in the streets, but he was at least secure from violence, and found no serious obstacles in the way of proceeding to Soudan. His means, however, were scarcely sufficient for the journey, his health began to suffer, and he finally gave up the plan, after having become satisfied of its entire feasibility. He remained in Ghat two months and a half, at the end of which time he determined to return to Tripoli by way of Mourzuk. The following passages from his journals will throw some light on Touarick life and manners:

"Every body, as was the case at Ghadames, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, wishes to convert me into a good Mussulman, being mortified that so quiet a Christian should be an infidel. An old shekh paid me a visit to-day, and began, 'Now, Christian, that you have come into this country, I hope you will find every thing better than in your own country, and become a Mussulman, one loved of God. Come to my house, leave your infidel father and mother. I have two daughters. I will give you both for wives, and seven camels besides. This will make you a shekh among us. You can also be a marabout, and spend your life in prayer.' I excused myself, by saying, 'I had engagements in my country. My sultan would brand me with disgrace, and I should be fetched out of this country by the Turks, who were always the friends of the English.' The shekh sighed, raised up his aged body, and departed, mumbling something, a blessing or a curse, upon my head."

One day he writes: "Had a visit from some score of Touarick women, of all complexions, tempers, and ages. After staring at me for some time with amazed curiosity and silence, they became restless. Not knowing what to do with them, I took out a loaf of white sugar, cut it into pieces, and then distributed it among them. The scene now suddenly changed, joy beamed in every eye, and every one let her tongue run most volubly. They asked me, 'Whether I was married—whether the Christian women were pretty—whether prettier than they—and whether, if not married, I should have any objection to marry one of them?' To all which questions I answered in due categorical form: 'I was not married—the Christian women were pretty, but they, the Touarick women, were prettier than Christian women—and, lastly, I should see whether I would marry one of them when I came from Soudan.' These answers were perfectly satisfactory. But then came a puzzler. They asked me, 'Which was the prettiest among them?' I looked at one, and then at another, with great seriousness, assuming

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very ungallant airs (the women the meanwhile giggling and coquetting, and some throwing back their barracans, shawls I may call them, further from their shoulders, baring their bosoms in true ball-room style), and, at last falling back, and shutting my eyes, placing my left hand to my forehead, as if in profound reflection, I exclaimed languidly, and with a forced sigh, 'Ah, I can't tell, you are all so pretty!' This created an explosion of mirth, some of the more knowing ones intimating by their looks, 'It 's lucky for you that you have got out of the scrape.' But an old lady, close to me, was very angry with me: 'You fool, Christian, take one of the young ones; here 's my daughter.'

"Nothing surprises the natives of Ghat and the Touaricks so much as my gloves. I am obliged to put them off and on a hundred times a day to please people. They then try them on, look at them inside and outside, in every shape and way, expressing their utter astonishment by the most sacred names of Deity. Some also, have not seen stockings before, and examine them with much wonderment. But the gloves carry the palm in exciting the emotion of the terrible. One said, after he had put the glove on his hand, 'Ah! ah! whey, whoo! that 's the hand of the devil himself!'"

On the 5th of February, 1846, Richardson left Ghat with a Touarick caravan for Mourzuk. On approaching the Demon's Palace, he left the caravan and wandered off to the wonderful natural fortress, with the design of procuring some curious geological specimens. Losing himself soon, however, among the rocky mazes, he wandered about all night without finding any trace of the road, and in the morning, nearly delirious from thirst, set off to wander back to Ghat, when, after three hours, he was fortunate enough to stumble upon his own party. The merchants supposed that he had been killed by the demons, and some of them said to him: "You were very foolish, you ought not, as a Christian, to have presumed to go to the Palace of the Demons, without a Mussulman, who could have the meanwhile prayed to God to preserve you, and likewise himself. The demons it is who have made you wander all night through the desert." Nothing of any special interest occurred during the remainder of the journey, and on the 22d he arrived at Mourzuk.

Richardson soon recovered his health, under the hospitable care of Mr. Gagliuffi, the English vice-consul at Mourzuk, and by the 5th of March, was well enough to start with a caravan for Tripoli. He reached Sockna, on the 21st, and halted there nine days. His route from Ghat to Tripoli was precisely the same as that traversed by Denham and Clapperton; the character of the country and its inhabitants is described in the narrative of these explorers, and need not be repeated here. On the evening of the 19th of April, Richardson arrived at Tripoli, after a tour of eight months and a half in the Sahara, during which time he traveled sixteen hundred miles. His entire expenses were less than $300, which sum he earned on the road by writing letters to the London *Times*.

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RICHARDSON AND BARTH'S

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

JOURNEY TROUGH AÏR, OR ASBEN, TO SOUDAN.

After his return to England, Mr. Richardson did not lose sight of the project of a visit to Soudan, which he had been obliged to relinquish at Ghat, but endeavored to enlist the sympathies of the public, and obtain the sanction of government. Finally, in the summer of 1849, he received a government commission to visit Central Africa on a political and commercial mission. Drs. Barth and Overweg, of Prussia, who were highly recommended by Humboldt, Ritter, and Encke, volunteered to accompany him, the former as antiquarian and philologist, the latter as naturalist, on condition that the British government should defray their expenses. Their offer was accepted, and an appropriation of $4,000 made for them, in addition to which they received $3,000 from the Geographical Society of Berlin, the King of Prussia, and other sources. The explorers met at Tripoli, where they were delayed some time for the purpose of having a boat constructed for the navigation of Lake Tsad. Finally, on the 30th of March, 1850, the party started, comprising a caravan of forty camels, with which they joined the great semi-annual caravan to Bornou.

The route followed by the expedition from Tripoli to Lake Tsad (Tchad of Denham and Clapperton), was not the direct road viâ Murzouk and Bilma through the country of the Tibboos, but one from Murzouk, deviating greatly westward and extending through the Tuarick country, with the kingdom of Aïr to Kano, the great mart of Soudan. The object of this deviation was to explore countries never before visited by Europeans. The expedition entered the elevated regions south of Tripoli by the Gharian Pass, near which is mount Tekut. As far as the Well of Taboniah, situated at the foot of the northern edge of the Hamáda, many deep wadis intersect this table land, and the ruins of several Roman monuments and columns were discovered by the travelers. To the south of Taboniah is the Hamáda, an immense stony desert

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of 2,000 to 2,500 feet elevation, and extending about 110 geographical miles southward. As far as the eye can reach, neither trees nor indications of wells are visible, and the scanty vegetation which occurs, is only found here and there in the trifling irregularities of the surface. The ground is covered with small stones, pyramids of which, erected with great labor, serve as road-marks to the intrepid camel-drivers by day, while the Polar star and Antares are the guides by night. After six long days' journey, the expedition reached the southern edge of this table land, which descends in perpendicular walls to the Wady el Hessi. The monotony of the dreary black rock was relieved by the yellow sand, without which the whole of Fezzan would be a lifeless wilderness, as it is in the sand that the palm trees grow, and in the wadis filled with it that the wells are found. In the great Wady of Fezzan the expedition passd through a complete forest of palms, as well as through cultivated fields of wheat and barley. Another small table land was traversed by the travelers, after which they reached Murzouk on the 6th of May, 1850.

Here they were compelled to make a long stay, as they were awaiting the arrival from Ghat of the Tuarick escort, headed by Hateeta, the well-known Tuarick chief, who calls himself "the friend of the English," from having escorted Oudney and Clapperton to Ghat. The journey from Murzouk to Ghat, generally accomplished in twelve days, occupied the travelers thirty-six, owing partly to the delay caused by Hateeta, partly to the slow rate of traveling of this old and decrepit man. The travelers were, however, compensated by the discovery of some extremely curious rock sculptures in the Wady Telissareh, which is situated about mid-way between Murzouk and Ghat. One of these sculptures consists of two human bird and bull headed figures, armed with spears, shields, and arrows, and combating for a child. The other represents a fine group of oxen going to a watering-place, most artistically grouped and skillfully executed. In the opinion of the travelers, the two works bear a striking and unmistakable resemblance to the sculptures of Egypt. They are evidently of a very high antiquity, and superior to numerous other sculptures of more recent date found at the same time, in which camels generally formed the principal object. They most probably relate to a period of ancient Libyan history when camels were unknown in that part of Africa, and oxen were used instead.

At Serdalous, the road, till then from east to west, suddenly turned almost due south, in the direction of the celebrated Kasr Janoon or Palace of the Demons, a small range of hills composed chiefly of slate-marl, and most curiously shaped, having the appearance of ruinous cathedrals and castles. This region is held in the most superstitious dread by the inhabitants, who never go near it. It had well-nigh cost the life of Dr. Barth, who, on the caravan arriving on the spot, with Dr. Overweg, determined to visit this curious group of hills. As they could procure no guide or companion, they set off alone, while Mr.

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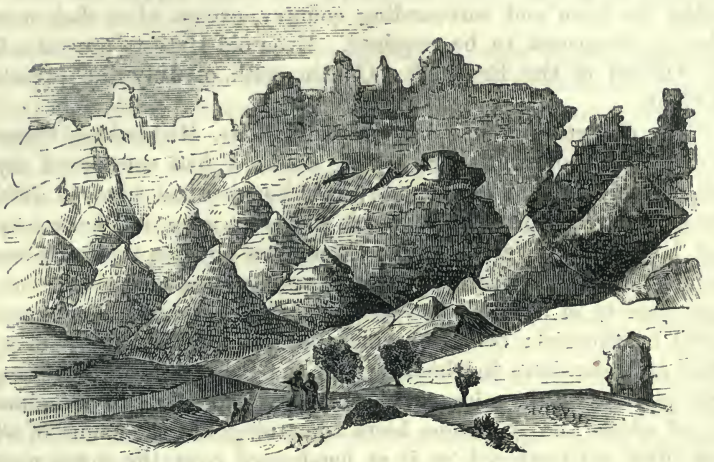

THE PALACE OF THE DEMONS.

Richardson pitched his tent at the nearest well. The day wore on, it blew gales of wind, and none of them returned. At last toward the evening Dr. Overweg returned, but without his companion, from whom he had separated without seeing him again. Great fears began to be entertained that an accident had befallen the latter. Search was commenced just before sunset, and continued up to midnight, but in vain. At daybreak, the search was more vigorously resumed, and a considerable reward was offered as a stimulus to the Tuaricks, but the day wore on without result. Just before sunset, however, the joyful intelligence was brought to the camp, that Dr. Barth had at last been discovered, still alive, and even able to speak. One of the Tuaricks had found him about eight miles from the camp, lying on the ground, unable to move. For twenty-four hours he had remained in the same position, perfectly exhausted with heat and fatigue. On seeing his deliverers, he could just muster strength to say, "Water, water!" He had finished the small supply he had taken with him the day before at noon, and had from that time suffered the most horrible tortures from thirst. He had even drunk his own blood: twenty-eight hours in the Sahara without water! The Tuaricks could scarcely at first credit that he was alive; for their saying is, that no one can live more than twelve hours when lost in the desert during the heats of summer. The doctor, however, being of robust constitution, was well enough the next day to mount his camel, and proceed with the caravan. The travelers arrived at Ghat on the 17th of July.

At Ghat, the travelers remained a week: which time was by no means one of rest or recreation, as they were continually harassed by the greedy demands of the chiefs, and by the fanaticism of the inhabit-

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ants: so much so, indeed, that they had but few opportunities of exploring the town and surrounding country, except when their medical assistance happened to be required. Even old Hateeta proved a faithless "friend of the English." On the 25th of July the expedition left Ghat.

"The departure from Ghat," so writes Mr. Richardson, "was, for the most of us, an exciting moment. So far I had considered myself comparatively on familiar ground; for although I had followed different routes, the great points of Murzouk and Ghat were well known to me. Now, however, we were about to enter upon a region totally unknown, of which no authentic accounts from eye-witnesses, unless we count the vague reports of natives, had ever reached us: valleys unexplored; deserts unaffronted; countries which no European had ever surveyed. Before us, somewhere in the heart of the Sahara, raised into magnificence perhaps by the mirage of report, was the unknown kingdom of Aïr, of which Leo Africanus hints something, but the names of whose great cities are scattered, as if at hap-hazard over the maps, possibly hundreds of miles out of their right position."

The travelers first passed Barket, a considerable town, surrounded with palm-trees and gardens, and situated in a pleasant and picturesque piece of country, nowhere exceeded in beauty in the whole region yet traversed. On the 27th of July the expedition arrived at the well of Akuru, and was there joined by a caravan of Kelowi Tuaricks, under whose protection they were to proceed as far as Tin-Tellust, in Aïr, the residence of the Kelowi prince. The scenery continued to be very varied, so different from the vulgar notions of a desert, or level expanse of sand. There were frequent ascents and descents, ravines and rocky plateaus. On the 30th of July they came to a small lake inclosed within immense rocks, called Aggeri Water, which is solely produced by rain. Here the expedition began to be harassed by rumors of pursuing Tuaricks. On the 4th of August, the Wady and well of Falesseles was reached. Here they stayed two days to refresh themselves, as they were greatly fatigued by the long days' marches which they had made ever since leaving Ghat. They entered now upon a more elevated rocky region, an extensive hamáda, uninhabited for about three hundred miles in a southerly direction.

On the 15th of August, not far from the well of Aisou, the travelers experienced the first drops of Soudan rain, and a complete Soudan atmosphere, the clouds having a vermilion tinge, and the air being hot and clammy. The next day a terrific tempest was experienced, with thunder and lightning, and so violent a shower of rain that the travelers got quite wet through almost in an instant. On the 17th of August, the Aisou, or the Seven Wells, were reached. Here reports of pursuing Tuaricks again alarmed the caravan; but the enemy was outstripped, and the travelers safely reached the borders of the kingdom of Aïr at Taghajit, hoping to be hospitably received by its inhabitants, and to

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rest after the fatigues of a forced march. But they were sadly disappointed.

From this moment they were greatly harassed by the attacks of what would seem to have been the lawless tribes of the border regions, and hordes of all the blackguards of the surrounding districts, in number gradually increasing from sixty to several hundreds. Earnest preparations to repel these attacks were now made by the mission; whose force consisted of about sixty men able to fight. To these, ammunition for twelve shots was distributed. The demand made by the enemy to the caravan, was, that the three Christians should be delivered over to them; but their servants, their escort, and the other members of the caravan remained faithful to the travelers. Several times the enemy challenged the caravan to battle; but when the latter showed a bold front, advanced in a body well armed, and shouted out that they accepted the challenge, the former retired, satisfied with the payment of a ransom. At last, however, the affair became more serious; and before the travelers reached the town of Seloufiyeh, a troop of a hundred men, instigated by the marabouts, demanded that the travelers should become Moslems, or return by the way they had come, as no infidel had ever passed, or should ever pass through their country.

The Tuarick escort of the travelers remained faithful and firm, and by their negotiations, and by paying a heavy ransom, the enemy agreed to the proposition that the travelers should be taken to Tin-Tellust, to the great Sultan En-Noor, who should decide upon their case. On their way to that place, they passed near Tintaghoda, the city of marabouts. These marabouts, by assigning to have found the names of the travelers in their books, and other reasons, had determined to receive them with open arms and afford them their protection as far as Tin-Tellust. It was from these persons that they received the first substantial action of kindness in Aïr, viz., a present of two melons, some onions, and a small quantity of wheat. By a kind treatment the marabouts, it seems, hoped the Christians would still be converted into Moslems.

Under the protection of this escort, they reached, on the 3d of September, the broad and spacious valley of Tin-Tellust. The town itself is situated in the middle of this valley, with trees here and there interspersed. This place, the capital of the mighty Prince En-Noor, on whom the life and death of the travelers depended, and on which their minds had naturally dwelt so long, was found to be much less imposing, consisting, as it does, of only about one hundred and fifty houses and huts, and being in fact nothing but a large village. The travelers pitched their tents upon some sandhills overlooking the entire country. For the first time since many a day they felt themselves quite secure under the immediate protection of En-Noor, who on their arrival sent them a kind message.

The expedition now having fixed their encampment for their residence in the kingdom of Aïr, Mr. Richardson's chief care was that of

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obtaining the signing of certain treaties on the part of the chiefs, while his scientific companions longed to explore the country around. On the 4th of September, the travelers were received by the Sultan En-Noor in his palace, a long mud-shed, when they delivered a number of presents, the largest yet given. All the articles were carefully examined, but not a word was said. The sultan, a venerable-looking black, but with something of an European cast of features, about seventy-eight years of age, received the travelers favorably, assured them of his protection, and ascribed the robberies they had suffered on the road as arising from a general fermentation, a kind of revolution throughout the country.

By the 24th of September the friendly relations with the sultan had so far increased, that Mr. Richardson paid a visit to his highness to request him to sign the treaty of amity and commerce which he had prepared. On this occasion En-Noor really seemed what he professed to be, the friend of the English, and accepted both the treaty and the present of a sword with ardent manifestations of pleasure. This was a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving to the travelers, who hoisted the union-jack over the tents and fired a salute; for they found that with the friendship of the chiefs, and particularly of En-Noor, who exerts paramount influence in Aïr, the people were also showing themselves more and more friendly, so that after a residence of several weeks the former felt themselves quite at home in that singular country. The fanaticism gave way by degrees, and the sultan became so much attached and condescending to his guests, that he visited them almost daily in their tents, took tea or coffee with them, and chatted with them like old friends. Thus the months of September and October passed off pleasantly enough upon the whole, and the travelers were only awaiting the departure of the great salt caravan of the sultan to Soudan, under whose protection they were to continue their journey to the south.

During the sojourn of the expedition at Tin-Tellust, Dr. Barth obtained permission and protection to visit Agadez, the capital of Aïr, and situated in the south-western portion. He left the former place on the 4th of October, escorted by a caravan mounted on bullocks and camels, the general direction of his route being about S.S.E., and the distance to Agadez, in a straght line, one hundred and thirty-two geographical miles, which he accomplished in six days going, and seven days returning. It is an interesting tract of country, presenting a great variety of scenery, now composed of fine valleys, now of mountain chains cut up by defiles. Here and there charming spots, green with herbage and trees, particularly rich in doum-palms, and of a truly tropical character, greeted the eyes of the traveler. Agadez is situated on a hamáda or table land, consisting of sandstone and granitic formations. Its circuit is three miles, including about seven hundred houses, with seven or eight thousand inhabitants. No author is known to have mentioned this place before Leo Africanus, in whose time it was a flourishing town. There are traditions among the inhabitants, that it owes its origin chiefly

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to some tribes coming from the north, probably belonging to the Berber race.

Agadez formerly contained not less than from fifty to sixty thousand inhabitants, there being now only about eight thousand. At present the appearance of the town is that of an almost ruined place, scarcely the sixth part of it. The inhabitants are partly merchants, partly artizans. Respecting the degree of civilization of the inhabitants, it may be mentioned that there are five or six schools in Agadez, where the boys are taught to read the Koran, and to write. The women seem to enjoy great freedom. Some of them are pretty, and have Arab features; and among the men Dr. Barth observed fine faces and good figures. The population is so mixed that it would be difficult to make out the type of the original stock.

The kingdom of Aïr, as it is called by the Tuaricks, and Asben by the ancient Soudan name, lies about midway between the Nile and the western coast of northern Africa. From its natural features it can neither be considered as strictly belonging to the Sahara nor to Soudan, but it presents a transition country, where the various features of both regions are blended and mixed together. On the one hand, the tropical rains extend all over the country to its northernmost extremity, which is not the case in that part of the desert explored by Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton, and lying to the east, nor in that portion lying to the west.

The population is pretty considerable for a Saharan country, the total number of inhabitants being estimated at about sixty-four thousand, which is at least double that of the whole of Fezzan. It was stated to the travelers, that the chiefs of Aïr can bring fourteen thousand able-bodied warriors into the field. The largest town is Agadez, with about eight thousand inhabitants, while Tin-Tellust has only about four hundred and fifty. There are, however, about half a dozen towns, the population of each of which exceeds one thousand, while the great bulk of places contain between that number and one hundred inhabitants, and a good many contain not more than fifty.

On the 12th of December, the travelers left their protracted encampment at Tin-Teggana, and on the 14th were joined by the salt caravan from Bilma. On the 20th December, they rested opposite the eastern side of the celebrated Baghzen Mountain, Dr. Overweg ascending what may be considered its lower terrace. It consists of porous basalt, and afforded a capital view of the high and steep slopes of the Baghzen, with its narrow gorges, the home of great numbers of lions. The next day they descended along the Wady Unan which widens out to a considerable plain further south, and passed through splendid forests of the doum-palm, which, laden with fruit, imparted to the country a truly tropical aspect. Christmas-eve was passed at a place called Bargot.

On the 1st of January, 1851, the travelers passed the most barren

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portion of the plateau, and descended by a gentle slope to Soudan. The weather experienced in that region was bleak and cold, with a keen bracing air from the north-east, under which the caravan suffered severely, and several camels escaped from the numbed fingers of their drivers. The next day the travelers got fairly out of the elevated desert, and entered upon a wilderness of small tholukh-trees full of birds' nests, the soil covered with karengia and other herbs. Great numbers of ant-hills were met with. The same character of landscape continued to the village of Nasámat, which was reached on the 3d of January. Here flocks of sheep and droves of oxen betrayed the commencement of an inhabited country, and a real blessing and happiness it was to the travelers to be kindly received by the inhabitants, who are Tuaricks, and belong to a tribe called Tagama. Plenty of provisions were now obtained by the hungry caravan: fowls and cheese, young ostriches and eggs of ostriches, and the flesh of the giraffe, were brought for sale. The latter was relished, and its taste found to be somewhat like beef. Hunting the giraffe is a great occupation with the people of this village, and its flesh is a source of subsistence for them.

The caravan now entered Damergou, a frontier country of Bornou, under the sway of the Tuaricks, greatly intermixed with people of Bornou and Houssa. The expedition encamped on the 7th of January at the village of Tagelal, which belongs to En-Noor. It was arranged that the travelers should part here for a time and take different routes, in order to explore as much of Soudan as possible, making Kouka their place of rendezvous. Mr. Richardson was to take the direct road by Zinder, Dr. Barth by Katshna and Kano, and Dr. Overweg by a circuitous westerly route through Guber and Mariadi. On the 11th of January, 1851, they parted, never, alas, all three to meet again. "We took leave," says Mr. Richardson in his journal, "one of the other with some emotion; for in central Africa, those travelers who part and take divergent routes, can scarcely count on all meeting together again."

The direction of Mr. Richardson's route was nearly due south for about fifteen geographical miles, when it turned about south-east and continued in that direction as far as Zinder. A protracted delay of nearly four weeks was caused at Zinder, on account of a razzia sent to the neighboring countries. Mr. Richardson was all this time well treated, had good opportunities of making observations respecting the country and people around, and also of collecting information generally; provisions of every kind were supplied to him in abundance. Sad sights, however, connected with the slave-trade, checked his delight and threw a gloom over every thing else. During his stay the sultan went out in person to hunt down the subjects of his own sovereign, that he might pay his debts by selling them into captivity.

Zinder has a population of about ten thousand souls. The military force consists of cavalry and foot—one thousand cavalry having swords, spears, and shields; and four or five thousand bowmen, having

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only bows and arrows. The houses of Zinder are mostly built of double matting, but a good number have mud walls and thatched roofs. Others are built of mud. There are no nice mosques with minarets. The residence of the sultan is a fort of mud, with walls of some height; it overlooks all the other buildings. There are two principal streets, running from the south to the north; one terminating at the castle of the governor, and the other in the market. These are of some width, there being spaces for a dozen camels to pass abreast. There are, besides, many little squares before the houses of the grandees, where the idle people lounge, of which the streets are always full. The scavengers in the streets of Zinder are the vultures and hyænas, the former walking about in great numbers by day, the latter enter the town in troops by night.

On the 8th of February, 1851, Mr. Richardson left Zinder *en route* for Kouka, under an escort, and mounted on a horse presented to him by the sultan. The general direction of his route was east, through a fine wavy country, rising at times into high hills, with comparatively few trees, and more sugar-cane fields than in the northern parts of the province. The country is very fine and park-like, and were it not for the doum-palm, would be more like some of the best parts of Europe than Africa is supposed to be. On the 11th of February, he entered Manga or Minyo, considered to be the most powerful province of Bornou; and after passing a great number of villages—for the country is densely peopled—reached the capital Gurai on the 14th. He was kindly received by the sultan, and after staying for several days at Gurai, left that place on the 19th of February. His route led through a tract of country which may be considered as the southern border of the Sahara, for the vegetation was stunted, and the fauna exceedingly poor. At Gusumana, which forms the center of a group of several towns and villages, the country was considerably improved. It is situated on a hill, overlooking a steep broad valley, full of doum-palms, while in the gardens wheat, cotton, and pepper are cultivated. Mr. Richardson reached this place on the 21st of February, and here it was that he wrote the last words of his journal, for a few days afterward he fell a victim to the fatigues of the journey, and the influence of the climate. His last words seem to hint the cause of the lamentable accident that speedily followed: "Thermometer at sunset, 82°; weather very troublesome to-day, blowing hot and cold with the same breath." Spring was advancing with its uncertain temperatures in central Africa. The thermometer stood nearly 30° between the morning and afternoon. Doubtless, however, the unusual fatigue of horse-exercise during the days that succeeded the departure from Zinder may have contributed its share in breaking down Mr. Richardson's strength.

Mr. Richardson died at Ungurutua, about six days' journey from Kouka, the capital of Bornou, on the 4th of March, 1851, eleven months after his departure from Tripoli. His fellow-traveler, Dr. Barth, hast-

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ened to the spot with laudable energy as soon as he heard of the melancholy catastrophe that had taken place, and secured all his papers and effects, which he forwarded to the British consul at Tripoli. The journal of the ill-fated traveler has since been published. He was forty-two years of age at the time of his death.

From Tagelal, where the travelers separated, Dr. Barth went in a direction about south-west nearly on a straight line as far as Katshna, thus entering the dominions of the Felatahs. A few miles from Tagelal he passed Olaloal, the capital of Damergou, and about half way between that place and Katshna he left the town of Tasawa a little to the right of his route, having to cross a dense forest before reaching the frontier of the Felatah empire. This forest is rendered unsafe by gangs of Felatahs. Arrived at Katshna, the capital of a Felatah province, he was detained some days by the governor, who extorted from him a high passage money. From Katshna to Kano, Barth took a more easterly route than the one of Clapperton, and found the various streams he crossed running to the eastward. He arrived at this important place, the London of Soudan in a commercial point, in the beginning of February, and stayed till the beginning of March. During this time he collected a good deal of information respecting Houssa, and but for this would have been very dissatisfied with his visit to that city; for he was much molested by the inhabitants, and suffered from the unhealthiness of the place by a slight attack of fever. In addition to this, he was greatly disappointed by his commercial transactions, for the great amount of goods he and Dr. Overweg had been induced to purchase at Murzouk—to be exchanged in the markets of Kano for Soudan money or merchandise—fetched very low prices, and thus entailed a considerable loss, which, with the robberies in the Sahara, reduced his means in a degree little anticipated.

On the 5th of March, Dr. Barth left Kano and reached Gummel, the first considerable place within the Bornouese dominions, on the 12th. After staying a few days at that place, he continued his journey, and met with a sherif on the road, who acquainted him with Mr. Richardson's death. This sad account having been confirmed by succeeding travelers, he hurried on as fast as possible, in order to fulfill the last duty to his unfortunate traveling companion; if too late for his burial, at least to make provision that his lonely grave would be respected, and also to take such measures as might be necessary for the successful prosecution of the object of the mission. Having secured all Mr. Richardson's papers, Dr. Barth hastened on to Kouka, which he reached on the 2d of April, 1851. On his arrival, he presented himself at once at the shekh's palace, as one of the surviving Christians who had come from England to bring him presents from her Britannic majesty. He was received with great kindness and hospitality.

While awaiting the arrival of Dr. Overweg, Dr. Barth made preparations for the exploration of Lake Tsad, and collected information

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respecting every quarter of central Africa, with the zeal and indefatigability which distinguish this enthusiastic traveler, though the state of scanty provision and disorganization in which he found the whole expedition on his arrival at Kouka, were sufficient to have discouraged the most energetic. In this dilemma, the Vizier of Bornou had lent him $100; with which he was enabled to pay some of the debts incurred by Mr. Richardson, and part of the salary due to his servants. On the 7th of May, Dr. Overweg arrived at Kouka, and was welcomed by his traveling companion as one who had made himself already quite at home. They received from the shekh a good house of large size to live in, and were supplied daily with plenty of mutton, rice, wheat, butter, and honey. Energetic preparations were forthwith made for exploring unknown regions, Dr. Barth directing his steps in a southerly direction, and Dr. Overweg commencing the exploration of Lake Tsad.

DR. BARTH'S JOURNEY TO ADAMOWA.

The great object of Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg being to push their way southward from Lake Tsad, with the ultimate view to cross the whole continent of Africa and reach the Indian Ocean, they collected beforehand as much information as possible respecting the countries they were about to visit. Thus Dr. Barth, while on his way from Kano to Kouka, received accounts of a country of which till then scarcely more than the name was known, and that it was situated south of Lake Tsad. This country, called Adamaua, Dr. Barth inferred, from all he heard of it, to be the most beautiful country of central Africa, and a strong wish arose to reach and explore this region at the earliest opportunity. He, therefore, on his arrival at Kouka, directed all his energies to the realization of his wish, and so far succeeded, that soon after Dr. Overweg's arrival at that place, he was enabled to start for the south, leaving his companion to navigate Lake Tsad. Leaving Kouka on the 29th of May, accompanied by a Bornouese kashélla, or captain, Dr. Barth proceeded southward, passing through the province of Uje. He then entered the territory of a tribe called the Marghi, whom he thus describes: "The Marghi are a very fine set of people, tall and extremely well-built; the color of some is black, of others copper color. They have a language of their own. Their villages consist of groups of huts belonging to separate families, and the huts are better than any I have seen in Bornou. The Marghi are quite naked, with the exception of a simple band of leather passed between their loins and fixed round their girdle, and a profusion of neatly made rings of iron and ivory round their arms and legs. The females perforate their under lips, and the males their right ear, but neither of them make any incisions in their face or body. The Marghi worship their god, called *tambi*, in holy groves, of which each village has one, consisting of magnificent trees, surrounded by a ditch,

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and forming a kind of citadel, whither they retreat during war with all their property and what is most dear to them. They have also a rock near Kobtshee, the capital, which is the object of great veneration, and on which they perform ordeals very similar to those in the middle ages. The death of an old man is celebrated with rejoicings, that of a young man with grief and lamentations.

"The most important day," he writes, "in all my African journeys, was the 18th of June, when we reached the river Benué, at a point called Taëpe, where it is joined by the river Faro. Since leaving Europe, I had not seen so large and imposing a river. The Benué, or 'mother of waters,' which is by far the larger one of the two, is half a mile broad, and nine and a quarter feet deep in the channel where we crossed it. On our return, eleven days later, it had risen one and a half feet. The Faro is five twelfths of a mile broad, and three feet deep, which increased to seven and a.quarter feet by our return. Both rivers have a very strong current, and run to the west into the Kowara (Niger). We crossed the Benué in boats made out of single trees, twenty-five to thirty-five feet long, and one to one and a half feet broad, and forded the Faro, which latter was accomplished not without difficulty, on account of the strong current. The Benué is said to rise nine days' journey from Yola in a south-easterly direction, and the Faro seven days' journey distant, in a rock called Labul. During the rainy season the country is inundated to a great extent by the two rivers, which rise to their highest level toward the end of July, and remain at that level for forty days, namely, till the first days of September, when the waters begin to fall. Both rivers are full of crocodiles, and the Benué is supposed to carry gold. After having crossed the rivers, with some difficulty to the camels, we passed at first through some swampy ground, then through a very fine country thickly inhabited, and reached Yola, the capital, on the 22d of June.

"Yola is the capital of Fúmbina or Adamowa, and the residence of the Sultan Mohammed Loel, son of the Mallem Adama, who conquered this country, and on whose account it has received the name Adamowa. It is situated in a rather swampy plain, inundated during the rainy season by an inlet of the river. It covers a large area, its dimensions being two and a half miles from east to west, and one and a half miles from north to south. All the dwellings, except the houses of the sultan and his family, consist of huts, built of mud. Having rode up to the sultan's palace, we were lodged in the house of one of his chiefs, Ardo Gammawa. My letter of recommendation from the Shekh of Bornou, was delivered, and made upon the whole a good impression. It represented me as a stranger, a Christian—not without his 'holy book'—who visited Adamowa, in order to explore there and 'admire the works of the Almighty God.' These latter words made the Fellatah chief violent and unmanageable. But worse than this, was the letter delivered by my companion, the kashella, in which the disputed frontier-territory was

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once more claimed by the Shekh of Bornou, and this in a rather energetic manner. Consequently, on the 26th of June, after a three days' stay in Yola, a message from the sultan was delivered to me, requesting me to leave the town, and return the way I came. This most vexatious order was delivered by Mallem Mansúr, the brother of the sultan himself, and next to him in influence, and who had shown me much kindness during my stay, and now endeavored to appease my vexatious feelings. He said that I would be most welcome to the sultan, if I brought a letter from his master in Sakatu, whose slave he was. I gave to Mallem Mansúr the presents destined for him, who then announced to me that the sultan, his brother, had sent two slaves as a present for myself, and requested the present intended for him. I declared, that I must decline his present, for in addition to it being a sin for me to possess slaves, I neither would give nor receive the smallest present from a sultan who ordered me to leave his country in the manner he had done. Shortly after this we left Yola, accompanied by two horsemen, who had orders to conduct us safely to the frontier.

"With regard to the height of the mountains seen by me, I must observe, that the reports of snow-capped mountains in that region of inner Africa, are without foundation, as not even the Alantika, the highest mountain of Adamowa, and probably exceeding ten thousand feet in height, reaches the limit of snow. Most of the other mountains in Adamowa seem only three thousand feet above their basis."

Dr. Barth appears to have returned to Kouka on the same route he came, where he safely arrived on the 22d of July, after an absence of scarcely more than two months. The results of this journey, though short, are unquestionably the most important, both in a geographical and commercial point of view, of those which have yet been achieved by that expedition, for the magnificent river discovered by Dr. Barth holds out the hope, that by its means will be laid open the vast unknown interior of Africa to our knowledge, as well as to the civilization and commerce of the world. Two geographical questions of importance are also set at rest by Dr. Barth's journey, namely, the non-existence of a great longitudinal mountain chain which was supposed to stretch across central Africa in the region traversed by that traveler, and the non-connexion of Lake Tsad with the Kowara.

DR. OVERWEG'S EXPLORATION OF LAKE TSAD.

The boat for exploring Lake Tsad and its numerous islands had safely, though with great trouble, been conveyed from the Mediterranean across the desert to Kouka, laden in pieces on camels. The Shekh of Bornou being on terms of war with the nations inhabiting the eastern shores of Lake Tsad, a journey round the lake was found impracticable, and Dr. Overweg therefore determined on a cruise on the lake during

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the absence of his companion. With the assistance of Arab carpenters, he put the boat together, and named it *Lord Palmerston.* It was launched at Maduari, east of Kouka, when a vast number of people flocked together to see and admire the strange boat. A harbor near this point is the only place where an occasional trade is carried on between the inhabitants of Bornou and those of the islands in the lake, the Biddumas. Two of their boats happened to be in that harbor when the *Lord Palmerston* was launched. Dr. Overweg soon became friendly with the crews, and engaged two of the men as sailors and interpreters, in addition to whom he was accompanied by his servant, a Tripolitanian boatman, and Fugo Ali, a Sudurti chief.

On the 28th of June, Dr. Overweg embarked at Maduari, in company with two of the Bidduma boats. For the first seven hours they had to make their way through narrow channels between small islands, and through dense reeds of a luxuriant growth, infested by herds of *ungurutus*, or hippopotami, which were no less disturbed and terrified by the boat with its white sails than the Biddumas who were occasionally met with, either in boats or swimming about with great rapidity on pieces of floating timber. The hippopotami would often appear with their heads above the water, and gape at the moving sails. Toward evening the open water of the sea was reached; it is called *inkibul.* At night the boat was tied to a floating island of reeds, enlivened by hosts of phosphorescent insects. On the following day a north-easterly course was steered through the vast open expanse of the lake, the average depth of which was found to be eight to twelve feet. Floating islands of reeds were met with in that open portion of the lake, but scarcely any fishes, hippopotami, or water-fowl, all of which were plentiful in the narrow channels toward the shores.

On the 30th of June, Dr. Overweg continued his course with a fresh breeze, in which the punts of the Biddumas, not having any sails, were unable to keep up with the *Lord Palmerston.* Toward the evening the first island of the Biddumas—Kangallam—was reached, after previously sighting to the right hand the small island of Kamassa. Rounding the island of Kangallam, and steering a more easterly course, Seurom, a larger island, was passed, and Marea was reached, at which they landed for the purpose of taking in wood. The depth of the lake at this point was six feet only, and further on nine feet.

Leaving Marea, a great number of islands were passed, of which Maddeh, Jerom, and Berom, were the principal ones. Near Marea the fishes reappeared. At times the open lake was seen, stretching southward through the narrow channels of the adjoining islands. In the same direction was seen an island covered with magnificent trees and herds of cattle. The night was passed close to the island of Berom. On the 1st and 2d of July, the voyage was continued in an easterly direction, through similar intricate channels formed by innumerable islands, some of which were covered with fine pastures and trees, and

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inhabited. On the latter day the large island Belarigo was reached, but previously they met a number of its inhabitants, from whom they learned that their chief, having heard of Dr. Overweg's visit, had gone to the Bornouese shore to fetch him, and conduct him safely to his residence. No less kind than this act was the reception of the visitors in the harbor of Belarigo island. Immense multitudes of people collected round the boat to welcome the Christian, the salutation of the men consisting of shaking by the hand, and of the women by unceasing exclamations and songs. Dr. Overweg was conducted to a pleasant eminence to pitch his tent, and abundance of milk and provisions were brought to him and his companions. Late in the evening a grand procession took place to honor the guests, who were continually assured of the friendship of their entertainers. Next morning, the whole of the inhabitants, old and young, went to cultivate their cane fields; and the afternoon was spent in festival assemblies, dancing, and rejoicings, on which occasion Dr. Overweg delivered his presents, consisting of a few tobes, pearls, needles, rings, and sugar, which were distributed among the community of the island.

Dr. Overweg stayed four days in Belarigo, and was treated invariably with the greatest kindness. The island of Belarigo stretches from north to south, and is about four miles long, and between one and two miles broad. On the 7th he left the island to extend his cruise eastward. The same labyrinth of channels and islands continued as before, but the depth of the sea was somewhat greater, namely fifteen feet. After upward of two hours' sail the large island of Doji was reached, where Dr. Overweg halted. Some of the people of Belarigo had accompanied and followed him, not in boats, but swimming across the narrow channels with their hand-floats. It appears that he was unable to extend his tour further to the east, on account of the war between the people of Waday and the Biddumas, which was not yet terminated.

The fact that the waters of Lake Tsad are fresh and clear, is fully confirmed by Dr. Overweg. A new feature now first brought out by the researches of that traveler is its comparative shallowness, the soundings taken by him ranging from eight to fifteen feet. The depth and volume of water, as well as the superficial extent of the lake, varies greatly in different seasons and periods. Inundations and droughts succeeding each other produce such changes that the channels between various islands through which Dr. Overweg sailed without obstruction, are frequently laid dry, and at other times the islands are inundated to such a degree, that the inhabitants have to retreat with their property to the ranges and summits of the sandhills found in many of the islands. The greater portion of the lake is occupied by a vast labyrinth of small islands, the largest of which were found by Dr. Overweg not to exceed five miles in length.

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EXPLORATIONS IN 1851 AND 1852.

No sooner had Dr. Overweg rejoined his companion at Kouka, than they planned another journey to be undertaken conjointly. Owing to the recent death of the Sultan of Waday, a country lying to the east of Lake Tsad, the whole of that region had been involved in a civil war. The Uelad Soliman (the well-known powerful Arab tribe, formerly living near the Mediterranean, whence they were driven away by the Turks and subsequently occupied the regions to the north and north-east of Lake Tsad, forming an alliance with Bornu), determined to profit by this dissension of the people of Waday among themselves, and to invade their country. Under their protection the travelers hoped to be enabled to explore the countries to the north-east and east of Lake Tsad, as well as the mountainous region of Borgou, situated about midway between that lake and Egypt, and never yet visited by any European. Their kind host, the Shekh of Bornou, considerately equipped twenty Arabs expressly for the purpose of conducting them safe to the Arab encampment.

On the 15th of September the travelers and their escort left Kouka, and on the 1st of October they reached the encampment of the Uelad Soliman near Bir-el-Korno, and were received in a grand style by the Arab horsemen, who paraded their celebrated equestrian evolutions. The camp consisted of about one hundred Arab families, and a division of Tibbus, together with about five thousand camels, several thousand head of oxen and sheep, and two hundred horses—the whole presenting an imposing and novel spectacle to the travelers, particularly when on the march. From Bir-el-Korno the army moved on toward Maw, the capital of Kanem, through districts situated northward from that place, and inhabited by Tibbus. The western tribes of the Tibbus of Kanem were already subjugated, and the eastern ones could not stand the first attack of the Arabs, but fled, and left their herds of camels, oxen, and sheep, in the hands of the enemy. They rallied, however, and succeeded in raising all their neighbors in order to prevent the further progress of the Arabs. The latter had already approached Maw to within a few hours' distance, when, with an overwhelming force the enemy made an attack upon their camp, which proved as unexpected as it was decisive. The Uelad Soliman were defeated, and put to flight so suddenly, that Barth and Overweg saved their lives and instruments only by a quick retreat. The army made a stand in western Kanem, intending to renew their attack upon the countries eastward, as soon as an auxiliary force of the Bornouese should have joined them. As this would have caused an indefinite loss of time to our travelers, beside the uncertainty of their progress, as depending upon the chances of an invading army, they determined to return at once to their head-quarters at Kouka, where they arrived without further mishaps, on the 14th of November.

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On reaching Kouka, the travelers learned that a large army of the Shekh of Bornou was about to leave for the south, to castigate the people of Mandara, a country already known through Major Denham, who there met with so narrow an escape on a similar occasion. Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg, far from being discouraged by the dangers their predecessor had undergone, or by their own narrow escape in their late journey to Kanem, determined to accompany the Bornouese army. The 25th of November was the day of departure. The army consisted of upward of ten thousand horse, and the same number of foot soldiers, with innumerable trains of camels and other beasts of burden. The campaign lasted from the 25th of November to the 1st of February, 1852. The army penetrated to the distance of two hundred miles in a south-eastern direction, into a country called Musgo, and returned with a booty of five thousand slaves, and ten thousand head of cattle. The country was very level, and abounded with marshes.

After a short rest of a few weeks, the two travelers left Kouka in the end of March, 1852, on two distinct journeys: Dr. Barth going in a south-easterly direction toward the Nile, and Dr. Overweg in a south-westerly direction toward the Niger. Dr. Barth directed his way to Maseña, the capital of Bagirmi. Owing to the intrigues of a native of that country, who had recently returned from Kouka, and who considered himself not sufficiently honored by the sultan and the vizier, the most absurd rumors respecting the object of Dr. Barth's visit had been spread about, namely, that he was a dangerous sorcerer, and that he had come to cause mischief to the people and to dethrone the sultan. Accordingly a most determined opposition was shown him in the country of Loggene, and he was not allowed to cross the river Shary. Undeterred by these difficulties, Dr. Barth, by a circuitous route, went to another ferry at Mele, about twelve miles lower down the river, where he succeeded in crossing the river and thus entering the kingdom of Bagirmi, but his further progress was again forcibly stopped, and it was only allowed him to send his letters of recommendation to the capital, and to remain till an answer should be returned.

He reached the capital at last on the 28th of April, and though he seems to have been tolerably well received, he was not allowed to extend his journey beyond that place. For this restriction he endeavored to make up by collecting all possible information respecting the regions to the south and also to the east as far as Dar Fur, including Waday. At last, on the 10th of August, after staying upward of three months at Maseña, he was allowed to commence his return to Kouka.

On the 24th of March, Dr. Overweg left Kouka, his route being south-west. On the 1st of April, he reached Gujeba, a large place, surrounded with low walls of red clay. The vegetation of the region round Gujeba is tolerably luxuriant; there are no less than fifteen different plants cultivated, and forty-seven different kinds of trees were enumerated to him by their native names, thirty-two of them bearing eatable

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fruit, three eatable roots and leaves, and twelve neither eatable fruits nor roots; forty different animals are met with by the hunters of Gujeba, including the civet, the musky secretion of which is collected. Gujeba belongs to Bornou only since 1847, when it was conquered by a combined army of the shekh and the Uelad Soliman. Dr. Overweg was kindly received at Gujeba, and a house adjoining the sultan's was given him for his residence. When at home, he was contantly besieged by visitors, who conducted themselves with the greatest propriety. The playing of a small musical-box he had with him, put every one in raptures, and there was an unceasing demand to hear the *molo* as they called that instrument.

Dr. Overweg left Gujeba on the 9th of April, after a stay of five days. His route was nearly due west. After crossing a considerable range of hills, forming a spur of the table land to the west, the large town of Fika was reached on the 14th of April. Fika is surrounded with a walled suburb, and the town itself has a very high wall with double ditches. It is indeed most strongly fortified, and boasts of never having been taken by an enemy, not even by the Fellatahs. It lies at the opening of a valley, extending to the west into the mountains, and is abundantly supplied with date-trees and water. The behavior of the inhabitants to the travelers was by no means so amiable as in the places visited previously, though they were readily supplied with a house and plenty of provisions. On the morning after his arrival, Dr. Overweg induced some of the inhabitants to ascend with him the hill which overlooks the town. He there enjoyed an extensive view over the vast plain to the south, draining, it was said, into the Benue. The Fellatah territory commences immediately to the south of Fika, the large town of Naffada, also Bake—the former, only three hours distant—being plainly discernible to Dr. Overweg. He was about to ascend a higher hill further west, when messengers from the sultan arrived to command his immediate return to the town. At the gate, the comers were greeted by an immense assemblage of the people, by no means in a friendly manner; the Fika men, who had conducted the stranger to the top of the hill, were unceremoniously taken hold of and led away, and doleful cries and lamentations were uttered by the multitude, sounding "La, la, ai, ai, ai, yai, yai!" Dr. Overweg pressed forward through the crowd, and reached his habitation without any violence being offered to him. It was afterward explained to him that this scene arose from his ascending the hill, which affords so complete a view over their town, that the inhabitants feared this knowledge obtained by a stranger could not but be productive of evil. And such was the excitement, that one person had proposed the stranger should at once be killed, in order to prevent the apprehended ill consequences. The sultan assured Dr. Overweg that this manifestation was not justified by his own feelings; still it appeared advisable to leave the town next morning. Accordingly the plan of penetrating further in that direction was abandoned, and the trav-

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elers returned northward toward Dora. From this place they returned to Kouka by a more southerly route, passing through the country of the Marghi, and the province of Uje, which Dr. Barth had traversed on his way to Adamowa. He reached Kouka in safety, though greatly fatigued by his journey, on the 22d of May.

Not long after Dr. Overweg's return to Kouka the rains commenced, the first shower occurring on the 15th of June. He now began anxiously to expect Dr. Barth's return from Bagirmi, as further operations depended upon a mutual arrangement. The 24th of June was a joyful day, the great caravan arriving from the north and bringing letters and supplies so long expected. The dispatches from the British government addressed to Dr. Barth were at once forwarded to Bagirmi by a special messenger, but it was not till the 20th of August that that traveler was able to return to Kouka. During this protracted delay, Dr. Overweg had so far regained his strength as to make short excursions to the lake, and in other directions. Dr. Barth, when arriving at Kouka, noticed the change in his friend's appearance, who looked emaciated and had no appetite. To avoid the dangers of the rainy season, to which he had already too long been exposed, it was arranged that he should set out from Kouka on an excursion along the river Yeou.

Dr. Overweg's health was satisfactory throughout this trip, and he returned to Kouka on the 14th of September, in the hope of having regained his health. Five days afterward, however, he was attacked by fever, and after seven more days he was no more. It was on the 20th of September that he felt seriously ill. At his own wish, he was removed to Maduari, which is ten miles east of Kouka, and near Lake Tsad. This is a very open and pleasant place, interspersed with trees, and had always been a favorite spot with the deceased. The boat in which he had navigated Lake Tsad was also there. It was not till the 24th that he was enabled, with the assistance of three persons, to reach that place. There was, however, no help. The most dangerous symptoms manifested themselves on his arrival, his speech becoming gradually unintelligible, and, after much suffering, he expired on the 27th of September, 1852, at four o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon Dr. Barth fulfilled the heart-rending duty of interring his only companion and friend. Thus, at the early age of thirty, and sharing the fate of Mr. Richardson, fell the second victim out of three persons composing this enterprise.

EXPLORATIONS OF DRS. BARTH AND VOGEL.

Meantime letters and funds had arrived from England, and Dr. Barth, finding his own health unimpaired, determined to carry on the undertaking single-handed, regardless of the perils and privations that awaited him. He made preparations to leave for Sackatoo and Timbuctoo, but first took the precaution of forwarding all his papers to En-

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gland. He finally left Kouka on the 25th of November, 1852, reached Sackatoo in April, 1853, and entered the famous city of Timbuctoo on the 7th of September. After this nothing was heard of him for a long time, and the most serious apprehensions were felt concerning him. Word at last reached Tripoli, by way of Bornou, that he had fallen a victim to the enmity of the chief of the desert tribes around Timbuctoo, who had sworn that he should never leave the city alive.

Previous to leaving Kouka, he had written to the British government, requesting that another coadjutor might be sent out to supply the loss of Dr. Overweg. Dr. Edward Vogel, an assistant of Mr. Hind, the astronomer, volunteered his services, which were accepted, and he was also permitted to take two volunteers from the corps of sappers and miners. This new party left Tripoli on the 28th of June, 1853, accompanied by Mr. Warrington, son of the English consul at that place. They reached Mourzuk on the 8th of August, and were obliged to remain there until the 13th of October, when they started for Bornou with a caravan of seventy camels. The march across the Sahara was very rapid and fortunate, and in December they arrived safely at Kouka. The next news which reached England, and which immediately followed the account of the murder of Dr. Barth, was the death of Mr. Warrington, and the dangerous illness of Dr. Vogel. The expedition seemed to be fated, in every way.

After some months of painful uncertainty, came the joyful intelligence that Dr. Barth was still alive and had left Timbuctoo, after a stay of nearly a year. The report of his death had been invented by the vizier of Bornou, who coveted the supplies belonging to the expedition, and who would no doubt have taken measures to have the story confirmed, for the sake of securing the plunder, had he not been deposed in consequence of a political revolution in Bornou. What happened to Dr. Barth during his stay in Timbuctoo has not yet been made known, but it is said that he owed his safety to the friendship of the powerful sultan of Houssa. He succeeded in exploring the whole middle course of the Kowara (Niger), which no one but the lamented Park, whose journals perished with him, ever accomplished. In his journeyings in those regions, he discovered two large kingdoms, Gando and Hamd-Allahi, the very names of which were before unknown. He was treated with the greatest reverence by the inhabitants, who bestowed upon him the name of "Modibo," and seemed to consider him as a demi-god. He reached Kano, on his return, on the 17th of October, 1854, and on the 1st of December met Dr. Vogel, his associate—the first white man he had seen for more than two years! He probably spent the winter in Kouka, and started in March or April on his return to Europe, as we find that he reached Mourzuk on the 20th of July, 1855. Dr. Barth is not yet thirty-five years of age, and with the boundless energy of an explorer, intends returning to central Africa. He stands now, indisputably, at the head of all African travelers.

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Dr. Vogel, after his recovery, imitated Barth and Overweg in accompanying the army of Bornou on its annual foray to the south-east in search of slaves and cattle. He went about ninety miles beyond the furthest point reached by his predecessors, and discovered a large lake and two or three rivers, the existence of which was not previously known. The last accounts from central Africa state that he has succeeded in reaching Yakoba, the capital of the great Fellatah kingdom, which Dr. Overweg endeavored in vain to penetrate. He designs going thence into Adamowa, where he will ascend the great mountain Alantika, and push his way further, if possible, into the countries of Tibati and Baya, lying beyond He will also endeavor to penetrate through Baghirmi into the unknown and powerful kingdom of Waday. It is almost too much to expect that Dr. Vogel will be successful in all these daring designs, but he has youth, enthusiasm, and intelligence on his side, and there are few difficulties which these three auxiliaries will not overcome.

This account of the expedition has been compiled from Mr. Richardson's journals, published since his death, and from the publications of Mr. Augustus Petermann, Secretary of the Geographical Society. It is as complete as the data which have been given to the public, will allow: but the work of Dr. Barth, who is at present (June, 1856), preparing a connected narrative of his travels for publication, will first fully display the vast results achieved by the expedition.

NAVIGATION OF THE RIVER BENUË.

When the news of Dr. Barth's discovery of the river Benuë reached England, and its identity with the Chadda, the great eastern affluent of the Niger, was evident, Mr. Macgregor Laird—whose connection with the unfortunate Niger trading expedition of 1832–33 will be remembered—generously offered to contribute $70,000 toward fitting out an expedition to explore the new highway into central Africa. He built at his own expense a handsome steamer called the *Pleiad*, and through his representation, the British government was induced to contribute $20,000 toward defraying the expenses of the expedition. Two officers, Dr. W. B. Baikie, and Dr. Bleck, of Bonn, were also appointed by the government, provided with special instructions to take charge of the expedition. An unfortunate mistake was made in the choice of a captain, who, through his mismanagement and drunkenness, and particularly through his extravagance in the use of coal, delayed the enterprise; and at length, in the midst of the voyage, Dr. Baikie was compelled to take away his command.

The *Pleiad* left Liverpool on the 17th of May, 1854, and taking on board at Sierra Leone sixty or seventy black sailors, the best men for navigating African waters, and three black interpreters, they reached

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Fernando Po on the 25th of June, and on the 8th of July commenced their explorations. The great result of the expedition was that it reached a point three hundred miles higher up the Benuë than Allen and Oldfield in 1823; they learned that they were only sixty miles below the mouth of the Faro, a southern tributary of the Benuë, and that the Benuë was navigable during the rainy season as far as 11° 30′ east longitude. Had they found coal along the shores they might have penetrated still further into the country, but as they were not able to find any, and had started on the expedition without axes to cut wood for the furnaces, they were obliged to return.

On the 21st of July, they reached the city of Abo, on the Niger, and on the 2d of August, they made the mouth of the Benuë. The river had fallen considerably, by which its ascent was materially hindered. On the 17th of August, Dr. Baikie was obliged to take the command of the steamer from the drunken captain. The vessel was then in the countries Doma and Michi, and at the city of Ojogo, in Doma, which they reached on the 23d of August, they got their first and only news of Dr. Barth, over whose probable death all Europe was mourning. A man who had come to Ojogo from Keana told about two white men who were in Keana when he left, and who had exchanged presents with the sultan. Baikie showed him the vignette on the title page of the work of Petermann, and he recognized the white man in the portrait of Dr. Barth, but remarked that he had a big beard now. Doctor Vogel also was identified, except that he now had hair on his cheeks and lips. When they arrived at this point, the river had risen five feet, and they had no cause to complain of lack of water thereafter. On the 6th of September they reached the considerable city of Gandiko, in the kingdom of Kororofa. At first the inhabitants manifested a disposition to give the strangers a hostile reception, but when they were satisfied of their peaceful intentions, they welcomed them hospitably. The king paid Dr. Baikie a visit, and a friendly and profitable trade sprang up between the city and the steamer.

The greatest difficulties commenced in Hamaruwa. On the 18th of September and the four following days, they had to contend with a current of from two and a half to three knots per hour. The wood burned poorly, and they made small progress. For two weeks there had been considerable sickness on board. The crew suffered from swelled limbs; there were symptoms also of dropsy. The disease appeared to be of a scorbutic character, and it was soon found that the ship's rations, seven or eight gills of rice, with cold water, were not sufficient for the exigencies of the crew; meat was therefore provided. On the 22d of September they reached the city of Garowa, where an envoy from the sultan of Hamanuwa was waiting for them. He bore an invitation to them to go up to the palace seven or eight miles from the city. This country lies on the northern bank of the Benuë, and Messrs. Crowther and Richards, who accepted the invitation, were well received by the

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sultan. Then Dr. Baikie went up. The country is inhabited by Fulos, who do not live upon yams, but cultivate grain. In the villages they keep goats and poultry, especially ducks. The road to the palace is only a narrow path through a boggy country thickly covered with grass and bushes. After walking fourteen miles they reached the capital on the 24th, at sunset. It is built on a little eminence at the foot of a chain of hills, and commands an extensive prospect of the marshy plain. The hunger of the travelers was first whetted by half an hour of shaking hands with the natives, and then satisfied by various preparations of milk, and with two well-known African dishes, foofoo, and palaver sauce. The city is two miles long, by a mile and a half in breadth. The houses are round and quite large, well-built and surrounded by large yards. The inhabitants are Fellatahs, and speak the Fulo or rather the Pulo language; most of them speak also the Houssa language, which the travelers understood. The appearance of the people was pleasing and sometimes even beautiful; their intelligence is well-known in Africa. Baikie had an audience with the sultan. The foreigners were seated on Turkish carpets. They did not see the prince himself, for, according to the custom of the country, a silken curtain was suspended before him. He received some presents, and talked much about peace, friendship, and future commerce, the wickedness of wars, of conquest, and about an alliance against common enemies.

The crew was so much weakened by sickness that the steamboat could be worked no further up the river. Dr. Baikie with Mr. May, on the 27th, started up the stream in a boat. That day and the following they made but little progress, but on the third day the wind rose, and they ran rapidly before it. Before noon they reached Dulti, a village which was then entirely submerged, with the exception of a dry spot about a great tree. Here they landed, and were soon surrounded by flocks of rough, savage-looking people, all entirely naked, women as well as men. At first astonishment kept them quiet, and Dr. Baikie attempted to get up a conversation with them, and get them into good humor. Soon, however, they began to be troublesome, and to press up about them with the intention evidently of carrying off their boat and plundering them. A little sporting dog which the travelers had with them fortunately showed his head at this juncture, and his sudden appearance inspired the natives with such salutary fear that they immediately retreated. As the doctor did not think it worth while to get into a fight with three or four hundred men, armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows, he gave the best-looking among them a few presents, and shoved off. While they were looking about for another landing-place, the natives suddenly came upon them in their canoes, and tried to get them in the swamps and bushes along the bank, so that they were obliged to put out for the open river. Here they were safe, as they could easily upset any canoe which might happen to be troublesome. When they had reached open water, the nine or ten canoes,

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manned with eight or nine men apiece, turned back and left them. They had already fixed that afternoon as the limit of their upward voyage, and, though very unwillingly, they headed their boat down stream.

That point was in latitude 9° 30′ north, longitude 11° 30′ east. They could not give the latitude and longitude with greater accuracy, as they were interrupted in their observations by the savages. They learned that they were only sixty miles below the mouth of the Faro. On the return voyage they experienced a tropical thunder-storm, and when they arrived at Garowa they found that the *Pleiad* was gone. The crew, fearing that the river was falling, had compelled the mate to start down the river, and wandering for awhile over flooded land they found the steamer and continued the return voyage without interruption. On the 5th of October the river began to fall; on the 20th they reached the Niger, and on the 4th of November at sunset they anchored before Fernando Po.

On the average, the sick-list was moderate. Fever was in all cases treated with heavy doses of quinine, and what must be regarded as almost a miracle in the African lowlands, there was not a single death during the whole voyage.

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BURTON'S

PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

In the autumn of 1852, Lieutenant Richard F. Burton, of the Bombay army, offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society of London, for the purpose of undertaking an exploration of central and eastern Arabia. He was peculiarly fitted for such a journey by his long residence in India, and his familiarity with the Persian and Arabic languages, and their various dialects, to which advantages he added a decidedly Shemitic countenance. The Geographical Society favored his plan, but the Board of Directors of the East India Company refused to grant him the three years' leave of absence, demanded for its prosecution. They gave him, however, an additional furlough of a year, in order to pursue his Arabic studies.

He thereupon determined to prove, by actual experiment, that his plan was practicable. Being supplied with means by the Geographical Society, he set out, determined to cross the unknown Arabian Peninsula, either in a direct line from Medina to Muscat, or diagonally from Mecca to Makallab in the Indian Ocean. On the 3d of April, 1853, he left London, having, by the advice of a friend, already assumed the Oriental costume, and embarked at Southampton as a Persian prince. He deceived every body on the voyage, and on arriving at Alexandria was gratified to see that he was looked upon as a genuine Moslem. At this place he enjoyed the hospitality of an English friend, who, the better to establish his assumed character, lodged him in an out-house. He lost no time in securing the services of a religious shekh, plunged once more into the intricacies of the faith, revived his recollections of religious ablution, read the Koran, and again became an adept in the act of prostration. His leisure hours were employed in visiting the baths and coffee-houses, praying in the mosques, attending the bazaars, and picking up a little medical knowledge, which he judged would be of service.

"After a month's hard work at Alexandria," says he, "I prepared to assume the character of a wandering dervish, after reforming my title from 'Mirza' (Prince), to 'Shekh Abdullah.' A reverend man,

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whose name I do not care to quote, some time ago initiated me into this order, the Kadiriyah, under the high-sounding name of Bismillah-Shah: and, after a due period of probation, he graciously elevated me to the proud position of a Murshid (master), in the mystic craft. I was therefore sufficiently well acquainted with the tenets and practices of these Oriental Freemasons. No character in the Moslem world is so proper for disguise as that of the dervish. It is assumed by all ranks, ages, and creeds; by the nobleman who has been disgraced at court, and by the peasant who is too idle to till the ground; by Dives, who is weary of life, and by Lazarus, who begs bread from door to door. Further, the dervish is allowed to ignore ceremony and politeness, as one who ceases to appear upon the stage of life; he may pray or not, marry or remain single as he pleases, be respectable in cloth of frieze as in cloth of gold, and no one asks him—the chartered vagabond—why he comes here? or wherefore he goes there? He may wend his way on foot alone, or ride his Arab steed, followed by a dozen servants; he is equally feared without weapons, as swaggering through the streets armed to the teeth. The more haughty and offensive he is to the people, the more they respect him; a decided advantage to the traveler of choleric temperament. In the hour of imminent danger, he has only to become a maniac, and he is safe; a madman in the East, like a notably eccentric character in the West, is allowed to say or do whatever the spirit directs."

Before leaving England, Burton had neglected to provide himself with a proper passport, and it was only after much delay and perplexity that he obtained a certificate from the consul at Alexandria, declaring him to be an Indo-British subject named Abdullah, a doctor by profession. He then took passage on the Nile steamer, and proceeded to Cairo, where he quartered himself in one of the native khans. He here became acquainted with an Egyptian merchant named Hadji Wali, who advised him not to let it be known that he was a Persian, as the latter were very unpopular at Mecca, but to choose some other character. "After long deliberation about the choice of nations," says he, "I became a Pathan (Affghan). Born in India of Affghan parents, who had settled in the country, educated at Rangoon, and sent out to wander, as men of that race frequently are, from early youth, I was well guarded against the danger of detection by a fellow-countryman. To support the character requires a knowledge of Persian, Hindostani and Arabic, all of which I knew sufficiently well to pass muster; any trifling inaccuracy was charged upon my long residence at Rangoon."

Burton remained in Cairo some time, studying the mysteries of the Moslem faith under a religious teacher. The fast-month of Ramadan occurred soon after his arrival, and he was obliged to conform to its painful rules. During this time he continued to make preparations for his departure, by purchasing a supply of tea, coffee, rice, sugar, dates, biscuits, oil, vinegar, and tobacco, together with a small tent, three water-skins, and a box of medicines. He also took about £80 in money,

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the most of which he secured in a belt about his waist. He picked up, as a traveling companion, a boy, named Mohammed El-Basyuni, a native of Mecca, from whom he bought the *ihram*, or pilgrim-robe, and the shroud, which all pilgrims carry with them. With this boy, and his Indian servant, Shekh Nur, Burton at last set out for Suez, with the avowed purpose of proceeding to Mecca viâ Djidda, yet secretly determined to visit Medina on the way.

At Suez, he became acquainted with a company bound for Medina and Mecca, and by making loans of various sums of money to the different members, succeeded in securing their good-will. After some further passport difficulties, which were settled by Mr. West, the British vice-consul, who had been told to expect Burton, and saw through his disguise, every thing was in readiness, and the company only waited for the sailing of a large Arab boat, bound for Yembo or Djidda. "Immense was the confusion," says Burton, "on the eventful day of our departure. Suppose us standing upon the beach, on the morning of a fiery July day, carefully watching our hurriedly-packed goods and chattels, surrounded by a mob of idlers, who are not too proud to pick up waifs and strays, while pilgrims rush about apparently mad, and friends are weeping, acquaintances vociferating adieus, boatmen demanding fees, shopmen claiming debts, women shrieking and talking with inconceivable power, children crying—in short, for an hour or so we were in the thick of a human storm. To confound confusion, the boatmen have moored their skiff half a dozen yards away from the shore, lest the porters should be unable to make more than double their fare from the Hajis. Again the Turkish women raise a hideous howl, as they are carried off struggling vainly in brawny arms; the children howl because their mothers howl; and the men scold and swear, because in such scenes none may be silent. The moment we had embarked, each individual found that he or she had missed something of vital importance —a pipe, a child, a box, or a water-melon; and naturally all the servants were in the bazaars, when they should have been in the boat."

Scarcely had they embarked, and taken their places on the elevated poop of their vessel, the *Golden Wire*, when a company of Moghrebbins or Arabs of Morocco, followed, and insolently attempted to dislodge them. This proceeding they forcibly resisted; clubs were used and daggers were drawn, and the fight soon became fierce and general. Burton and his company, however, had the advantage of being raised four feet above the others, and this enabled them to maintain their position. "At first," says he, "I began to lay on load with *main morte*, really fearing to kill some one with such a weapon; but it soon became evident that the Moghrebbins' heads and shoulders could bear, and did require the utmost exertion of strength. Presently a thought struck me. A large earthen jar full of drinking-water—in its heavy frame of wood, the weight might have been one hundred pounds—stood upon the edge of the poop, and the thick of the fray took place beneath.

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Seeing an opportunity I crept up to the jar. and, without attracting attention, by a smart push with the shoulder rolled it down upon the swarm of assailants. The fall caused a shriller shriek to rise above the ordinary din, for heads, limbs, and bodies, were sorely bruised by the weight, scratched by the broken potsherds, and wetted by the sudden discharge. A fear that something worse might be forthcoming made the Moghrebbins shrink off toward the end of the vessel. After a few minutes, we, sitting in grave silence, received a deputation of individuals in whity-brown burnouses, spotted and striped with what Mephistopheles calls a 'curious juice.' They solicited peace, which we granted upon the condition that they would bind themselves to keep it. Our heads, shoulders, and hands were penitentially kissed, and presently the fellows returned to bind up their hurts in dirty rags."

Leaving Suez on the 6th of July, the *Golden Wire*, after lying aground a day or two off Tur, reached the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba on the 11th. While crossing to the Arabian shore, it is customary for pilgrims to recite the following prayer: "O Allah, O Exalted, O Almighty, O All-pitiful, O All-powerful, thou art my God, and sufficeth to me the knowledge of it! Glorified be the Lord my Lord, and glorified be the faith my faith! Thou givest victory to whom thou pleasest, and thou art the glorious, the merciful! We pray thee for safety in our goings-forth and our standings-still, in our words and our designs, in our dangers of temptation and doubts, and the secret designs of our hearts. Subject unto us this sea, even as thou didst subject the deep to Moses, and as thou didst subject the fire to Abraham, and as thou didst subject the iron to David, and as thou didst subject the wind, and devils, and genii, and mankind to Solomon, and as thou didst subject the moon and El Burak to Mohammed, upon whom be Allah's mercy and his blessing! And subject unto us all the seas in earth and heaven, in the visible and in thine invisible worlds, the sea of this life, and the sea of futurity. O thou who reignest over every thing, and unto whom all things return, Khyas! Khyas!"

At noon on the twelfth day after leaving Suez, the party entered the harbor of Yembo. The town, which is an ordinary Arab port, is built on the edge of a barren plain between the mountains and the sea. The pilgrims at once set about preparing for their journey to Mecca, and having engaged twelve camels, set out on the following evening. They traveled mostly by night, on account of the heat, and Burton consequently had but little opportunity to observe the scenery. Near Bir Abbas the caravan was waylaid by a horde of Bedouin robbers, who were not driven off until after a fight of some hours, and the loss of twelve men on the part of the pilgrims. Burton thus describes his approach to El Medina: "Half an hour after leaving the Wadi el-Akik, or 'blessed valley,' we came to a huge flight of steps roughly cut in a long broad line of black scoriaceous basalt. This is called the Mudarraj or flight of steps over the western ridge of the so-called El Harratain.

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It is holy ground; for the Prophet spoke well of it. Arrived at the top we passed through a lane of black scoria, with steep banks on both sides, and after a few minutes a full view of the city suddenly opened upon us. We halted our beasts as if by word of command. All of us descended, in imitation of the pious of old, and sat down, jaded and hungry as we were, to feast our eyes with a view of the Holy City. 'O Allah! this is the Haram (sanctuary) of the Prophet; make it to us a protection from hell fire, and a refuge from eternal punishment! O open the gates of thy mercy, and let us pass through them to the land of joy!'

"As we looked eastward, the sun arose out of the horizon of low hills, blurred and dotted with small tufted trees, which from the morning mists gained a giant stature, and the earth was stained with gold and purple. Before us lay a spacious plain, bounded in front by the undulating ground of Nejd; on the left was a grim barrier of rocks, the celebrated Mount Ohod, with a clump of verdure and a white dome or two nestling at its base. Rightward, broad streaks of lilac-colored mists were thick with gathered dew, there pierced and thinned by the morning rays, stretched over the date groves and the gardens of Kuba, which stood out in emerald green from the dull tawny surface of the plain. Below, at the distance of about two miles lay El Medina; at first sight it appeared a large place, but a closer inspection proved the impression to be an erroneous one."

On arriving at Medina, Burton became the guest of Hamid, one of the company he joined at Suez, and continued to reside with him during his stay in the Holy City. He performed all the religious visitations required of the pilgrim, and made excursions to Jebel Ohod (the scene of one of Mohammed's battles), and the mosque of Kuba, in the vicinity, while waiting for an opportunity to proceed eastward through the heart of Arabia. He gives the following description of the Prophet's mosque:

"Passing through muddy streets—they had been freshly watered before evening time—I came suddenly upon the mosque. Like that at Mecca the approach is choked up by ignoble buildings, some actually touching the holy 'enceinte,' others separated by a lane compared with which the road round St. Paul's is a Vatican square. There is no outer front, no general aspect of the Prophet's mosque; consequently, as a building, it has neither beauty nor dignity. And entering the Bab el Rahmah—the Gate of Pity—by a diminutive flight of steps, I was astonished at the mean and tawdry appearance of a place so universally venerated in the Moslem world. It is not like the Meccan mosque, grand and simple—the expression of a single sublime idea; the longer I looked at it, the more it suggested the resemblance of a museum of second-rate art, a curiosity-shop, full of ornaments that are not accessaries, and decorated with pauper splendor."

Burton's design of penetrating the interior of Arabia was unfortunately frustrated. "During the whole of the afternoon of Tuesday the

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30th August," says he, "the sound of firing among the mountains was distinctly heard in the city. Through the streets parties of Bedouins, sword and matchlock in hand, or merely carrying quarter staves on their shoulders, might be seen hurrying along, frantic at the chance of missing the fray. The townspeople cursed them privily, expressing a hope that the whole race of vermin might consume itself. And the pilgrims were in no small trepidation, fearing the desertion of their camel-men, and knowing what a blaze is kindled in this inflammable land by an ounce of gunpowder. I afterward heard that the Bedouins fought till night, and separated after losing on both sides ten men.

"This quarrel put an end to any lingering possibility of my prosecuting my journey to Muscat as originally intended. My disappointment was bitter at first, but consolation soon suggested itself. Under the most favorable circumstances, a Bedouin trip from El Medina to Muscat, one thousand and five hundred or one thousand and six hundred miles, would require at least ten months; whereas, under pain of losing my commission, I was ordered to be at Bombay before the end of March. Moreover, entering Arabia by El Hejaz, as has before been said, I was obliged to leave behind all my instruments except a watch and a pocket compass, so the benefit rendered to geography by my trip would have been scanty. Still remained to me the comfort of reflecting that possibly at Mecca some opportunity of crossing the Peninsula might present itself. At any rate I had the certainty of seeing the strange wild country of the Hejaz, and of being present at the ceremonies of the Holy City."

On the 1st of September, Burton left Medina for Mecca. The caravan traveled entirely by night, greatly to his annoyance, as his opportunities of observing the scenery and formation of the country were thus greatly restricted. Beyond an attack of the marauding Bedouins, no incident occurred on the way, and the caravan entered Mecca before daylight on the 11th of September, one day before the commencement of the pilgrimage. Burton's real character was not suspected by any one, and he performed all the required ceremonies with perfect impunity. His account of them corresponds very nearly with that of Burckhardt, which has been given at length in this volume. After the conclusion of the pilgrimage, he proceeded to Djidda, where he embarked for Suez, in order to take passage for India. Lieutenant Burton is admirably qualified for this journey, and his narrative of it is one of the most picturesque and characteristic accounts of Oriental life which has ever been published.

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EXPLORATION OF LOO-CHOO,

UNDER COMMODORE PERRY.

On the arrival of the American expedition to Japan, under Commodore Perry. at the harbor of Napha (or Napa-Kiang) in the Great Loo-Choo island, at the end of May, 1853, the commodore determined to send an exploring party into the interior, which had never been visited by Europeans. The persons appointed for this service were the Rev. George Jones, chaplain of the *Mississippi;* Mr. Bayard Taylor; Mr. Heine, artist; Dr. Lynah, surgeon; with four seamen and four Chinese coolies for carrying the baggage. Mr. Taylor prepared the following report of the exploration, which is taken from the narrative of the expedition, published by order of Congress:

Monday, the 30th of May, was the day fixed upon by Commodore Perry for our departure. We were ordered to cross the island to the eastern shore, follow the line of coast northward, and return through the interior, pushing our course as far as practicable, under our instructions to return within six days. All the stores having been procured, and packed in convenient parcels, together with portfolios and drawing-materials, implements for preparing birds, etc., we landed about 10 o'clock, and proceeded to the house of the missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, which had been chosen as the rendezvous. The authorities had not been previously informed of our intention; and, as it was evident that we should not be allowed to advance far without an escort, or espionage of some kind, Dr. Bettelheim sent to request that a proper officer should accompany us as guide. After waiting about an hour, and no person appearing, we decided to set out, believing that our guide would be forthcoming before we left the city. In fact, we had no sooner reached the main street, communicating with the road to Sheudi, the capital of the island, than a portly personage, with a long white beard, and two younger officers, with black beards and swarthy complexions, joined us. A crowd of curious natives had also collected, and followed us until we left the city.

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Each of the men carried a haversack, in addition to his arms, leaving about one hundred and twenty pounds' weight of baggage to be divided among the four coolies. The men, Terry and Mitchell, marched in advance, the former carrying the flag, while the other men, Smith and Davies, remained in the rear of the baggage; this order was preserved during the whole expedition. We had not proceeded half a mile before our coolies showed signs of breaking down under their loads, and, even though we might force them to keep up for some time longer, it was evident that we could not make much progress without further help; Mr. Jones, therefore, requested the portly old officer, who seemed to have special charge over us, to supply us with four more coolies, promising that they should be paid on our return. After waiting half an hour at the northern end of the city, four spare young natives came up with bamboo poles, and relieved the Chinamen of half their load. We now took the high-road to Sheudi, passing the salt creek which comes up from the village of Tumé, by a bridge of one arch; the crowd turned back at this point, leaving us about a dozen followers, who seemed to be attendants or subordinates of the principal officers.

Beyond the bridge we passed over a meadow, studded with singular broken rocks, of secondary limestone, covered with clumps of pine-trees. The road then passed around the base of a hill, the front of which was occupied by a temple of massive stone masonry. It was shaded with large trees, resembling in foliage the Indian fig or sycamore. Paths, over which the hedges of bamboo formed complete arches, ran up the sides of the hill. On our right were meadows of bearded rice, a variety which Dr. Lynah declared to be unknown in the southern States. The country now became open and undulating, and covered with the richest vegetation; not only was all the low land planted with rice, but the hills were in many places terraced nearly to the top, and the water carefully conducted from field to field by artificial channels. The streams were lined with thick hedges of banana, and the knolls which dotted the landscape were crowned with groves of the Loo-Choo pine, a beautiful tree, strongly resembling the cedar of Lebanon in its flat horizontal layers of foliage; it is probably a new species. There was something in the forms of the landscape which reminded me of the richest English scenery, mixed with the superb vegetation of the tropics. The views on each side increased in beauty as we approached Sheudi, the capital city of the island, which is scattered along the south-west slope of a group of hills. The houses are half buried in foliage, and stretch over an extent of a mile, the citadel, or residence of the viceroy, occupying an elevated central position.

The day was dark and cloudy, threatening rain, and fresh wind blew in our faces as we climbed the heights. Near the summit we passed through a high wooden gate, upon which were inscribed two Chinese characters, signifying "the central hill," or "place of authority," and entered the main street of the city, which is broad, handsomely paved,

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and lined with high walls, behind which, and the foliage of their gardens, the principal dwellings are mostly concealed. As we reached the gate, the flag was unrolled, and fastened upon the end of a musket. A fine grove of old trees, with crooked trunks, gnarled boughs, and thick, dark-green foliage, attracted my attention on entering. We had not proceeded fifty paces before the officers attending us beckoned to us to enter a doorway on the right side of the street. We made a halt, and, leaving men and coolies outside, went in. It proved to be a *Cung-quà*, or resting-place for travelers, or rather for officers of government, since in Loo-Choo there are no other travelers. The *Cung-quà* corresponds very nearly to the Turkish khan, except that, being used only by persons of some consideration, it is far more neat and elegant in every respect. The house into which we were ushered resembled a private dwelling of the better class. The principal apartment was carpeted with very fine soft mats, and surrounded on three sides by an open verandah. Adjoining the building were kitchens and out-houses for servants, and in front a small yard planted with sago-palms and a tree resembling the *Inocarpus*. We were politely received by a gentleman in a gray robe, who performed the *ko-tow* toward us in the most approved style. Seats were brought, and tea prepared after the Chinese fashion, served in small cups. The attendant was directed, by signs, to wait first upon Mr. Jones, who was thenceforth recognized as the head of the party. The former served us on his knees, both when he offered and when he took away the cups. We remained but a few minutes, and took our leave, evidently to the surprise and perplexity of our conductors, who did not as yet comprehend our object.

On leaving Napha, we had noticed an expression of doubt and anxiety upon the faces of the natives, and this rather increased as we proceeded. No remonstrance whatever was made to us, but our movements were suspiciously scrutinized. When, therefore, we left the Cung-quà, and, instead of returning, took our course directly onward through the city, the faces of our convoy became clouded, and an expression of alarm communicated itself to those of the natives whose curiosity had attracted them around us. We soon reached the gate of the citadel, at the foot of the massive walls, which, rising through groves of trees, dominate over the city. The gate was closed, but had it been open, we should not have presumed to enter. The northern and eastern slope of the hill is covered with splendid old trees, divided by winding, shaded avenues, on the sides of which many natives were sitting, with fans in their hands. The sun, which shone out hot and clear for an instant, checkered this rich, park-like scenery with strong contrasts of light and shadow, and down through the depths of the trees illuminated the face of a pool of water, so completely covered with the floating leaves of a species of lily as to appear like a patch of green sward. We passed around the base of the citadel to its eastern side, and, after some deliberation, took a paved road which led through the suburbs of the city

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in an east-south-east direction. Wherever we turned we could see scouts running in advance, and driving the inhabitants away from our path, so that a silence and desertion, like that which follows pestilence, took place wherever we moved. All with whom we accidentally came in contact saluted us politely, but with a settled air of melancholy, which I ascribed to the surveillance exercised over them by an unnatural government, rather than any ill-will toward us.

The northern side of Sheudi is a wilderness of rich vegetation. The appearance of a flourishing cocoa-palm, now and then, showed that the climate is entirely tropical. The eastern suburb of the capital is composed principally of bamboo huts, thatched with rice straw. The inhabitants were all hidden away out of sight, and blinds of split bamboo let down before the doors. We took a road which led along the hills toward the south-east, and after issuing from the capital, gained a ridge whence we could see a long line of the western coast, with the squadron riding at anchor in the harbor of Napha. From this point the interest of the journey properly commenced, as we were entering upon ground which no one before us had ever explored. The limit of the excursions made by others was Sheudi, and very few succeeded in entering that capital. We were, therefore, greatly enlivened by the prospect before us, and pursued our way with more alacrity than comported with the comfort of our disheartened conductors.

About a mile from Sheudi, the road turned more to the east, and after passing through a dense wood, came out upon a hill, whence we caught a glimpse of the sea on the eastern side. A temple, apparently erected during the past year—for it was destitute of either altar or god—stood in the shade of a clump of pines, and as it was now one o'clock we halted for refreshment. Some of the natives brought water, while the men picked up sufficient dead wood to boil our kettle, and in the course of time we were regaled with tea and ship's biscuit. We offered the former to the officers, but they did not appear to relish it. The Loo-Choo coolies, however, ate heartily of the biscuit, which they had better earned than our vagabond Chinese. They gave the name of the place as Piño. Mr. Heine took a sketch of it, and astonished the natives, some forty or fifty of whom had collected to look at us, by firing at a mark with his rifle. Immediately after leaving Piño, whence we started at 3 P. M., the paved road ceased, and the way became deep and miry. The soil was a lead-colored, stiff clay, the disintegration of shale rock, which here appeared for the first time. We had not proceeded more than half a mile before we reached the dividing ridge or crest of the island, and a magnificent panorama opened below us to the eastward. The sea-line of the Pacific formed the horizon, and a spacious sheet of water between two headlands which made out from the island led us to suppose that we were looking upon Barrow's Bay. Between us and the sea lay an amphitheater of hills, cultivated to their very tops, and clothed with the greenest verdure. Their sides were carefully terraced,

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and every advantage taken of the inclination of the soil, so as to collect the rains for irrigation. The cultivation was quite as patient and thorough as that of China. The picturesque formation of the hills gave a great variety of outline to the landscape, which embraced a compass of perhaps twenty miles. Toward the west we overlooked all the country we had passed, as far as a headland in the north-west, which I took to be Cape Broughton. Mr. Heine took a sketch of the view, looking eastward, while I attempted to take the western side.

Resuming our march, we descended the ridge, which was about six hundred feet above the sea-level. The clayey path leading down was very wet and slippery, and the coolies fell and rolled over several times with the baggage. Passing through gaps between the lower hills, we reached a semicircular plain, nearly two miles in breadth, extending around the head of the bay. On either side was a village of thatched huts, buried in trees. The scouts had already been before us, and the natives lay concealed in their habitations. The former supposed that we would take a road leading to a large village at the head of the bay, but as we turned abruptly to the northward, we soon saw them running across the fields to regain the road ahead of us. There were a number of villages at the base of the hills, on our left, but so thickly studded with trees that they were almost concealed from view. I collected a number of plants, one of them a species of althæa, with a splendid scarlet blossom. The road which we took led through the rice fields and was very deep and muddy. While stopping to rest on a bridge over one of the irrigating streams, our old conductor came up with his two assistants, and intimated to us by signs that it was time we should return to the ships. The sun would soon set, they said, and we should have no place to sleep. We replied (also by signs), that instead of returning we were going northward, and would not reach the ships again for five or six days. They appeared greatly surprised at this, and a little troubled, since it was part of their duty not to lose sight of us. The old fellow, who, in his haste to keep up, had slipped down in the muddy road and soiled the hinder part of his robe, laughed heartily at the accident, and finally became resigned to the prospect of the long tramp before him. They then pointed to the west, saying that there was a Cungquà in that direction, where we could spend the night. Our course, however, was nearly north-east, and about half past five, having reached a hill overlooking the bay, on the summit of which was an open space surrounded with young pines, we determined to encamp there. The people objected to our cutting down the trees, and we made tent poles by fastening together the bamboo staves used by the coolies. There was a village on the slope of the hill below us, and after some delay, caused by the difficulty of interpreting our wants to the native officials, we obtained four fowls, forty eggs, and two bundles of firewood. One of our Chinamen, "A-shing," professed to speak the Loo-Choo language, but we soon found him as miserably deficient in this as he was in all

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other useful qualities. His comrade, however, who spoke no English, could write Chinese, and the message having been thus communicated and written, was finally read by the old Pe-ching. The latter refused to accept either cash or dollars, saying that they were of no use to the people whatever, but that every thing would be furnished us. The Chinese suggested—probably on their own account—that we should pay the people in ship's biscuit, but we had scarcely enough for our own wants. It was at length decided that we should take what we required and settle for its value with the Pe-ching on our return.

The people were tardy in bringing our firewood, and we were obliged to eat our supper by the light of our camp fire. I succeeded in getting a sketch of the bay, while daylight remained. It is deep and spacious, and protected by reefs across the mouth, but, judging from the appearance of the water, too shallow to be made available for naval purposes. A large village lies at its head, and several fishing junks were at anchor before it. At night the plain sparkled with lights, some of them moving to and fro—probably lanterns carried by persons passing from one village to another. The officers determined to remain with us at all hazards, and at their command the people brought up bamboo poles and matting, out of which they erected a temporary structure beside our tent. They were perfectly good-humored in their demeanor, and submitted with great patience to what they could not avoid. Before going to sleep we arranged four watches of two hours each, from 9 P.M. until 5 A.M., and the subordinate native policemen kindled a fire and kept a counter-watch. We were all somewhat fatigued with our first march of ten miles, but the mosquitoes were so terribly annoying that few of us slept more than half an hour during the whole night.

We rose at dawn, and found the natives already stirring. The morning gave promise of fair weather. The Pe-ching and his associates came up and saluted us gravely as soon as we arose. It required about two hours to cook and eat breakfast, strike the tent, and pack the baggage for carrying. When we were all ready we found eight native coolies on hand, those whom we took from Napha having returned the evening previous. Leaving Camp Perry (as we named the spot) we took a path leading up a steep hill to the north. Winding around its brow, we descended into a valley, surrounded by abrupt, scarped hills. A stream flowing at the bottom of a deep gully, overhung with large banana-trees, made its way out of this broad cul-de-sac toward the sea. We crossed the valley on the ridges of swampy grass, between the flooded rice-fields, and climbed a long and toilsome ridge, by wet, slippery paths, leading up through copses of young pine. We had now gained the spinal ridge of the island, and turned north-westward, over alternate hills and meadows, along its summit. The wood was principally pine, but I observed several new varieties of shrubs, not in flower. Now and then we passed the huts of the natives, generally in clusters of two and three, but even in this secluded region notice of our coming had reached

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them, and the inhabitants were hidden. I looked into some, and found the interiors to consist of a single room, smoke-blackened, and furnished with the rudest utensils. Two of them had a grating of bamboo, raised, like a floor, about six inches above the ground, and the thick mats which serve the Loo-Chooans as beds were spread upon this.

Mr. Jones left the camp before us, and we had not yet found him. Coming to a deep wooded gorge, with a stream flowing westward, we discovered that our true course lay further to the east, and retraced our steps through the pine woods, and over upland rice-meadows to an open, grassy height, whence we saw Mr. Jones, surrounded by a group of natives, about half a mile to the south of us. In a short time we again reached the summit-ridge, overlooking the bay, and enjoyed the view of a superb landscape. The dividing ridge of the island, as we had already noticed, is nearest the eastern shore, to which the descent is much more abrupt than on the western. The cultivation on this side is also more thorough, and the crops more luxuriant. The knees of the mountains below us were feathered with beautiful groves of the Loo-Choo pine, intermingled with terraced fields of grain and vegetables, while the plain below, through its whole sweep of fifteen miles, was brown with its harvest of rice. We counted a dozen villages, some of them of considerable size, dotting its expanse. To the northward extended a long headland, far beyond what we had supposed to be the extremity of the bay, and projecting from the island in a south-easterly direction. It was now plain that we had not yet reached Barrow's Bay, of which this headland formed the southern boundary. While halting to rest our coolies, in the shade of a clump of pines, Mr. Heine shot a raven, with a beak much broader than the European species. There was a very large tomb, of a shape nearly circular, on the northern side of the ridge. About two miles further, the road swerving a little to the west, we came upon a singular rock, rising high out of a forest of pines. The summit, which was very sharp and jagged, was seventy or eighty feet above the crest of the ridge, and being composed of secondary limestone, honeycombed by the weather, it was an exceedingly striking and picturesque object. While Mr. Heine stopped to sketch it, and Mr. Jones to examine its geology, I climbed to the summit, which was so sharp as to make it a most uneasy seat. Finding that it was the highest peak in that part of the island, commanding a view which embraced a considerable reach of both shores, I ordered the flag to be brought, and unfurled it from the top of the rock, while the men fired a salute from the base and hailed it with three hearty cheers. We bestowed upon it the name of "Banner Rock." The natives looked on, unable how to understand our proceedings, but not in the least troubled by them. A little to the north of where we were the island narrowed suddenly, between the head of the eastern bay and a deep bight, which makes in on the western side, between Cape Broughton and the headland bounding Port Melville on the west. I judged its breadth, at this point, to be

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about four miles, in a straight line. To the south-west I could see the position of Sheudi, eight or ten miles distant. The landscape was rich and varied, all the hills being coated with groves of pine. We found on the rock the "Wax-plant" of our greenhouses, in full bloom, the splendid scarlet *Althœa*, and a variety of the *Malva*, with a large yellow blossom.

Continuing our march along the summit-ridge, we came gradually upon a wilder and more broken region. Huge fragments of the same dark limestone rock overhung our path, or lay tumbled along the slopes below us, as if hurled there by some violent natural convulsion. As the hill curved eastward, we saw on its southern side a series of immense square masses, separated by deep fissures, reaching down the side nearly to its base. They were apparently fifty feet high, and at least a hundred feet square, and their tops were covered with a thick growth of trees and shrubbery. In the absence of any traces of volcanic action, it is difficult to conceive how these detached masses were distributed with such regularity, and carried to such a distance from their original place. The eastern front of the crags under which we passed was studded with tombs, some of them built against the rock and whitewashed, like the tombs of the present inhabitants, but others excavated within it, and evidently of great age. Looking down upon the bay it was easy to see that the greater part of it was shallow, and in some places the little fishing junks could not approach within half a mile of the shore. The rice-fields were brought square down to the water's edge, which was banked up to prevent the tide from overflowing them, and I noticed many triangular stone-dykes, stretching some distance into the water, and no doubt intended as weirs for fish.

In less than an hour after leaving Banner Rock we were surprised by the discovery of an ancient fortress, occupying a commanding position upon the summit of one of the spurs of the central ridge. Its outline was irregular, but with a general direction from north-east to south-west; and while some parts of it were in perfect preservation, other portions were overgrown with vines and shrubbery, and hardly to be distinguished from the natural rock upon which it was based. Passing through an arched gateway, the road led to a terrace, overgrown with trees, upon which stood a structure of masonry resembling a cenotaph. A flight of stone steps conducted us to another gateway, after passing which, and a spacious vestibule, we entered the interior of the fortress. The space was occupied by a luxuriant grove of trees, and at the further end was a private dwelling of respectable appearance. Our Pe-ching was already there, and the master (whom our Chinese coolies designated the "Japanese consul"), respectfully invited us to enter. The day was oppressively hot, and we found two or three cups of Loo-Choo tea an agreeable refreshment. Returning to the terrace, at the base of the outer wall, we halted in the shade to allow the men their mid-day rest and meal. A flight of steep steps, cut in the rock, led downward on the

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northern side to a grotto under the foundation of the castle, at the bottom of which was a pool of cold, sweet water. The place was completely overhung by dense foliage, and inaccessible to the beams of the sun.

While our meal was preparing, Mr. Jones traced out a rough plan of the fortress, and the men took measurements. The following are its dimensions, ascertained with tolerable accuracy:

Length	235 paces.
Breadth	70 "
Thickness of walls at bottom	6 to 12 "
Thickness of walls at top	12 feet.
Greatest height of outer wall, measuring along the slope	66 "
Height of all, from inside	12 "
Angle of outer wall	60°

The material was limestone, and the masonry of admirable construction. The stones, some of which were cubes of four feet square, were so carefully hewn and jointed that the absence of any mortar or cement did not seem to impair the durability of the work. There were two remarkable points about the work. The arches were double, the lower course being formed of two stones hewn into almost a parabolic curve, and meeting in the center, over which was the regular Egyptian arch, with its key-stone.

The other peculiarity was, that in place of bastions, there were square projections of masonry, presenting a concave front, which would catch and concentrate the force of a cannon ball, rather than ward it off. But this fortress must have been erected many centuries before the use of fire-arms of any kind could have been known to the Loo-Chooans. Our Chinese pretended to give the name of the place as Ching-King, which are Chinese words, signifying the chief or capital citadel.

We resumed our march at half past one o'clock. The old Pe-ching, "Chang-Yuen," who had become a little fatigued by this time, took a *ka-goo*, or Loo-Choo chair, and followed in our rear, leaving the particular charge of us to his subordinates. The scouts were sent ahead, as usual, for our path descended again to the populous plain at the base of the hills. We already perceived indications of a fixed system in the espionage to which we were subjected. Chang-Yuen and his two secondary officers were deputed to accompany us during the whole journey, while their dozen or more attendants and helpers were changed as we passed from one district of the island into another. Nothing could exceed the vigilance with which they watched us. We might separate into as many divisions as there were men, and yet each of us would still retain his native convoy. We could neither tire them down, nor run away from them. When, by chance, we suddenly changed our course, we still found them before us. And though this was the result of a jealous and exclusive system, yet they managed to give it the appearance of being done through respect for us.

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I was curious to obtain some information regarding the domestic life of the natives, and frequently entered their huts unawares, in the hope of finding them at their avocations within. In most cases I found the huts deserted, but in some others caught the merest glimpses of Loo-Choo life, in its more humble aspects. Near the castle, while our convoy was passing around a village, I slipped into one of the alleys and entered a bamboo inclosure, within which were five neat dwellings. The mats were let down before the doors, but the people were all hidden behind screens and in lofts under the thatch, for on looking in I found no one but a child and an old man, who immediately knelt down and knocked his forehead on the floor before me. In another hut, in a village on the plain, I found an old woman and a girl of about twelve years of age, both of whom fell on their knees, and held up their hands with an expression which was at once imploring and reverential. A few words of friendly greeting, though in English, encouraged them, and I should no doubt have been able to inspect the interior of the hut, had not one of the spies come up at that moment and driven them away.

In the rich rice plains to which we descended we found sugar-cane for the first time, *sorghum*, or millet, and three varieties of the grain known in the United States as "broom-corn." The road struck out into the swampy rice fields, and we made for a green headland covered with pines. A village, almost completely buried in bowers and arcades of bamboo, lay at its foot. As we were about entering, we came upon two curious stones planted in the earth. The largest was about four feet high, and from its peculiar form struck me at once as a *lingam*, or emblem of the Phallic worship. The same idea occurred to Mr. Heine, who made a sketch of it. It was a very hard, dark-colored stone, resembling porphyry, and the only thing we could learn from the natives respecting it was, that they called it "*ishee*." There is no trace of this feature of the Hindoo religion existing either in Japan, China, or Loo-Choo. The discovery of this stone, if it should prove to be a Phallic emblem, is therefore exceedingly curious. In the course of the afternoon we found two more, one of which was prostrate and broken. In conjunction with these remains, the face of the hill behind, for a distance of two miles, is almost entirely covered with excavated tombs, resembling the simpler forms of the rock tombs of Egypt and Syria. Our native conductors, when interrogated respecting them, called them "the houses of the devil's men," and seemed amused at our taking notice of them. This fact, in a country where ancestral tombs are considered sacred, as among the Chinese, seems to point to the existence of another race on the island, in ancient times—a race who may have received the worship of the Lingam from Java, or other islands where memorials of it exist.

After an unavailing attempt to shoot a couple of herons in a rice field, we kept a course nearly due north, passing through several beautiful villages. The houses were surrounded with banana-trees, and the

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alleys completely overarched with bamboo. In one of the houses I found a woman weaving grass-cloth, in a loom of primitive construction. She ceased from work as I approached the door, but commenced again, in obedience to my gestures. The shuttle was a little longer than the breadth of the stuff, and thrown by hand. At the foot of the hill Dr. Lynah found a piece of lignite, which resembles coal, but is unfortunately no indication of its presence. We had a long and toilsome ascent up a barren hill which brought us again upon a cultivated upland. There were three or four cattle grazing here, the first we had noticed since leaving Napha. We saw a horse now and then, but this animal appeared to be scarce. The dividing ridge between the bays was about three miles in advance, and though the afternoon was nigh spent, and the whole party was considerably fatigued, we determined to get sight of Barrow's Bay before encamping. At last we reached a large village on the western slope of the ridge. It was surrounded with plantations of banana, and a tall pine grove towered over it. Through a deep road gate, cut in the crest of the hill, a fine picture of Barrow's Bay and the mountains beyond presented itself to our view. The southern shore of the bay was about three miles distant, and a singular range of rocks, rising in detached square masses like the walls and towers of a ruined city intervened. The landscape was more richly wooded than those on the southern bay, and the outlines of the hills were rounder and more gently undulating. We seemed to have reached a region of a different geological character. We were about to pitch our tent at this place, when the native officers gave us to understand that there was a *Cung-quà* a short distance further, and urged us so strongly to go on that we shouldered our muskets and haversacks and started again. But we had a rough tramp of nearly three miles further, and finally came, with bruised feet and aching shoulders, upon the last descent to Barrow's Bay. Picturesque crags studded the hillside, and a large village, completely covered with thickets of banana and bamboo, lay before us. Over it towered a tall crag, rent through the center and surmounted with a square rock, like a ruined tower. We threaded the village by shaded alleys, and at the further end, on a spot commanding a fine view of the bay, found a handsome *Cung-quà*, in an inclosure planted with trees. A dignitary of some kind welcomed us, and we were at once served with small cups of excellent tea. The soft, thick mats, the shelter and comfort of the building were well worth the fatigue of our forced march. Fresh water in earthen jars, with a square wooden ladle floating on the top, stood ready for us, and there was a kitchen in the rear where our men could cook conveniently. The Pe-ching came in after sunset and greeted us with much cordiality. Eggs and fowls were immediately furnished, and, as at our former camp, all payment was refused. The utmost curiosity appeared to prevail in the village respecting us, and, as it grew dark, the circle of heads peering over the wall inclosing the Cung-quà increased rapidly, till there could not have been less than two

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or three hundred. Fires were kindled all around us, and the ruddy glow thrown up by them, and by the torches carried back and forth, flickered brilliantly over the dusty foliage of the trees.

A watch was set as before, and the mosquitoes being less annoying, we all enjoyed a tolerable rest. The Chinamen were, or feigned to be, completely spent, and for the greater part of the day the baggage had been carried by Loo-Choo coolies. The patience, good-humor, and endurance of the latter, quite put to shame the worthless and deceitful creatures whom we had been indiscreet enough to bring with us. The natives kept their counter-watch, and on rising before sunrise the next morning, we found that fifty or sixty of them had passed the night at their camp fires. The object of the officers in having a watch kept seemed to be both to prevent any of us from stealing a march upon them during the night, and to hinder any of the natives from annoying us.

Mr. Jones made application for a boat to carry us across the bay, but there was none to be had. The name of the village to which the Cungquà belonged was "Missikya." We set our little file in motion and proceeded, by a pleasant path, over level land, a mile or two inland. The cultivation was thorough, but confined mostly to beans and sweet potatoes. The villages were so hidden away behind their alleys of tall, arched bamboo that the police scouts had little need to precede us. A native guide ran ahead; but as he constantly took the left-hand road, leading into the middle of the island, evidently with a view of conducting us back to Sheudi, we finally halted at the foot of an isolated hill, covered with wood, and held a consultation. The wild mountain-range north of Barrow's Bay now appeared on our right, and it was plain that our course was leading us away from the head of the bay, which we desired to reach. We therefore turned, in spite of the protestations of the guide and the native officers, and passed around the eastern brow of the hill, whereon we found two grottoes of soft limestone rock. The scenery here was a charming mixture of pine forest and cultivated field; and both in its features and its prevailing hue of dark-green resembled the landscapes of southern Germany.

In the bottom of the valley was a stream lined with bristling ranks of the *pandanus*, or false pine-apple. We were obliged to pull off our boots and wade. We here found a shrub with small white blossoms and bright-green milky leaves; another with yellow berries of a powerful aromatic taste; and a liliaceous plant, with a racine of flowers resembling those of the snap-dragon, but white in hue, with a fringed lip of the richest orange. At one of the villages on the plain I noticed the plum and the orange, and a new variety of the banyan, with very small glossy leaves. Beyond the stream we struck into fragrant pine woods, and finally into a dense forest where the path was still wet and slippery from the rains, and the branches, meeting overhead, made a perpetual shade. There were few flowers, and still fewer birds, in this

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wilderness. In fact, the scarcity of birds all over the island, considering that they are not destroyed by the natives, is rather singular. The day was very clear and hot, and the trees, while they shaded us, quite shut off the sea breeze. The foliage was almost tropical, consisting of dense glossy-leaved shrubs and luxuriant ferns, overtopped by woods of pine. Smaller paths branched off here and there to the distant huts of the woodmen. After ascending for more than two miles, we crossed a ridge, and the path became gradually more open, exposing a view to the west, over high hills, covered entirely with copsewood and patches of pine forest. The country resembled the wild lands of America. There were swamps in the hollows, and we began to look out for the wild boars which are said to exist in this part of the island. Catching another view to the eastward, we found ourselves near the head of Barrow's Bay, and after a half hour's halt, to rest the coolies, set out again. Our official escort came up during the halt, much fatigued, but as cordial and good-humored as ever. Indeed, considering that all their trouble and fatigue were caused by ourselves, we had every reason to admire the unshaken patience with which they submitted to our apparently wayward course.

Crossing another hill, we passed down broad, well-trodden paths, shaded by magnificent arches of foliage, through a neat village. The houses were larger than usual, and there was an aspect of greater wealth. Among the trees was one fifteen feet high, covered with cream-colored blossoms, which exhaled the fragrance of nutmeg. An avenue of pines led down from this lovely spot to a narrow plain at the head of Barrow's Bay. The rice growing in these parts was very scanty and not yet in head. A large village, buried in trees, extended for half a mile inland from the shore. We took a path leading down to the beach; but Mr. Jones, who was in advance, entered the village, where he was very courteously received and twice presented with tea and pipes. The exhibition of his watch, and a pocket microscope, excited the unbounded wonder of the natives. The village was named "Isitza."

We forded a salt creek and pitched our noonday camp on a piny knoll, at the foot of the hills. As Mr. Jones had not arrived, we fastened our flag to the top of a tree and fired signals. I took a bath in the sea, with the men, while our kettle was boiling. The water was excessively saline, and the fine white particles of salt covered my face like dust as it became dry. At this point Mr. Jones found a stratum of gneiss, for the first time, at the water's edge. Our native friends drank three cups of our tea and asked for some biscuits, which they seemed to relish. Before starting again we had a talk with them about the route. We wished to reach a point on the coast north of Barrow's Bay, marked as "Kaneja" on our copy of the Japanese chart of Loo-Choo. The officers did not seem to recognize any such place, though they spoke of "Kannàh," where there was a Cung-quà, thirty *li*, or ten miles distant, and we decided to reach it, if possible.

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We left at half-past one, taking one of the natives as a guide. The path followed the line of the bay, and we walked, for two hours, in deep sand and crushed shells, around curve and headland. It was very toilsome work, especially as the glare of the sand struck directly in our faces. The beach was narrow and bordered with thick hedges of the pandanus, the fruit of which resembles that of the pine-apple. The mountains on our left were wild and uncultivated. There were occasional paths striking up their sides; but, although the compass told us that the shore-path led us out of our true course, the guide refused to take any of them. At the end of two hours we reached a large village, where the guide, who had followed us from "Isitza," levied a substitute and turned back. A two-masted junk, of thirty or forty tons burden, lay at anchor in a cove near this place. We were now approaching the northern extremity of Barrow's Bay, and had a full view of the long headland south of it, and the four islands which lie, like a breakwater, across its mouth. The bay appeared to be extremely shallow, except near the entrance; and I doubt whether it would be of much value, as a harbor, for shipping of large size.

The path, finally, turned off to the north, up a steep hill, which brought us upon a rolling upland, covered with abundance of wood. The mountains we had passed exhibited an outline similar to the Catskills, and there was nothing in the scenery to remind us of the vicinity of the tropics. We presently entered a fine, broad avenue of pines, at the extremity of which appeared a handsome house, with a tiled roof. Our native conductors passed on into some bamboo arches, which denoted a village beyond; but I slipped suddenly into the open entrance and found a spacious house in the midst of the garden, with a small Buddhist temple beside it. Quick as my motions had been, the mats were already let down before all the doors, and nobody was to be seen. Before the house was a plant about ten feet high, with large scarlet panicles of flowers. I had barely time to break off a cluster when one of our officers came hurrying up and urged me by signs and words, to leave, saying that the bunyo, or governor, as he designated Mr. Jones, had gone on. I, therefore, followed him through the village to the Cungquà, which was larger and finer than any we had yet seen. It was like an elegant private residence; having a garden, inclosed by a square, clipped hedge of jasmin, and a separate establishment for servants and attendants. There were rows of chrysanthemums (a flower much esteemed by the Japanese) and two peach-trees in the garden, beside a stout *camellia*, clipped into a fanciful shape. We installed ourselves in the chief apartment, on the soft matting, while the Pe-ching and his train took the other building. The only supplies we could procure were raw salt fish and sweet potatoes, with some roots of a native onion, pickled in salt. Neither fowls nor eggs could be found. The natives gave the name of the village as "Ching," which, being a Chinese word, is evidently incorrect; but we could get no other. The paper screens

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between the rooms were removed on our arrival, tea was brought in, and the natives busied themselves to make us comfortable; but the same unrelaxing espionage, as at "Missikya," was kept up through the whole night. Again camp-fires were kindled and guards posted around us, while crowds of curious natives peeped from behind the bushes and walls to gratify their desire of seeing us. Mr. Heine, who had the first watch, went out to the camp-fire, showed the people his watch, and other curiosities, and soon had a large crowd of villagers gathered about him; but one of the officers making his appearance, a single word of command scattered them in all directions, and they did not return again. In the evening I offered a handful of cash to one of the boys who had accompanied us from Napha. He refused it very earnestly, as there were two other boys standing near; but, watching an opportunity, when he was alone, I offered it again, when he immediately accepted it, with gestures expressive of his thanks.

The Pe-ching, who had fallen in the rear, came up after dark, and immediately sought us, to make his salutations. We found that he and his associates had been keeping a journal of our proceedings, and had already filled a roll of paper several yards in length with their remarks. We had but few mosquitoes, and slept so well that I had same difficulty in rising for the mid-watch. After much search, two tough old hens were found for our breakfast, which we ate under the scrutiny of a hundred eyes, continually peering at us over walls, or popping out from behind bushes. Whenever we noticed any of them the heads disappeared, but they returned again as soon as our gaze was removed.

We were now commencing our fourth day, and it was time to think of turning back shortly. After some consultation, it was determined to follow the coast for a short distance further, then strike across the island in the direction of Port Melville, and reach in the evening a point on the western shore corresponding to the latitude of our present camp. On starting, the native officers were very urgent in requesting us to take a road leading westward. We kept, however, a course nearly due north, and soon reached a hill, whence there was an excellent view of the country on all sides. The northern headland of Barrow's Bay lay behind us. The general direction of the coast in advance was north-east, stretching away to a distant promontory. A spinal ridge of mountains, covered with a wilderness of forests, ran parallel with the coast, leaving a narrow strip of cultivated land next the sea. A column of smoke ascended from one of the northern peaks, which we judged—and rightly, as it afterward proved—to be a fire in the woods.

Mr. Jones decided to make for a gorge between two peaks, about six miles distant, and rather to the east of north. We crossed a deep valley, with a salt creek at its bottom, and, after following the coast for some time, took a road which, after ascending a long barren ridge, plunged into the woods. The further we advanced, the more dense became the wilderness. The only persons we met were woodmen whom

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we saw occasionally felling trees with their rude axes. The path was narrow, wet, and slippery, and for two or three miles a continual ascent. At length we reached a conical peak covered with trees. The ascent was very difficult, and I halted with the coolies at the base, while Mr. Jones, Dr. Lynah, and Mr. Heine, went up to obtain a view. By climbing the trees and cutting away some of the limbs, they opened space for a grand central panorama of the island, which Mr. Heine set about sketching from a tree-top. The path, which by this time had dwindled almost out of sight, passed directly over the summit. We found the ascent like a staircase, and were obliged to use hands and feet to reach the top. The Loo-Choo coolies who carried our baggage made their way up with great difficulty. As we were all suffering from thirst, I started in advance, with the seaman Mitchell, the Chinamen, and the coolies. The path, which was now a faint woodman's trail, did not appear to have been traveled for months. It was shut in by a species of small bamboo, so dense as almost to exclude light, and a large, red, hairy spider had woven innumerable webs across it. Now ascending, now descending, we pushed ourselves or crept through the almost impervious copsewood, for nearly two miles, till the path became more open, and a partial look-out to the westward showed us the China sea. On the side of the nearest peak to the northward, we distinctly saw the woods on fire and a bare space of about ten acres studded with charred trunks. The descent was very slippery, but becoming more and more open, I at length recognized our position. We were approaching the head of the deep bight south of Port Melville, and separated from it by an arm of the island, which stretches out to the north-west, at right angles to the main body. The curious peaked island called the "Sugar Loaf," off the point of this promontory, was in view before us. The western slope of the island at this point is covered almost entirely with forests, the cultivation being confined to the bottoms of valleys and ravines opening upon the sea.

The path led across the top of a narrow ledge about a yard wide, with chasms more than a hundred feet deep on each side, and then dropped to the bottom of the glen, where we found a stream of deliciously cool and sweet water. We all drank to excess, and then climbed a little ridge beyond, where the air blew fresh, and sat down to await the rest of the party. Mr. Jones found granite of fine quality in the ravine, and we afterward met with another broad stratum in a rocky gateway further below. Our only path made for a village on the shore, whither we repaired for our mid-day halt. The houses were lined with luxuriant bananas, in blossom, and the lanes between them hedged with the glossy *inocarpus*, forming walls of foliage twenty feet in height, outside of which were neat wicker fences of split bamboo. Near the village were three structures raised upon timber frames, and covered with thatched roofs. They appeared to be storehouses, elevated in this manner to preserve the grain from the moisture of the earth. Beneath

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them were wooden platforms, offering us shade and convenience for our halt. The people brought us sweet potatoes, a small pan of salt fish, and a pumpkin, which was all they could supply. Even these were refused us until the arrival of the Pe-ching, to whose authority all the others deferred. The rapidity of our march had left him in the rear, but he came up after an hour, and set himself to work with great good humor to supply our wants. In order to shield themselves from the heat of the sun, some of his attendants had tied banana leaves around their heads, and they all complained of fatigue.

We left Ny-komma, as the village was called, about half past two. At this, the most northern point we reached, we could not have been more than eight or nine miles distant from Port Melville. The intervening land was low, and another day would have enabled us to reach the head of that harbor. The native officials explained to us by signs, and by tracing lines on the sand, that the road to Sheudi lay along the beach, and that there was a Cung-quà about twenty *li* distant. We tramped along sandy beaches and over stony headlands, following the general course of the shore, and never diverging far from it. The bay, or bight, marked with numerous abrupt indentations, presented some fine bold outlines of shore. Off the many inferior promontories lay rocky islets, covered with rich vegetation. The wooded mountains on our left were the same which we had skirted the day previous on the northern side of Barrow's Bay. The lower slopes on this side were partially cultivated, but the principal thoroughfare of the island, which we were following, kept near the sea, and often ran for half a mile through deep sand and shells. The scenery was extremely picturesque, reminding me of the coast of Sicily. Inside of the Sugar Loaf we espied two small boats, with lug-sails of white canvas, which the men declared were our ships' boats; but this has since proved to be a mistake.

Notwithstanding the sultry heat of the afternoon, the Loo-Choo coolies kept pace with us, under their heavy loads, while our lazy and complaining Chinamen lagged behind. These coolies were mostly boys, from twelve to sixteen years of age. I noticed as a curious fact that, in spite of the heavy loads they carried, and the rough by-ways we frequently obliged them to take, they never perspired in the least, nor partook of a drop of water, even in the greatest heat. They were models of cheerfulness, alacrity, and endurance, always in readiness, and never, by look or word, evincing the least dissatisfaction. Our official conductors drank but two or three times of water during the whole journey. Tea appears to be the universal beverage of refreshment. It was always brought to us whenever we halted, and frequently offered to Mr. Jones, as the head of the party, in passing through villages. Once, at an humble fisherman's village, when we asked for *mizi*, which signifies cold water, they brought us a pot of hot water, which they call *yu*, and were much surprised when we refused to drink it.

After a march of ten miles along the picturesque shore, we reached

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one of the loveliest spots on the island. It was a village perched on a bold promontory, overgrown with the pine, banyan, and sago-palm, at the mouth of a charming valley which opened up between the hills to the base of the lofty peak behind Barrow's Bay. A stream of sweet water threaded the valley, which was covered with the freshest verdure, and overhung with beautiful groves of pine. It was a picture of pastoral loveliness, such as is rarely found in any country. Nothing struck me more during the journey than the great variety of scenery which the island incloses in its narrow compass. We passed through, at least, four different districts, which bore but the slightest resemblance to each other, either in features or character. We had both the groves of the tropics and the wild woods of the north; the valleys of Germany and the warm shores of the Mediterranean.

The village was large, thriving, and as neatly laid out and hedged in as an English garden. The scrupulous neatness and regularity of the Loo-Choo villages was doubly refreshing to one familiar with the squalor and filth of China. The sight of the Cung-quà, which occupied the place of honor at the top of the promontory, completed our raptures. Its roof of red tiles glittered in the sun; a row of feathery sago-palms threw their brilliant leaves over the wall of the inclosure; the whitest and softest of mats covered the floor; the garden blazed with a profusion of scarlet flowers; and stone basins, seated on pedestals, contained fresh water for our use. Its aspect for comfort and repose was a balm to travelers as weary as ourselves, and I directed Terry at once to hoist the stars and stripes upon the roof. I hastened back to make a sketch of the beautiful valley before sunset, while Mr. Heine occupied himself with a view of the Cung-quà. A venerable old man, with a snowy beard reaching nearly to his knees, approached the bank where I sat, but upon noticing me, made a profound yet dignified reverence and retired. The village was named Uñ-ña. We had not yet reached the region of fowls, but the people sent us two small fresh fish, with a pumpkin and some cucumbers. Our own stores were quite low, both sugar and pork having been exhausted, so that we had nothing left but tea, coffee, and ship biscuit.

The natives kindled a fire inside the grounds of the Cung-quà, and half a dozen of them sat around it all night. The morning was dull, and a cap of mist on the mountain threatened rain. A bath in the sea before sunrise refreshed us for the day's march. For our breakfast, there were sent two long, eel-like fish, resembling the gar, a few young egg-plants, two gourds, and a basket of sweet potatoes. So much time was occupied in cooking and consuming these delicacies, that we did not get under way before eight o'clock. Another consultation was held with our attendants, who declared that Sheudi was ninety *li* distant, and that it would require three days for us to reach Napha; this did not correspond with our own ideas of our position, and we determined to attempt reaching Napha the next evening, as we had been ordered.

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We passed through the village of Uñ-ña, and over the headland to a deep bay. The tide was running out, and instead of wading through the sand around its entire curve, we made a straight line for the opposite shore, tramping through water two or three inches deep over beds of decomposing coral. We had proceeded along the shore for an hour and a half, when A-shing, one of the Chinese coolies, fell sick in consequence, as it afterward appeared, of drinking sackee, and eating green peaches. His load was given to the Loo-Choo coolies, and he obtained a temporary relief by punching his throat, in three places, so violently as to produce an extravasation of blood. Counter irritation is the usual Chinese remedy for all ailments, and it is frequently very efficacious. We were near a fishing village, and Mr. Jones endeavored to obtain a canoe, in which to send both our Chinamen back to the vessel. The Pe-ching begged him to give up the idea, since one of the native officers would be obliged to accompany them, and they all feared to trust themselves in the frail craft. They brought a *kagoo*, or rude sedan, in which they offered to have the man conveyed to Napha, but he was better by this time, and declared himself able to proceed on foot. The officers expressed the greatest satisfaction when they found that none of them would be required to return in the canoe.

In the mean time the rest of us had pushed forward with the baggage. The morning was very hot, the glare from the white beach-sand struck in our faces, and we began to tire of an endless tramp around cove after cove, and headland after headland. We were now, as we calculated, opposite the head of Barrow's Bay, and Sheudi was almost in a due southerly direction; yet the road still clung to the coast, as if intent on carrying us to the extreme point of Cape Broughton, thus greatly lengthening our journey, besides which, our orders were to return through the center of the island. In answer to all our inquiries, the native officers and guides pointed along the shore and were extremely anxious to prevent our taking any inland paths. This excited our suspicion, and we imagined their object to be to prevent our seeing the interior. Finally, coming to a well-trodden path, which struck off up the hills, we shut our ears to all remonstrance and took it. In a short time it brought us to a handsome village, shaded not only with bamboo, but with splendid banyan-trees. Beyond it there was a deep ravine, with a faintly-marked foot-path leading to some water at the bottom. Again the natives entreated us to take a path which plainly led to the shore. They pointed to the gorge, crying "*mizi*," intimating that the path went no further than the water. Nevertheless, seeing traces of a path on the opposite side, we descended, followed by the unwilling officers and coolies. The pool of water which supplied the village was shaded by the largest pines I saw on the island. They were seventy or eighty feet in height, whereas the average is not more than forty feet.

Our suspicions did injustice to the natives, for we soon found that they had our convenience in view. Our path struck into a side-branch

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of the ravine, which, though not more than twenty feet wide, was a rice-swamp at the bottom. The sides were nearly perpendicular walls of earth and loose rocks, so that we were obliged to plunge up to the knees in mud. One of the men, Smith, sunk so deep that it required the strength of three natives to extricate him. When, at last we reached the top of the hill, we found it covered with waste thickets, and no path to be seen except one on an opposite height, which we reached with some trouble. The path, an old and unused one, led us back to the beach, which it now seemed impossible to leave. The coolies, who had had a hard tug to get through the rice-swamp, took the whole matter very good-humoredly, and the officers laughed, as I thought, with a sort of malicious pleasure at our discomfiture. The walk over the white sand was doubly fatiguing after this, and on the arrival of Mr. Jones we determined again to make for the interior, especially as we had reached the head of the last cove, whence the coast appeared to run almost due westwardly to Cape Broughton.

Mr. Jones and Dr. Lynah, with the men Davis and Smith, took a foot-path leading southward into the mountains, and after proceeding a little further along the coast I followed them with the seaman Mitchell. Mr. Heine, with Terry and the Loo-Choo coolies, still kept the shore. We (Mitchell and I) reached with great difficulty the path taken by the first party. It ascended steeply through pine forests, alternating with dense copsewood, for about two miles, till we gained the summit of the ridge. The whole expanse of Barrow's Bay came full into view to the eastward, while to the south we looked beyond the promontory we had been doubling so tediously, and saw the same deep cove we had beheld three days before from the top of Banner Rock. But all the interior of the island was still a wilderness, and for ten miles in advance stretched an unbroken forest. Our path did not appear to have been much traveled—other small paths branched from it, but the party in advance had broken off boughs and left them as guides for us. I was much spent with the heat and the exertion of climbing so rapidly, and after drinking out of a muddy hole filled with leaves, felt an attack of mingled heat and cold, with an oppression of the heart, which took away all my strength. We saw the other party on the top of a high peak ahead of us. The path crossed a ledge as narrow as a wall, with deep gulfs on each side, and then ascended a rocky ladder, the steepness of which took away what little strength I had remaining—I was obliged to lie down for some time before I could proceed further. A rain-cloud coming up rapidly over Barrow's Bay admonished us to leave our lofty look-out. The path kept on southward through miles of wilderness, but the natives who had accompanied us pointed to another, which led back almost the way we came, and which they said would bring us to a Cung-quà. As there were no signs of the baggage, we were thus under the necessity of retracing our steps almost to the shore. On our way we passed through a singular gorge, which was closed up, in its nar-

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rowest part, by fragments hurled from above by some convulsion of nature. The stream flowing at the bottom disappeared for about fifty yards, when it again issued to the light through a cavernous opening.

A rain now came on, which continued for two or three hours, and made the road slippery and toilsome. We passed through a village, romantically situated in a wooded glen, and over uplands, covered with groves of pine, the path gradually swerving to the south, till it finally struck directly across the promontory. A great part of the way was a waste of wild thickets, with marshy hollows between the hills. We saw, several times, the tracks of the wild boar, which the natives assured us were abundant; but we were not so fortunate as to get a sight of one. There were no traces of our baggage until we found the Pe-ching, and two other natives, crouching under a bush to keep out of the rain, and smoking their pipes. Finally, about half-past two, we heard the report of fire-arms, and soon after reached the Cung-quà of "*Chanda-kosa*," where Mr. Heine and the coolies had already been waiting some time for us. We were uncertain whether the building was a *bonâ fide* Cung-quà or the residence of a *bunyo*, or officer, for it was occupied, when Mr. Heine arrived, by a personage of some kind with his attendants, but immediately given up for our use. There was a crowd of at least a hundred natives collected within the inclosure and looking on, with great astonishment, while Mr. Heine fired at a mark. What seemed most to interest them, next to the accuracy of his aim, was the fact of the piece exploding without the application of fire (nothing but Japanese matchlocks ever being seen on the island), and its being loaded at the breech. They appeared familiar with the nature of gunpowder, and the use of our cutlasses; but during our journey we never saw a single weapon of any kind. There is said to be a small garrison of Japanese soldiers, both at Napha and Sheudi; but, if so, they were carefully kept out of the way.

The Pe-ching, who soon afterward came up, informed us that we had come thirty *li*, and that Sheudi was still sixty *li* distant, and we could not reach it on the following day. Learning, however, that there was another Cung-quà twenty *li* further, we decided to rest an hour or two, and push on to it the same evening. The people brought two fowls, with abundance of eggs and cucumbers, and, hungry and tired as we were, we made a most palatable meal.

We left again at half past four. The road was broad, well beaten, and shaded by a double row of pine-trees. It ran in a south-eastern direction, parallel with the coast, and about two miles inland. The country continued open, slightly undulating, and pleasantly diversified with groves of pine for four miles, when we came suddenly upon a deep glen, traversed by much the largest stream we had seen upon the island. The road crossed by a massive stone bridge, of three arches, remarkable for the size and rude strength of the piers, each of which had, on the inner side, in order to protect it from floods, a triangular abutment,

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projecting ten or twelve feet. The sides of the glen were nearly perpendicular, and covered with wild and luxuriant vegetation. Toward the sea, under a range of broken limestone crags that hung high over the stream, were several ancient excavated tombs. A spring of excellent water gushed out from the foot of one of these crags. Mr. Heine took a sketch of the place, which was remarkable for its seclusion and picturesque beauty. The natives called the stream the "*Fi-ija.*"

On reaching a height overlooking the sea, we were agreeably surprised with the sight of the squadron, lying off the furthest point to the south-west, and between fifteen and twenty miles distant, in a straight line. This encouraged us to believe that we could reach Napha at the time appointed, and we pushed on rapidly and cheerily, for it was now growing dark, and no appearance of the Cung-quà. The road approached the shore, and became a raised causeway, passing through rich rice swamps. The natives whom we met in the dusk of the evening took to flight on seeing us. At last, at half-past seven, weary and spent with a tramp of twenty-seven miles, the native herald who ran before us turned into a gateway, over which towered a magnificent banyan-tree. We followed, and discharged our pieces in a general *feu-de-joie*, on seeing a Cung-quà with the lamps lighted, attendants waiting with their trays of tea-cups, and a polite old gentleman standing in the verandah to receive us. The Loo-Choo mats were never so soft, nor the cups of unsugared native tea so refreshing, as on that evening. Eggs, cucumbers, rice, and fowls were immediately forthcoming, and our men concocted a soup which, to our minds, could not have been improved. The old Pe-ching made his appearance at a late hour, nearly as fatigued as ourselves, but overflowing with cordiality and good humor. A company of native guards kindled a fire under the banyan-tree, and prepared to spend the night there. Our men were so fatigued that, in anticipation of another hard journey on the morrow, we dispensed with the usual watch. It was the less important, as we had found the native guard exceedingly vigilant in keeping away all stragglers from our vicinity. The light of the ruddy camp-fire, playing over the spreading boughs of the banyan-tree, brought into strong relief the groups of swarthy faces clustered around it, and presented a picture so fantastic and peculiar that I sat looking at it long after I ought to have been asleep.

The sound of rain upon the tiles of our Cung-quà awoke us frequently during the night, and when we arose at daybreak the sky was overcast, the roads flooded, and a steady dismal storm had set in. The Pe-ching and his associates wished us to stay at "Pi-ko," as the Cung-quà was called, until the next day, slapping their legs to indicate how tired they were, and making signs of slipping up and falling down in the mud. But we were inexorable, and they sent for a new set of coolies to carry our baggage. We had another discussion about the distance,

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which ended in their declaring that Sheudi was sixty-five *li* and Napha thirty *li* distant. This was absurd, and probably ought to be attributed to the ignorance of the Chinese, through whom we communicated with them. The coolies prepared themselves for the rain by putting on shaggy jackets of grass, resembling the sheep-skin garments of the Roman herdsmen. Our men had their pea-jackets, and we were partially protected by ponchos of gutta-percha and oilcloth. We were delayed in getting breakfast, and did not break up our camp until half-past nine, when we set out, every body stiff and sore from the previous day's travel. The rain was still falling, though not so heavily as at first, and the road was an alternation of water and stiff mud, through which we trudged with difficulty, and at the risk of leaving our boots behind us. After rounding the head of the bight, we struck off over the hills to the south-west, and in an hour and a half came upon another deep glen, in the bottom of which were two massive bridges over a stream so broad and deep that it was doubtless a frith of the sea. We stopped an hour to rest and enable Mr. Heine to take a sketch of the place. I noticed that the heavy triangular abutments to the piers were here placed on the side next the sea. The natives gave the glen, or river, the name of "Machinatoo."

The rain had ceased by this time, except an occasional sprinkle, and the road improved. After another hour the roads branched, that on the left striking off up the hills to Sheudi. We kept on over the hills toward Napha, the scenery gradually assuming a familiar appearance, till finally, from a height covered with pine-trees, we looked down upon the harbor and the American squadron. After fording a broad salt creek, and crossing another ridge, we descended to the village Tumé, opposite Napha. We reached our starting-point, the house of Dr. Bettelheim, at 2 P.M., and there took leave of our worthy Pe-ching and his two assistants, after having appointed a time to meet them again, and endeavor to return some compensation for the provision furnished during the journey.

The distance we traveled during the six days was one hundred and eight miles, as nearly as we could calculate. Our trip embraced a little more than half the island, leaving the extremity south of Napha (which is of limited extent), and that part north of the head of Port Melville, and lying on both sides of that harbor, for future exploration.

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