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CHINA, AUSTRALIA

AND

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS.







J.W. Cook, sc.

View of the Bay of Islands

John S. S. del.

CHINA, AUSTRALIA

AND

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS,

IN

THE YEARS 1853—56.

BY J. D'EWES ESQ.



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1857.



FOUR YEARS' WANDERINGS

IN

THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS,

THE NORTH OF CHINA,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

THE VOYAGE.

MY narrative commences about the latter end of the year 1852, a period when Australian attraction had arrived at its climax, when the *auri sacra fames* not only beckoned the hardy miners to this inexhaustible El Dorado, but when crowds of all nations—artists and artizans, lawyers and labourers, and even poets and philosophers—were flocking to the land of promise. In anticipation of the vastly increasing population, argosies of porter, pickles, and comestibles of every description were floating towards the same goal, and cargoes of blooming maidens, under the patronage of the indefatigable Mrs. Chisholm and

the philanthropic Sydney Herbert, formed a charming foreground to the picture. Ample and lucrative employment for both heads and hands, (but particularly the latter,) a salubrious climate, mountains and valleys *teeming* with gold, a virgin soil, and endless rich pastures, shone in bright perspective before them. Fancy guided the helm, Hope trimmed the sails, and everything appeared *en couleur de rose* to the Australian emigrant.

It was at this period I discovered that, owing to a lengthened course of London and Parisian life, as well as other and more remote causes, my physical and financial thermometer was fast approximating to zero, and that a total congelment of the mercury was impending; in fact, that difficulties and dyspepsia rendered a renovation of both purse and person essential to the continuance of my career: and although nothing could possibly be more foreign to my previous tastes and habits than the character of an emigrant, still I saw no better chance before me than to form one of the adventurous band, and trust to Providence for the result.

The moment was not favourable for a sea-

voyage (November, 1852); a dreary winter had just commenced, and storms, almost unequalled in force, with gales from the westward, convulsed the Channel for nearly two months in succession. I had an insurmountable dislike to a large and crowded vessel. With plenty of space I am a tolerable cosmopolite, but have a great objection to the *profanum vulgas* at close quarters, with the endless quarrels, disputes, and disgusting details of every-day life, which, in addition to the unavoidable annoyances of a ship, assail one at every step; and had much rather put up with more inconveniences alone, or in a smaller space, with congenial society, than brave the evils in question.

Under the influence of these feelings, I sought far and wide for a vessel to convey myself and my *penates* (which consisted of my wife, who entirely sympathized with me, both in the step we were about to take, and the mode of putting it into execution), to our destination; and at length discovered a strong and nominally fast sailing schooner, of one hundred and twenty tons' burden, bound for Port Philip, and commanded and partly owned by a rough little

Yorkshire skipper, who appeared to possess all the attributes of a good sailor, with sufficient good nature and good feeling to make the presence of a lady moderate, if not subdue, any natural barbarous propensities he might possess.

I engaged one-half of the small cabin, and by partitioning this off by a bulkhead, formed a separate and compact little dormitory, with other conveniences attached to it, which rendered it quite as commodious as any I should have engaged in a larger vessel; although perhaps not quite so well ventilated. We soon set ourselves to work to render the cabin, that was most likely to be our residence for the next four or five months, as comfortable as circumstances would admit of; and furnished with a few letters of introduction, a very light one of credit, and a tolerable stock of optimism, we joined the rakish-looking schooner, "Vibilia" (a goddess whose history and attributes I was not aware of until I had consulted Lempriere), after a farewell breakfast at "Waite's Hotel," Gravesend, on the 30th November, 1852.

Our passage down the river comprised no ad-

ventures worthy of notice, save and except the loss of half our bowsprit by a collision with a collier at night, which initiated my wife into some of the emphatic phraseology of British seamen of this class, and frightened her a good deal into the bargain. The accident was put to rights at Margate the following morning, and the same evening we were riding at anchor in the Downs.

Here we encountered a series of gales from the westward that rendered our position anything but a pleasant one. Riding with two anchors, with a gale of wind dead in our teeth, the movement of our little shallop could only be compared to a seesaw in a fair, and with the disadvantage of its being a stationary rocking, instead of a progressive one. The effect it would have had upon some stomachs was dreadful to imagine; but by some merciful ordination of Providence we never felt the smallest approach to sea-sickness; perhaps cold and discomfort of one kind and the other left us no room for other sufferings. The Downs were full of wind-bound vessels, and some were continually driving from their anchors, and "running-a-muck" amongst

their neighbours. Deal and Ramsgate boatmen, who seem to set all weather at defiance, were continually tantalizing us with a description of the superior comforts of shore, and offering to take us there for the moderate sum of a guinea a-head, an accommodation which I begged to defer until my return from Australia with a cargo of nuggets. Seas were beating over us and penetrating every corner of the little craft; the stove in the cabin refused to be lighted at any price; eating was out of the question, and drinking difficult; and, in fact, I thought we should have fallen victims to our adventurous spirit at the very outset of our undertaking.

As, however, even pain becomes familiar and more easy to be borne by its continuance, so we, after three weeks' enjoyment of the above-mentioned trials, had become as completely amphibious as it is possible to conceive two rather luxurious individuals to be, and when, by what is termed a favourable slant of wind, we managed with some difficulty to escape from our stormy anchorage into the still more boisterous channel, we considered ourselves hardened and disciplined to any amount of marine endurance.

Still fate was not yet weary of persecuting us, and we had made but little progress with the "slant" when the wind returned with the same violence to its old quarter, and it was not without difficulty that we gained the shelter of the Motherbank, and came to anchor at a short distance from the Ryde pier.

Although a maritime survey of the southern coast of England was anything but propitious to our arrival in Australia, still our situation here was far more agreeable than the former one, as we could easily get on shore in the ship's boat and wander about the Isle of Wight when the weather permitted, and as the wind held steadily to the same quarter for a fortnight in succession, we had plenty of opportunities of inspecting the winter beauties of this delightful island; and making up a little in creature comforts for our previous sufferings.

Another "slant," and we were once more ploughing the foaming billows of the stormy Channel, with every sail close reefed and close hauled. The waves seem unwilling to admit us a passage, slow as it is, and which it strains

every plank of our little craft to enforce. Our skipper, however, never throws a chance away, and with voice, hand and gesture, is here and there and everywhere at once. The small crew, who receive no pay, and work their way out to Australia, are not above one-half of them sailors, and, including the captain and mate, there are not above five efficient hands in the vessel; yet on ordinary occasions these are sufficient for her size.

We were not yet fated to bid farewell to the "white cliffs of Britain," and after battling in vain against the westerly force of the gale for about twenty-four hours, were glad at length to put into the comfortable harbour of "Portland Roads," and my wife and I resumed our old amusement of wandering about the adjacent country. Portland Island afforded us many interesting rambles, and a visit to Weymouth—one last glance at European civilization. It seemed as though we were chained by some invisible link to home, and were never to emerge from the British Channel.

At length, towards the end of January (having

been wind-bound for nearly two months), Æolus changed to a favourable quarter ; the skies cleared, the sun broke forth, and we, in company with hundreds of other vessels of all sizes, were merrily clearing the “chops of the Channel,” and leaving our native shores (perhaps for ever), behind us. The Bay of Biscay, of *billowy* notoriety, was passed in a pleasant breeze ; the coasts of Spain and Portugal were soon left behind ; winter had disappeared, and the soft and genial breezes that fanned our cheeks and sails as we passed the Island of Madeira, were gradually preparing us for the rather less agreeable warmth of the tropics.

Having several creole passengers forward in the steerage, whom our skipper had undertaken for a *consideration* to land at Brava, a small island the most southward of the Cape de Verd group, but where there is no anchorage for large vessels, it was our intention to lay off and on (as it is called), at a safe distance from shore, whilst we landed the passengers in the ship's boat. These men had been discharged from whaling vessels that had completed their voyage ; indeed,

that is the chief employment of the inhabitants of this island, a hardy and muscular race; of a breed between the African and Portuguese, and very expert whalers. English and American vessels, bound for the South Seas, call here on their way outward bound, and make up their crew, if in want of hands.

About three weeks had elapsed since we cleared the Channel, and we were fast approaching the Cape de Verds. We were now in the midst of the tropics. Grampuses and dolphins were disporting themselves around our wake; and flying-fish obligingly flitting upon our decks formed a very agreeable addition to our breakfast table. The breezes were mild and favourable, the skies a mixture of every magnificent hue that painter could imagine or poet describe; and hitherto nothing could be more favourable than our voyage.

The Islands of St. Nicholas and St. Jago were visible on the horizon, and we were fast approaching the bold sugar-loaf volcano of Fogo. The Island of Brava lies about twenty miles to the westward of the former, and is the last and

most southward of the Cape de Verd group. It is not more than fourteen miles in circumference, but is considered the most healthy, being free from fevers and epidemics peculiar to the others. When within a few miles of the beach, and opposite what was pointed out as the landing place by our creole passengers, we hove-to and lowered the long boat, to convey them and their baggage on shore. I volunteered my services to hand them over to the Portuguese authorities, the captain considering that some little smattering of foreign languages might be convenient, if not necessary, and a very confined knowledge of his own being the extent of his acquirements in that department.

On a near approach, we discovered a small bay, or cove, which we had not at first observed, in a recess of the coast, with a few whitewashed buildings, and a small apology for a fort, with about four guns, and this spot was declared to be the harbour and landing place by our passengers. It was a beautiful little bay; the sea, of the most pellucid blue, was as clear as crystal, and fish of varied colours, and coral rocks, were visi-

ble for at least ten fathoms' depth. We ran our boat upon the sandy beach; and amongst the few dirty Portuguese custom-house officials who were on the spot I met with one who spoke a little French, and who explained to me that the *town* (as he called it) was situated about two miles in the interior, and that it was a very beautiful spot, and worth the trouble of a visit. I considered this very extraordinary, as not a vestige of any foliage, except a low scrub, was to be seen; and the land, which appeared to rise gradually to about the height of three thousand feet above the level of the sea, was a sort of crust of brown dry lava, and evidently of volcanic origin. As, however, I had my run on shore for some hours—our skipper having commissioned me to purchase a few fresh provisions and vegetables if possible—I determined to make the most of it, and accordingly signified my desire to proceed to the metropolis of the island. I was directed to a hut close by, which served as a “*venta*,” or public-house; where, after having tasted some execrable “*vin du pays*,” I was told to mount a by no means respectable-looking

donkey, that was held by the most ragged of boys (in fact a real study for Murillo), who began to scamper up the rocks before me, and was followed by my original steed with an activity and sure-footedness that his appearance by no means indicated.

We continued to ascend the most tortuous and precipitous paths, or rather mountain tracks, frequently meeting and coming into very dangerous proximity with donkeys (evidently relations of my own animal), laden with fruit, kegs, and water skins, and rapidly descending towards the beach, until having reached very nearly the summit of the island, and no appearance of even a habitation of any kind in view, I began to doubt the existence of these "castles in the air" altogether, until, upon suddenly reaching a crest of the mountain, and looking downwards, a scene opened upon my view, so peculiar, and so beautiful, that I never before or since have witnessed anything at all similar to it. The reader may imagine a vast crater or hollow space on the top of the mountain, and comprehending several miles in its circumference. In lovely contrast

to the brown and arid rocks that frown around in all directions, a little paradise or oasis of tropical trees, fruits, and flowers, bursts upon the sight, with whitewashed and green-verandahed cottages and villas interspersed here and there. The air was absolutely heavy with the odour of the orange and lemon blossom (the trees here bearing both fruit and flower at the same period), and the golden fruit was weighing down the noble orange-trees in prodigious quantity and luxuriance. The banana, guava, and coffee-tree, and numerous other tropical shrubs and fruits, were evidently cultivated with great care. In fact it was a fairy scene, and the more beautiful from having been so unexpected.

I was conducted to one of the little "cottage ornees" by my ragged guide, and introduced to a mahogany-coloured elderly gentleman, in a very loose suit of white calico, who styled himself the "Captain of the Port," and who treated me with the greatest kindness and hospitality. He almost carried me into his cottage, which was situated under a natural arbour of orange, lemon, citron, and vine trees—the former bend-

ing down with fruit—and an admirable luncheon very soon made its appearance, consisting of cold poultry, excellent ham, a variety of fruits, Lisbon wine, and the best coffee (grown in his own garden) I ever tasted in my life. The only drawback to our amusement was the difficulty of understanding each other, as my host spoke nothing but Portuguese; and although I could catch his meaning now and then, I was totally at a loss for a response. At last a thought seemed to strike him, and going out for a few minutes, he returned, bringing with him an individual, yclept Peter, whose profession was that of a pilot, and who could speak a few words of both French and English, of which he was most inordinately proud, and more particularly of the superiority he considered it gave him over his master. By the assistance of this interpreter (small as it was) I managed to make out that provisions of all kinds were cheap and good at this place, that there was quite water enough in the harbour for our little schooner (a Portuguese corvette was lying there at the same time), and that we could not do better than come to anchor

here and take in what we wanted, rather than risk the trouble and expense of putting into the Cape of Good Hope for the same purpose.

As I felt very much disposed to follow this advice, I dispatched the pilot Peter, his boat and followers, with a missive to our captain in the offing, explaining these particulars, and advising him to adopt this method of proceeding, and in a short time, from an eminence in my host's garden, I observed our little schooner rounding one of the points of the bay, and drop her anchor within about one hundred yards of the shore. Having made my descent from the *town* by the same conveyance, but in a far shorter period than my arrival, I informed the captain and my wife of the little paradise I had discovered, and also conveyed from the worthy Captain of the Port a general invitation to eat, drink, and sleep at his house as long as we were on the island. We determined on declining the latter, but accepting the former accommodation; and the following morning our troop of boys and donkeys assumed a more formidable appearance than before, and the captain, my wife, and I,

besieged the citadel *en masse*. The enemy was, however, well prepared for us, and the table was covered with island luxuries, the most delicious red mullet not being amongst the least of them. After breakfast we visited the *town*, and were evidently looked upon as great "lions," very few European ships, with the exception of whalers (which do not come into harbour), touching at this island. We first paid a visit to the chapel and monastery attached to it, where the priests received us very kindly in a very comfortable drawing-room, furnished with sofas and a piano, and one of them played us some waltzes and polkas in good Parisian style. They pointed out to our observation a few images of saints, bad pictures, and relics, which they seemed to regard very indifferently; not so, however, a bottle of Madeira, which they informed us was sixty years old, and which they produced in our especial honour, and famous stuff it was. They were evidently very proud of entertaining a lady, and could not make enough of her. We next visited the casa of the American consul, and who also officiated in the same capacity for Her Britannic

Majesty ; both these dignitaries being impersonified by a dirty little Portuguese jew. He promised to supply us with all we required in the shape of live stock, water, etc., in the course of a few days. The Governor and Bishop of the Cape de Verds were both residing here, as it is considered the healthiest spot on any of the islands. During our wanderings around this charming village, we were accosted by a black priest, a pure African negro, of enormous dimensions, and ebon blackness : he spoke a little English, and insisted upon our entering his cottage and tasting some port wine which he placed before us ; and after some unintelligible chattering he gave us his blessing in a very patriarchal way upon our departure. Excellent dinners at our kind host's, with cigars and siestas under the fragrant orange bowers, made our evenings pass pleasantly enough, and it was generally dark before our sure-footed donkeys had made their precipitous descent with us to the beach and we rejoined our vessel.

A quantity of live stock, such as pigs and poultry, were safely housed on board, our water

casks were filled to the bung, and every corner of the cabin was crammed with oranges—presents from the good port captain. Bunches of green bananas were suspended at our stem, rows of pumpkins ornamented the davits, and with a fresh trade wind we sailed merrily away upon our course; the fifth day subsequent to our arrival at Brava. The wind continued favourable to us until we had passed the equator, and had arrived in the latitude of the south-east trades, which carried us to the southward of the Cape of Good Hope with few calms or interruptions. We then began to shape our course due west for Australia, but encountered some of the gales peculiar to these latitudes, that tossed our little barque about often in a fearful manner, and preventing us for days together from shewing our faces above the cabin hatchways. When we were about a degree south of the Islands of St. Paul's and Amsterdam, on sounding the tank one morning, to ascertain the quantity of water we had left for the remainder of the voyage, we discovered to our consternation that a leak or some accident had taken place, and that the tank

was dry. Our skipper did not think it prudent to attempt to procure any at the above-mentioned islands, and the consequence was that we were reduced, or rather elevated, to bottled stout and pale ale, of which there was a large consignment on board, as a substitute for all other beverages ; and I really believe that I put this fattening production of Barclay and Perkins to a purpose which those worthy brewers could never have anticipated, viz., to shave with, the thick froth making an excellent lather. None of us appeared to suffer from our *porter regime*, and when in about three weeks subsequent to this accident we had passed *Bass's Straits* every body (except our poor skipper, to whom of course the loss was considerable) seemed improved in bulk and appearance.

We were now fast approaching the termination of our voyage. It was the latter end of May, and we had been nearly four months at sea. On the morning of the 26th, after a heavy gale of wind from the north-west that lasted forty-eight hours, we sighted the lighthouse on Cape Otway, and about fifty miles from Port

Philip. The coast here presented a fine undulating surface of forest and plain. We had met only one or two vessels during the whole voyage; but now many ships were in sight, either going to or from the promised land. About midnight, by the light of a glorious full moon, we entered Port Philip heads by a narrow passage of about a mile broad, between two reefs of rocks; and the tide running like a mill race. We found ourselves at once in an immense lake or inland sea, which, before it was dotted over as it is at present with vessels from all nations, must have presented the finest picture of solitary repose that can be conceived. We anchored for the night, and in the morning a pilot came on board, and, after a sail of about thirty miles, we again anchored off the Port of Williamstown, at the entrance of the Yarra Yarra River—a small muddy stream enclosed by a rank vegetation and low marshy banks; and upon which, seven miles higher up, is situated the city of Melbourne.

CHAPTER II.

MELBOURNE.

UPWARDS of three hundred vessels of all sizes and from all parts of the world were at anchor here at this period. The houses on shore, which were small wooden tenements, comprising stores of all kinds. Grog shops, butchers, bakers, etc., and very few in number, and any of which could have been erected at the cost of £100 in England, were worth at this time, with a small plot of land attached to them, from two to ten thousand pounds each, and the occupants were realizing every day enormous sums by their respective trades. The influx of emigrants at this period was beyond all calculation, and no language can describe the bustle and confusion that reigned. Small steamboats were continually running between this place and Melbourne (of which indeed

it is the port, as no vessel drawing more than ten feet can go up the river), charging ten shillings for each passenger, and crowded to suffocation. The little stream was blocked up with vessels, and how they could steer clear of each other was a mystery only to be solved by themselves.

It would be indeed a difficult task to describe this wonderful place in its then infant state. It presented all the elements of a colossal city rising out of chaos, and assuming something like a connected shape and form. Large wharves half unfinished, and half destroyed by the immense traffic upon them, and half-erected stores and buildings around them. Every inch of space was covered by a multitude of persons and heaps of merchandize and baggage from every quarter of the globe—from a ragged Irishman to a Canton celestial. Upon arriving at the city, which is laid out in wide and handsome streets on the rectangular principle, a magnificent banking establishment, of Corinthian architecture, was next door neighbour to a Jew's slop shop, and a jumper's mud chapel *vis a vis* to a Protestant cathedral. Discord and confusion reigned supreme,

and not a hole or corner in this immense conglomeration of dwellings, composed of stone, brick, wood, mud, and canvass, was unoccupied, and, indeed, generally crowded to suffocation. Merchants were paying ten pounds a week for the occupation of a room or hole some eight feet square, which they named an office, and where business to the amount of many thousands was transacted daily. The same sized apartment in a wooden hotel, and containing two stretchers and a cracked washing basin, was a luxury only attainable by the rich, at a price of about two pounds per diem with meals, but no liquors; and this accommodation it was then impossible to obtain. The approach to the post office was much the same ceremony, and connected with the same difficulty and danger as my readers may remember attended them on going to see the late Duke of Wellington lying in state. Great individual distress and inconvenience of course prevailed, still the colony was in a highly prosperous condition. Gold! that all-powerful source of prosperity, had shed its *prestige* over everything, and, although all gold-digging is a

lottery to individuals, yet the quantity discovered was enormous. The Government had large funds at their command, which they spent in a liberal manner; and bankers, merchants, hotel-keepers, publicans and tradespeople were realizing large fortunes. The price of labour was very high, ten shillings a day being paid by government to any individual who chose to work, or rather pretend to do so, on the roads.

The prices of lodging and provisions were, however, proportionately high. The necessities of the emigrant, and the recklessness of the fortunate digger, were taken every advantage of by the retail dealer, who charged four or five hundred per cent. above wholesale prices; but there was no actual scarcity of provisions or even luxuries of most kinds. One pursuit, that of "Mammon," in spite of every obstacle, occupied the attention of all classes. Every nation in the world, of all colours, classes, and denominations, seemed to be struggling how to get the best of their neighbours; and as colonial emigrants are generally clever enterprising men, it may be easily imagined that the struggle was severe,

and the idle and inergetic stood no chance in the race.

I managed to instal my wife and self in a two-roomed hut of lath and plaster, at a rent of £4 per week; fire-wood cost £3 a horse load; and muddy water from the river 10s. a barrel full. No class of men were so completely out of their element in Australia as broken-down gentlemen. If they had not capital to speculate with, or could not obtain a government appointment, they had no chance in this practical country. Everybody was engaged in the "pursuit of money under difficulties;" and many were making their hundreds and even thousands per diem by land speculations, the value of which was often trebled and quadrupled in the space of twenty-four hours.

The Government employed a large number of officers in the Police force and as gold Commissioners, stipendiary magistrates, etc., etc., who received what would be considered large salaries in England, but not so in proportion to the price of everything here. They were chiefly composed of unfortunate squatters, ruined gentle-

men, with a fair sprinkling of officers who had formerly been in the British or Indian army, and had passed through every variety of adventure ; and it was to one of these situations that my own views were principally directed, and which, by dint of a little local interest with Mr. Latrobe, the Governor, that I had every chance of obtaining. In the mean time I received much kindness and hospitality from some old friends whom I met at Melbourne, and made myself better acquainted with the resources and statistics of the country.

After the lapse of a few weeks I was summoned by the Chief Commissioner of Police, who informed me that if I chose to accept the position of Police Magistrate at "Ballarat," as *locum tenens* for the present occupant of that situation, who was about to leave it on several months' leave of absence, I should have the first vacancy to a permanent office of that nature that presented itself; an offer which I was of course only too happy to accept, and made my arrangements accordingly for entering upon my judicial functions at those far-famed diggings, situated

about eighty miles from Melbourne, and at that period (July, 1853), rather a serious journey to make in mid-winter, owing to the very marshy and dangerous state of the country.

CHAPTER III.

BALLARAT.

IN order to shorten the distance by land, I proceeded by the route of Geelong to my destination, to which place, a distance of forty miles by sea, steamboats were plying daily from Melbourne, and making the passage in about four hours. The boat in which I took my departure (the "Duncan Hoyle"), was crowded with passengers,—squatters, diggers, and emigrants of all descriptions, together with merchandize of every kind: much freedom of speech and general conviviality prevailed, and champagne corks were popping in every direction. The beautiful Bay of Geelong was soon gained, and soon this infant city (far superior to Melbourne as to position), appeared, rising gracefully upon the waters. I took up my abode at Mac's Hotel, a very hand-

some edifice facing the sea, and where the accommodation was very superior to what I had experienced at Melbourne; but at prices to which the charges of the "Clarendon" or "Mivart's" would sink into insignificance. I found this establishment, like every other, full to overflowing, but contrived to secure a *stretcher* in a small room, with two other occupants, one of whom was also *en route* to Ballarat, and whose company I was fortunate enough to secure on the journey. My next object was to purchase a horse, which I effected at an outlay of thirty-five pounds, and to all appearance and description a tolerable roadster. Too much caution cannot be used in the selection of a steed in Australia, as under the most flattering exterior the most terrible vices are often concealed; and the apparently quiet hack, that has been jogging along for miles in the mildest of moods, suddenly serves a summary ejection upon his rider by a complicated performance of a species of gymnastics called "buck jumping," to which, from early habits in their almost wild state, and subsequent very imperfect breaking, Australian horses are

particularly addicted. No country, however, furnishes a finer breed of working horses, or of greater power and endurance. The climate is admirably suited to their constitutions, and they can dispense with half the grooming and stable comforts so necessary to their condition at home.

Leaving my trunks to be sent on by a bullock dray to Ballarat, with a chance of receiving them in a month or six weeks afterwards, which at this time of year was about the usual period in which these conveyances performed the distance (fifty-eight miles), and with a pair of saddle-bags containing my immediate necessaries, I started early the following morning, in company with my fellow-traveller, each of us armed with revolvers (a precaution against bushrangers). The first part of the road comprised ranges of bleak undulating hills, with few trees visible; and the roads, or rather tracks made by the multitudes of diggers, with their drays and carts continually proceeding up the country, were above our horses fetlocks in adhesive mud.

We passed many parties, singly and in groups, wending their way in high spirits to the El

Dorado of their hopes. About fifteen miles from Geelong the scene changed: upon our right lay a magnificent valley as far as the eye could reach, a stream meandering through the centre, and the slopes verdant with the richest herbage, covered with flocks and herds. Soon afterwards we entered a gum-tree forest, or chiefly composed of gum trees, which are the prevailing timber in this country; interspersed with several other species of evergreens. Fallen trunks lay scattered around, blackened with the effect of either recent or former bush fires, which are very prevalent during the dry season, and burn up large tracts of forest and pasture in their devastating career. These fires originate generally from the carelessness of travellers, either from the simple act of throwing away their tinder after having lighted their pipes, or recklessly leaving the fires of their bivouac in a state of ignition on their departure. We halted about mid-day, after a ride of about thirty miles, at a small tavern, (where there was also a police-station,) named "Watson's Inn," from the name of the proprietor; and a more dirty or abominable hole it

was impossible to conceive : a year subsequently four handsome hotels were constructed near this spot. Drunken diggers were lying about the verandah and unwashed floors of the building in every stage of intoxication, and we were absolutely obliged to step over their prostrate forms in order to approach a table to get some refreshment. This place being half-way from Ballarat to Geelong, was of course the great halting-place for travellers, and it was not an uncommon practice for the successful digger upon his arrival, after a long and weary march from the diggings, to throw a small bag of gold-dust, perhaps containing several ounces, to the landlord, and tell him that he intended to drink it out, and not leave until it was finished ; a consummation very soon effected by that worthy, who speedily aroused his reckless customer from a senseless fit of intoxication, with the information that the proceeds of his gold were all melted into alcohol.

After refreshing our horses and ourselves in the best manner we were able, we again pursued our way, chiefly through forest and swamp, with now and then a few miles of open country,

to the picturesque village of Buningyong, twenty miles farther on, and making fifty altogether from Geelong. This is a pretty pastoral spot, composed of several allotments of land, with cottages and nice gardens upon them; and there were two good sized public-houses, where tolerable accommodation could be had. It is situated at the edge of the forest, through which the road lies to the Ballarat diggings (a distance of eight miles from this place). There was also a room in a wooden building used as a court-house, and a log lock-up house for criminals. The Ballarat magistrate was obliged to visit this place weekly, and a few policemen were also stationed here.

We passed the night at Mrs. Jamieson's Inn, an extraordinary specimen of a Scotch landlady, whose colonial independence of character (except when she took a liking), always verged upon insolence, and very often abuse; and woe be to the mistaken individual who tried to oppose her when in these moods, as he had little chance of either food or lodging at her hands. I was fortunate to fall into her good graces, and met with

extremely good entertainment in her own cottage, close to the Inn.

At sun-rise on the morrow we continued our ride through the forest to Ballarat, and had not proceeded far before we could easily perceive that we were approaching some vast object of attraction, by the quantity of human beings, drays, bullocks and horses, we encountered, and the bivouac-fires smoking in all directions. A ride of about six miles through forest scenery brought us to the edge of the diggings, or as it was termed, "New Chum Gully" (the different ranges of hills where gold is discovered go by the common name of gully). The diggings have been so often illustrated, both by description and painting, by far abler hands than mine, that I shall content myself with a very brief account of Ballarat as it appeared on my arrival on the 1st of August, 1853.

The valley or rather basin of Ballarat, surrounded on all sides by a range of hills, and generally composed of quartz-rock, comprised an area of about ten miles. This was almost completely bared of timber, and honeycombed by

the miners in every direction, presenting to the view a succession of holes, heaps of clay and quartz, and innumerable tents of all forms and sizes scattered about, whose occupants (women and children), were busily engaged in domestic avocations during the absence of their husbands and fathers at their mining occupations. How to thread my way through this dangerous labyrinth appeared, as it was, difficult enough in the day-time, and impossible at night.

My object was to reach the Commissioner's camp, situated on an eminence to the northward, and overlooking the diggings, and rendered conspicuous by its flag-staff, which, with the assistance of an experienced guide, I managed to do. The camp at that period contained a police-force, mounted and foot, of about fifty men; an inspector, sub-inspector, lieutenant, and several cadets. The chief officer was the resident Gold Commissioner, under whom were placed several assistant gold commissioners, and a number of office clerks—a police-magistrate and clerk of the bench; an assistant surveyor and colonial architect, and a camp surgeon, together with assis-

tants, workmen, camp-followers, and servants : making in all a numerical population of about one hundred individuals inhabiting the limits of the camp.

Although some wooden buildings were in progress, such as small houses for the officers, barracks for the police, a mess room, hospital, etc., etc., yet at the period of my arrival none were completed, and both public offices and private dwellings were composed of tents of different dimensions.

I was most kindly received by Mr. J. M. Clow, the resident Commissioner, and introduced by him to the mess, which was composed of the different officers of the departments above-mentioned, and comprised gentlemen of all ages and descriptions. A very substantial breakfast was served in a large tent to about twenty members, and although the furniture and accommodations were rather of a rough nature, there was no reason to find fault with the cheer.

Having been initiated by Mr. Eyre, the gentleman whom I was replacing, into the arcana of the police-court, and the local peculiarities atten-

dant upon my position, upon his departure, in a few days, I assumed the reins of office. My court-house consisted of a little wooden tenement, about twelve feet square. I had a very intelligent clerk of the bench; and a sergeant-major of police, a chief constable, and several policemen, always in attendance. A very large and solid log-built lock-up house for prisoners was in close proximity. We were tolerably well supplied with stationery and office books; and, in fact, with the exception of the *locum standi* I had no reason to complain of the *matériel*.

The mining population of Ballarat, at the period of my arrival, was small in comparison to its amount when I left it, about a year and a half subsequently; perhaps it amounted in all to about ten thousand, but afforded me quite sufficient occupation in my magisterial capacity. Drunkenness, and crimes arising from its baneful effects, such as wounds and frequent homicides, were but too common; horse-stealing was an every-day occurrence; and as the diggers formed the carcass upon which the old convicts, or Vandemonian vultures, gathered together in their

different wanderings, every description of villainy was rife at Ballarat; and no London police-office could exhibit a greater variety of crime than appeared sometimes upon our charge-sheet.

A court of sessions, presided over by a judge of circuit, was held at Buninyong about every six weeks, which took cognizance of everything, with the exception of capital crimes. In these cases we committed for trial to the Supreme Court at Geelong, and sent the prisoners there periodically by escort.

The salaries paid to officers at the gold diggings on my arrival were as follows:—Resident Gold Commissioner, £700 per annum; Commissioner ditto, £500 per annum; assistant ditto, £400 per annum; Police Magistrate, £600 per annum, with an additional £100 per annum as Deputy Sheriff for the County; Inspector of Police, £600 per annum; Sub-Inspector ditto, £350; Lieutenant ditto, £250; Cadets, 10s. per diem; Officers on full pay of the army 15s. and 10s. per diem extra; Chief Clerks, £300 per annum; other Clerks, £200 and £250 per annum; Privates in the Police, 8s. per diem, and

portions of fines, besides clothing; Pensioners, 2s. 6d. per diem; in addition to pension, every one was moreover allowed rations, and forage for horses. Superior officers individually, and others collectively, were allowed servants, or as they were termed, tent-keepers, with pay of 8s. per diem with tent and rations. These salaries at a later period were all considerably diminished. The Government, owing to the sudden and enormous addition to the population since the discovery of gold in 1851, were forced to increase their expenditure in a manner which the following table may give some idea of:—

	1851	1852	1853
Post Office Department	£11,165	£17,362	£64,622
Ports and Harbours	4,198	10,737	42,580
Public Works	32,697	51,153	719,924
Police	23,942	34,953	317,579
Gaols	6,604	10,761	94,459
Administration of Justice	7,094	10,535	43,230
Education	5,906	10,248	79,000

The following year this expenditure was nearly doubled, and the revenue by no means rose in

proportion, so that it was evident that it was necessary to practise a stricter system of political economy.

It must be clearly understood that the value of money was very different at this time to its relative value in the former state of the colony, and would not go nearly so far in providing for its exigencies. Everything (labour included) had risen to a fabulous price, and seemed to be still going up. The difficulty of carting up goods to these diggings during the winter season was so great, that the charge for conveying them from Geelong, a distance of fifty-eight miles, was sometimes £100 per ton; and I have known hay sold at Ballarat as high as £120 the ton, and oats proportionately dear; so that the expense of forage was enormous: £2 per night was the usual charge at the public-houses, and the government had to pay this price in many instances for their outstanding police horses, owing to their very inefficient commissariat; so that it may be easily conceived that the £100 per annum allowed by government in commutation of forage to officers entitled to it, would not nearly cover the

expense. They were permitted, however, to draw hay and corn if they chose from the commissariat stores. As the pastoral districts in the neighbourhood of the diggings abounded with sheep and cattle, meat of good quality was not so dear as other descriptions of provisions, and could be procured for about 8d. the lb., baker's bread at this time was about 3s. 6d. the quartern loaf, butter 4s. the lb., milk 1s. 6d. the pint, potatoes 6d. the lb., onions 3s. 6d. the lb, and any description of vegetable or fruit enormously dear.

The government at this time derived a considerable revenue from the license fees issued monthly to gold-diggers, and some of the most distressing and frequent cases that were brought before the magistrates were those of diggers apprehended at work without a license. Parties of the Police, commanded by some young officer, scoured the diggings in all directions, and questioned every one they met if he had a license, desiring him at the same time to produce it; should he be unable to do so, he was at once arrested and brought to the camp before the

bench, and fined either from £1 to £5, or from fourteen days to a month's imprisonment, according to the magistrate's discretion; and this imprisonment was to take place in the log lock-up house, amidst felons and thieves of the worst description.

Although I consider that the license fee was a light and equitable tax for the occupation of government land, and the unlimited use of wood and water, still its mode of enforcement was extremely obnoxious, if not injudicious; and although the fortunate digger was always ready and willing to pay it, still there were hundreds who, upon their first arrival were unable to do so, and many foreigners who neglected to take out a license from total ignorance of the legal necessity for so doing. The enforcement of penalties upon these classes of persons (which was always urged upon the magistrates by the Gold Commissioners and the Police) was one of the causes that led to such disastrous consequences during the riots at Ballarat the following year, and to an alteration from the payment of a license fee for mining, into an export tax upon the gold itself.

Another offence against which the colonial enactments were very severe, and which was of every day occurrence, was that of "sly grog selling," or selling any description of malt, vinous, or spirituous liquor, without a license; and as at that time there was but one licensed public-house on the township, or rather site of what was intended to be the township, within a few yards of the camp, this clandestine commerce was carried on to a great extent; in fact, in addition to the professional retailers of the prohibited liquors, almost every storekeeper disposed of it in the shape of a present, accompanying a purchase of any article, for which a little more was charged; and of course no prohibition could be made against the supplies of liquors for private use, purchased from wholesale spirit merchants at Melbourne or Geelong.

For the first conviction of this offence (which was almost invariably on the testimony of two policemen disguised in plain clothes, and who received a portion of the fine), a fine of £50, or four months' imprisonment, was imposed, together with a confiscation of all the liquors seized

in the tent of the accused ; a second conviction, from six months' to a year's imprisonment with hard labour was inflicted, without the option of a fine ; and the magistrate had no discretionary power to commute or alter these penalties. I have known twenty cases before the bench the same day, and a conviction, fine, and payment ensue in each of them. With a very few exceptions, and those chiefly drunken ones, the diggers and different inhabitants of the diggings treated the administration of justice with the greatest respect, and were always glad to appeal to and abide by its decisions.

Horse-stealing gave me a vast deal of trouble, as the only title by which we could trace the right ownership of an animal claimed was by the priority of the certificates or receipts, always exchanged in Australia between parties on the sale and purchase of a horse, and which could be easily falsified or forged, and the brands on the horse itself, which might be altered or effaced. From the insecure state of the country, and the careless manner in which horses were turned out hobbled in the bush, whilst their owners slept

after the fatigues of the day, this crime was of very common occurrence; and many notorious characters were always on the track of the wandering community, and picking up horses in this way, which, after having altered their brands to the best of their power, they sold to some confederate horse auctioneer, either in town or at remote diggings, for about one-third of its value, the auctioneer taking the risk of its being discovered and reclaimed by its legitimate owner, in which case he would have to refund the full value of the horse (that given for it by the original purchaser, according to the receipt).

Manslaughter, and accidental death arising from drunkenness, was but too common; but deliberate murder very rare. The Americans now and then used their revolvers and bowie-knives in their quarrels, with fatal effect to themselves and sometimes to others, and were very much astonished when they were committed to be tried for their lives on such occasions. They were generally sentenced to ten years hard labour on the roads on conviction. Thefts, by infraction into tents at night, or during the absence of

their owners, were very frequent, owing to the extreme facility with which they were attended, but very severely punished on conviction; and as every digger had loaded fire-arms always by him in his tent, many thieves were wounded, and even killed, without its coming to the notice of the authorities.

Immediately adjoining my office was that of the gold-receiver, Mr. Green, where deposits of gold or money were made, previous to their being sent down by weekly escort to Geelong and Melbourne. Receipts were given for the weight or amount of each parcel, and they were afterwards claimed by their owners, or their agents, at the government treasury, on payment of the escort fees. The collection of beautiful nuggets, pure and mixed with different coloured quartz, sometimes awaiting their escort in the bureau of this office, was a very fine sight; and I have known at a later period, gold to the amount of at least £100,000 in this little wooden hut at one time, besides a large amount of money. Sentries were on guard night and day; and a short time after my arrival, a company of pensioners from

Van Diemen's Land, under the command of a Brevet-Major, were added to the force of the camp, to perform local duty.

My office hours were from 9 A.M. until 4 P.M. for regular business; but summonses and warrants were granted on application at any hour of the night or day. The officers of the different services, who had all pretty full employment during the day, assembled at half-past six to dinner, at which meal we were often joined by some passing friends, such as squatters on their road to and from the capital, and officers from other stations, to whom we offered all the hospitality in our power, in return for that which we were certain to meet with from them.

I was now thoroughly established in my new quarters, and tolerably *au fait* to my duties. I was a good deal bothered by two Irish attorneys, who were generally retained by prisoners in any important cases, and the only expounders of the law at that time at Ballarat, if they happened to be both engaged on the same side; but if pitted against each other they saved me a great deal of trouble in cross examination, and the only diffi-

culty was to restrain their eloquence within the bounds of the decorum of the court. Mr. Clow the resident, and one or two other gold officers, being in the commission of the peace, were kind enough now and then to take my duty off my hands for a day if I wished to make an excursion into the country; and as everything was new and interesting to me, I took the opportunity of doing so, both in search of picturesque scenery or sport, or the two combined.

The country for many miles around Ballarat on all sides was one vast forest, with many opening glades, and here and there a range of bald hills or eminences, sometimes several hundred feet high, rising from the midst of the forest, yet perfectly divested of trees. The view from some of the highest of these was grand in the extreme, embracing what the poet Cowper calls "a boundless contiguity of shade;" even then in the month of August, and in the depth of an Australian winter, the varied tints of the evergreen foliage was very beautiful. Beyond, at a distance of upwards of twenty or thirty miles, could be discerned an open country of undulating hill and dale with

several lakes, and in the far distance on the horizon the blue mountains of the Pyrennees, where inexhaustible supplies of the precious metal are supposed to be hidden. Nothing could be more delightful than exploring the forest on horseback when the weather permitted, which at this time of year was very uncertain, and few days passed without heavy rain. The forest also being very marshy, and containing many treacherous bogs, was by no means safe for a new comer not acquainted with its peculiarities.

Parrots of every hue, and great variety of size, filled the air with their shrill screams; the harsh cry of the black cockatoo, and the mocking tones of the laughing jackass, formed anything but a melodious concert; nor, indeed, do I remember hearing any bird with "sweet note" indigenous to Australia. There is a great variety of the feathered tribe, the genus *Psittacus*, or parrot, being by far the most numerous and comprehensive of any, and, with the cockatoos of many kinds, include an immense assortment. Game birds also are very scarce, with the exception of wild fowl, which, from the black

swan to the most minute teal, are found on the lakes and swamps in vast quantities, and great variety of size and plumage. The stork or crane family is also numerous; the head of this department being a tall and elegantly-feathered bird, something between the flamingo and stork, called the "Native Companion," from the facility of taming it and inculcating domestic habits. Snipe, similar to our own, but if anything rather larger, together with the solitary and jack snipe, are sometimes pretty numerous, but very uncertain and difficult to be met with, and that only for a short period during the year. The common quail is found in large quantities in the spring months, particularly amongst the green corn or Cape barley; but partridges, pheasants, and woodcocks, deer, hares, and rabbits, are here unknown. One bird, indeed, now very scarce in Europe, of gigantic size and most delicate flesh, may be found in large flocks in this neighbourhood; and although most difficult of approach to a white man, is frequently shot by the natives. The aboriginal sportsman, completely covering his native beauties with the boughs of

trees, in fact, like the nymph of Diana, turning himself into a tree, and by slow and almost imperceptible movement getting within a few paces of his unsuspecting prey. I allude to the bustard, here most improperly named the wild turkey, which it in no way resembles. I have seen them on the plains about fifteen miles north-west of Ballarat, in flocks of fifty or sixty together. It is impossible to approach them on foot; on horseback, by riding circuitously around a solitary bird, and gradually decreasing the circles, a shot is sometimes obtained; but by far the easiest way of *potting* the bustard is from a common farm cart, well covered with straw at the bottom, and drawn by as steady an old horse as can be procured: a vehicle of this kind, which the bird is accustomed to see engaged in some daily farming occupation, disarms its suspicion, and the sportsman, stretched at full length on the straw in the cart, with his head just raised sufficiently to direct the reins of the horse, often arrives amidst a flock of bustards, and gets a right and left shot. Care should then be taken to aim immediately underneath the wing at the

moment of its expansion, as otherwise little impression is likely to be made upon the bird ; and No. 1 shot used, with a strong charge of powder. The largest bird I ever killed weighed 25 lbs. with the feathers, and 23 lbs. without, and was most delicious eating.

There is a much smaller bird of this species, not much larger than the common plover, but very rarely met with.

Of wild animals (with the exception of the kangaroo and wild dog, both of which are becoming rare near the inhabited districts), Australia is almost totally destitute. I saw but very few kangaroos in the distant and wildest parts of the bush ; and that extraordinary bird, the emu, once so common, is now fast disappearing from the face of civilization. A small animal, called here the kangaroo rat, but which is indeed nothing but the kangaroo in miniature, abounds in the fern, low underwood, and rotten trunks of trees, and affords excellent sport with a few terriers, and resembles a rabbit in flesh and taste. A little animal, yclept amongst the settlers "the native cat," but with pointed nose, and more re-

sembling a ferret, is found in the same localities as the kangaroo rat, and meets with much the same treatment, except that it is not considered good for food. The opossum here finds his paradise of gum-trees, and encreases and multiplies in proportion. On moonlight nights, with a good dog to *tree* them, a bag of a dozen *possums* can be soon made, the flesh of which is no great delicacy, still their skins make most comfortable coverlids or rugs. Some of the native cloaks, made of opossum skins, are really very handsome !

My chief amusement was wild-fowl shooting, and in pursuit of this sport, until I became well acquainted with certain land-marks, I often managed to lose myself, until an occasional meeting with a shepherd, or a lucky *cast* of my own, put me on the right track again. Sometimes my horse broke loose from the tree or bough to which I had tethered him, frequently for hours together, whilst I pursued the course of some creek or swamp in quest of duck and snipe ; and if I did not find him quietly grazing in the vicinity, I had nothing to do but to make the

best of my way to the camp on foot, where he had generally arrived before me; I speak, of course, of expeditions near the camp, as when I went to any distance, I generally left my horse at the station of some squatter, where I was certain to find a most hospitable welcome, and "good entertainment for man and horse," together with much practical information as to the farming resources of the country. I had also an opportunity of witnessing all the daring and hazardous exploits of stock-driving, branding, etc.

No description of riding at home, be it steeple-chasing, hunting (even in Ireland), or any other dangerous equestrian exercise in which our adventurous youth indulge, can be compared in apparent danger and extreme recklessness to Australian stock-driving on some of the stations.

Imagine a half-broken animal, just taken up from the forest, and mounted by an equally wild rider, careering at full speed through bush and thicket, bounding over the fallen trunks of trees, and dashing through ravines and water courses, until a herd of cattle is approached, which are to be driven to the stock-yard. And now the

exciting scene commences. The long stock-whip cracks with a report like the discharge of a musket, and the frightened cattle are driven like an avalanche, breaking and crushing all before them, through bush and gully, at the same head-long pace, and over the same impracticable country. Sometimes a furious bull turns and charges one of the stock-men, who adroitly avoids the attack, and taking the animal in the flank with his long stock-whip, cuts a solid piece of flesh from his hide, and, pursuing his advantage, drives him bellowing onwards to the herd.

When driven into the stock-yard, the operations of throwing and branding are also attended with much hazard and danger, but these have been so often described, that I need not risk fatiguing the reader with a repetition of them. About seven miles from the camp, in an open clearing of the forest, and on the banks of a stream, was situated the pretty station of Lallal, belonging to a Mr. F——n, a thriving and hospitable squatter; near this station was a celebrated waterfall, which, in point of picturesque beauty, for its size, surpassed any I ever met with. The

width of the first fall was not above one hundred feet, with a sheer perpendicular descent of the same extent. The granite formation on each side was exquisitely beautiful, and so varied and delicate in its shapes and tracery that it might have passed for the handywork of some skilful artificer, as indeed it was, and the greatest of all—Nature! From this fall a succession of similar cascades appeared in a long vista, with an intervening space of several hundred yards between each, as far as the eye could reach. The deep clear basin at the bottom of each fall was full of a peculiar description of eel, some of enormous size, and weighing as much as ten pounds. On my first visit to this place I managed to scramble down the rocks with some rough fishing tackle, for the purpose of procuring a dish of the eels in question, an adventure attended with some danger on account of the snakes that infest this country, the bite of some of which is supposed to be fatal; such as the diamond and carpet snakes. The puff adder is also met with; and I myself have encountered in the forest, between Ballarat and Creswick

Creek, a large dark-coloured snake, at least fifteen feet in length, crawling at a quick pace through the bush. I gave the gentleman a wide berth, having no fire-arms with me at the time, but could never discover of what genus he could have been, and I never encountered another of the kind.

Mr. F——n was a very large wholesale slaughterer of cattle for sale at the diggings, and so lucrative had this business become since the gold discoveries, that he had managed to pay the purchase-money of his station at Lattal (£9000) by his gains in one year. To convey some idea of the gains of the squatters in the immediate vicinity of the diggings, he told me that he allowed a man and his wife, who lived in a hut in the forest, to milk what cows they could on the station, on the condition of their giving him half the profit of their dairy, and that they were then paying him £5 per diem.

The cattle were remarkably fine, and throve well in this part of Australia, but the sheep for many miles around were afflicted with the scab and foot-rot, and it was a melancholy thing in

one's rides and excursions to meet with vast numbers of them dead and dying; so that it may be well imagined that the mutton at the diggings was of a very problematical nature. Although during the winter the whole of this part of the country, from Geelong to Ballarat, and for several hundred miles farther to the westward, was of a wet and swampy nature, still it was subject to terrible droughts in summer, and the loss of cattle, both in bullock drags and on the stations, was ruinous. The creek, that was a roaring torrent in winter, was perfectly dry in summer.

Few springs are found in Australia, and every attempt to sink a well in these parts has ended by discovering nothing but brackish water. In fact, the want of good water, and indeed water of any kind, is the great curse of the country, and must always be a considerable drawback to its agricultural prosperity. Those imposing lines marked down on the maps as rivers (with the exception of the Murray, part of the Yarra Yarra, and several other principal streams) are a chain of ponds of different sizes—a deep-flowing torrent

during winter, and probably totally dry during the summer. The chief sources of supply of water for man and beast the whole year round are the swamps, or large marshes, with probably springs in some parts of them. Some of these are very extensive—high grass and reeds covering the whole interior, and a narrow circle of water washing its banks, from which natural and artificial water-courses supply tanks, or aid in irrigation. A swamp of this description, nearly six miles in circumference, and immediately behind the camp, supplied us with water at Ballarat; and although great fears had been entertained of its being dried up, had hitherto never failed in its supply of water during the summer. The city of Sydney is supplied from a similar source, and fears have been more than once entertained during some very hot summers of the desiccation of this vast swamp, that furnishes its large population with water.

The time was now approaching when my term of service as *locum tenens* for Mr. Eyre was likely to terminate, and for my return to Melbourne, where I had left my wife. Previous, however,

to my departure it was necessary that I should officiate as deputy-sheriff at the general sessions, about to be held at Buningyong, where the judge of circuit, crown prosecutor, and several barristers from Melbourne were expected on the following day. The court was held in a building that served on other occasions as a chapel to a school instituted at that place, and the prisoners for trial were conveyed from Ballarat to the lock-up house at Buningyong on the evening preceding the sessions, which was so small that they had no room to sit or lie down. The two little inns were of course crowded to the utmost, and every hole and corner taken up. The judge, with whom I was not acquainted, and the crown prosecutor having taken up the best part of the one, I succeeded in procuring a room to myself at my old acquaintance, Mrs. Jamieson's, opposite.

The sessions were duly opened, and the jury lists furnished a very fair selection of intelligent men from the squatters and storekeepers in the vicinity. Horse-stealing and robbery, either with or without violence, were the chief offences on the calendar, and in the majority of cases ended

in a conviction, in spite of the strenuous and well-paid defences of some very fair "Old Bailey" counsel.

To use a Yankee term, the jurors, who many of them had suffered themselves from the deprivations of these predatory tribes, were "dead against them," and never suffered them to escape if they could help it; and different terms of imprisonment with hard labour on the roads was the sentence usually pronounced (accompanied by a great deal of good advice) in a nasal twang and pure Milesian accent by the learned judge. On the termination of the first day's proceedings I dined at the inn, in company with a large party of jurymen, upon a very substantial repast, provided by our hostess, and lubricated by no small quantity of *soi disant* Bass and Allsop. Nobblers (the term here for brandy and water) being exchanged for beer, a round game of unlimited loo commenced, when some pretty considerable sums changed hands amongst them, as is indeed the case on most festive occasions in Australia. Some of the merchants at Geelong often played at this game for such high stakes,

that cheques for thousands were sometimes interchanged between them on the termination of a night's play.

As I was about to retire for the night, I was summoned by a messenger from the crown prosecutor, who was staying at the opposite tavern, intimating that he wished to see me directly on particular business. The judge was wrapt in soft slumber on the sofa, no doubt from the effect of the fatigues of the day ; but from the appearance of the whiskey bottle I should say that the other worthy functionary had taken a very unfair advantage of his superior's *temporary absence*, and had worked himself up to a pitch of enthusiasm from some report made to him by an Irish attorney (one of my court practitioners at Ballarat, and a compatriot of his own). The subject of their apprehensions was a supposed planned escape of the prisoners in the lock-up house, whom he did not consider sufficiently well guarded by the police, and urged upon me the necessity of immediately swearing in armed special constables, and proceeding to the police-station, to prevent the threatened outbreak. I

aroused a few of our party at the inn from their slumbers, and, headed by the redoubtable D.C.L., armed with an old cavalry sabre which he always carried with him on his circuit, we proceeded through the darkness and mud to the police-station ; but on our arrival there we found the inspector and his men at their posts, and perfectly ignorant of any such danger, which indeed only existed in the muddled brain of the doctor, who was very subject, when under the influence of his favourite beverage, to these errant flights of fancy. Upon mustering our forces, we found him absent, and afterwards discovered that, after a few ineffectual floundering in the mud, he had returned to his symposium, thinking no doubt that the executive could get on very well without the judicial.

This gentleman had much forensic ability, and conducted the business of the different courts on his circuit with great facility, but was sadly inoculated with the prevailing failing of the colony, "nobblerizing." Some time afterwards he prosecuted the editor of a Geelong paper, for publishing an article accusing him of being in a

state of intoxication whilst officially engaged in court at that place, and, strange to say, gained heavy damages, which caused a great sensation at the time.

I now prepared for my departure from Ballarat, and returned to Geelong by the same route I had before taken, on the latter end of October, 1853. The weather was delightful (about the middle of spring), the ground much more practicable for riding; the richest verdure was springing up around, and the blossom of the mimosa filled the air with its delicious odour. The attractions of Ballarat were fast encreasing, and hundreds, indeed thousands, were wending their way, intent upon exploring the hidden treasures of Eureka and the Canadian Gully. Stage-coaches, or American waggons, capable of holding a large number of passengers, drawn by four horses, and performing the journey from Ballarat to Geelong (accidents excepted!) in two days, had been established by an enterprising *en devant* English member of parliament, at a cost of £5 per head, and filled well with a motley collection of passengers.

At this stage of my narrative I cannot help devoting a short space to attempting a description of this most active and wonderful speculator, whose *amour propre*, should he happen to peruse these lines, will not, I hope, be wounded by a recital of his efforts to command success, however much he may have failed in the endeavour.

I remember, during the early part of my sojourn at the diggings, the chief commissioner of the gold-fields arrived from Melbourne, on a short visit to Ballarat, accompanied by an extremely rotund and convivial-looking gentleman of middle age, well known to the yachting and sporting circles of Great Britain, with whose person I was perfectly familiar, although I possessed but a very slight acquaintance with him. Being astonished by the appearance of a man of his previous habits and pursuits in the antipodes, I ventured to enquire his motives for emigrating, when he informed me with the most perfect *sang froid* that he had come out to Australia with the intention of making £200,000 or so in a few years, and then returning and giving the British House

of Commons a better idea of their Australian Colonies than they hitherto possessed. I suggested that by far the most speedy way of making a fortune I had heard of was by keeping an inn or public-house. He immediately replied, that he had not landed in Melbourne twenty-four hours without taking measures to secure an establishment of that description. He had also dispatched his yacht (a cutter of ninety tons), with a crew of Kentish men known to himself, and she had arrived safe at Port Philip, where he had sold her to the Government for a considerable sum. These men, he told me, he had equipped with everything necessary for a gold-digging expedition, upon the understanding that they were to pay him one-half or one-quarter (I do not exactly remember which) of their gains. In addition to these two speculations, both of which were managed by deputy, he had purchased, on credit and otherwise, several American waggons, and upwards of fifty horses, at an average cost of £50 each, which were now performing the stage-coach service already mentioned. He had also to keep up an extensive staff of

coachmen, ostlers, conductors, etc., at very high wages, and the cost for forage was immense.

He had accompanied the chief commissioner to Ballarat with a floating idea of building saw-mills, speculating in land, and establishing market gardens, merely as a preliminary step to other and more important undertakings.

It might suggest itself to ordinary mortals, that a capital of between two and three thousand pounds (nearly all he possessed on his arrival), and which arose from the sale of the vessel, was hardly sufficient for such gigantic speculations; and in a country where the value of everything is subject to such extraordinary and rapid changes; but my friend's confidence in his own infallibility was never shaken, and his egotism was so great, and his sophistry so cool and persuasive, that he possessed a great facility of talking round others to the point he aimed at.

The hotel and restaurant that he had started in Melbourne, when his projected improvements were effected, would involve an annual rent of about £6000! and he paid his head cook two guineas per diem! He installed as manager of

this establishment a Polish Jew, who had formerly acted in the capacity of courier to him in Europe, and who had accompanied him from Marseilles, and whose character he depicted as a fellow who would cheat all the world, with the exception of himself!

The upshot of this speculation was, that in a few months Monsieur Louis unhappily forgot to make this exception in favour of his master, and not only filled his own pockets, but brought an action against his patron for alleged monies due, which he succeeded in gaining.

The joint-stock company of gold diggers, when turned loose upon their own efforts, were either unsuccessful in their search for the precious metal, or at all events never turned up again to report progress.

The coaching establishment was disposed of to a clever Yankee, who looked after it himself and drove his own horses.

Some injudicious purchases in land fell to one half of their original value; and in less than a year the enterprising ex-member had to make over his assets to his creditors, which, as may

be well conceived, stood in very minute proportion to the amount of his debts and responsibilities.

On my return to Melbourne, on the 24th of October, 1853, I found the tide of emigration had set in even stronger than on my previous departure, but the city was fast encreasing in size and accommodation. A great fall had also taken place in the price of stores of most kinds, the imports having become far beyond the requirements of the population, and a glut of the market being the inevitable consequences. Rents, however, owing to the vast demand for houses, shops and lodgings, still sustained their high rates, and the landlords bid fair to monoplize all the capital in the Colony. Theatres, concerts, and public amusements of all kinds were open nightly, and many professional celebrities from Europe and America were continually arriving. The escorts brought a large weekly amount of gold into the treasury, and the streets wore a very holiday appearance. With some exceptions the diggers had discarded those reckless, extravagant, and drunken habits so common during the first days

of the gold discoveries, and invested and spent their gains more rationally.

The Government expenditure was very large in proportion to its receipts, and the expenses of the police establishment began to be enormous. Land sales were pushed forward with great rapidity, and the lots were generally bought up at good prices, particularly those laid down as embryo townships, some of which were purchased at almost fabulous sums. The lawyers were reaping a rich harvest, the amount of business in all the courts being excessive, and the fees very high.

A building was in progress of erection, and preparations made for a public exhibition of the products and curiosities of Australia, previous to their being forwarded to the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and great expectations were formed of it, which were not destined to be disappointed.

Mr. Eyre having obtained another situation, on the 1st of January, 1854, I was appointed permanent Police-Magistrate of Ballarat, and ordered to proceed forthwith to my destination.

Having purchased an excellent horse, I determined to make the journey this time by the

longer route overland, and avoid the transit by sea to Geelong. I was delighted to leave Melbourne, as the weather was now intensely hot, the thermometer being sometimes 112 in the shade. The hot winds, sweeping the town and adjacent country, filled the air with impervious clouds of fine dust, that perforated every pore of the skin, and penetrated every nook of the badly-constructed wooden houses. Added to these daily inflictions, we were devoured by muskitoes at night. The spring and autumn months, viz., part of August and all September and October, and part of March with all April and May, are generally everything that can be desired in point of climate and temperature; the remainder of the year, November, December, January, and February, comprise the period of excessive heat, hot winds, and everlasting dust; and part of May, with all June, July, and part of August, incessant rains, with a raw cold atmosphere and unfathomable mud. I speak more particularly of Melbourne and its environs, as in the bush we are comparatively free from several of these annoyances.

On the 5th of January, 1854, I left Melbourne on horseback, with my revolver and saddle-bags as usual, and proceeded by the route of the village of Flemington and the Keelor plains,—a vast extent of open and undulating sheep pasture country, extending for some fifteen miles by the solitary Inn of Rockbank,—and afterwards through strikingly picturesque and richly wooded park-like scenery, to the township and police-station of Bacchus Marsh, a distance of thirty-five miles, and where there is one of the best conducted hotels in the colony.

Nothing can exceed the richness and fertility of this beautiful valley, which is divided into different farms of purchased land, with a stream, which is never dry, running through the midst of it, and which, overflowing during the wet season, irrigates and enriches the surrounding fields. The best hay and crops of other kinds are grown in this district, and some steam flour mills are also established. The little population of farmers, mechanics, and small proprietors, were all going on most prosperously. There were several chapels of different denominations; and this quiet

sylvan scene is far removed from the bustle and confusion of any gold fields. It is situated, however, on the high road to the Ballarat diggings, and a stream of drays and foot passengers are continually *en route* through, and generally passing the night at the place, which is of course highly profitable to the inhabitants. I met with excellent accommodation at Mr. Pyke's inn, who is also a large landed proprietor, and his wife a very pleasing and accomplished person. It was certainly a wonderful contrast to the usual run of colonial hotels.

I passed a most delightful evening in a garden producing every variety of fruit and flowers, and afterwards listened to some most excellent music, both vocal and instrumental, performed by my kind hostess.

The ascent from this valley to the range of the Pentland Hills presents some of the most beautiful scenery in Australia. The same park-like character prevails. Undulating hills, of the richest green, the slopes and summits clothed by clumps of trees and shrubs of every variety of hue, and their bases washed by some brawling

torrent, form the chief features of the landscape until arriving at the platform of the range, when it assumes, for some distance, a more level and denuded appearance. This plateau being passed, the opposite descent brings the traveller once more into the forest and gum-tree monotony, until he arrives at the village and station of Ballan, fifteen miles from Bacchus Marsh, and where there were several very inferior establishments for the entertainment of man and horse, and a small police force.

The remainder of my journey was a continuation of forest (in some parts rather dense) for about twenty miles, until I arrived at the station of my former acquaintance, Mr. F——n, at Lallal, and the hospitality of whose dwelling I had no hesitation in taxing, whether he was at home or not. From thence, a short ten miles conducted me to the outskirts of the Ballarat diggings, which I found, since my short absence of little more than two months, had extended themselves for miles in different directions.

What a change had taken place since the short period of my departure! The labyrinths and

intricacies through which the perplexed traveller had to wind his way, through holes and dangerous pitfalls, and very often amidst the derisive shouts of the diggers, had been simplified through a large portion of their extent, and leading to the camp, by a well designed and macadamized road, in process of formation.

A range of tents and temporary wooden shielings, lining each side of the road for a long distance, and designated Regent Street, disclosed all the appurtenances of modern civilization amidst a nomade population. Shops and stores advertizing their various contents by gaily coloured and lettered flags; theatres, restaurants of all nations, bowling alleys, shooting galleries, and even circulating libraries, held out their different attractions; and the contiguity of the claims, and vast masses of diggers diligently employed in their mining operations, evidently proved that new and great discoveries had been made of the precious metal.

On arriving at the camp, a still more agreeable scene greeted my view. Tents were replaced by many prettily designed wooden buildings. A

commodious mess room, court house, a range of police-barracks, commissariat stores, hospital, some private dwellings for officers (none, alas, for me!) had been erected at an enormous expense to the government; those already completed having been estimated at upwards of £20,000 by the colonial architect!

The police force was considerably increased, and the population of the diggings was supposed to be quadrupled within the last few months. In a part of the diggings named the Canadian Gully, some claims had yielded such a large amount of gold that they were styled the "Jeweller's Shops;" and other favourite spots, such as Eureka and the Flat, were daily disclosing their hidden treasures. A corresponding amount of crime of every description had of course kept pace with the increased population, and the temptations it held out to evil doers. I had now a large and convenient court-house, two clerks of the bench, and every accommodation for the transaction of my business I could desire. That business was also considerably increased, not only in its ordinary branches, but by several

additional duties added to it by a recent act of council.

Cases of mining encroachments and mining partnerships were to be adjudicated before the local magistrates, with no appeal from their decision. Both of these, but particularly the former, involved very often a very large amount of money, and the evidence on both sides was sure to be of such a contradictory character that it was very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

The provisions of this act only extended to working miners, that is to say, to those who were actually employed on the mine or hole which was the subject of arbitration, or in case of sickness had hired others to work for them. No storekeeper or other individual possessing a sleeping share or mortgage in the claim was recognized by the law, and could derive no benefit from, or indeed appeal at all, under this act.

A legal claim or grant of land to a party of twelve for the purpose of gold-mining was twenty-four feet square, and the shaft was usually sunk in the centre. The deep holes (some as much as a hundred and fifty feet in depth), and where all

the richest discoveries of gold were made, were slabbed with gum-tree planks all the way down until they arrived at what they considered the bottom, and then excavations were made to the limits of their claim, which it was necessary to measure by compass, so that it should be the same below as above. Encroachments consisted in one party breaking into the claim of another by accident or design when working at the bottom, and which, owing to the propinquity of the holes was of very frequent occurrence. When an encroachment was first discovered, and the parties could not come to an amicable arrangement between themselves, a gold commissioner was summoned, who sometimes descended the shaft himself, but generally appointed two disinterested diggers to perform this duty; and from their report a diagram was made on the spot, which was handed into court upon the adjudication of the case, and considered final and decisive as to the extent of the encroachment.

The only point then to be determined was the value of the claim encroached upon, and the

quantity and quality of the digging stuff taken away. The contending parties had always a lawyer on each side, and a formidable phalanx of witnesses, ready to swear anything and everything for their respective interests, one doing their utmost to enhance the value of the soil encroached upon, and the other to diminish it; and the damages claimed were sometimes enormous, amounting to about a thousand ounces of gold: but when the encroachment was well established, and we had gained something like satisfactory evidence of the value of the adjoining holes, we rarely adjudged anything like the damages claimed by the plaintiffs.

These suits were excessively tedious, took up a vast deal of time, rarely ended satisfactorily to either party, and did not come at all under the province of a police-court.

The arrangement of mining partnerships was equally difficult. This, as in the former instance, only applied to working miners; and, as many of their preliminary arrangements were verbal, and we had no documents of any kind to guide us, in some cases we had nothing but the most

indefinite circumstantial evidence to facilitate our decision.

Both of these causes have since (and very properly) come under the adjudication of a local court, composed of the inhabitants of the diggings, and practical miners.

I had also to preside over the Government land sales, which were now of frequent occurrence, and to receive and transmit to the treasury the 10 per cent. deposit paid down by the purchasers upon all lots; the remainder of the amount had to be made good within one calendar month. The township of Ballarat, which on my late departure, consisted of one public house, and about half a dozen wooden stores widely dispersed, although laid down on the map with a gaily coloured list of squares and streets, began to assume a more imposing appearance. Land, that a few months before formed part of the primæval swamp and forest, was now selling in township lots of quarter acres; some as high as £25 per foot frontage! Branches from most of the Melbourne banks were established, whose competition in the purchase of gold had, about

this period, raised its value to £4:2:0 per ounce. I witnessed a purchase made by one of the banks, at this price, of five thousand four hundred ounces of gold, the produce of one claim at Eureka, and discovered by a party of twelve men, chiefly Irish, of a very low caste!

Several large hotels, doing an immense amount of business, both night and day, were in full operation, and gay stores and shops, containing every variety of merchandize, were springing up in all directions. The township was situated on the same eminence, and immediately behind the camp, and behind that was the forest, and large swamp that supplied us, and the creeks that ran through the diggings, with water.

About fourteen miles further to the northward, in almost a direct line through the forest, were situated the gold fields of Creswick's Creek, at this time containing a large mining population. Gold was here procured by shallow sinking, in quantities sufficient to well repay the miner and afford him a comfortable subsistence, but in nothing like the large amounts so frequently discovered at Ballarat. Indeed, their

mode of working was totally different ; instead of the windlass and bucket, the shovel, and pick-axe being plied incessantly, and under every difficulty during the twenty-four hours, by relays of hardy and persevering miners, who after a few short hours' repose, perhaps in their wet and cold garments, returned again with renewed vigour to the hardest, most dangerous, and trying of labour ; their luxurious neighbours, after a comfortable breakfast at or about the fashionable hour of nine, commenced a little digging and washing, which they carried on in a dilatory sort of way until the dinner hour, and passed their evenings in society or amusements, according to their different capacities and inclinations, making perhaps on the average an ounce or two per diem. Many distinguished foreigners, broken down gentlemen and others, incapable of the labour and perseverance necessary to any chance of success at the deep sinkings of Ballarat, formed a large portion of the inhabitants of this gold field ; most beautifully situated, well supplied with water, and in the midst of a picturesque and lovely country. In fact, all the ranges in

this part of the forest were supposed to contain gold.

Ballarat now contained a scattered population of upwards of 40,000, and although the majority were too much engaged in the all-absorbing occupation of seeking for gold, and carrying on their commercial speculations, to trouble their heads on other subjects, still many demagogues and professional agitators began to gather small meetings, and harangue the people on the injustice of the license tax, and other acts of the Government. A local newspaper was established, a very wretched affair; but of a radical and inflammatory character. The acts of all the Government officials were not only canvassed, but invariably cried down; and as a reporter regularly attended at the police court, every opportunity of finding fault with the decisions of the bench was eagerly sought after.

About this period our late respected Governor, I. J. Latrobe, Esq., had just left the Colony for England, and we were in expectation of the arrival of Sir Charles Hotham, his successor. The direction of the Government was in the

meantime in the hands of Mr. Forster, the Colonial Secretary. I had several times represented to this gentleman the amount of evil and injustice that I considered arose from the present mode of administering the law in cases of sly grog selling; I intimated to him that it was an offence impossible to prevent; that every storekeeper in the diggings was a sly grog seller, either across the counter, or in the shape of a present accompanying a purchase, for which an additional sum was charged: that the police, actuated by their share in the fines, neglected their more important duties, to concentrate all their energy in the search for sly grog sellers; and that they not only used every incentive means to entrap an unsuspecting digger or storekeeper, but in some instances resorted to gross perjury, for which indeed I had committed several of them: that by allowing publicans' licenses to be granted in the diggings, at the discretion of the bench, the revenue would not only be benefited, but the people would be much better satisfied; the quality of the liquors sold would be improved by competition, and the establish-

ments for the sale of them more under the eye of the police.

These arguments had some weight with Mr. Forster, and an act in council was passed, legalizing the granting of licenses to publicans in the diggings, under certain restrictions, to take place from the 1st of June, 1854. The amount to be paid for the license was £100 per annum for the sale of liquors, and £50 for keeping a store, making on the whole £150 per annum.

No sooner was this known than innumerable applications poured into the Court, and I was besieged in every direction relative to the alteration in the law. Every individual who had the means, seemed desirous of setting up a public house as a certain method of making a fortune, and more than one hundred applications in form were already duly registered in the police office.

On the 1st of July a vast number of licenses were granted, and independently of the smaller places of accommodation, several very large wooden hotels were already constructed, at an enormous expense, labour being so expensive, and the materials sent up from Melbourne or

Geelong. As a proof of how these places of entertainment were patronized, and the extravagance of the diggers, it may be sufficient to cite one instance, that of the largest of the taverns already built and licensed, named "Bentley's Hotel," at which place £350 were received over the bar counter, in payment for liquors, on the first day of its opening.

Upon Sir Charles Hotham's arrival at Melbourne, and his inauguration as Lieutenant-Governor, great things were expected, from the general tone of his speeches, and more particularly from the comparisons he frequently made of his own intended course of action in contradistinction to that of his predecessor. The first sweeping attempts at retrenchment made were the dismissal of many clerks in the different offices, in not a very judicious manner, and solely upon the principle of their being too numerous. Large diminution of the pay and allowances of Government officers was in contemplation, and a tour of inspection through the gold fields, by Sir Charles and Lady Hotham, and a numerous staff, was decided upon.

Their first visit was to Ballarat, where we received them as well as it was in our power, appropriating the house built for the inspector of police for their accommodation, into which we managed to convey almost every piece of furniture to be found in the camp. I happened to have a remarkably good servant, who had formerly been a valet of mine in England, and whom with his wife I found in a state of destitution in Melbourne. He had gladly accepted the situation of my tent keeper, and joined me with his wife at Ballarat. To him was assigned the duty of attending upon the Governor, which he performed in a very satisfactory manner. Several days were devoted by Sir Charles to the examination of the different departments of the Government service, and a tour of inspection through the diggings, where the diggers, not having a due respect for governors before their eyes, made some jocosé remarks, but were otherwise civil enough; and on the fourth morning after their arrival the party left us *en route* for Castlemaine and Bendigo, the Lieut.-Governor expressing himself as well satisfied with all he had witnessed at Ballarat.

Discontent and agitation, however, still prevailed in the diggings, and only required a very little fanning to blow into a flame. The mode of collecting the license-fees, and the arbitrary and insulting manner in which the young police-officers treated the diggers whilst on license-hunting expeditions, became every day more obnoxious to the people, and large assemblies were now constantly meeting, and were addressed by some mob orator, and formed resolutions, and drew up petitions to Government, etc., etc. Several sly grog sellers (Americans), whom we had committed under the second clause of the Act for six months' imprisonment, obtained a free pardon from the Governor, without any communication to the local bench of magistrates, and returned to Ballarat in triumph, escorted by their friends with banners flying, to resume their old occupations.

During the month of September of this year (1854), a circumstance occurred that brought these matters to a crisis, and was the immediate occasion of the disastrous consequences that subsequently ensued.

On the 16th of September, two hours past midnight, the dead body of a digger, named James Scobie, was found within several hundred yards of Bentley's Hotel, and was brought there previous to an inquest being held upon it.

This took place the following day, and no mortal wound being found upon the body, and nothing but a slight abrasure of the skin over the left temple, which might have been caused by a fall upon the hard rock whilst in a state of intoxication (which he was known to have been in the previous night), and causing concussion of the brain, a verdict of accidental death was returned.

A report soon afterwards gained circulation that Mr. Bentley, the proprietor of the hotel, was in some way implicated in his death; and the following circumstances were elicited. It appeared that on the night in question several drunken men demanded admittance into the bar of the hotel at a late hour, when it was closed, and the inmates had retired to rest; that upon being refused they had become very abusive, and had broken several of the windows, at least such

was the account given by the residents in the hotel, who denied all further knowledge of the facts until they were called up by some individuals who had discovered the body, and it was brought into the hotel. The evidence, however, of a woman and little boy residing in a tent in the vicinity, went to prove that at a late hour of the night in question, and as far as the darkness would permit their observation, they had heard a scuffling, with sounds of altercation and blows, and that they discerned several persons, and thought they recognized the voices of Bentley and his wife returning in the direction of the hotel, and vanishing by the back entrance.

Scobie (although a very drunken character) was a very popular man, and one of the earliest discoverers of the golden treasures of these diggings; and upon these representations a summons was served upon Bentley, his wife, and two barmen, to appear and answer the charges brought against them in connection with the death of James Scobie.

They appeared before the Bench in company with other witnesses (lodgers in the hotel), at

the time of the catastrophe, whose evidence went to prove that no one could have left the house to their knowledge subsequently to the disturbance occasioned by the drunken visitors at the bar. As, however, a good deal of conflicting testimony transpired on the occasion, we determined to remand the case for further investigation, and took very heavy bail for the appearance of the accused on a future day. There was evidently a strong feeling against Bentley, who was a violent and powerful man; and had very often used his strength in a very summary manner whilst ejecting drunken and troublesome customers from his premises.

Another cause of his unpopularity was the enmity of a large class in the diggings, the sly grog sellers, whose trade had been ruined by the licensed houses, of which Bentley's was the largest, and the fact of his having headed a Licensed Victuallers' Association for their prosecution, added venom to their gall.

The following week the cause came on again at the police court. It created intense interest amongst the population of the diggings. Coun-

sel from Melbourne were engaged on both sides, and a full bench of magistrates assembled in court, every corner of which, as well as the adjoining verandah, was filled to overflowing.

The same evidence, strongly corroborated by additional testimony, was adduced by the accused to prove that no one left the house between the interval of the disturbance outside, and the dead body being brought in. The opposing witnesses, with the exception of one very intelligent little boy, failed to establish anything like an assumption, that a party, amongst whom were Mr. and Mrs. Bentley, had issued from and returned to the hotel, during the period in question. Many hours were devoted to closely sifting the evidence, and at length we retired to read and reconsider the depositions.

We came to the conclusion by a majority that there was not sufficient evidence before us to warrant committal of the accused, and upon returning into court we ordered their discharge, which was received with marks of great dissatisfaction by the audience.

Matters went on much the same as before, ex-

cept that reports were spread of the venality of Government officers, that we were biassed in our discharge of Bentley by interested motives, and the *Ballarat Times* became more abusive than ever.

Several days subsequently, I received a dispatch from Mr. Bentley, stating that a meeting was called by the diggers, to take into consideration the events connected with the death of James Scobie; that it was to be held on the spot contiguous to his hotel, where the body had been found, and that in consequence of much apprehension of personal violence to himself, he requested that a party of police might be sent for his protection on the occasion.

As this meeting was to take place on the following day, I forwarded the missive to the executive power (the Inspector of Police), who treated it very lightly, but said it should be attended to. I was summoned the next morning on urgent business to Buningyong, relative to a robbery with violence committed in the bush, and where the accused parties had been apprehended. Nearly the whole morning was

taken up investigating the case, and it was evening when I mounted my horse on my return to Ballarat.

On the outskirts of the diggings, I encountered my servant Edward, who was riding to meet me, and had brought my pistols with him, which he begged me take and make a circuitous route to the camp, as Bentley's hotel had been burnt to the ground, and he feared that the diggers might resort to hostile measures against myself.

I was much excited by these tidings, and immediately proceeded to the spot, where a few hours before had stood by far the most extensive building in the diggings, painted and decked out in gay and gaudy colours, with a long row of stables and outhouses, erected at an expense of £30,000, and totally uninsured. All that remained of this property were a few smoking embers; nothing had been saved. A high wind blowing, and everything being constructed of wood, a very short period sufficed for its total consumption with all its contents.

It appeared that the expected meeting had taken place, and that a small party of police were in at-

tendance, and that everything had gone on pretty quietly, until towards the close of the proceedings, when some of the more evil-disposed proposed burning Bentley's hotel. The resident commissioner (a magistrate) and several others were present, but, together with the police, made little or no resistance, and the diggers would not listen to their words. It ended by the building being fired from behind, and in a few minutes totally consumed; Bentley escaping with difficulty from the hands of the populace on a horse belonging to a policeman, and taking refuge at the camp.

There is no doubt that if the inspector of police and chief magistrates on the spot had behaved with firmness and judgment, this catastrophe would have never ensued. They might have easily surrounded the building with a sufficient force of men, and acted on the defensive until absolutely attacked, when the first order to fire would have scattered the disorganized diggers like a flock of sheep, but nothing of this sort was done, and merely useless remonstrance used, which only gave the rioters an additional consciousness of their own power.

I was greeted by a shout from the mob, but no attempt at any violence was used towards me; on the contrary, they quietly pointed to the smoking ruins, and remarked that they had taken the law into their own hands, as it was denied them by the bench; to which I replied, that some of them would have no reason to congratulate themselves on that day's work; and recommended them at all events to separate to their respective tents.

Dispatches were immediately sent to Melbourne with an account of the transaction, and a request for an additional force of military and police, and on the following morning some arrests were made of several persons who were observed by the police as ringleaders of the riot on the previous day. These were no sooner brought up to the camp, and lodged in the lock-up house, than we were surrounded by bands of turbulent diggers demanding their release on bail, which they offered to any amount for them. Our position and resources at the camp were, however, too commanding to give us much uneasiness, and we took every means to strengthen our de-

fences in case of an attack, and awaited the arrival of the reinforcements that had been sent for. The local newspapers defended this destruction of the hotel as a just retribution upon Bentley, and the turbulent agitators amongst the diggers became more violent than ever.

Thus the pent-up feelings of discontent, which had for a long time actuated a large portion of the population, gave vent to themselves in one frightful act of violence, which was only the precursor of other and more serious disturbances.

Upon the depositions in "re Bentley" being sent to Melbourne, the Attorney-General gave it as his opinion that there was quite sufficient evidence contained in them for his committal, and blamed the magistrates that such a course had not been pursued in the first instance. I was ordered up to Melbourne, and upon my arrival there, I laid the depositions in question before several of the leading counsel for their opinion on the subject, and in every instance, save one, received a favourable answer as to the decision we had come to. It was necessary, however,

that the diggers should be appeased, and at this period it was the usual policy of the Government to sacrifice a few of their officers on the shrine of popularity, in the event of any popular commotions.

A fresh warrant was issued against Bentley, who was again arrested, together with his wife and two barmen, and sent to Melbourne for trial. A large force of police, with several companies of H.M.'s 40th Regiment, had arrived at Ballarat, and many arrests had taken place of men supposed to be implicated in the riots. As chairman of the Bench, the Governor had thought proper to visit me with the weight of his displeasure; and Mr. Sturt, the police-magistrate of Melbourne, occupied my position *pro tempore*, until investigations about to take place had terminated.

The local press at Ballarat having accused the Government officers at that place of abuse of power, venality, and other misdeeds, and these accusations having been copied in the Melbourne and Geelong newspapers, a commission of enquiry, composed of three members (magistrates),

was dispatched to the diggings, to hear and report on all charges brought before them, with power to take evidence on oath if desirable ; and advertisements were issued, in which the diggers were informed that the committee would sit during the day for one whole week, and inviting them to come forward and make any statements they thought proper.

As may be easily imagined, a mass of vague accusations were brought against officers by every individual who considered himself aggrieved by any decision against his own interest, whether it originated from the Bench or from a gold-commissioner, but no proofs of the venality attributed to the officials by the *Ballarat Times* were in any way verified.

It was understood that a new law was in contemplation to do away with the digging license-fee, and substitute an export duty on gold ; but it seemed that the worthy resident-commissioner did not like to give up his old amusement of license-hunting without one last struggle ; and most injudiciously selected this moment, when the angry passions and prejudices of the popu-

lace were the most excited, for this display of authority.

Whilst these scenes had been enacting at the camp, a large party of the diggers had been for some time past organizing their forces, erecting a stockade, and, in fact, making every arrangement for an armed defence, in case they should be attacked on their resisting the payment of the license-fee, and on the morning in question the party that had been sent out to capture unlicensed diggers, observing these preparations, returned to seek reinforcements.

With the military and police combined there were now upwards of 300 men at the camp, the greater part of which were ordered to the support of the gold commissioners. Upon reaching the stockade an irregular fire was opened upon them, which killed and wounded several, and amongst the former, Captain Wise of H.M.'s 40th Regiment, who received two balls in the thigh, and subsequently died of his wounds. They returned this with a deadly volley, killing and wounding upwards of thirty of the diggers, and made themselves masters of the stockade in

a few minutes—the insurgents flying in all directions. A good deal of useless cruelty now ensued from the infuriated police (chiefly Irish), who shot, cut down, and otherwise ill-treated all the diggers they happened to meet, even entering their tents and dragging them out, without any knowledge that they belonged to the insurgent party or not; and a large number of prisoners were made, and conveyed to the lock-up house at the camp.

A great number of foreigners (Americans and Germans) were amongst them, and by far the most violent of the rioters, who now began to see that their resistance to the armed authority was useless, and the dreadful lesson they had received brought them at once to their senses. Very few of the hard-working and fortunate miners had taken any part in this insurrection, either for or against the Government, but had continued their daily avocations, quietly awaiting the result. They had, indeed, invariably refused to act as special constables, urging as a reason for their refusal that it would bring them into unpleasant contact with their neighbours, who

entertained different opinions to themselves, as well as the loss of their valuable time.

The prisoners taken at the stockade were secured and sent down to Melbourne for trial, and after these fatal occurrences, everything became quiet. Many families were rendered desolate by the loss and mutilation of fathers and husbands; but the casualties amongst the military and police were very few in comparison with those of the diggers.

A reward of £500 was offered by the Government for the discovery of the murder, or means by which James Scobie came by his death; and at length an Irishman, one of the two men, (a barman of Bentley's,) and in confinement with him on a second arrest, volunteered to turn approver, and disclose all the facts of the case; and the testimony of this man was admitted. He stated that on the night in question, and shortly after the disturbance outside the bar, that Bentley and his wife, being very much enraged at the demolition of their windows, in company with his brother-in-law (who was staying in the house) and two barmen, went out by

the back of the premises, and intercepted one of the men who had attempted to gain admittance, that an altercation and scuffle ensued, and that the man was knocked down by one of the bar-men, but not by Bentley. That they left him on the ground, not thinking any material injury was done to him, and returned; but that they were so much shocked and alarmed by the body of the same man being subsequently brought into the hotel, that they all agreed to deny all knowledge of the transaction.

Thus by an absurd and wicked evasion of the truth in the first instance, which in all probability would have involved a verdict of justifiable homicide, or accidental death,—at all events no very severe penalty,—these lamentable consequences ensued.

At the next session of the criminal court, Bentley and his associates were tried for manslaughter, and with the exception of Mrs. Bentley, convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

The ringleaders and most notorious of the rioters also took their trials, and notwithstanding

the clear evidence against them, and the remarks of the Attorney-General and the Judge who tried the case, were all acquitted by the Melbourne jury. This was considered rather a singular perversion of justice, but the *vox populi* was all powerful, and the jury *dared* not have found them guilty.

The only person connected with the rioters, who received any punishment, was the editor of the *Ballarat Times*, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for publishing seditious and inflammatory articles in his paper.

Whilst waiting the result of all these proceedings at Melbourne, I entered at some length into a justification of my own measures with regard to Bentley's affair in the newspapers, a circumstance that gave much umbrage to the Lieutenant-Governor, and ultimately led to the loss of my appointment in the month of November, 1854.

In giving this brief sketch of my residence, at the Ballarat diggings, I have omitted many minor details, which might possibly not interest the general reader, a few of which I shall now mention.

In the early part of this year, 1854, and previous to the departure of Mr. Latrobe, it was determined to take the census of the colony. The time allowed for this and the return of the schedules was exceedingly short, not more than six weeks, and the difficulty of getting anything like correct returns from a careless and wandering population, such as the diggers, was very great. I was named enumerator for the Ballarat district, which included some fifty miles on either side of it, and *carte blanche* was given to me to employ the most intelligent men, either in the police or otherwise, as sub-enumerators in different parts of the diggings and pastoral districts, with certain extra pay if in the police, and fixed allowances to private individuals. With great exertions I managed to make my returns, which were very voluminous, in the specified period, and mine were the only schedules completed when I delivered them. I had remained up for whole nights with one of my clerks, revising the papers and filling up deficiencies as to date, county, etc., so common amongst them; and as my returns included a population of upwards of

60,000, and which was far under the mark, it was no easy matter. According to the Government rate of allowance, several of my sub-enumerators earned £70 and £80.

The remuneration of the enumerator was to be left to the discretion of his Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, who generously ordered the sum of £30 to be paid to me! A valuable horse, for which I had refused £120, was broken down and totally ruined in carrying dispatches between Ballarat and Melbourne at the time of the riots, and for this I could obtain no compensation. The extreme practical economy of Sir Charles Hotham, both in a public and private capacity, was too well known to require any further comments.

It was not only the loss of my appointment that was most mortifying to my feelings and ruinous to my interests, but leaving Ballarat was a source of great grief to me. I had in a manner become identified with the place, I had witnessed its extraordinary rise and progress; and both in a public and private capacity had taken an active part in its interests. The appointment I held was, I flattered myself, adapted to my

tastes and abilities, and the climate suited my health admirably. I had looked forward to a residence of many years there, when all these disturbances occurred. I had taken an active part, both by personal exertion, and by pecuniary subscription, in all the improvements and new institutions that were going on, had formed many friendships and agreeable acquaintances, and enjoyed much popularity amongst a large portion of the respectable inhabitants of the diggings. All these advantages I was fated to be deprived of by an unfortunate combination of circumstances I could neither have anticipated or provided against; and, having to a certain extent quarrelled with the Government, I had no chance of another appointment. Commercial affairs were as sealed books to me; and any agricultural speculation it was almost impossible to carry on without very large capital; and even then the great uncertainty of obtaining labour rendered it very hazardous. All these agreeable visions of comfort and prosperity in a situation of utility to myself and others in this most salubrious climate had fled,

never to return ; and I was once more in a worse position than on my arrival in the colony ; as then, encouraged by expectation and cheered by hope, I did not lack energy and courage to make every exertion, in spite of difficulties of all kinds, to forward my views. Now things were very different. Having occupied a situation of trust and command, I could scarcely accept a subordinate one, even had such a chance been offered me, but which was not at all likely.

Had indeed my wishes or intentions pointed to any commercial occupation, the present moment (November, 1854) was very inopportune for such an undertaking. Owing to the magnitude of the exports from all parts of the world, and the consequent glut on the market, stores of most kinds had fallen to a price below their original wholesale value. Ale and porter, which about a year since commanded from thirty-six to forty shillings, could now be purchased at six and seven shillings per dozen. Brandies of inferior quality were re-exported from hence to Europe, as the best speculation that could be made of them. Silks, Manchester goods, and mercery of all

kinds were cheaper than at home. Bankruptcies were of daily occurrence, and many an adventurous and reckless exporter had to bewail the total loss of his consignments.

It appeared that in the sudden and vast celebrity this colony had acquired from the gold discovery, and the subsequent inducements to an almost unprecedented emigration, that the positive or even probable extent of the population was totally lost sight of, and that ships of the largest burden in great numbers, and from all parts of the world, were freighted with stores and merchandize for the port of Melbourne alone, sufficient for the consumption of a population of many millions, whereas that of the whole colony at this time did not average 350,000.

Another reason for those absurd and reckless consignments was as follows :—

A merchant in Melbourne, being aware that there was a probable chance for the profitable sale of an article, writes to his correspondent in London and orders a certain amount of the goods in question to be forwarded by the first opportunity. The latter person, considering this a

fine opportunity of speculating himself, consigns, in all probability, a much larger quantity of the same article to some other merchant on his own account, and ships it so as to insure its arrival, if possible, before the consignment he forwards to his original correspondent according to order. In addition to all this, he perhaps mentions the circumstance to one or several friends, who each or singly try a venture of the same kind; and such was the prestige attached to everything Australian at this time that no consciousness arose of the ruinous consequences that did, and to a certain degree continue to ensue, from such a line of conduct.

This state of things, added to the high prices of rent, labour, and provisions of some kinds, rendered the position of a large portion of the commercial community very critical; and, as I before mentioned, many failures ensued; the banks at the same time greatly contracting their discounts.

These latter establishments were however, as before, reaping golden harvests. Never had any banks, in the annals of history, paid such enormous dividends to the original shareholders as

several of the colonial joint-stock firms. Issuing their own notes, doing a large business in profitable exchanges, enjoying unlimited confidence, holding enormous deposits, and generally speaking under the management of able directors, with branches at every place of importance, both for gold buying and banking operations, their success was certain.

It is true that a few robberies and defalcations, such as occurred to some of their agents (*viz.*, the bank of New South Wales and Victoria) in 1854, at Ballarat, and arising chiefly from their own careless way of doing business in the diggings, might have thrown a temporary shade over their credit in any other country; but such trifles as thirteen or twenty thousand pounds were not worth mentioning here.

I was now very anxious to quit Melbourne, and, indeed, the colony. Since the loss of my appointment, I felt no further interest in it. Everything impressed me with painful reminiscences, and I determined to visit the adjoining colony of New South Wales, in search of some employment or position suited to my views.

CHAPTER IV.

SYDNEY.

IN accordance with this determination, I embarked on board the steamboat "Hellespont," bound for Sydney, at the latter end of November, 1854, and again passed the narrow entrance of Port Philip Heads, with very different feelings to those with which I had entered them about twenty months previously. Sailing within sight of the picturesque mountains of Gipps's Land, we pass Cape Howe, and enter the beautiful bay and harbour of Twofold Bay, once the property of the enterprising but unfortunate Benjamin Boyd, where he founded a town named Boyd Town, which has been thus described by a late able writer on Australian statistics:—

“It was at Boyd Town he appeared with almost vice-regal state, when laying the first stone of the never-lighted lighthouse; and it was there that he landed the island cannibals whom he had purchased from their savage conquerors, with the view of reducing wages by introducing slavery into Australia, rather than encourage shepherd families upon his boundless sheep runs. Boyd Town enjoyed a brief period of factitious prosperity, when the steamers, whalers, and yacht of the founder lay in harbour.” Bateman’s and Jervis’s Bays, and the beautiful coasts of Illawarra and Shoalhaven are passed. Botany Bay presents the last headland, and in about sixty hours from our departure from Melbourne, and a distance of seven hundred miles, at sunrise on a lovely summer’s morning, we entered the heads or entrance of the harbour of Port Jackson.

I believe that all who have written or spoken on the subject of Port Jackson agree that, in capaciousness and safety as a harbour, and beauty as a landscape, it stands unrivalled; and it has been the subject of so many just and eloquent

eulogiums, that it needs little comment on my part. Nothing could be more favourable than the time and season of my arrival for appreciating its hills richly clothed with verdure, indented by the most enchanting bays, studded with charming villas and elegant mansions, during the five miles of our course from the heads to the city of Sydney; so different in every respect from the approach to its sister metropolis, Melbourne.

Nature and art have both combined to render the first aspect of this city one of the most attractive that can be conceived. The noble quays and wharves, the handsome fort and public buildings, built on a gentle eminence, and constructed of a beautiful white stone, found in the immediate vicinity; the richness and variety of the vegetation and foliage in its numerous ornamental gardens, and all the evidences of a prosperous city of long standing, unite in forming a picture at once beautiful and imposing. Steamers passing and re-passing to the different shores of the harbour, ships of every nation lying at anchor or on the eve of departure or arrival, and gaily decorated

yachts, cruising about these splendid waters, added bustle and importance to the scene.

Our large and commodious steamer, comprising every comfort and accommodation (but at the rather large charge of ten guineas for the passage from Melbourne, liquors not included), was safely moored at Campbell's wharf, and I proceeded, by a recommendation I had received, to "Petty's hotel," situated on the highest part of the town, by a gradual ascent from the quay. This was a very comfortable establishment, at which a bed-room and three luxurious meals per diem (drinkables excepted), viz., breakfast, luncheon, and dinner, could be had at the rate of four guineas per week, but which sum was expected to be paid whether these meals were partaken of or not. The hot weather had now set in, and was, if any thing, more oppressive than at Melbourne; but the dust was not nearly so thick, and the different inventions of refined civilization to remedy the annoyances of the season in much more general use. In fact Sydney, dating its existence from a far earlier period than its neighbour, had arrived at nearly the perfection

of an European city, to which the latter was only fast rising.

My present object was to seek out some very quiet residence on or near the sea, where I might have time to reflect on my future plans, and recruit my health and strength, both of which were somewhat impaired by the trouble and anxiety I had lately gone through.

The environs and suburbs of Sydney, particularly on the side nearest the sea, are exceedingly beautiful. The harbour is one vast inland lake, dotted with numerous islands, and on every side of the bays and opposite shores are erected small towns and villages, to which easy and continual access is obtained by steamboats, plying in all directions. One of the most delightful spots in the neighbourhood is a part of the harbour, called the "North Shore," situated rather higher, and commanding a splendid view of the city and surrounding country. Here, in a little nook of the coast, I was fortunate enough to procure a lodging in a cottage, situated in the midst of a large garden, full of every description of fruit and flower; and embosomed in vines now teem-

ing with innumerable clusters of the nearly ripe grape. A somewhat precipitous descent led directly to the sea, where, in a retired part of the rocky coast, was excavated a delightful bath, which was always full at high water: bathing in the open sea being very dangerous on account of the numerous sharks that frequent the harbour, some of enormous size, and which have often been the cause of fatal accidents. Immediately opposite, and at the distance of about a mile across the waters, lay the city of Sydney, with all its bustle, glare, dust, noise and confusion; whilst here the shade, solitude, and repose, was as perfect and unbroken as in the midst of the primeval forest. Behind the cottage was a grove of almost imperviable shrubs; and, in front, a green lawn sloping to the sea, planted with peach, orange, plum, and loquat trees, and surrounded by Norfolk Island pines. A small boat was moored near the beach, belonging to the owner of the place, and which I was at liberty to make use of, either for the purpose of procuring a dish of fish—bream and gurnets, which it was generally easy to do; or to make the

trip to Sydney for any article that might be required.

Having established myself in this delightful residence, I wrote to Melbourne for my wife and child to join me, which they did by the earliest opportunity; and we hired the occupation of half the cottage, together with our board, for the sum of five pounds per week, dating from Christmas Day, 1854, and in the midst of an Australian summer.

Previous to this I had visited everything worth seeing in the city of Sydney and its environs. The beautiful botanical gardens, noble parks, and handsome theatre, where at that period our celebrated songstress, Catherine Hayes, was reaping a rich harvest, both of sterling admiration and pounds sterling, from the enamoured inhabitants. I had spent a day at Botany, and wandered by the shores of the bay, through its luxuriant foliage of shrubs and flowers, as far as the monument erected to the unfortunate La Perouse, and steamed up to the town of Paramatta, amidst golden orchards of the finest oranges in the world; and which, it will hardly be credited,

were selling in the market, notwithstanding their abundance, for fourpence each, a circumstance chiefly to be attributed to the great demand for them in Melbourne. Quinces of enormous size and fine flavour are also very common here, and can be purchased for a penny each; and delicious peaches and nectarines are as numerous as blackberries. The vine in some situations flourishes with the utmost luxuriance, and from the samples already obtained, and the quantities even now made by private individuals, there is no doubt wines of a very high character might be manufactured in New South Wales; but the gold mania here, as in the Colony of Victoria, had put a check upon all pursuits and speculations of this nature, and agricultural emigrants of all nations who found their way to Sidney, were soon attracted from their more legitimate occupations to the more tempting pursuit of the precious metal.

The richness and extent of the gold fields discovered in Victoria had completely eclipsed those in the parent Colony; and more gold was procured weekly at this period at Ballarat

alone, than in all the united diggings of New South Wales. I encountered very few of the labouring classes that had not at one time or another tried their hands at the diggings, and those that had settled down to other occupations, such as boatmen, farm labourers, gardeners, etc., were generally disappointed gold seekers, or persons who had acquired a small independence sufficient for their tastes and pursuits, yet ready at any moment to be attracted from them by some new and flattering report of a fresh El Dorado.

I was now quietly settled in the delightful little residence I had selected as my present abode, and had for a near neighbour, one of the most accomplished gentlemen and geologists of the Colony, the Rev. W. B. Clarke, Colonial Chaplain, who was amongst, if not the first discoverer of gold in Australia, having unsuccessfully pointed out attention to the gold-fields of Bathurst, previous to the large discoveries by Edward Hargreaves. Indeed, he told me that he was perfectly aware of the presence of gold in several parts of the Colony before that period,

and had communicated with Sir Roderick Murchison on the subject, who had informed Earl Grey of these facts, but that no notice was taken by that statesman of the circumstance, or any orders sent out in consequence to the Governor of New South Wales, or any precautionary measures taken, until the astounding reality was openly and satisfactorily disclosed.

Sir Charles Fitzroy, the Governor, was on the eve of departure from the Colony, to be succeeded as Governor-General by Sir William Denison, the late Governor of Van Diemen's Land, so that I determined to delay any application I might make for an appointment, until the arrival of that gentleman ; and in the meantime proceeded to make all the enquiries in my power as to the nature and probability of any situation it might be in my power to obtain.

I found that all salaries of Government officers in New South Wales were far inferior in amount to those paid in the Colony of Victoria, and that the list of applicants was quite as large. The commerce of Sydney was quite as much depressed as that of Melbourne, and from the

same causes: viz., an enormous glut of everything. Unemployed clerks, and broken-down gentlemen were frequently to be met with, and leading a very problematical existence; and the list of bankrupts was every day increasing. Numerous auctions were taking place daily, at which large quantities of every imaginable article of goods were generally purchased at exceedingly low prices by a combination of the Jewish community, which is by far the richest and most influential in Sydney, with a few exceptions, amongst which an instance of public charity and liberality may be quoted rarely equalled: I allude to "Mr. Daniel Cooper," the head of an extensive firm in that city, who when the subscription was opened for the widows and families of soldiers killed in the Crimea, made the magnificent donation of one thousand pounds, with a further annual subscription of five hundred pounds, to be continued as long as the war lasted.

Amongst the *millionaires* of this place was the celebrated Bill Nash, who was transported many years ago on a conviction of having robbed the British mail. His wife followed him to Sydney,

and it is supposed with a large portion of the plunder, and upon her establishing herself in or near the city, she managed to have her own husband allotted to her as a convict servant. Subsequently, he obtained his ticket of leave, or his term of transportation expired, and by a series of lucky speculations of all kinds and character, sporting successes, and other means, had arrived at what was supposed to be enormous wealth. This, however, did not suffice to eradicate his old passion for getting the best of the world by any means in his power, however dangerous; and about the period of my leaving Sydney, he was condemned to the payment of a large pecuniary fine, and a year's imprisonment, for having used false weights in the purchase of gold, for which purpose he had an office always open.

Matters began to wear a very discouraging aspect, the busy life and constant occupation I had been so long accustomed to at Ballarat was changed for one of quiet monotony, with but little apparent chance of profit or employment. It was true that nothing could be more agree-

able, than the *dolce farniente* of my present abode, wandering around the beautiful shores of the harbour, or floating in my boat upon its placid waters ; but anxiety for the future, and regret for the past, cast a shade upon any present enjoyment. The total absence of game of all kinds afforded me no opportunity of enjoying my favourite pastime of shooting, for which I substituted deep sea fishing, and made many excursions, both alone or in company with another to the more remote parts of the harbour for that purpose, and was occasionally very successful in capturing a great variety of the finny tribe, some of very large size, such as the snapper, king fish, Jew fish, and flat head, all of which I have caught above 20lbs. weight. Bream, mackerel, and other small fish were also easily caught in their season.

In the early part of the year, 1855, Sir William Denison arrived at the seat of Government, and after a short period had elapsed, I made a formal application for the situation of a Police Magistrate, stating my precedents, and capabilities for the office. I received, however, a very

vague and unsatisfactory reply, and one that gave me but little hope of success.

The proprietor, or rather tenant, of the cottage in which we were living being about to quit it, we were obliged to seek another residence; and at length hired small apartments in a similar suburban village, opposite the city, called "Balmain," but not in nearly so beautiful a situation as our former one.

It was now the month of April, and the heat of the summer, which had been tremendous, had yielded to the delicious season of Autumn, which in these hemispheres is the finest that can be imagined. There is a lightness and elasticity in the air that is quite indescribable, nothing even in the choicest climate of Italy can approach it, nor can any one who has not experienced the delightful effects of the atmosphere at about sunrise, in the months of April or September, near Sydney, form any conception of the effect produced upon the frame and spirits.

Happy indeed would it be for that very numerous class of sufferers in Great Britain from those peculiar and often self-inflicted evils

generalized under the comprehensive term dyspepsia, if, instead of allowing their stomachs and credulity to be experimentalized upon by native quacks, or drenching themselves with the foetid productions of German mineral watering places, could they summon up energy and courage sufficient to make the voyage to Australia. Act 1st, in nine cases out of ten, would prove of inestimable benefit to them. Act 2nd would complete the cure; provided always (as the lawyers say) that under that exhilaration of spirits that is certain to accompany a recovery, or even amelioration of the distressing symptoms of this complaint, they do not succumb, by force of example or otherwise, to that fatal colonial propensity, "nobblerizing." As I have been myself a sufferer from this malady (but I fear in my case self-inflicted), and have taken a prominent position in the rank of victims to medicinal humbug, I am but too glad to add my testimony to that of many others, in corroboration of the almost miraculous effect of the climate of Australia, between the latitude of Sydney and Adelaide, on persons whose diges-

tive organs are impaired either from natural or artificial causes ; and indeed the climate of Van Diemen's Land, and above all New Zealand, are pregnant with the same beneficial results : the latter place, from the regularity of its temperature, and the absence of either great heat or severe cold, is considered to be the most healthy spot in the world, and the most conducive to longevity. And now that the voyage can be made with so much speed, comfort, and economy, what is there to prevent any dyspeptic valetudinarian, who has run through the " Jephsonian " and " Granvillian " gauntlets, with no great benefit to his pocket or constitution, making a trip to the antipodes, where, amidst new scenes, new excitements, and, above all, a new climate, he may be enabled to renew a long lease of an existence which was on the point of expiring. I speak, of course, of that class of individuals whose private incomes are sufficient for such an expenditure, but which indeed would, in most cases, not amount to the cost of ordinary living and medical treatment at home.

I had formed several agreeable acquaintances

in Sydney, and amongst them was the son of the late Rev. John Williams, a missionary of great celebrity, who was killed some years ago by the savage natives, on one of the islands of the New Hebrides. This gentleman had passed the early part of his life with his father for many years amongst the South Sea Islands, and was intimately acquainted with the manners and language of many of them. He had lately, in common with many others, been unfortunate in his commercial speculations, and was forced to become a bankrupt. Amongst other items of his property which was disposed of at public auction for the benefit of his creditors, was a certain quantity of cocoa-nut oil that he had purchased from the king of the Friendly Islands, and from an agent whom he employed in the Navigator Islands. It was necessary, however, to send a vessel in search of this property; and as, in consequence of the war with Russia, oil of all kinds had risen considerably in price, and had become a very valuable article, the person who purchased these goods considered he could not possibly do better than fit out a vessel of his own,

and engage Mr. Williams as supercargo, for the purpose, not only of bringing back the oil in question, but also of trading with the natives for more, as well as mother-o'-pearl shell, and other products of the islands; Mr. Williams's knowledge of the language, and great popularity amongst the islanders, rendering his services most valuable on this occasion.

I had read much, and heard more, of the extreme beauty of the Polynesian Archipelago, and had long felt a great desire to visit some of these "enchanted isles." Mr. Williams rather confirmed than depressed the expectations I had formed, and also hinted that I might possibly find some profitable employment for a small capital, or, at all events, might do sufficient to pay the expense of the voyage, should I be disposed to accompany him on his trip; and which would, in all probability, be of four or five months' duration. I had no fixed plan to detain me at Sydney, nor indeed did I see any chance of procuring a government situation. My wife and child were very comfortably lodged, and I might not only strike out some new path

for myself, but certainly never again have such a favourable opportunity of visiting the South Seas. I therefore yielded to the temptation, and agreed to take my passage as far as the Navigator Islands, for the sum of £20, or, if I made the whole trip, and returned with the vessel, I was to pay £50.

The clipper Leith-built schooner "Ariel," one hundred tons burden, was put into sailing trim by her owners, and advertized to carry freight and cargo to the Friendly, Navigator, Walli's, and other islands in the South Seas; a large portion of which was of course taken up by the owners. Staves and hoops for the ready construction of barrels, bales of cheap printed calicos, old guns and muskets, and common knives and hatchets, forming the larger proportion of our outward cargo.

Having made the voyage from England to Australia in a vessel of nearly the same size, I was not afraid to venture again, particularly on a short voyage, in a similar craft, and had engaged a small cabin six feet long by three and a half broad for my own especial use; but I own

I was not quite prepared for the large and heterogeneous society that I found was to compose the *personel* of the little "Ariel."

In the small cabin were to be accommodated the captain, Mr. Hoseason, Mr. Williams, Master Murray, the son of a Missionary at the Navigator Islands, myself, and two disconsolate native women, whose husbands, after having brought them from their native islands to Sydney, had there cruelly deserted them—one with an infant at the breast. Four European passengers were in the steerage. Ten natives of the South Sea Islands forwards, and a crew of two mates, two sailors, a cook, steward, and carpenter, completed the complement.

On the 4th of May, 1855, we cleared Port Jackson Heads with light winds and heavy rain; on the 15th, after weathering some hard gales, we were off the 'Three Kings' Rocks, the extreme eastern point of New Zealand; and on the 18th, after some very severe weather, we were in sight of Curtis's Rocks.

CHAPTER V.

THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

ON the afternoon of the 25th we sighted the first of the Tonga or Friendly Islands, after a most unpleasant and stormy passage of twenty-one days from Sydney. The island of Eoa, the first of the group, presents, at this distance, about eight miles, a low rectangular appearance. The climate was a fine temperature, the thermometer standing at about 75° Fahr. in the cabin. Beautiful groves of cocoa-nut and other tropical trees appeared, dispersed in picturesque groups over the land, and every variety of verdure and foliage, lighted up by the setting sun, formed a very charming landscape. We observed several fires, but no signs of a canoe; and stood off and

on between the islands of Eoa and Tongataboo all night.

In the morning, with a light breeze from the S.E., we stood towards Tongataboo; the atmosphere was much warmer. Some canoes were seen approaching, and we were soon boarded by a native, who represented himself as a Pilot, and realized all I had read of the aborigines of these regions. A fine muscular figure, of a light copper colour, with a classical head and countenance, short fine hair, and naked, with the exception of a picturesque petticoat of leaves. The canoe, a small hollowed tree, with an outrigger, composed of several spars, to give it additional security. Mr. Williams, who spoke the language, soon communicated with him, and the first objects he begged for were a coloured shirt and a pipe of tobacco, upon being supplied with which he took up his station on the fore-top, and, obeying the motion of his hand, we commenced a most dangerous and difficult navigation amongst coral reefs and shoals, continually within a few yards of us, as we approached the low flat coast of Tongataboo, which is perfectly level with the

ocean, and presents an horizon of cocoa-nut trees. There is not an eminence on the whole island, comprising a circumference of about eighty miles, more than fifty feet high.

We were soon boarded by many canoes, with fruit and poultry of different kinds for sale, by natives in the same primitive costume as our pilot. Some of them were women with handsome features and forms, and tastefully decorated with leaves and flowers. One striking peculiarity was the manner in which many of them dressed their hair. It is first saturated in cocoa-nut oil, and then thickly powdered over with lime, procured from shells. It is combed back from the forehead, and the effect produced is exactly that of the head dressed and powdered in the fashion of the last century. It forms a very tasteful contrast to their dark skins, and really produces a very *distingué* appearance.

About five hours, with very light breezes, brought us to our anchorage, opposite the chief village of the island, and within half a mile of the shore, through an opening in the coral reefs. Our decks were now crowded by natives, all of

whom appeared most amiable and good-natured, and nothing that could be construed into any thing offensive or disrespectful took place.

I accompanied Mr. Williams on shore, part of the distance in the boat, and the remaining part carried on the shoulders of natives over the rough sharp coral at low tide. We found King George (an old acquaintance of Mr. Williams's), was gone upon a war expedition, with forty war canoes, containing nearly three thousand men, to assist an ally, the king of the Fejee Islands, about 390 miles west of Tonga. These war canoes contain each from fifty to a hundred men; they are made double, with an outrigger between them, and upon this point of junction their provisions, ammunition, etc., are placed, and covered with latteen sails. They use latteen sails and paddles, as occasion serves, and steer by compass. Most of these islanders possess muskets (generally very common ones), which they purchase in exchange for cocoa-nut oil, and other articles supplied to whalers and other vessels that may chance to touch at the place. The absence of this chief was a great disappointment to us, but we found

an old Scotchman, his head man, who had been for many years on the island, and conducted his business in cocoa-nut oil, etc., during his absence.

The native houses or huts are very prettily and ingeniously built of light and elegant canes, thatched over with cocoa-nut leaves, on light wooden rafters. They are situated in small enclosures, fenced round with similar canes, and positively embedded in the most luxuriant tropical vegetation. The cocoa-nut, palm, hibiscus, orange, gardenia, guava, custard-apple, banana, bread fruit, and many other shrubs and trees unknown in other climates, form an amalgamation of rich shade and verdure only to be realized by observation. Few, if any, noxious insects are to be found here, and no reptiles but a harmless snake. The island is one rich tropical garden, intersected by small alleys or avenues cut through the exuberant vegetation, and presents a picture of repose quite unequalled.

King George, who reigns over the whole group of the Friendly Islands, is a Protestant; and all the islanders profess Christianity, and are exceedingly strict in their outward observances of it.

Pigs and poultry abound, and are to be procured cheap. Bread-fruit, yams, taroo, sweet potatoes, and arrow-root, are the principal vegetables, and most tropical fruits flourish in their season.

After leaving the hut of the agent, we paid a visit to the Wesleyan Missionary (Mr. Davis) stationed here, who, with his wife, received us most hospitably in a charming cottage, built similar to the native dwellings, but upon a large scale, and furnished with all European comforts and appliances. He was, of course, glad to get the latest news, as they do not calculate upon seeing a vessel here above once in six months. They complained much of the climate as enervating in the extreme; indeed, at the time of our visit, which was the cold season, it was very oppressive, and for a lengthened residence must be very destructive to European constitutions. The perpetual rain that falls, more or less, all the year round, and is the cause of the magnificent vegetation, renders the tropical heat of a very heavy and lowering character; and although no epidemics are common to these islands, low fever and

elephantiasis are sure to attack European constitutions sooner or later. After taking tea with Mr. and Mrs. Davis, we extended our walk about two miles along the coast, by moonlight, to the residence of the Catholic Missionary, where vespers were celebrating in a cane edifice, under the cocoa-nut trees. He was a French Jesuit, and complained much to me, in confidence, of the persecutions he had endured, owing to the Protestant Missionary. We returned late to our vessel, having had to walk about a mile on foot over coral reefs in shallow water.

The following day being Sunday, we attended the church, where divine service was performed in the native language by Mr. Davis, the Wesleyan Missionary, in a most impressive manner, and a more thoroughly attentive or devout congregation it was impossible to see. Some were dressed with an attempt at European costume. The hymns were really tolerably well sung, and the responses devoutly made; and a final prayer was offered up by a native. The church, which is beautifully constructed of canes, is capable of holding from five hundred to one thousand peo-

ple. The two Missionaries on the Island (with the exception of the Catholics) are both Wesleyans, appointed by the London Society, and the king, by outward profession, is a devout Protestant dissenter. No work or amusement of any kind is permitted on the Sabbath under pain of fine and imprisonment. Prostitution and other immoralities are punished in the same manner. The greater portion, however, of people now on the Island were old men, women, and children, most of the able-bodied men having accompanied their king to the Fejees.

On Monday, I took my gun and a native guide, and started in search of game, wild fowl, and a very large and fat species of pigeon, said to abound; but after having scrambled for hours through an almost impenetrable bush and jungle, could find none, and returned after shooting a brace of plover on the beach.

Mr. Williams succeeded in purchasing about ten tons of cocoa-nut oil, which he was engaged throughout the day in preparing for embarkation. The decks were crowded to suffocation with natives. Hundreds of canoes were around,

and fastened on to the vessel, the natives arriving either from curiosity, or to barter different articles, such as bananas, pigs, ducks, fowls, limes, yams, fish, taroo, sugar cane, and small pearls of no value. They were very anxious to obtain articles of European clothing, such as shirts, trousers, etc.; but not at all inclined to give anything like the value for them. The common article of exchange is coarse white calico, which can be purchased wholesale at about twopence a yard, and a fathom of which (two yards), is the usual price of a large duck, a small pig, 20 yams, or a large bundle of bananas, taroo, etc.

A native chief, a fine noble-looking old man, of about 18 stone weight, with his daughter, a young lady of about fifteen, and of gigantic proportions, came off to visit Mr. Williams, whom he had known on a previous occasion, bringing with him a present of some enormous pigs, fruit, and vegetables. They dined with us, taking up at least one half of the little cabin, and used their knives and forks very tolerably, and certainly to some purpose. The quantity they swallowed was truly astonishing, taking every

thing liquid or solid that was offered to them, with the most perfect composure, and the old chief finished by drinking about a pint of raw brandy, which had not the slightest effect upon him. The Catholic priest also came on board to receive some freight that had been sent to him from Sydney. It appeared that he and the chief had had some altercation, and that the Catholic and Protestant party here, as everywhere else, were at open warfare, each accusing the other of every species of enormity. The decks were crowded as usual by natives, which after the novelty of the thing had passed, began to be very annoying.

On the following day we dined with Mr. Davis, and met the captain and mate of an American whaler, which had been shipwrecked a few weeks previously on a reef near the Fejee Islands; but, with the exception of four men, the crew had escaped in the boats to the islands, and from thence to the other side of Tongataboo. We volunteered to take these officers with us to the Navigator Islands, where they would probably find an American vessel. I inspected the

native houses, and their mode of beating out cloth or tappa from the paper mulberry tree. I visited the interior of King George's house, which is constructed of canes like the rest, and contains four good rooms, roughly furnished in the European style, the contents being chiefly presents made to him by occasional visitors. Engravings of our Saviour, and the Queen and Prince Albert adorned one room, which also contained a handsome dressing case, and good four-post bedstead, and dining table. Convicts, male and female, were beating tappa in a shed close by,—chiefly persons guilty of adultery.

The rich tropical scenery of the island very soon becomes monotonous, owing to the land being perfectly flat, and the continual succession of the same trees and shrubs. I tasted to-day bread-fruit, tarro, and yams in great perfection, together with a very fine species of banana and custard-apple, the latter richer than the East India ones; but we had arrived at the worst time of the year for fruit,—oranges, pine-apples, and many other sorts, being out of season.

Roses abound everywhere, as well as many pretty sweet-scented flowers of gay colours.

The landing place is very inconvenient, as no boat can approach the shore except at the highest tide (and even then with difficulty) within several hundred yards, and you have to walk this distance on sharp coral rocks, through shallow water.

Upon the whole, the first appearance of things here is very pleasing and gratifying; but, upon a close inspection, the picture is much reversed. The few Europeans (about ten in all, including the missionaries) present a very sickly and wretched appearance. The animosity between the Catholics and Protestants is much to be regretted, and the more so as an example to the native Christian population, who, except in name and outward observances, know little of the real spirit of Christianity; and these observances are enforced upon them by very severe laws. The king, who is by far the most intelligent man on the island, and a close observer of human nature, as well as a most ambitious man, has, however, lately visited Sydney, and has considerably re-

laxed the severity of his ordinances since his return, and personal experience of the way things are carried on there; not exactly in accordance with the representations made to him by the missionaries. The prevailing vice of these islanders is the most inordinate pride; they consider themselves inferior to no native in the world, and do not think they can pay an European a greater compliment than by comparing him to a Tonga man. They are haughty and arrogant in their demeanour and gait, except when asking a favour; indolent in the extreme, and will not do a stroke of work except what is absolutely necessary to existence. They are said to be extremely immoral and lascivious amongst themselves, but never with Europeans; nor has any connexion been known between a white man and a native female except that of marriage, and it is forbidden under the most severe penalties. Amongst themselves, native females only marry men of their own rank, of which they are very tenacious, and indeed a sort of feudal aristocracy prevails amongst them. They are enormous eaters, but generally sober. The only intoxicating liquor

used amongst them is the "cava." This is the root of a plant bearing that name, which is chewed and masticated by boys and girls, then mixed with cold water, and wrung out with a cloth into a bowl used for that purpose, and brought out on all festive occasions. It has a strong aromatic bitter flavour, and intoxicating properties. Used in moderation, it is no doubt a powerful tonic, and very serviceable in low fevers. Women, and even children, are inveterate smokers, and a very strong tobacco is cultivated here. They are very fond of Jews'-harps, and generally have one about their persons. The hair of both sexes is generally cut short, and worn in full curls. It is naturally fine, but impregnated with cocoa-nut oil and lime. Both sexes go naked, with the exception of the tappa or cloth of native manufacture, which reaches from the waist to the knees, and is very gracefully worn. They are certainly a very fine race of people; some remarkably so. They do not care for beads and trinkets, but are most elaborately tattooed; and one very striking peculiarity amongst the elder part of the population is the invariable

loss of the little finger of the left hand which was formerly amputated during their infancy, according to the rites of a favourite native superstition, before the introduction of Christianity.

On the 31st of May we weighed anchor, and sailed with a favourable breeze, intending, if possible, to make the Island of Lefuga (one of the Harpeian group) by night, but had not been long at sea when we encountered a gale from the north-east, which we laboured heavily against in the midst of islands and reefs, and no pilot on board. At night we were off the volcanoes of Tafoua and Keo, which were both smoking, but we saw no eruption. The following day the same gale continued; we were in the midst of the Friendly group, but not able to make any island we desired. At length, after passing several days in sight of the two volcanoes above-mentioned, a favourable breeze sprang up and carried us within sight of Vavau, the last and largest of these islands, and which presents a much loftier and more picturesque appearance than Tonga. On a near approach, nothing can be more magnificent than the rich tropical ver-

ture with which the whole island is clothed, from the summits of the mountains to the very edge of the coast. Trees and shrubs of every variety of leaf and hue present one vast mass of the richest foliage. Nature seems to have exhausted her resources in adorning this enchanting scene with all that can delight the eye and charm the taste. Here (at Vavau) the harbour, equal almost in extent and rather similar to that of Sydney, forms one uninterrupted succession of natural beauties.

Numbers of small islands are continually passed; bays, valleys, and mountains rise in quick succession; and, after working up with baffling winds for about eight miles in very deep water, with no shoals or reefs, we anchored in a lovely little cove, and close to the shore, in about fifteen fathoms water.

On the 4th of June, I went on shore in the morning. The vegetation, houses, and inhabitants were the same as at Tonga; but the scenery much finer. I called on the two Wesleyan missionaries stationed there, Messrs. Amos and Daniels, who seemed very able and worthy

men. The former had resided for a period of three years at Sierra Leone. The greater part of the able-bodied men here, as at Tonga, were absent with King George, and we were unlucky as to the fruit season, but still procured some fine pine-apples, shaddock, and bananas. The yams here are supposed to be the finest in the world; and pigs, turkeys, ducks and fowls plentiful. There are several Europeans on the island, who trade with the natives for cocoa-nut oil; but the latter are extremely suspicious, avaricious, and incurably idle.

On the 5th, I borrowed Mr. Daniels's whale boat and crew of four natives, and went on a shooting expedition about five miles down the coast: there I landed, and walked through the bush to a lagoon, and killed some very fine wild ducks, a jungle fowl, and some of the large pigeons I have before mentioned. The heat was intense. I was most hospitably entertained in a native hut with fowls, yams, and fish, baked in the earth on cocoa-nut leaves, and admirably cooked; and was induced, in spite of my repugnance, to taste the "cava."

On the following day the heat and rain prevented my going on shore. The weather was more oppressive than anything I ever felt, and the frightful closeness of the atmosphere made me very unwell, and totally prevented sleep. It was impossible to go on deck at night without being wetted through and through, and in the day-time it was lumbered up with barrels and packages of all kinds, and crowded by natives.

In the course of a conversation with Captain Wells and his first mate, Mr. Sherman, of the American whaling vessel, "Logan," lost on a reef near the Fejee Islands, and whom we had taken on board with us at Tonga, to convey them to the Navigator Islands,—we were informed that, during the three weeks they passed on the Fejee Islands before they could find a vessel to take them away, they witnessed and heard of the most dreadful characters and practices of some white men, who resided on the Island of Ovalou, and at the town of Levoca, about thirty-five in number, chiefly English and American, some Manilla Spaniards, and about fifty half-caste. It ap-

peared from the confession, or rather boast, of several of them to this officer whilst residing with his crew at the island,—and where there is also an individual who calls himself an American consul, but who could render him no assistance whatever,—that crimes of the most dreadful nature were of continual occurrence amongst them, uncontrolled as they are by any law, human or divine, and the missionary resident on the spot is in too great fear of them to report the matter to the proper quarter. Captain Wells states that some of their number have been known to join the natives in their cannibal feasts, and that each possesses a plurality of wives, or rather slaves, upon whom, on the slightest occasion (particularly complaining to the missionary) they inflict the most horrible tortures. One instance he mentioned of a woman being roasted alive by a slow fire, and that they were often placed in irons, until the fetters had worn into the wrists and ancles. Murders were common amongst them; and when they could procure drink, they were more like demons than human beings.

Before taking my final departure from the Friendly Isles, it may be as well to make a few remarks on the curious facts that had preceded and accompanied their conversion to Christianity.

They are divided or rather classed into three groups: those of Tonga, Harpaie, and Vavau, and comprehend upwards of one hundred and fifty islands, most of them small, but generally inhabited. Tropical fruits and vegetables of all kinds flourish almost spontaneously, but no European animals are indigenous to them, except the pig and the dog. Poultry of many sorts is also common. It is believed that formerly cannibalism existed to a certain extent amongst them, but not in so great a degree as amongst the Fejee, New Caledonia, and New Hebrides group, whose inhabitants form the transition from the Papuans and negroes of Australia, to the finer forms and features of the Eastern Polynesians.

The first attempt at proselytism was made at Tongataboo in the year 1797, by the vessel "Duff," with ten missionaries, which completely failed. A runaway convict from Sydney, named

Morgan, was located on the island, who persuaded the inhabitants that the missionaries were magicians, who would kill them and seize upon their country. About this time an epidemic disease carried off many of them, when he took the opportunity of exclaiming: "Behold, these people who sing and pray; if you remain quiet any longer, they will kill you all." Soon afterwards, three missionaries were assassinated, and their cabins burnt, and after the lapse of nine months, the remainder managed to get on board an English vessel. Morgan pretended afterwards that he had the power of destroying life by prayers; but became a victim to his own atrocious impostures. One of the chiefs pierced his body with a lance, and threw his entrails into the sea.

No more missionary attempts were made until the year 1822, when the Wesleyans dispatched some of their ministers to this field. Mr. Laurie, with several companions, landed at Tongataboo in the month of August of that year. The population ran in crowds to the shore, and an Englishman named Singleton, who had resided

for sixteen years on the spot, became his interpreter. Laurie was well received, and protected by a powerful chief; but when he commenced his travels through the interior, he was looked upon with much suspicion, and the priests soon brought up the old story again, that he would kill them with his prayers, and take possession of the island. Their indifference was so great, that their general observation was, "Your religion is very good for you, and our's for ourselves." At length these missionaries, in continual fear of their lives, left the island in 1824.

They had, however, brought with them in the first instance several native Christians from Tahiti, who were more fortunate than their European brethren. They built a missionary establishment and a chapel, and before long counted a congregation of upwards of four hundred. They were very soon succeeded by other Wesleyans, who arrived four in number in 1826 and 1827.

From this period the two principal stations dated their existence,—*Hihifo* and *Nugalofa*.

By slow degrees the people became more reconciled to the missionaries. At Hihifo they had to deal with a capricious and avaricious chief named Ata, whose avarice it was difficult to satisfy. A report was abroad that the white men had brought with them a box filled with evil spirits, destined to devour the inhabitants of Tonga; and when any drought or scarcity prevailed, they imagined that their gods were angry with them for having received these strangers. One day Ata issued a formal proclamation that all those who attended divine worship at the chapel should be banished from the district, and young girls who were learning to sew, read, and write, were driven away.

At Nugalofa, the opposition was not so great. It was true that the majority of the chiefs decided that the Lotu (the gospel) ought to be destroyed; but the head chief Tubo declared himself in favour of it, and determined to rest faithful to it in spite of all the menaces directed against him.

As the missionaries became more perfect in their knowledge of the language of the country,

they had more influence over the people. Their horrible customs, such as the sacrifice of children, and cutting off their little fingers, etc., etc., began to disappear; and in the course of six years, eight or ten thousand professed converts to Christianity were to be found on the islands.

Other stations were founded at Bea, Mua, Vaini, and Houma. The desire to know the new religion was so great in the other islands, that in 1828, a captain of a vessel mentioned that everywhere he stopped, the first question asked was, Have you no missionary for us? and were much disappointed upon being answered in the negative; he added, that in several islands they had built a church in expectation of their arrival.

The manner in which Christianity spread in the Harpeian group was equally remarkable. This group comprises thirty or forty islands, of which about twenty were inhabited, and under the rule of Taufaahau, their principal chief. He was of great stature, and fine and noble bearing; when he heard of the increase and effects of Christianity in Tongataboo, he determined to go there and judge for himself; it was also under-

stood that from his earliest growth he had nourished a strong antipathy to paganism. This visit confirmed him in his resolution to renounce idolatry. A native teacher returned with him to his country in 1830, and immediately all the idols and their altars were destroyed at Lefuga. Three chiefs resisted him, and organized a great feast of idols in the bush ; but Tautfaahau drove a troop of swine into the consecrated enclosure, and burnt the divinities he found in the temple. About that period he was joined by Mr. Thomas, an enterprising missionary ; and Tinau, chief of the Vavau group, made a present to Tautfaahau of a handsome war canoe, as an encouragement to remain faithful to the religion of his fathers ; the answer however returned was, " Tell my cousin Tinau, that I thank him for his present, and that when I have dragged it up the beach, I shall cut it in pieces as firewood for my kitchen."

It was thus that Tautfaahau, named King George after his baptism, gained a complete victory over the dark superstitions of his people. He dismissed all his concubines, and lived alone

for some time, until he united himself to a woman by the ties of Protestant marriage, and he set all his slaves at liberty. He exerted himself in every way in the interests of Christianity, and the advancement of his people; he was at once architect, sailor, preacher, and president of an auxiliary mission, and his residence of Lefuga soon became the most important station in the Friendly Islands.

The example of Tautaaahu soon acted in a favourable manner upon Tinau, chief of the Vavau group, and the most numerous and populous. Tinau was at first so hostile to Christianity, that when asked if he would suffer any missionary to reside there, he answered that he would massacre them on the moment of their arrival. Upon this, Tautaaahu paid him a visit on matters of business, and so caused him in a short time to change his mind, that he commanded the total destruction of the idols and their appurtenances; and in three days subsequently they were all reduced to cinders.

After the death of Tinau, King George succeeded to the government, and in 1839, gave a

code of laws to his people, and preached the word of God to them himself.

Ministers of the Church of Rome were introduced into these Islands in 1841, from Wallis's Island, and accompanied by a number of native Catholics, they pronounced strongly against the Protestant religion.

Mr. Laurie, the missionary, who in 1834 was forced to fly from Tongataboo in hourly fear of his life, was now superintendent-general of the Wesleyan Missions in Polynesia, and on visiting this island in the course of his inspection in 1848, was greeted by a very pleasing spectacle. Upon arriving at the residence of King George, he found him occupied with his wife in reading the Bible. "We are most happy to see you," said the chief; "glory be to God who has sent you amongst us." The next day being Sunday, the church was filled with natives, and the king read prayers and preached in person.

This was the monarch whom we were disappointed at not finding on our visit to Tongataboo, and who was gone on a war expedition to the Fejee Islands, and an old friend of Mr. Wil-

liams. Some time previously, and by the persuasion of the missionaries, he had enacted laws relative to the observance of the Sabbath so exceedingly severe, that the most necessary and ordinary daily occupations were not only totally forbidden, but no native was allowed to appear in public except at church; he had, however, lately paid a visit to Sydney, where it had been represented to him that the same regulations prevailed, and finding that he had been to a certain extent deceived, considerably relaxed his code on his return.

Vavau, Keppel, Meva, and the other inhabited islands of this vast Archipelago, are now all converted to Christianity. Mr. Laurie remarked, during a visit to Meva in 1848, "What extraordinary *souvenirs* does this island recall! How often have I here listened to a discussion amongst the chiefs whether they should kill us, and seize upon our goods, or await the arrival of a vessel, and after demanding a ransom for our persons, drive us from their shores. Every spot recalled to me some act of cruelty and injustice, to which we were victims in those days of ignor-

ance ; but now everything is changed, and peace and harmony have succeeded to cruelty and superstition." King George is now sovereign over the whole of the Friendly Islands.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NAVIGATOR ISLANDS.

ON June 8th, a light breeze having sprung up, we sailed from Vavau, and passed the island volcano of *Latee*, which was in a state of eruption, and sent forth clouds of smoke and flame. For several days we experienced nothing but calms and light baffling winds. On the third day of our departure from Vavau, I witnessed a most cruel experiment on the vitality of a shark. The sailors caught one about six feet in length, and after having thrust a large stone into its stomach, and cut its tail and fins off, they threw it again into the sea, where it seemed to swim away as well as ever.

On the 13th we discovered the land of the

Navigator or Samoan Islands, and about midday were off the coast of *Upolu*. This island, which is seventy leagues in circumference, with an elevation in some parts of upwards of 4000 feet above the level of the sea, presents a very mountainous and picturesque appearance. In the Friendly Islands no springs or rivulets exist, and the only water obtained, for every purpose, is the rain water, preserved in tanks and reservoirs; and as seldom a week elapses without a heavy fall, there is therefore no scarcity. Here, however, waterfalls, glistening like silver threads, amidst splendid forests clothing the very tops of the mountains, and sloping gradually to the coast, with all those varied hues and tints so peculiar to the foliage in these islands, lend an enchantment to the scene which no description can convey a just idea of. These islands are situated about 300 miles north-east of the Tonga group, and are eight in number: *Upolu*, *Savai*, *Tutuella*, *Mana*, *Oresenga*, and *Ofu*. *Savai* is the largest, and *Upolu* the second in size, the former being 300 miles in circumference, and the latter about 200. The population of the

whole Archipelago is supposed to be upwards of 180,000. The towns and villages are invariably situated on or near the coasts, and no cultivation extends farther than several miles in the interior, so that the vast districts and forests in the centre of these islands are totally uninhabited or cultivated. The precipitous ascent, and the almost impenetrable bush, renders any travelling inland a matter of extreme difficulty.

Skirting the coral reefs, which always surround an island in these latitudes, we glided through an opening in the green expanse, and came to anchor in the beautiful Bay of *Appia*, the principal port of Upolu, where several vessels were already moored. Our decks were soon crowded by natives (old acquaintances of Mr. Williams, who had spent ten years of his youth on this island), and by several Europeans, amongst whom was Mr. Pritchard, of Otaheite notoriety, who acted at this time as British Consul at the Navigators; together with a gentleman who called himself the American Consul, and several small storekeepers. I went on shore with Mr. Pritchard, who inhabited a small hut on the

coast, having sold his former house and plot of ground to an agent of the firm of "Hort," of Otaheite. There were several European storekeepers, residing in small thatched native houses, who retailed to the crews of whalers and passing vessels, and the native population, the commonest description of stores, amongst which spirits of the worst description formed a large item; and there was an apology for an hotel, kept by an African negro. I was introduced by Mr. Pritchard to a Mr. de Boos, who exercised the profession of a doctor on the island, and lived in a small native house, built of canes and thatch, where he kindly offered me a corner and a stretcher during my stay. I began to suffer much from the relaxation occasioned by intense perspiration, the climate being oppressive in the extreme, and the annoyance caused by musquitoes was beyond all endurance. The country, a short distance inland, is of the richest and most picturesque description; crystal springs, transparent streams, and lovely waterfalls, are continually met with; but farther in the interior it is so covered with thick and

almost impenetrable jungle and forest, that, except in a few narrow beaten tracks, or by the beds and banks of streams and torrents, it is nearly impossible to penetrate; and the labour, heat, and exertion, required for the effort, very trying to an English constitution. The houses of the natives are very similar to those of the Friendly islanders, except that they consist merely of bamboo frames, thatched with the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and open on all sides; these openings being closed by mats when desired, or in rainy weather, which (although nominally the dry season) was nearly continuous during my residence here, and added much to the heat and closeness of the atmosphere. The night dews and damp emanating from the soil are tremendous, and account for its extreme fertility. Most of the productions of the Eastern and Western tropics grow here spontaneously; such as indigo, sugar-cane, the coffee shrub, arrow-root, nutmeg, and a variety of others; and the climate and soil are capable of producing any fruit or vegetable known in similar latitudes; but the inhabitants are too indolent to give themselves any trouble

beyond raising what is absolutely necessary for their existence. The bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, banana, and other fruits, grow in such profusion, that they require very little culture. Pigs, poultry, and ducks abound, but no care is taken of their variety or improvement.

There are no wild animals, except hogs that have taken to the woods, and no game birds, except the large pigeons before alluded to, and wild-fowl; and no reptiles of any kind. Fish abound on the coast, many of a poisonous nature. The natives are aware of the distinction. They fish chiefly with spears and small ineffectual nets, and eat the smaller kinds in their raw state.

There is no supreme government, but a sort of feudal aristocracy, consisting of several chiefs of certain districts, together with subordinate governors of villages. They are often at war with each other (as they were at the time of my arrival), but which is not of a very destructive nature, each tribe collecting in bands of several thousands, at some distance from its opponents, armed with clubs and muskets of a very inferior

quality (which they purchase from whalers and other ships in exchange for cocoa-nut oil, and which they are very much afraid of discharging, generally turning their heads away during the operation of pulling the trigger), and forming a temporary encampment of huts, where they hold assemblies, dance, eat, and drink "cava," until some determination as to the *casus belli* is arrived at; when, if they ultimately decide to go to war, a few skirmishes in ambush by land, or at respectable distances in their war canoes at sea, generally decide the contest, without much loss of life, until some fresh occasion brings about a similar scene.

Some of the men are amongst the finest specimens of the human race I ever met with, absolutely magnificent; standing six feet four or five in height, and admirably proportioned, but inclining rather to fat and rotundity: they are generally indeed a very fine race, although few are free from some cutaneous disease. The women are inferior to the men (although I have seen some very beautiful exceptions), with generally flat noses, thick lips, heavy countenances,

and fat and clumsy in their make. In point of "coiffeur" and "costume" they very much resemble their sisters of Tonga, but are of rather a lighter copper colour; and practise the utmost and most scrupulous cleanliness. They possess most of the natural attributes of half-civilized savages, and, without being great thieves, are inclined to petty pilfering and deceit. They do not exhibit so much self-pride and dignity as the subjects of King George, and can generally be bribed to do anything. In fact, whatever they may have been on their first and early conversion to our own faith, their great admixture with Europeans of the worst class, and the present state of society at Appia, the principal port, was quite sufficient to account for their demoralization; and, certainly, the bad examples before their eyes were sufficient to destroy most missionary influences, of which, indeed, except a few of the outward forms of religion, I could see but little appearance of at this place. When I was there no Protestant Missionary resided on the spot, but at a town about twelve miles lower down the coast. There was, however, a Catholic

Cathedral, with a large establishment and school attached to it, that appeared to be well attended. The white resident population, comprising store-keepers and others, might amount to about fifty individuals, but several whalers and other vessels were generally at anchor in the bay. The Americans and English were divided by a small river that flowed into the bay, making a line of demarcation between their respective dwellings, and formed quite separate communities. I mentioned that on our arrival we were visited, amongst others, by a certain Mr. Van Camp, who styled himself American Consul; whether he had any legal right to that dignity or not appeared a matter of conjecture, but he certainly exercised the privileges of the office in a way at once profitable to himself, and injurious to others.

During my stay, two American vessels (barques), or at least under the American flag, on their voyage from California to Sydney, had touched at Appia for water and provisions, where by some extraordinary arrangement between the *soi disant* Consul, and some of the persons on board, they were both condemned as not being sea-

worthy, and sold, together with their cargoes, by auction at this port. The proceeds of the sale would, of course, be for the benefit of the owners, in due course of law, but the vessels and their contents were purchased by the Consul, or his agents, at ridiculously low prices, as there was no one to bid against him, and by this means he was supposed to have realized a tolerable hoard of dollars. This was not effected without some trouble and danger, as the aggrieved parties amongst the passengers and crew, who had lost their passage and property, and were thrown helpless upon these remote shores, without any present means of leaving them, very often expressed their opinion of Mr. Van Camp's proceedings in a very decided and hostile manner, and scenes took place near his residence not much to the edification of the islanders; during which, language of the most horrible nature, and revolvers, and bowie knives were made use of. He was, however, too strongly supported by several Americans, and a party of natives in his pay, to fear any successful opposition, and was himself a man of ferocious and fearless de-

meanour. His only apprehension, I fancy, pointed to his being overhauled by some American frigate, before he had made off with his easily-earned dollars, which it was supposed he was on the eve of doing, as by that time some of his proceedings must have been known to the authorities at home, and he had literally frightened most American vessels away from the islands, by the rapacity and injustice of his proceedings : not only having made away with much property most unlawfully, but many affrays having taken place, during which lives had been nearly sacrificed. Poor old Mr. Pritchard had requested more than once to see his commission or diploma as Consul, but had always been refused.

On the opposite side of the river, although violent scenes were of rare occurrence, still drunkenness and debauchery were in the ascendant. Every storekeeper lived with a native mistress, who stiled herself his wife, and was always proud of her connexion with a white man. The captains of vessels in the bay had most of them their temporary *liasons*, and the crews theirs, and passed most of their evenings

in drinking, singing, and obscene conversation.

I made several trips, in company with some very intelligent residents, a short distance into the interior, particularly with the two shipwrecked American officers, who had accompanied us from Tongataboo, and although the heat was intense, we were recompensed for our sufferings by the singular beauty of the scenery. We always travelled very lightly clad, in fact with nothing on but a suit of calico, and when oppressed with heat, plunged into the first stream, or natural fountain we met with, continued our walk, or rather scramble, until dry again, and repeated the luxurious experiment. Although I had spent several years in India, and had traversed the vast forests of the Coromandel Coast, as well as the Ghauts between Poonah and Bombay, I never saw anything like the variety and beauty of tropical foliage that is common to these islands. The teak, banyan, tamarind, and all the finest trees of the East are found here, together with a great number of others peculiar to this locality; and the richness of the virgin soil, and

refreshing rains that fall during the whole year, combine to heighten the natural tints and verdure of the forest to a wonderful degree. Now and then an oasis is gained where the various trees are more sparingly scattered, and through the midst of which, a stream of exquisite transparency, from which ran a succession of beautiful waterfalls; sometimes widening into a miniature lake, and sometimes gently gliding in its tranquil course, between "velvet banks of emerald green," forming a picture of fairy-like enchantment; and in such spots as these we often spent the day, the greater part of it in the stream itself, in company with a numerous suite of native *ladies and gentlemen*, who had assisted us in transporting our provisions from Appia, cooking them in native ovens, and foraging for fruits and vegetables. Dancing on the velvet turf, and performing aquatic gymnastics, at which they were wonderful proficient, being in fact perfectly amphibious, were their chief amusements.

This description of scenery is, however, supposed to be confined to within a few miles of the coast. Further inwards, a rugged ascent leads

towards the summit of the mountains, clothed with a thick and impenetrable forest. The inhabitants appear to know nothing of the central parts of their island, but have merely vague stories and legends connected with it. Amongst others was that of a large inland lake, containing a beautiful sort of fish, situated some fifteen miles from Appia, high up amongst the mountains, and which would well repay the trouble and toil of visiting. My American friends prevailed upon me to accompany them, and we set out on this expedition, accompanied by about a dozen islanders, some to carry provisions for several days, and blankets and tarpaulins for our nightly bivouacs, and others armed with hatchets to act as pioneers, or literally cut our way through the bush, which was the only means we had of penetrating the interior. After leaving the comparatively level ground within a few miles of the beach, the ascent was extremely difficult and fatiguing; we had very often to creep upon our hands and knees, making very slow progress; indeed, the first day we did not make above two miles of way at farthest, when being completely

fatigued, and having found a spring, we cleared a space, and commenced our culinary operations in native ovens as usual, which is a simple and excellent method of cooking, and where stones and fire are procurable can always be adopted. Sleep, however, was to me out of the question, as we were literally devoured by musquitoes, and the rain drenched us completely towards morning. Continuing our course upwards, the bush growing thicker and thicker, and not being able to see anything many yards before us, owing to the deep shade of the forest trees over our heads, and the density of the underwood below, I met with an adventure that might have proved serious. We each of us carried our guns, more with a view of shooting pigeons and wild fowl, than anything else, and had lost sight in some measure of the chance of meeting with wild hogs, which we were told abounded in the bush. I was a little in advance of my companions, having discovered a sort of track, by which I thought some way might be made without the continual exertions of our pioneers; when, upon attempting to squeeze myself through a verdant thicket,

completely enveloped with creepers and parasitical plants, a chorus of squeaking and grunting saluted my ears, and I was nearly prostrated by an immense mamma sow, with a numerous progeny of delicate little suckers, that rushed pass me. Before I had time to recover my nerves from this unexpected *rencontre*, I observed standing immediately in front of me, and in most dangerous proximity, one of the most formidable looking boars I had ever set eyes on. His tusks were long and sharp, and his fiery eyes betokened anything but pacific intentions. There was no time for hesitation; I had nothing but a charge of No. 4 in each barrel; if I turned my back, the enemy would probably charge me in the rear, and the only chance I had was that of blinding him, and then making a precipitate retreat, or climbing a tree. Acting immediately on this impulse, I cocked both barrels, took steady aim at him between the eyes, as he stood grunting angrily, and evidently about to make a charge, about ten paces from me in the centre of the thicket, and through an opening where I had a good view of him pulled both triggers at

once; I did not wait for the rush of the animal, but springing on one side, caught hold of the pendant branches of a tree close by, and soon managed to mount beyond the reach of my enemy; who I observed below, making the forest resound with his grunting, and running in a circular course through the bushes in the immediate vicinity.

The noise of the shots, etc., brought my companions to the spot, who being accustomed to this sport in the Sandwich Islands soon saw how matters stood. I had left my gun on the ground during my ascent of the tree, but they carried theirs slung behind their shoulders. They saw the boar was probably blinded by my shot; both rammed down a bullet over their charge of No. 4, and taking convenient positions behind trees in the area of his rotatory course, they very soon stopped his career with several balls behind the shoulder. He was an enormous brute, weighing in all probability above 300lbs., and was armed with tremendous tusks.

We now saw that the difficulty and fatigue of prosecuting our trip was so great, besides the

uncertainty of finding the lake after all, that we determined to return, which we did in long procession, the natives carrying the hog slung on a pole upon their shoulders.

Shortly after this, I made another and much more interesting tour to the southern part of the island of Upolu, and about thirty miles from Appia, for the purpose of visiting a son of Mr. Pritchard's, who had a cottage on the coast, and a vessel (a cutter of about twenty tons) in which he traded through the different islands for coconut oil, and also to attend a war party that was encamped not far from his residence, previous to commencing hostilities with a neighbouring tribe in the island of Savaii. One of the most important chiefs of this party was a friend of his, and in stature and imposing appearance, one of the finest of this very fine race of men. I made the voyage from Appia, in company with my two American friends, in a whale boat belonging to the negro proprietor of the hotel I before-mentioned, and who, having married a native woman of some rank, was himself considered a chief. This boat contained a party of upwards

of thirty individuals. The proprietor was at the helm, my two friends, several native ladies, wives or connexions of warriors at the camp, and myself in immediate contiguity with him, and the rest was composed of a crew of vigorous islanders (two men to each oar), who propelled the boat with prodigious speed through the water, chaunting in time, to the strokes of their oars, some of the ancient romances of their country, in praise of warriors and heroes, the key-note being always given to them by the helmsman, who although originally a West Indian, was a very clever fellow, and initiated into all the *literature* of the island. Our course was inside the coral reef that surrounds the coast, leaving a clear space of from one to two miles between it and the beach of calm and beautifully transparent water.

We passed several large villages, the first about twelve miles from Appia, where two missionaries resided, and a printing press for printing the Scriptures and other religious publications into the Samoan language was in full operation. Nothing could be more picturesque

and comfortable in appearance than the dwellings of these gentlemen ; indeed, the position of a missionary in most of the South Sea Islands now (climate excepted) is a very agreeable one, and presents a well-deserved contrast to their original sufferings and privations.

Towards evening we arrived at the residence of Mr. William Pritchard, where my friends and I disembarked, Black Bill (as he was termed) and the rest of the party going on to the war camp. We were most hospitably entertained by our host with all the island delicacies, such as sucking pig, turkey, and fish of various kinds, dressed in the native oven ; to which we added some bottles of ale and porter, and a small modicum of eau de vie.

The chief, Bullimacow, whose wigwam was close by, joined us after dinner, and partook of a cigar and a little *cold without* with infinite gusto. Pritchard spoke the language well, and interpreted some very curious questions asked by him relative to Great Britain and the Colonies ; during the evening he invited us to his habitation, where, in company with two ladies, he rehearsed

a war dance that was to be executed at the camp the following day. The performers, naked to the waist, wore coronets and armlets, composed of the extreme portion of the nautilus shell, polished to the highest pitch of brilliancy, and having all the appearance of gigantic pearls. Around the waist and descending to the knees a large mat was gracefully folded, manufactured of island grasses, and almost equal in fineness and ductility of texture to a piece of linen. These mats are made at an infinite expense of time and labour, sometimes occupying whole years in the fabrication of one alone. They form the chief riches of the inhabitants, are always precious heirlooms, and carefully preserved in families, and are prized for their antiquity much more than their novelty. A stranger wishing to purchase one of these would have to pay a very exorbitant price. The usual dowry of a young girl when given in marriage is a certain number of these mats. During the continuance of the dance, which consists chiefly of slow and quick movements of the whole body, but particularly the arms, expressive of different

passions, this mat is frequently changed for one of another description, exactly resembling the hide of a Polar bear, but made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, dyed to a snowy whiteness, and contrasts very beautifully with their dark skins ; indeed, notwithstanding the primitive nature of their costume, there is something exceedingly graceful in their appearance and performance. The tall noble-looking chief with his white apron and nautilus crown was, I think, the most striking object I ever beheld.

The following morning I quitted my hammock at day-break, and after a delicious bathe in a spring, we started in pursuit of pigeons and wild fowl, and made a good bag by breakfast time. The pigeons were so fat, that some of them literally burst on falling on the ground from a high tree ; and the ducks were very large and well-flavoured. After breakfast we embarked in Mr. Pritchard's cutter, and sailed for the extreme southern point of the island, where the war camp was situated. A few hours brought us to our destination, and upon landing on a shelving beach, we soon gained a large opening

that had been cleared in the forest, where a great number of cane and bamboo huts, thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, had been recently erected. Many warriors, elaborately tattooed chiefly about the loins and thighs, were parading about with their muskets. The whole place was bestrewed with tokens of the former night's festivities, and the greater part of the inhabitants were reposing from the fatigues of pleasure rather than war. Our friend the chief conducted us to his residence, one of the most spacious, and where a number of his male and female connexions were stretched upon their mats and wooden pillows; and after accepting his hospitable invitation to *dine and sleep*, we strolled into the forest with our guns, for the joint purpose of exploring the country and procuring some game.

Upon our return the camp was all alive with stirring sounds and sights. The women were superintending the ovens with their contents of fish, flesh, and fowl, yams, taroo, and bread-fruit; others were manufacturing cava, in the manner I have formerly described, and parties of young girls were adorning fine mats with various co-

loured feathers. Some of the men were sitting in groups and chanting war songs, and others employed in spearing fish and the more laborious occupations of the camp. We were received with great cordiality, and presently took our seats on mats in our appointed residence, where the contents of the ovens were spread before us in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, with other fresh leaves to serve as plates, and the halves of the nuts for drinking glasses; and, having brought our own condiments, such as salt and pepper, with us, we made an excellent meal. Upwards of 2,000 persons were assembled on this occasion; and, alas! in direct opposition to the persuasions of the missionaries, many of them had undergone a severe contest between their religious feelings and their native customs and prejudices before adopting this course; but the fear of losing *caste*, and being considered cowards by their countrymen, was generally too strong to be resisted. On the approach of night, great preparations were made for the dance, which was to be performed on a very grand scale. About one hundred indi-

viduals, male and female, figured on this occasion, adorned with the choicest specimens of Samoan finery. The music was a kind of wooden drum beat by the fingers of children, and accompanied by their voices. The slow and rather graceful movements in the early part of the performance soon changed to more rapid and complicated ones; and the last act of the ballet, under the influence of cava and excitement, was of rather a more voluptuous nature than the strict rules of modesty and propriety could warrant. One party of dancers made way for another, and so on in succession, until the night was far advanced; when, having seen as much as we desired of the camp and its concomitants, and not exactly relishing the idea of laying our heads on wooden pillows in the midst of Bullimacow and his numerous suite, we persuaded Black Bill to man his whale boat, and, by the light of a glorious moon, and fanned by the soft breezes of a tropical night, started on our return to Appia. We breakfasted, and allowed our crew two hours' rest, at a village about half way to our destination, and on the following

morning, about ten o'clock, found ourselves under the lea of the little schooner "Ariel," in the harbour of Appia.

Several boats were pulling around her, and it was evident something of interest was going on. On a nearer inspection we found that they had hooked an enormous shark, of dimensions far too large to allow any chance of hauling it on board, and were endeavouring to slip hawsers around its body, so as to be able to tow it on shore. This, in spite of its terrific struggles, was at length effected; and when dragged upon the beach, never did I behold such a monster of the deep. Its length was twenty-three feet, and the jaws expanded were two feet in breadth, with treble and quadruple rows of fangs, that would have made mince-meat of a bullock. The natives are extremely fond of the flesh of the shark; and upon Mr. Williams making them a present of it, in a very few minutes the whole of the gigantic carcase was dissected into small portions, and disappeared in the ovens.

During my absence a brig, belonging to Messrs. Montefiore and Co., of Sydney, had ar-

rived from Otaheite, *en route* to the former place, and as I found that Mr. Williams would probably be detained for some time longer at Appia and the adjacent islands, before he could complete his cargo of cocoa-nut oil, I determined, if possible, to take my passage by her. The captain, who was a very agreeable and intelligent man, informed me that he had just quitted the Penrhyn Islands, where he had been for about a fortnight, employing the natives in diving for the mother-o'-pearl oyster, which abounds on the reefs in that locality, and has become rather an important article in the home commerce. His vessel was laden with shell and cocoa-nut oil. He had some idea of touching at Wallis's Island on the homeward passage, but had not quite made up his mind. The accommodation on board was far superior to that of the "Ariel," and I secured my passage to Sydney with him for the sum of £30.

The interval of a few days that I had to remain on this beautiful island (although its charms were much deteriorated by the oppressive heat), were spent in revisiting those most

easily attainable and picturesque spots I had already explored, and satiating my vision with the extraordinary richness and variety of the foliage. Several American whalers were at anchor in the harbour for the purpose of procuring provisions, and I took the opportunity of visiting them, and was not only most kindly treated by the captains, but instructed in all the mysteries of the oil trade; from the capture of "Behemoth" to his ultimate metamorphosis into the contents of a penny lamp. The most valuable of his species, the sperm whale, from various causes, either real or imaginary, has become much more scarce of late years than formerly; still the Americans, who now almost monopolize the whaling trade, and whose principal port for fitting out these vessels is New Bedford, make large fortunes in this pursuit; and a more enterprising hardy set of men than both officers and crew are composed of, it is impossible to meet. Receiving no pay, and all having a joint interest in the success of the cruise, which lasts, sometimes, for three or four years, and amidst every variety of climate and danger, they are stimulated to the highest

pitch of energy and exertion. No grog is allowed on board, and most of the captains I met with were teetotallers.

I shall conclude my description of the Navigator Islands by a brief historical summary. They were discovered by the French in 1637. In 1788 the celebrated La Perouse, together with eleven of his companions, were killed by the natives on one of these islands; and sailors of all nations were afraid of landing, as they dreaded the treachery and ferocity of the inhabitants.

The famous missionary, Williams (the father of my friend), visited this group in 1830. He did not, at first, believe that the inhabitants were cannibals, but subsequent disclosures attested the horrible fact. They were a very warlike and sanguinary people, and spared neither villages, age, or sex, in their continual combats. When Williams first set foot upon the shore, columns of smoke in the distance announced the commencement of a new war. This was occasioned by the assassination of a dreadful tyrant, named *Tamafainga*, by the Parti Molo (or the victorious

people), who dwelt chiefly at Manono and Upolu. This war, which was carried on with the most barbarous cruelty, continued long after the arrival of the missionaries.

For a long time Williams, who had been actively and successfully exerting himself as a missionary in many of the South Sea Islands, had felt an irresistible desire to preach the Gospel to the Samoans, but his wife, who dreaded the dangers he would encounter, sought to turn aside this resolution. A change, however, came over her mind, and, so far from preventing, she encouraged him to undertake the enterprize.

Williams was at this time inhabiting the Island of Rajatea, one of the Hervey group, which he had entirely converted to Christianity; and with the very indifferent help he was able to obtain from the natives, he constructed a vessel sixty feet long and eighteen width of beam, which, after a few trials, he navigated to the Island of Savaii, accompanied by another missionary, named Barff, and eight native converts. He called his vessel "The Messenger of Peace." Amongst the native crew was a Samoese, named

Fawea, who earnestly desired the conversion of his compatriots. Upon coming within sight of Savaii, he became very sad and disconsolate, and upon being asked the cause, he remarked how much he feared the influence of *Tamafainga*, even if all the other chiefs consented to receive the new arrivals. It is believed, added *Fawea*, that he is possessed with the spirit of the gods, and one word of his can destroy all our hopes. They were soon surrounded by canoes; and *Fawea*, when amongst his countrymen, asked in a trembling voice, "What news of *Tamafainga*?" "He is dead," they answered at once, with evident joy, "we killed him ten days ago!" upon which *Fawea*, throwing himself at Williams's feet, exclaimed, "The devil is dead, the devil is dead!" "What is your meaning?" replied Williams. "Yes," said *Fawea*, "the only obstacle in our way is removed, *Tamafainga* is no more!" Upon which they cast anchor, and went on shore.

Fawea declared their wishes and intentions to his countrymen, and they immediately dispatched a messenger to Upolu for their great

chief Malietoa, who sanctioned the wishes of the missionaries, and was glad to see his people desired to be instructed. Still he had taken up arms that very day, and would not yet decide upon peace ; but promised that on the termination of this war, he would hang up the sword for ever as far as he was concerned. Williams left his eight teachers at Savaii and Manono, and promised to bring others the following year.

It was not until two years had elapsed, that he was able to realize this promise, and to observe the success that had attended the efforts of his original followers. He first landed at Manono, where a canoe came out to meet him filled with natives, who exclaimed, " We are the children of the word ; we expect a vessel of religion, that will bring us preachers of the gospel of Christ. Is yours the ship we have been awaiting ?"

At Tutuella, the shores were covered with islanders, so much so, that when Williams approached he was seized with fear, and ordered the sailors to hold on their oars ; but a native, who had already announced that in this district

there were upwards of fifty Christians, jumped into the water, and holding on to the boat, exclaimed, "Son! will you not land, and visit us?"

"I know not," replied Williams, "whether I dare trust myself amongst you, for I have heard that you are a very savage people."

"We are no longer savages, we are Christians!"

"Ye! Christians? who can have instructed you in Christianity?"

"A great white chief, named Williams, arrived at Savaii two years since, and left behind him some teachers of religion. Several amongst ourselves, who were then on that island, told the news to our countrymen on our return, and we became also children of the word. Behold! they are all assembled on the beach."

When Williams made himself known, they rushed into the sea and drew his boat to shore; and upon his arrival, pointed out a cane edifice amongst the bushes, to which they gave the name of a church.

"Who performs divine service?" asked Williams.

“ I.”

“ But who instructed you ?”

“ Do you observe that canoe near your own ? It belongs to me. Every week I make the voyage to Savaii, where I receive instruction from the teachers ; after which I return, and on Sunday communicate these instructions to my countrymen. Thus when I am empty, I return to Savaii and seek for more knowledge. But where is the teacher you promised ?”

When the islanders learnt that there was no teacher for Tutuela, they began to weep, and Williams had great difficulty in calming them. The scene which I have just traced took place in the same bay where the unfortunate La Perouse and his companions were massacred by the savages in 1788. Everywhere Williams experienced the same desire expressed for teachers. At Manono nearly the whole population was converted, and upon this island was built a chapel capable of containing seven hundred people, and which was filled every Sunday.

Christianity was spread over upwards of thirty villages in the adjoining islands; and at length a

general assembly was held at Manono, at which the old chief Malietoa exclaimed, on turning towards his people, "Are we all of one accord? Shall we then become Christians?" And turning towards Williams, said, "Return as quickly as possible, and bring hither your wife, and all that belongs to you, to live and die with us, and teach us to worship God, and serve Jesus Christ."

Soon after this Williams returned to England, where he excited so much general enthusiasm in favour of the South Sea missions, that he succeeded in obtaining six missionaries for the Navigator Islands. For this purpose a large vessel called the "Campden" was purchased, equipped, and destined exclusively to the service of the South Sea missions. This vessel returned to London in 1842, in a very damaged condition, after having been employed five years in this service.

By means of abundant subscriptions, another vessel was bought, and fitted out for sea, under the name of the "John Williams," and arrived at Hobart Town October, 1844.

It was in 1836 that Williams first introduced

the missionaries into the Samoan Islands, and before installing them in their office, demanded, as a condition of their remaining, that the wars should be terminated, and the quarrels made up. Malietoa consented to this, and permitted his enemies, then in exile, to return.

In a short time some extraordinary changes were operated in the country; most of the islanders were baptized, and amongst them individuals previously remarkable for the most atrocious crimes. Williams with his family inhabited these islands for some years, until he was killed in November, 1839, in a fatal expedition to the New Hebrides, at the island of Erromanga. The last letter which he wrote, four days before his death, breathed a presentiment of his approaching end. At length the whole of the inhabitants of the Navigator group became nominally Christians.

Mr. Williams (my fellow voyager) had spent upwards of ten years at Upolu in a mercantile capacity, and had at one time acted as American Consul, as it was always a great resort for American whaling vessels.

The foregoing brief sketches I have collected from the best local sources, and have no doubt of their entire authenticity. The respect and reverence for the name of Williams is still as great as ever amongst the inhabitants; and their attachment to the son would ensure him almost a monopoly of the little native commerce on the island, in the event of his again establishing himself there; but, as I before stated, their subsequent admixture with Europeans, and familiarity with the vices of civilization, has much changed the characters of the Samoans, particularly in those spots most under the influence of these external causes. They have become avaricious in the extreme. Toys and trinkets they are beginning to despise, and display a great desire to possess dollars. Indolent in the last degree, although their luxuriant soil would furnish them with any quantity of cocoa-nut oil, for the little they do manufacture they are beginning to demand an extravagant price, and to attempt to depreciate in value those articles which were formerly offered them in exchange, such as white and printed cottons, straw hats, cotton

umbrellas, muskets, etc. They observe the same conduct in regard to the price of provisions furnished to resident white men, Europeans, and vessels in port. These formerly were cheap and plentiful, but now they are dear and scarce; and as the latter class are entirely dependent on the natives for their supplies, it becomes a very serious matter. There is literally no government of any kind, and a total absence of executive law.

These islands are well worth the notice and attention of the British Government, both from their geographical position and extraordinary fertility. Every tropical production of the globe might be cultivated here with success; and situated as they are, within a fortnight's sail (or less by a steam boat) from the coast of New South Wales, what a market might be obtained for their produce in that vast empire, which our Australian Colonies are speedily becoming!

The great difficulty, or rather primary impediment, is the permission to occupy land from the natives, which they are very jealous of granting, although, as I before stated, thousands of acres,

in fact the whole interior, of these splendid islands are completely uncleared, and only demand common working labour to render them the most productive in the world. I should imagine, however, that a little diplomacy by clever and able individuals would soon conquer this obstacle, and that has certainly been exercised by the Government on objects far less worthy of their consideration.

From what I could derive from my own observation, the present missionary influences are rather against than in favour of European settlers. The inhabitants, not nearly so numerous as formerly, as is the case with all the Polyynesians after their admixture with white men, (witness the melancholy state of the Society Islands,) although indolent in the extreme, from their increasing desire for acquisition, would eagerly listen to advantageous offers from a Government they have learnt to respect, although they might reject those of private individuals; and the vicinity of an imposing naval force would be quite sufficient for the protection of British interests.

The climate, although oppressively hot, is in

other respects very salubrious, and quite free from those fevers and epidemic diseases so common to the East and West Indies. Cholera has never been known here.

What I propose is, that an attempt should be made, either by the Government or an authorized company, to purchase large tracks of land, much in the same way as it has been done in New Zealand; and that this land should be resold in lots to settlers, and thus the finest territory (considering the dimensions) in the world might be made perhaps the most valuable and productive, instead of remaining, as at present, an uncultivated jungle.

The Island of Savaii is twice the size of Otaheite, and not inferior to it either in beauty or fertility. The Navigator group are situated between 10° and 15° south latitude, and 185° and 195° east longitude.

The time had now arrived for my departure from Appia, and I did not leave this beautiful island without some feeling of regret. It had long been one of my day-dreams, to visit the South Sea Islands; that dream had now been

realized, and although much of the magical delusion had been dispelled by reality, still enough remained to stamp the remembrance of it with an indelible charm upon my memory. I could have wished to extend my trip to the neighbouring islands of Savaii and Tutuella; but was anxious to return to my family at Sydney. The "Ariel" was absent in quest of cocoa-nut oil, and on the 11th of July, after taking leave of my kind friends of *both colours*, I embarked on board the brig "Louise and Miriam," 125 tons burden, commanded by Captain Milne, and laden with oil and shell from Tahiti and Penrhyn's Islands. We sailed with a fine trade breeze, and on the 13th made Wallis's Island, situated in south latitude $13^{\circ} 24'$, and west longitude $176^{\circ} 1'$, and about 78 leagues west of Savaii. This is not a single island, but a group of nine or ten small ones, surrounded by a coral reef. The land is high and well-wooded, and the inhabitants (similar in manners and appearance to those of the Friendly Islands) are numerous. Many Roman Catholic missionaries took refuge here when they were expelled from Tahiti, and

these islands are now the centre of Roman Catholic influence in Polynesia. A Roman Catholic bishop resides here. The Wesleyans have a small mission here also, but their efforts are sadly frustrated by the Catholics.

Our homeward course lay to the northward of the Fejee Islands, whereas I had made the outward voyage to the south of them. This large group of islands, one of which is upwards of 150 leagues in circumference, are inhabited by a race quite distinct from the Friendly and Navigator natives, and belong more to the Papuan tribes, who inhabit the Solomons, New Hebrides, and New Guinea. With strong indications of negro ferocity, they combine some of the worst habits which disgrace a savage population, especially the horrible vice of cannibalism. Of their origin very little is known, but the old men at Tongataboo assert, that their ancestors were accustomed to visit them before the present race arrived. The Wesleyan missionaries were permitted to form a station at some of the islands, under the protection of the local chief, who appeared willing that their peo-

ple should profit by the attainments of the white men. Some Fejee inhabitants who had been converted at Lcfuga, wished that the benefits of Christianity might be extended to their brethren, and in 1836 the Rev. W. Cross and David Cargill sailed thither from the Harpeian Islands, and on their arrival at *Lakemba*, were well received by the king. They were not ignorant of the character of the barbarians they had undertaken to civilize and enlighten; for one of the teachers resident in the neighbourhood had recently communicated to the public a fearful account of their cruel superstitions. Besides cannibalism, he mentioned a practice nowhere else noticed, of burying individuals alive, who are either tired of life, or no longer fit for it. Persons too old, or too ill to be of any farther service, are the usual victims, although it is sometimes done at the request of those who from religious motives are desirous to change this state of existence for a better. In this case no effort is made to dissuade the devotee from his purpose. The willing murderers dig a hole of sufficient size, in which they place him, the earth

is then cast upon him, and trodden down by the feet of his own relatives and friends.

A war having arisen between the men of *Pau* and *Chikia*, two of these islands, the latter, who were victorious, resolved to signalize their triumph by a great feast, and after the usual dancing, and indulging in cava, the chiefs gave orders to the cooks to bring forward the repast. Immediately they advanced two and two, each couple bearing on their shoulders a basket, in which was the body of a man barbacued like a pig. The bodies were placed before the monarch, who was seated at the head of his company. When these victims had been arranged on the ground in due order, roasted pigs were brought in like manner, and afterwards baskets of yams, on each of which was a baked fowl. These being regularly deposited, the number of dishes was counted and announced to the guests with a loud voice, when it appeared that two hundred human bodies, two hundred hogs, and two hundred baskets of yams formed the sum total. The provisions were then divided into various lots, all of which were severally dedicated to a par-

ticular god ; after which they were committed to the care of as many principal leaders, who shared them out to all their attendants, so that every man and woman became possessed of a portion of each article.

Capt. Wells related to me that during the time he was shipwrecked on these islands, and under the protection of a chief, a great scarcity prevailed, and cannibalism was more frequent than ever. On one occasion, he witnessed a violent quarrel between two men, near the dead body of a woman, which lay disembowelled at a short distance; and found that the two disputants had killed the woman (who was the wife of one of them) with a view of making a joint feast on the body. The quarrel took place for the possession of the liver, considered a great delicacy, the husband asserting his right to a priority of choice with great vehemence. It was to these islands that King George had gone on a war expedition from Tongataboo, at the time of our arrival there, with about three thousand men in fifty war canoes.

Small vessels carry on a brisk trade with the

natives for sandal wood, which grows there in great luxuriance; beche de la mer, or sea slug, which is procured on the coast and preserved in barrels; and sharks fins are also preserved. All these articles are disposed of in the China market. The first is used as incense in the pagados and Joss houses. The two latter are expensive and highly-prized delicacies for the table. It is not safe, however, to go on shore, except in parties, and well armed, as the natives are the most treacherous wretches in the world.

Mr. Calvert, a missionary, says that since the year 1848¹ their endeavours to reclaim this savage race from their horrible practices, and to convert them to Christianity, have been attended with some success; and that a knowledge of the language, a translation of the Scriptures, a printing-press, and schools, have aided their progress. The great extent of these islands, the fertility of the soil, and proximity to the coast of New Holland, all tend to render them of much importance to the British colonists; and although not equal in richness to the Navigators, yet several productions indigenous to the Fejees are not found in those islands.

Having passed these islands in a due westerly course, we steered more to the south, and in a direction between the southward point of New Caledonia and Norfolk Island. The former large and important island has now a French settlement formed upon it, which has not progressed very prosperously ; indeed, our Gallic neighbours, from some cause or another, are, it would appear, essentially bad colonists. The natives here also are nearly related to the Papuans, are stoutly made, with woolly hair, and very black skins, and are believed to be desperate cannibals. The Isle of Pines, which lies at the south extremity, has been the scene of some terrible murders committed by the natives upon the crews of British trading vessels.

A short distance to the north of New Caledonia, and forming one of the New Hebrides, is the island of Erromanga, where poor Williams the missionary met his death on the 20th of November, 1839. The circumstances attending this tragical event are too well known to need recapitulation. In 1840 the "Campden" sailed again for Erromanga ; and, finding the inhabitants on the opposite side of the island to that on

which Mr. Williams was killed tolerably well-disposed to receive them, they landed the missionary, Mr. Heath, and several native teachers. On visiting the island a second time, in 1841, they had a clearer insight into the dangers to which they were exposed. It was true that the missionaries left there the preceding year were still alive ; but they had only escaped by a miracle from the voracity of the cannibals. The natives resolutely opposed their departure, and attempted by every means in their power to obtain from the vessel on their coast some victims for their horrible feasts.

After their deliverance, they related that it was the custom of the country to kill and devour without mercy every person, young or old, male or female, they met with alone. When two parties came in contact with each other, they generally assumed a hostile attitude, and some deaths usually ensued. When a man and woman went to work in the forest, they were obliged to take their children, and all that belonged to them, with them, as those left behind were certain to be killed and eaten. The missionaries

witnessed with their own eyes members of the same family killing and devouring each other. They observed also the heads of some strangers stuck upon piles, who had been killed and eaten immediately upon their being shipwrecked on the island.

I mentioned the cruelty and voracity of the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines towards strangers. In 1842, a vessel called the "Star," from Sydney, cast anchor off the coast, and the captain and crew went on shore for the purpose of cutting wood. On a sign from a chief, the natives rushed upon them and destroyed them with their clubs, and then devoured them. After having finished their horrible repast, they proceeded to the vessel in the boat, murdered the remaining few who were on board, and ran her ashore on the coast.

We soon passed the latitude of Norfolk Island, now in the quiet possession of the peaceful and virtuous Pitcairn islanders, instead of being the abode of the most guilty and abandoned of criminals. We sighted Lord Howe's Island, and on the 12th of August, after a rather tedious

passage, found ourselves becalmed some twenty miles distance from Sydney Heads. We gradually drifted nearer; and, anxious to reach my *penates*, I took the ship's boat and two men, and rowed to Watson's Bay, where I joined the steamer for Sydney.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW ZEALAND.

I HAD certainly made a very curious and interesting voyage, but had done nothing towards my own interests. I found my wife had removed to my old dwelling on the north shore, which now, in the early spring months, was the most delicious climate in the world.

I now renewed my endeavours to obtain a Government appointment, but without success; and thus spent several months of indolent repose in this beautiful locality. I had some interest at home, and had written on the subject of an appointment in New Zealand, a country I had also a great temptation to visit. The colonies of New South Wales and Victoria were now



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AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.

London Richard Bentley, New Burlington St 1857

placed upon a very different political footing to what they were on my arrival, having each obtained constitutions of their own. Most of the members of the representative houses had their own friends to provide for. In anticipation therefore of receiving a favourable answer from England, I determined to proceed to New Zealand, and took my passage for Auckland by the "William Denny" steamboat, in the beginning of December, 1855.

A smooth and prosperous voyage, of ten days' duration, brought us to anchor in the port, and before the town of Auckland, a distance of 1200 miles from Sydney. I was much disappointed with the aspect of this place. The dry and arid colour of the soil, and nearly total absence of trees near the town, give it a harsh and repulsive appearance. The place, however, was encreasing in size and importance. The principal street is built on a steep ascent, which is crowned by the Government offices, and commodious and fortified barracks. Many private residences are surrounded by extremely pretty gardens, where European fruits and flowers flourish in great

luxuriance. The new Governor, Colonel Gore Brown, was absent on a tour of inspection at Nelson and Wellington at the time of my arrival, as also the celebrated Bishop Selwyn. Many natives, *Maoris*, were lounging about the shops, squatting down in parties on the sides of the street, and, indeed, making themselves perfectly at home. They were of a very different appearance and character to their brethren of Northern Polynesia.

The natives are of the Malay type, but of a far finer race, of vigorous and athletic forms, and naturally of a noble disposition. Even in their most savage state, they soon learnt to appreciate European commerce, arts, and agriculture; and at the beginning of this century commercial relations existed between them and New Guinea. Nevertheless it was impossible to imagine the human race fallen to a deeper state of degradation than was the case with these people, even so late as 1830. An eye-witness speaks of them about that date in the following manner:—

“A New Zealander considers ferocity and the love of war as the greatest of all human virtues.

He administers a sort of baptism to his children, and during the ceremony forces small stones down the throats of these tender creatures, with the idea of hardening their hearts, and rendering them inaccessible to pity. From their earliest infancy they are encouraged to hatred, vengeance, and the most cruel acts. He alone who excels in these, is considered a great man by them. It is impossible to describe the headlong ferocity of their tempers. The smallest offence creates an ardent desire for vengeance, which blood alone can satisfy. When a native has fallen a victim to the fury of his rival, his death is like a consuming flame, which attaches itself with the rapidity of lightning to families and whole populations, who never lay by their arms until the death of the last of their tribe. For weeks together they traverse the country breathing nothing but death and carnage. Hundreds are often attacked, slain, and devoured, one after the other, by these furious cannibals. All these atrocious scenes are accompanied by others, the recital of which would make the hair stand on end. In time of peace they bring up the chil-

dren, slaves, and other individuals they can get into their power, for the express purpose of roasting and eating them. This cannibalism is the fruit of their superstitions. They represent their god, named 'Atua,' as an invisible cannibal who takes pleasure in the torments of men, and who can only be driven away by hate and abuse. If any one is sick, they say, 'Atua is devouring his body;' and utter horrible imprecations against Atua to make him quit his victim; but with all this the proud New Zealander never stooped to adore an image of stone, and no idols have been found in the country. Their religious ceremonies are almost entirely confined to the observation of the 'Taboo.' They have a remarkable talent for tattooing the body, and particularly the face, with circular lines, which gives the countenance a horrible appearance."

Such was the state of New Zealand a few years ago; but what a change has been operated by even comparative civilization!

It is true, as is the case with all the inhabitants of Polynesia, when intermixed with white men, that they have vastly diminished in num-

bers during late years ; and should the diminution continue in the same manner, they must, in process of time, disappear altogether ; still those that remain unite, with much of their ancient ferocity and prejudices, many of the most striking features of a civilized people. Since 1839, when New Zealand became a British Colony, and the native chiefs of forty-six tribes abandoned their right of sovereignty to the British Crown, the establishment of schools, the influence of Christianity, and the example of the colonists, have united to render the New Zealander a clever and active producer, and a quick and intelligent commercial calculator. With these improvements also has arrived a consciousness of what they consider the injustice they have been treated with in the purchase of lands, their own share of civil rights, and many other points on which they are beginning to be extremely sensitive ; and although the old natives are aware of their own inability to occupy those prominent positions in Church and State that they see their white brethren in possession of, yet they claim these privileges for their descendants,

who shall receive the benefit of education. They are a very proud race, and although glad to dispose of the produce of their own labour, and that at exorbitant prices, can rarely be induced to work for others at all, or except for wages equal to, or even beyond, those given to Europeans. The introduction of the potatoe into this country has been a wonderful source both of profit and convenience to the inhabitants. It forms their chief article of food and commerce, and is of a remarkably fine quality.

At the period of my arrival at Auckland matters did not wear nearly so prosperous an appearance as I had been led to expect from the descriptions I had received of this country. The favourite theory, that New Zealand was to become one of the chief granaries of Australia, was fast dissolving, and the encreasing cultivation of all kinds in the Shoalhaven and Illawarra districts in New South Wales, had very much diminished the price of the staple article—potatoes, which were now selling at Auckland for £5 the ton, whereas the previous year they were worth £15 for the Melbourne and Sydney

markets. Commerce of all kinds was dull. Land-jobbing had always been, and was still, the chief occupation of the monied inhabitants, and the agricultural emigrant, with a small capital, either from Europe or the diggings, who had arrived here, tempted by the delusive vision of buying Government lands at ten shillings per acre, discovered too late that such lands lay either in the heart of some uncleared forest or distant waste: even if he were sufficiently fortunate to stir up the impracticable officials attached to this department, to put him in the way of becoming a purchaser; but that for any allotments within easy distance of a market, or approachable by roads, he would in all probability have to give as many pounds.

The climate is magnificent, the only drawback being the frequency of high winds. The extremes of heat and cold are unknown, and there is, perhaps, less daily variation in the temperature than in any other country; and it is supposed to be the most favourable to longevity.

After a stay of several days I made a trip of twenty-five miles into the interior, as far as Cole's

Inn, where the forest country commences, being most anxious to witness the splendid woodland scenery of New Zealand. The first part of the road, which for about ten miles is well-made, and passes through cultivated farms, presents a succession of a rich variety of undulations, terraces, hills, and broken surfaces. The herbage is green and luxuriant all the year round. The marshy parts of the country are covered with the *phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax. Upon leaving the pasture and arable lands the whole surface of the country is covered with fern of such a size and quality, that it cannot be penetrated without the risk of losing oneself, or certainly of having your clothes torn to pieces. Passing several rivers and small streams, which are abundant, we arrived at length at the little tavern designated Cole's Inn, and is situated on an arm of the sea, and on the borders of a forest. Here we found rather poor accommodation, and plenty of musquitoes, so that having no temptation to detain us in our beds, at sun-rise on the following morning, after a plunge in a neighbouring stream, I took my gun on my shoulder, and,

together with a gentleman who had accompanied me from Auckland, bent my way to the forest.

Nature seems to have exhausted her wonderful powers in forming a New Zealand forest with trees of immense variety and of gigantic size, covered with blossom and foliage of every hue; but so matted with creepers that a man cannot move in them except on foot, and must often leap from root to root to avoid swamps and chasms. "So thick are the creepers and supple-jacks," says Mr. Brees, a surveyor, "that I have often been bound up by them like the lion in the net, and compelled to call out to my men to come and cut me out with their bill-hooks. There are many mossy dells filled with leaves and branches of trees. I remember to have once slipped in making my way down a gully filled with trunks and branches, and I am certain I sunk through thirty or forty feet of vegetable matter, which might have been collecting, for what I know, ever since the deluge. All this is very romantic and enchanting, but how does it suit a farmer? Then the beautiful and meandering streams are constantly in the way, sometimes

overflowing the banks and reducing all the level land to the condition of swamps, covered with the most inveterate flax, the edges of which are almost as sharp as a razor. Sometimes the stream is dammed up by blocks of trap rock, which refuse to wear away, and the consequence is, a basin deep enough to float a seventy-four gun ship, which it is necessary to pass round." In fact, few parts of the country can be traversed except by the tracks of the natives. No animals are indigenous to the country except the mouse and the bat. There are very few varieties of birds. Wild-fowl are very abundant, and there are no reptiles. Altogether New Zealand appears to be in so juvenile a state, that a great naturalist, who has penetrated far into the interior, says we have attempted to colonize it a thousand years before its time.

All these obstacles to penetrating the hidden recesses of the woods we found practically illustrated, and therefore contented ourselves with visiting their most practicable outskirts, and shooting a few of the large species of pigeon I before mentioned having met with in the South

Sea Islands. We saw great numbers of them, but could not follow them far into the forest. We came across a small native encampment, where the women were cooking potatoes and some large eels, caught in a neighbouring stream, which they offered a share of to us. An old native was very desirous of purchasing my gun. They are excessively fond of firearms, and generally very good shots; but no European is allowed to dispose of any description of firearms to a native under a very heavy penalty. The same prohibition is extended to ammunition of all kinds.

Nevertheless there are few of the inhabitants that do not possess a gun or a musket; and large stores of gunpowder are said to be in their possession, that they have procured from American whaling vessels, or by other means. I lent my gun to a native, upon his promising to bring me some pigeons in a few minutes. He vanished in the depths of the forest, and shortly afterwards I heard a double discharge, and my black friend emerged from the shade with two fine pigeons in his hand. Evening was now closing

in upon us, and we retraced our steps to our inn and our dinners, the materials of which we carried with us in the shape of delicious pigeons and eels purchased from the natives.

On the following morning we returned to Auckland by the same route we had before taken. The general character of the country is volcanic, with a comparatively poor soil, and great profusion of ferns, yet it excels most other districts of New Zealand in openness to both the farmer and the traveller, and in facilities for internal communication.

A circumstance had occurred since our departure, that caused some disturbance and unpleasant feeling in and about the town. A short time previous to my arrival a European (it was not distinctly known whether he was an Englishman or an American) had been convicted and condemned to death for the murder of a Maori woman. This murder was committed on the person of an old woman, under no apparently exciting causes, and was generally attributed to madness or drunkenness on the part of the murderer. The Governor being absent at the period

of the conviction, and as the man could not be executed without the official warrant being signed, it was necessary to detain him in prison until his Excellency's arrival, or that communication could be made with him; a very difficult matter at that period, there being only one steamboat on the coast, in which the Governor and his suite had gone to Wellington and Nelson.

As several Maoris had been hanged at different times at Auckland for the murder of Europeans, and the New Zealander regards the *lex talionis* as the most sacred of obligations, they could not account for this delay in the execution of the sentence, and considered that it was the intention of the Government to let the man escape.

The tribe to which the murdered woman belonged, together with several others, assembled in great force near the town of Auckland, and the chiefs had several interviews with the acting Governor, in which, upon the matter being explained to them, they undertook to keep their followers quiet until the arrival of the Governor, but would not return to their *Pahs* until they

had witnessed the execution of the criminal. This subsequently took place under circumstances of extreme cruelty, the unfortunate victim having been tortured for nearly half-an-hour owing to the clumsiness of the executioner, and to the great delight of the Maoris.

The New Zealanders have a striking eagerness to visit foreign countries, and to see with their own eyes whatever might gratify curiosity or prove subservient to usefulness. They make excellent sailors, particularly whalers. They are fond of dressing like Europeans, and endeavour to imitate them in everything. Many of them speak English well, and are fond of everything in daily use with us, such as tea, sugar, coffee, and other household luxuries. A race is fast springing up, the children of Maori women and European fathers; some of the females are singularly handsome, and the males with personal beauty combine great intelligence.

A little better government, less monopoly, and greater facility for the sale of Government lands, will tend much to the amelioration of the condition of this fine colony, which certainly holds

out hopes and expectations to the agricultural emigrant that ought not to be disappointed.

Many of the natives possess vessels from twenty to one hundred and twenty tons burden, which they navigate themselves, and trade on the coast, and even as far as the neighbouring colonies. Some of them invest considerable sums in the Union Bank, and it is astonishing with what quickness of perception they can unravel a rather complicated calculation. No people in the world possess more bravery and undaunted courage. This we have very often proved to our cost, and in personal conflict with a European the New Zealander is generally the superior. Although greatly diminished in numbers, sufficient remain to make them a very formidable people in case of any sudden outbreak, caused by real or imaginary wrongs inflicted on them by the Government; and as a great quantity of dwellings and homesteads lie scattered and isolated about the country, much destruction both of life and property might ensue before any military force could be brought to bear upon them, and which indeed, in its present state, is

barely sufficient for the protection of the colony. An eminent writer on New Zealand statistics thus sums up his opinion on this head :—

“The administration of Captain Grey placed the local Government upon a more secure and organized basis, and soothed for a time the murmuring spirits of the colonists, who no longer annoyed the British Parliament with their petitions. His policy towards the interests of the New Zealand Company was likewise favourable. It was confidently supposed by them and the Southern settlers, that he was using all his endeavours to remove the seat of Government to Wellington, which of course raised the ire of the Northern colonists, who saw the injury they must sustain by the withdrawal of so much Government expenditure. But any expression of their sentiments on this subject which was conveyed to him, he answered with disdain. He assumed the tone of a dictator more than of a responsible British governor, passing bills through his packed council with unseemly rapidity. He could not mend the constitution of New Zealand so successfully as he had mended

that of South Australia. Here was a proud and powerful race of aboriginal proprietors on one hand, with the Government and New Zealand Company acting as middle men; and on the other, the broken-down, dissipated, and duped settlers, who had parted with their money without securing an equivalent in land. It was in vain that the Governor passed new acts, renewed and annulled ordinances, cajoled and threatened by turns; it was all to no purpose; 'there was something rotten in the state of Denmark!' Three readings in one day without any previous notice, and next day's Government Gazette announced that the proposed measure was a law of the land; so that the inhabitants of Auckland and the surrounding district in the year 1848 expected every day to see the announcement issued that the head quarters of the Government would be removed on the morrow to the South. If there was any truth in this surmise, the probability of carrying it into effect was suddenly thwarted in the November of that year by the earthquake at Wellington. The Governor had just time to dub himself Sir George Grey, when he

hurried off to the scene of destruction. All was consternation and distress there. Many of the affrighted settlers had picked up what articles they could conveniently carry, and got on board the few vessels in the harbour, to take their departure for the shores of Australia. To add to the misfortunes of one shipload of these refugees, they were wrecked in the harbour before the vessel could get clear of the heads. No lives were lost, but the poor creatures were left penniless.

“ Meanwhile the colonial minister, in conjunction with the local Government, had organized a protective force on an economical scale in lieu of the regular troops, whose maintenance in New Zealand was more than double what it would have been in the Australian Colonies. A body of military pensioners, bearing the name of the New Zealand Fencibles, was formed. They were located in three separate divisions, within six and nine miles of Auckland, to be ready at all times to perform any military duty in defence of the colony. Hitherto they have not been employed on active service. We hope the day is far distant, when the settlers shall have to place

their lives and properties under the protection of that infirm and unsteady corps, against the assaults of young and able-bodied warriors, such as are to be found amongst their antagonists. The result of these measures has been the withdrawal of two regiments of infantry, a company of artillery, and a large commissariat staff from the colony. The expenditure of these troops during seven years was the mainstay of the northern settlements.

“This fact coupled with a decreasing revenue has already crippled the Government, who are continuing to issue debentures for local disbursement, and should they fail to realize the means of redeeming them, we see nothing but bankruptcy staring the colony in the face. These remarks, however, do not apply to the settlements of Otago and Canterbury.”

Such was the state of things a few years ago in Auckland, and there is no great difference at the present time. The gold discoveries in the sister colonies have considerably drained it of its population. Gold has also been found in New Zealand, but in very unfavourable localities,

and not in sufficient quantity to attract much attention ; the districts also in which it was discovered belonged exclusively to the natives, and had not been sold to the Government, and they placed every obstacle in the way of gold-seekers.*

At present two regiments of infantry are stationed in New Zealand,—one at Auckland, and its northern dependencies, and the other at Wellington, and some detached places to the south. The latter place suffered again from an earthquake in 1855, when nearly all the buildings of brick and stone were either demolished, or severely injured, and a vast quantity of property destroyed ; only one white man's life, however, was lost during this awful visitation. The frequent recurrence of earthquakes in this locality must always be a very serious impediment to its progress.

Canterbury, since the price of land has been reduced, appears to be far the most flourishing settlement. The soil is excellent, and well watered. There is little or no forest, scarcely

* Since writing the above, gold has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Nelson.

any native tribes in the vicinity, and the settlers are a most industrious and enterprising set of people, and within the last few years have laid the foundation of great success and prosperity.

In the beginning of 1856, the melancholy news reached me of the death of a friend, from whose interest I expected much, and which destroyed all my hopes of an appointment in this country. About the same period also, intelligence was received of the demise of Sir Charles Hotham, whose nervous irritability of temper could not withstand the opposition his Government underwent, particularly after the proclamation of the new constitution, and it is said, brought on the attack that was fatal to him. Be that as it may, he was carried off very suddenly, and General Mc Arthur, the senior military officer in the colony, became acting Governor until a fresh appointment was made by the Home Government.

About this period a large vessel arrived at Auckland, direct from London, with emigrants and passengers for New Zealand. Her captain intended, after landing his goods and passengers, to proceed on ballast to Shanghai in China, and

there take in a cargo of tea and silks for England. I was offered a passage by this circuitous route, for the same amount of money nearly that it would have cost me to have returned direct from Sydney, and having no settled object in view, and plenty of time on my hands, I considered this an excellent opportunity of visiting the celestial empire, where perhaps fortune might smile upon me more favourably than she had done lately. I therefore engaged for our passage to England, with the understanding that I might leave the ship, if so disposed, in China, upon paying a certain sum for our conveyance to that country, and we made every preparation for our departure.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHINA.

WE finally sailed from the Port of Auckland on the 6th of February, 1856. The first three weeks of our voyage were marked by nothing remarkable. A continuation of favourable winds and charming weather rendered our approach to the equator speedy and agreeable; but once arrived in that "sunny clime," a very different state of things awaited us. Light breezes (generally contrary), and calms of long continuance, detained us nearly a month within a few degrees north and south of the line, during which time the heat was frightfully oppressive, and the rays of the sun penetrating through the awning, and absolutely blistering the decks, left us no alter-

native but to descend to our cabins, and attempt to cool ourselves by some ingenious attempts at ventilation, the fabrication of various refreshing potations, and other equally inefficient remedies ; the reaction indeed of which only rendered our sufferings the more distressing, until the welcome shades of evening brought "healing and succour on their wings."

We were relieved in rather a violent manner from this tropical repose by a hurricane that carried away our maintop-sail-yard, main-sail, and jib, and ended in a stiff trade breeze, which hurried us on our way towards the coast of Japan ; and on the 1st of April we were off the islands of Taga Sami and Jeroboo. In the evening of the same day we passed a volcano in a state of eruption. On the 7th we discovered, not only by observation, but by the extraordinary yellow colour of the sea, that we were at the entrance of the Yang-Tse-Keeang, or Great River, off the town of Woo Sung.

The surrounding country (perfectly flat) presented one uniform surface, apparently covered with the richest cultivation, and villages thickly

scattered over it. The first crops of the year (grain of all kinds) were fast approaching to ear. The scenery was exceedingly Dutch. Trees were very scarce, and those in small clumps and patches, and the foliage of a vivid green. Canals of all sizes, from a ditch to a reservoir, intersected the country in every direction, and the solid and elaborate embankments on each side of the river (here about two miles broad) and extending the whole length of it on each side, attested the energy and industry of the inhabitants. Many ships of all nations were at anchor near us, and others ascending and descending the river. Innumerable Chinese vessels, from small craft of every description to the "*lorcha*" and war junk, presented a striking and novel appearance. Guns were firing from the junks, steamers hissing and snorting, and everything denoted the approach to a great commercial city.

As we expected to remain at our anchorage at Woo Sung for upwards of twenty-four hours before proceeding to Shanghai, I landed with a fellow passenger in a small Chinese boat, or "*sam pan*," on the left bank of the river. We

took our guns with us, that we might add, if possible, something to our larder, as well as our information, and proceeded to explore the neighbouring country. Our progress was very much impeded by the numerous dykes and canals in the interior, and was therefore chiefly confined to the bund or embankment separating the river from the fields, and from whence we obtained a good bird's-eye view of the whole country, which was, as I said before, perfectly level, and thickly studded with villages and towns. The inhabitants, male and female, sometimes came from their houses and occupations to look at us; but they are here somewhat accustomed to Europeans, and do not display the same curiosity as in more remote parts. We made (when practicable) a few detours into the fields, and saw a great quantity of duck, teal, and snipe, of all of which we made up a pretty good bag. The people were perfectly quiet and civil, never attempting anything like insult or annoyance, and in one or two instances offering us their long pipes to smoke, as a token of amity and good-will.

Having returned to the vessel and found our

captain absent at Shanghai, we went out shooting a second time on the following morning, in a direction farther up the river, and had a very good morning's sport with the snipe and wild-fowl. The former we found in immense quantities on the low wet grounds, but very wild and rising in flocks. The latter we approached in ambuscade from behind the embankments, and now and then committed great slaughter; sometimes killing seven or eight of them at a shot, of the teal and widgeon species, and amongst them some of most beautiful plumage. We also saw several solitary snipe (*scolopax maximus*), but could not get a shot at them. We flushed a very fine hen pheasant, but our feelings as sportsmen really overcame our gastronomical ones, and we left the old lady to go quietly home to her nest and eggs, which were probably hard by, as, in addition to the unsportsmanlike character of such a deed, she would have turned out but a tough morsel at best at this time of the year.

The next morning a pilot came on board to take the vessel up the river to Shanghai, a distance of

fourteen miles, and some parts of which are of rather dangerous and difficult navigation. We arrived, however, safely at our destination, opposite the European settlement and factories or hongs, and came to anchor in a good berth.

Nothing can be more imposing, particularly to a person lately arrived from the Australian Colonies, than the first appearance of this settlement. The regularity of the buildings, the handsome architecture, and design of this little city of merchant palaces, with all their oriental luxurious adjuncts, form a striking contrast to the chaotic mixture of buildings of all kinds, materials, and sizes, erected more for convenience than beauty, that he had been accustomed to witness in the colonies. A fine quay extending for upwards of a mile fronting the river, is lined by the separate and handsome dwellings of the merchants, surrounded by broad verandahs and balconies, and generally enclosed within beautiful gardens. Immediately above the settlement, and higher up the river, is the old walled city of Shanghai, supposed to contain upwards of 200,000 inhabitants, but which has suffered

severely in the late contests between the rebels and imperialists, sometimes being held by one party and sometimes the other. On the river side of the city, a forest of masts appertaining to junks of all sizes and descriptions, and decorated with flags of every imaginable colour and device, extend as far as the eye can reach. The river itself is one scene of bustle and activity, being continually covered with boats and lighters conveying merchandize to and fro.

On shore, the movement is, if anything, more perpetual and more complicated in its nature. Native porters, in all directions, are trotting in tune to a loud monotonous song, and bearing every description of load suspended in two packages at each end of a pole, balanced across the shoulders. Sedan chairs, containing both natives and Europeans, are crossing and recrossing at every step. Everybody appears in a hurry, but very few Europeans are visible during the heat of the day, even in this comparatively cool season. They promenade in their carriages, on horseback, and otherwise, in the afternoon, on the quay or the race-course, which, indeed, are

the only two spots they possess for exercise and amusement, in this very small and confined settlement. The surrounding country is impracticable for anything but pedestrianism, being traversed by narrow footpaths only, and intersected by ditches and canals everywhere. All commerce and communication in this vast province is carried on by water, and such a thing as a horse, mule, or even donkey, is rarely seen in the interior.

I received a most hospitable invitation from the merchants to whom the ship was consigned, to make their house my home, and which to a certain extent, I accepted; and there was initiated into all the arcana of the tea-trade, from its earliest preparation to its ultimate disposal—a subject too well-known to need any comment in my journal.

That profuse hospitality for which our countrymen in the East have been so long celebrated, is here practised to the greatest extent; and dinner-parties are the order of the day, of the most luxurious description. The Chinese, with a little instruction from a French *artiste*, soon

become excellent cooks ; indeed, they soon rival their teachers, and, as an almost unlimited supply of materials for culinary purposes is to be always obtained in a Chinese market, they possess a very wide field for their operations. Fish of many kinds, and some of them of most delicious flavour, amongst which may be included the *alose* or shad, the finest prawns in the world, and a small species of turtle ; game in great variety and perfection, such as wild-fowl, snipes, woodcocks, and magnificent pheasants ; excellent beef, mutton and pork, and vegetables and fruits in the greatest abundance, form a category of good things that would excite the admiration of a Vatel. Ices worthy of Tortoni are of daily consumption throughout the hot season ; and all wines and drinkables are admirably cooled. A great many servants are employed in different capacities, as a Chinaman has a great objection to waiting on any one but his own particular master ; but, on the whole, the service is as quickly and well performed as in any European establishment. The large and spacious apartments are well ventilated ; and,

during the great heat of summer, the *punkha* is in continual operation.

The permanent society of the house in which I was at present located, consisted of the three resident partners in the firm, and the gentleman who acted as tea taster to the concern; a place of much importance, for upon his taste and judgment depend the selection of all the *chops* of teas selected for purchase from the great varieties offered to their choice by the native merchants, and the detection of impositions so commonly practised by the astute Chinamen. He receives a high salary, and is exempted from other business; indeed, all the "attachés" to a mercantile establishment in China, enjoy an independence of position and an amount of pay that is very different from similar situations in Europe. They have certain stated duties to perform, and are little interfered with by their principals. Their business hours are short, and most of them keep their horses or equipages for the evening promenade.

Commanders of vessels consigned to the house, with, occasionally, their wives, and casual

passengers, formed almost a daily addition to the party, and always received a general invitation.

The chief business of the *Hong* is invariably carried on through the medium of a *comprador* or native Chinaman, who conducts all the intricacies of bargaining with his countrymen, and always speaks English well. An intimate knowledge of the Chinese language is very uncommon amongst Europeans, and leaves them much at the mercy of employés of this description, who, however, are generally considered trustworthy and intelligent men. A *Sheroff*, whose business it is to pay and receive all monies that go through the house, pronounce upon the goodness of the dollars offered to his inspection; and either to reject, or receive them, another important native functionary is appointed.

My first visits in company with one of my hosts, was to the old city of Shanghai. The interior of a walled city in China, is, perhaps, one of the most strikingly curious sights that can be presented to the eyes of a European, and

which in the south of China it appears would be a dangerous experiment to attempt.

In the north, however, it is a very different case. John Chinaman is a much more amiable personage, and I, for one, have wandered daily through the narrow galleries yecept streets, formed by rows of wooden houses, carved, gilded, and painted, some in the most grotesque, others in the most elaborate and beautiful manner, and displaying, if possible, more crafts and trades than any European capital can boast of.

Elbowing my way with true barbarian assurance through lanterns, silks, and umbrellas, and throngs of long-tailed Celestials of all casts and colours, through odours combining the faint incense of sandal wood burning in the Joss houses, the highly demonstrative emanations from the *cuisine Chinoise*, and the decided pungency of the *bouquet à la Billingsgate*. I usually bent my steps to those repositories where curiosities, and articles of vertù were exposed for sale, and which "*more Chinorum*"

would bear comparison with any similar establishment in Wardour Street, or the Quai de Voltaire: indeed, some curious remnants of antiquity might be found here, for which the capitals of France and England might be searched in vain.

Porcelain, both ancient and modern, that "China's gayest art had dyed," bronzes of every size, and of *any* antiquity, and that beautiful turquoise blue enamel, now so rare and expensive in Europe, are here found in considerable variety, and great perfection. Porphyry, and soap-stone vases abound; Chinese paintings brilliant in colouring, but defective in perspective and outline, dazzle the eye; and the beautiful green jade-stone, manufactured into various ornaments, and so precious to the Chinese dandy, is withdrawn from its case, and exhibited to the barbarian amateur.

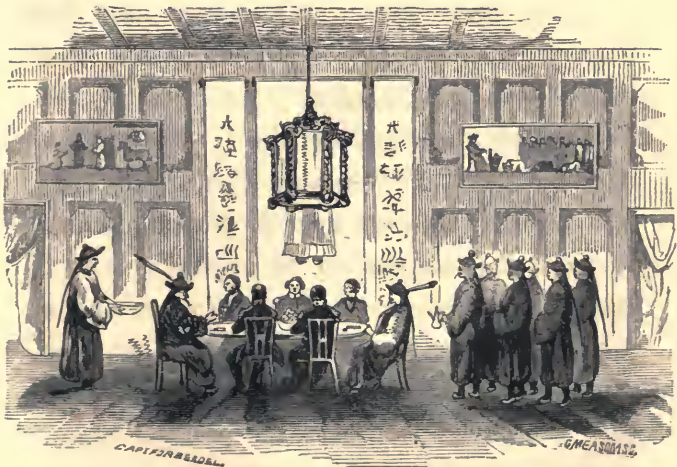
The shopkeeper is, in the mean time, descanting with, no doubt, the eloquence of a "Christie," or "George Robins," (but in language which is alas! a sealed book to me) on the subject of the value of his wares, and

asking prices in proportion, one tenth part of which he is perfectly prepared to accept, if offered; a Chinaman in the character of a vendor, being equal to any Israelite since the time of Moses.

The shops of the retailers in drugs occupy a very prominent position amongst the rest. They are generally exceedingly richly carved, gilded, and decorated, and to judge by the vases and bottles, the Chinese pharmacopœia must be very extensive. Some of the repositories of silks are very rich and beautiful. The tobacco shops display a wonderful variety of pipes, and every article connected with the smoking department; and the tea-sellers, hatters, and confectioners are all very gaily and gaudily decorated.

Cook-shops with the *batterie de cuisine*, and its curious contents openly manifested both to sight and smell, compose at least one half of the commercial establishments; and in some quiet corner, as far removed as possible from the noise and bustle of the street, a party of cadaverous looking individuals are enjoying the

maddening intoxication of opium smoking. It is astonishing that amidst the enormous bustle and confusion caused by the crowds of foot-passengers, sedan-chairs in full trot, and porters recklessly hurrying on with heavy loads balanced on poles across their shoulders, in streets merely a few yards wide, that more accidents should not occur; but a Chinaman seems to have an intuitive perception of any approaching danger and saves himself, almost at the very moment of collision.



A CHINESE DINNER-PARTY.

Gambling tables are every where to be seen in the open streets, and surrounded by anxious crowds of players. A combination of the dice is the game most in vogue, and strings of the copper cash of the country, the medium of payment. The Chinese are desperate gamblers, in all probability the most incorrigible in the world. A celebrated writer, M. Huc, who has seen much of the interior of the country, speaks of their passion for play in the following terms :

“This unhappy passion exercises such influence over them, that it drives them to the most desperate extremities. When they have lost their money, they play for their houses, their land, and even their wives, whose fate depends on a single throw of the dice. The Chinese gambler does not even stop there. The very clothes which he wears serve for a last resource, and this horrible custom of playing for every thing without exception, even to the covering on their backs, is the cause of scenes being sometimes enacted, scarcely credible, if it was not a well established fact, that the passions always render a man cruel and inhuman.

“ In the northern provinces, and particularly in the environs of the Great Wall, men in an absolute state of nudity are frequently met with during the most severe cold of winter, who after having lost all their clothes at play, are expelled without mercy from the gambling-house. They run about like madmen, hoping to escape from the bitter effects of the cold. They creep beside the earthen chimneys, which in these countries are constructed on a level with the earth, along the walls of the houses. They try to warm themselves, as well as they can, first on one side, and then on the other, whilst their gambling companions look on, and mock their miseries with an atrocious hilarity. This scene does not last long, they soon become frost bitten, fall down, and die. The players then re-enter the house, and recommence play with the most abominable *sang froid*. This may appear fabulous to some, but it is an incontestible and authentic fact.

“ However extraordinary this may appear, the Chinese have found means of pushing still farther their passions for play, which, with them

extends to madness. It occurs, sometimes, that those who have nothing left to play for, assemble at a particular table, and gamble for their fingers, which they cut off, mutually, with a horrible stoicism. Whilst they are engaged at play, a vase of boiling oil is placed beside them. Between two gamblers is a small and very sharp hatchet ; the one who wins seizes the hand of the other, places it on a stone, and cuts the finger off with the hatchet, at the same time the victim dips his hand in the oil, which cauterizes the wound, and goes on with his game."

Had I any taste for a little tragedy in real life, I might have varied my amusements by visiting a mandarin's court of justice, and witnessing the decapitations of some half dozen rebels, or other criminals, who could not pay sufficiently high for their acquittal ; but not being an amateur of these scenes, I was content with stealing an occasional and disgusted glance at the interesting heads of those individuals as they were subsequently exhibited in wooden cages on the city walls.

A short distance from the eastern gate of the

city, and in close proximity to the house of an American missionary, stood a stone building in the shape of a small obelisk, with an opening about six feet from the ground, and communicating with some subterraneous excavation.

Into this mouth or opening, the Chinese were accustomed to cast many of their female infants when poverty or inclination induced them to make away with them; and here the poor babes were left to perish by a horrible death. The missionary told me that although infanticide had somewhat diminished, it was still very frequent.

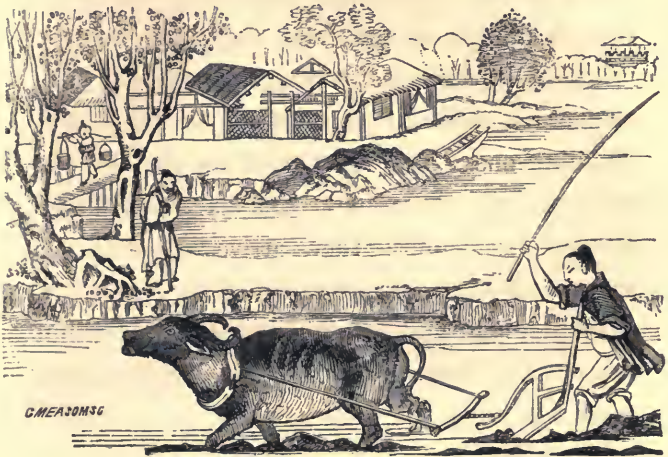
About seven miles up the river, and near its banks, stands a very ancient and celebrated pagoda, where the residents at the settlement of Shanghai make frequent excursions and picnic parties. It is about ten stories high, and commands a splendid view of all the wide extent of flat country around it. The priests (Buddhists), and whose establishment is in rather a crumbling condition, have no objection to the intrusion of visitors into all the arcana of their

faith, in return for the strings of copper cash generally bestowed on such occasions.

A grove of ancient trees surrounds this spot, on which a colony of rooks have perpetuated their sable descendants, in all probability for many centuries, and which was absolutely alive with the present generation at the period of my visit. It looked very like sacrilege to disturb, in any way, so venerable an institution, but whenever a descendant of John Bull has a gun in his hand, in a foreign country, he is generally disposed to commit wholesale destruction, and upon our first experimental shots at the unconscious birds, it was evident that the priests themselves had no objection to rook pie, or, at least, to rooks in some form or other, as they were very glad to pick up the slain, and retire with them to their domiciles.

At this time, during the month of May, the peasants were beginning to irrigate the country previous to securing the paddy or rice crop; and the snipes were daily arriving in immense numbers. Although, in my early days, I had seen,

and partaken of some famous snipe-shooting in India, I never witnessed anything like the



PLOUGHING THE LAND UNDER IRRIGATION.

quantity of these birds in the same space and period that I have witnessed in Shanghai. A merchant of that place, and an excellent sportsman, told me that he had once killed one hundred couple in the space of twelve hours, repeatedly washing out his gun with cold water, and recommencing his shooting; and, with very indifferent shooting, I managed to bag twenty-five couple in a few hours; the heat being too

great, and the sun too powerful to admit of my continuing the sport. This exercise, in the warm season is, indeed, attended with some risk, as dangerous and fatal fevers are often the result of a too great indulgence in it. The manner in which it is practised is not a very fatiguing one. The sportsmen are paddled up or down the river in a *sampan* (or Chinese covered boat) until they arrive opposite the ground they have selected for their operations, when they land, and usually find their game within a few yards from the banks, when, having driven away the birds from one spot, they re-embark and try another; and, in the mean time, the snipes have returned to the first scene of action.

These amusements and occupations, the enjoyment of an excellent library, billiard-room, and American bowling alley, good dinners, and pleasant evening parties, rendered my stay at Shanghai very agreeable; but, I had as yet discovered no situation or employment that would in any way suit a person of my previous habits; and I found that the ship in which I had taken my passage to England would be

detained some time before she had completed her cargo of tea and silks. Having gained admission into the portico of this curious country, I felt a great desire to penetrate the sanctuary, in other words, to make a trip into the interior of China.

By the provisions of the existing treaty, this would be highly dangerous, if not impossible; it being expressly stipulated, that no European shall exceed the limits of ten miles from the settlements, under the penalty of 500 dollars, and being sent back to his friends, like a canary-bird, in a cage; but, somehow or other, John Bull, either in a public or private capacity, has a great contempt for treaties, where the infraction does not affect himself, and no doubt considers (and very properly too) that John Chinaman is highly honoured by his presence and interference, whether he prefers it or not; at all events, it struck me forcibly that in this settlement, except when they personify those two important realities, chops of tea and bales of silks, that the long-tailed gentry were treated as animated non-entities.

Whether this is the case or not, no sort of regard is paid by the European inhabitants of Shanghai to this clause of the treaty ; and many of them have been in the habit of journeying some distance into the interior for sporting purposes, or change of air, whenever their fancy prompts them.

Under these circumstances, I was delighted to accept the kind invitation of one of my hosts to accompany him on a trip to the *Tai-hou*, or great lake ; but before proceeding to give a short account of my Chinese travels, it may be as well to mention that all carriage and locomotion in these provinces in the north of China is effected on rivers and canals of different widths, depths, and length, and by boats and barges of all sizes and description, from the vast grain junks of 2000 tons burden to the smallest *sampan* ; and, that these are almost all united to the great imperial canal, which extends to Pekin and the different rivers in their vicinity. The principal canals are bordered by convenient towing paths, and spanned by handsome granite bridges, some of the latter constructed of stones

of enormous size and weight, and of great antiquity. When sailing is impracticable, the boats are towed by men. During our tour, I never remarked any horses being made use of, but no animal labour, or exertion, is too great for a Chinaman, who for the small remuneration he receives, performs an amount of patient drudgery unknown and inconceivable in any other country.

On Saturday, May 9th, 1856, accompanied by my host and my wife and child we embarked upon what is termed here the *Sou-cheou*, creek or canal that leads to the great city of that name, in two *Sou-cheou* flat bottomed boats, each containing two small chambers with accommodation in the stern of the vessel for servants, boatmen, cooking apparatus, &c., and as the Chinese have a faculty of stowing themselves into a remarkably small space, it was astonishing how many individuals composed our equipage.

Everything that could conduce to our comfort and luxury, in the shape of provisions, both liquid and solid, was supplied by my *compagnon de voyage*; and some intelligent Chinese servants,

who spoke English, accompanied us, amongst which class was an accomplished *chef-de-cuisine*. We took with us a whole armoury of guns, rifles, and ammunition, and arranged every thing for a fortnight's absence from Shanghai. We started, in the afternoon, in a north west direction, the movement of the boat at the commencement of our voyage being effected by sculling from the stem, with an immense scull or oar, moved by several men, having no wind in our favour, and the creek not being sufficiently narrow for towing; indeed, with these boats, unless the wind is directly aft, it is dangerous to hoist the sail, since from their great top gear and flat bottom they are very apt to upset or topple over, a very unpleasant reverse of circumstances for the passengers in the cabin.

Our movements were naturally very slow, not more than two or three miles an hour, except when the wind was in our favour, and we managed to hoist an unwieldy sail for a few minutes at a time. We took our seat on the circular roof of the cabin in front of the vessel, and gun in hand, and a fine retriever dog at our

feet, awaited any signs of game that might present themselves on either bank of the canal, in the event of which, we could easily jump on shore, explore the adjoining country for a short distance, get a few shots, and re-embark either from the bank, or by means of a small boat which we always kept towing astern.

We were now passing through a perfectly flat country covered with every species of nearly ripened grain, much farther than the eye could reach. There was nearly a total absence of any large trees, and the numerous villages, cottages, and habitations of the peasants, were generally surrounded by small bamboos, (the root of which is a considerable article of food) and dwarf foliage of various kinds. On the approach of evening, we arrived at a very narrow part of the canal, and were brought up by a press of boats descending the creek—when finding some danger in proceeding, we anchored for the night, during which some very vociferous quarrelling took place between our servants and some of the strange boatmen. This we speedily put an end to, by appearing on deck armed with our guns,

when they all bobbed down again into their holes like so many rabbits, and we heard no more of them.

On the morning of the 10th, we proceeded through the same flat and highly cultivated country, the fertility of which exceeds all description; we saw and shot many snipes, curlew, and plover, and a few pheasants, as the Chinese proprietors not being preservers, or even sportsmen, we considered ourselves here beyond all the received rules and regulations of the game laws, strictly confining ourselves, however, to the cock birds, for shooting a hen which was probably hatching her eggs in the month of May, was too bad even for China. Whenever the vicinity of an unfortunate cock pheasant was betrayed by his voice near the banks of the canal, we made our way through the standing corn, straight in the direction of the sound, and he generally rose within shot of us. They are splendid birds, very heavy, and similar to the preserved pheasant in England, except that they have a white ring round the neck.

China, however, possesses her skilful poachers,

as well as every other place, and the settlement, markets, and ships in the harbour, are plentifully supplied with game of all kinds that the country produces. A Chinaman does not dare to offer pheasants for sale in the settlement, between the months of March and August, as he is usually sure to get a good beating for his pains from some indignant sportsman ; but sailors understand no such distinctions, and buy them, when offered sufficiently cheap, at any period. Every description of game is caught in the first place by snares or springes, in the use of which the Chinese are very skilful, but they have a fixed idea that an Englishman considers it necessary they should be killed by the gun, and in consequence riddle them with their iron shot previous to offering them for sale, to the great danger and destruction of the teeth of the consumer.

The country appeared more wooded, and the foliage very beautiful and varied. We passed a very curious fishing establishment, the canal being completely, traversed by a fence of small bamboo canes, with numerous little inlets conducting into a labyrinth of holes and corners

where the fish are eventually entrapped. The boats make their way through this elastic impediment, which gives way as they pass, and falls back again into its original position. We also witnessed another piscatory operation of a most extraordinary and interesting character.

A small boat appears punted by a single man with a very long bamboo, and around the sides of the boat are perched a great number of cormorants of different sizes and colours. A small piece of string not tight enough to suffocate, but sufficient to prevent them swallowing, is tied around the lower part of the throat of each bird. At a signal conveyed to them by a touch from the pole of their master, the birds dive at once into the water, and after remaining sometimes submerged an incredibly long time, return to the surface with or without a fish in their mouths. In the former case, the man extracts the fish from the gullet of the cormorant, and proceeds to order fresh ones to a similar duty. The perfect training and docility of the birds are admirable; if they are fatigued they are allowed to repose on their accustomed perch on

the side of the boat for a short time, but they must not abuse this indulgence. If they do, they receive several light strokes of the pole, and resume at once their laborious occupation.

Whilst on the subject of fishing, I must mention another feat I saw performed on this and several other canals, which threw anything of the kind I had ever witnessed before completely into the shade. This is the throwing either from the banks, or in a boat an enormous casting net, describing a circumference of at least sixty yards. The fisherman gathers the net up into a great number of folds, and stooping low, by an apparently great effort, throws the net far over his head. It falls some distance behind him, covering a very large space in a complete circle.

The fish, with the exception of eels, (which are I believe common to the whole world) are most of them of kinds unknown in Europe, and many of curious shapes and colours.

Some mountains, or rather high hills, were now in sight. About 12 P.M. we passed through Quan San, a large town, with, as usual, an

immense population. On the 11th, about 6 A.M. we arrived at Ed-Nig, where we purchased fresh fish and fine fruit, and gratified the inhabitants with the sight of an European lady and child, which they crowded around us by thousands to witness, but were perfectly civil and harmless. Soon after leaving this village, we entered into the grand canal, and skirted the borders of the Saa Woo lake. A fine granite wall extends for several miles, separating the lake from the canal, and forming the embankment on one side. About 11 A.M. we found ourselves near the suburbs of the great walled city Sou-cheou-fou, one of the most considerable in China, and supposed to contain a million of inhabitants. It is surnamed by the Chinese "the Paradise of the Earth," from the number of sensual luxuries it is supposed to contain. Few, if any, Europeans have been able to penetrate this city, of which the Chinese imperialists are extremely cautious and jealous; and they were then in such fear of a rebel force encamped not far distant, that the attempt would have been more difficult and hazardous than ever. We navi-

gated the canal through the suburbs, and immediately under the ramparts for more than three hours, amidst crowds of junks, and dwelling places of all descriptions, including shops and warehouses, absolutely swarming with human beings of both sexes. At many of the windows, or rather enclosed balconies, groups of gaily-dressed Chinese ladies, corresponding, both in appearance and costume, to those celestial sketches we have been often accustomed to regard with wonder and admiration on our plates, or tea cups, were gaily ogling the passers-by, or calmly, smoking their long pipes, but that was the only feature of repose in the picture; the men were all actively engaged in some occupation or another, and the sounds, sights, and above all scents! that invaded our senses, formed a sum total of abominations I was very glad to escape from. We were obliged to keep within our cabins, and could only steal occasional glances through the windows, as it would not have been prudent for Europeans to have too openly disclosed themselves at this place.

Having traversed this portion of the city, we

passed along the foot of a range of hills, beautifully wooded nearly to their summits, and covered by pagodas, ancient granite tombs, and Joss houses. Presently, the almost solid mass of grain, through which we had been hitherto gliding, changed into a vast inland swamp, or marsh, intersected by small canals in all directions, and covered with high reeds, and aqueous grasses, and plants of all descriptions. This district, which extended for about twenty miles, and to the borders of the great lake, had, in fact, been reclaimed from it, by a slow yet persevering system of draining, and the inhabitants were beginning to cultivate parts of it. Here we saw a great variety of water-fowl, amongst which was the graceful white heron; but having been nearly smothered in a bog on our first landing, we determined to delay our sport until we arrived at a less treacherous soil.

On the 12th, at 10 A.M., we entered the mulberry plantations on the borders of the Taihou, or great lake, and the commencement of the silk district. The trees appeared extremely

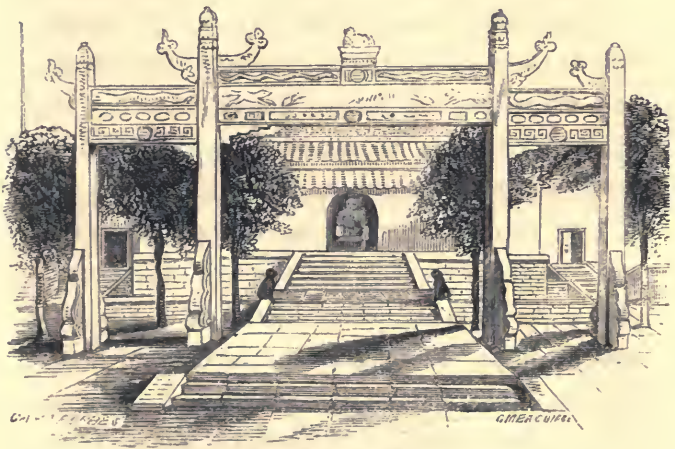
rich and beautiful, and to have been nurtured with great care. The silk districts in this province extend for upwards of 200 miles, and the quantity of raw material that is made yearly, far greater than the united annual produce of the whole of Europe.

We came to anchor opposite a handsome town, built entirely of granite (which is here found of the finest quality, and in great abundance), at the foot of a mountain, and were soon surrounded by hundreds of boats; but, with the exception of intense curiosity, manifested by all classes, to see the lady and child, the people, both male and female, were very civil and good-humoured. They were delighted with my little girl (about two years old); all wished to touch her, if even for an instant, and loaded our boat with fruit and flowers. My wife was even asked on shore by a Chinese lady, who had been at Canton, and associated with Europeans, but declined the invitation as rather hazardous.

In the evening, we landed, and ascended the mountain Tung-Tang-Ting-San, about 1000 feet

above the level of the sea, and, during a glorious sunset, witnessed the finest view of the kind I ever remember to have seen. We were accompanied by many boys, and several Buddhist priests. The first part of our path, on leaving the town, lay through groves of ancient cypress, yew, and pine-trees, full of tombs and mausoleums of great antiquity. Many temples and Joss houses were scattered here and there, but bearing marks of much neglect. On arriving at the summit, we saw an apparently illimitable expanse of water studded with islands, the shores lined with towns and villages, and the slopes of the hills covered with temples and tombs, embosomed in the most verdant foliage; and, on another part of the scene, an unbounded extent of flat country, yellow with the ripened grain, dotted with villages, towns, and walled cities, and the whole intersected by multitudes of canals. The circumference of the lake, including its sinuosities, is said to be 3800 lee, or more than 1000 miles. It is rarely more than a few fathoms in depth, and verging down to a few inches. In fact, it is a vast inland marsh.

On the morning of the 13th, we hired a quick-sailing country boat, to take us to the island of See-Tung-Ting-San, about twenty miles distant, where, with a fair wind and beautiful weather, we soon arrived.



BUDDHIST TEMPLE.

This island is entirely inhabited by Buddhist priests and their satellites, whose temples and monasteries are situated amidst groves of fruit-trees, amongst which the orange, vine, and loquat are the most conspicuous. Handsome terraces on the slopes towards the lake conduct

the visitor from one establishment to the other. The island appeared wrapped in profound silence, nothing being heard but the occasional tinkling of a bell; indeed, it was a picture of perfect repose (which is the essence of the Chinese creed), amidst a paradise of fruits and flowers.

The priests received us very civilly, pointed out to us everything they considered interesting, and offered us tea in the Chinese manner, without milk or sugar, as refreshment. A very old man, who said, indeed, he was ninety-four years of age, expatiated much on the advantages of awaiting dissolution in the state of calm repose, and expressed his astonishment that any one should prefer the bustle and anxiety of active life to quiet and retirement. I do not believe they troubled themselves much about doctrinal points of theology, or paid their idols any attention whatever, save that of burning a few Joss sticks or incense before them. In fact, save and except the name and appearance of it, and some outward show, an almost universal indifference to religion is supposed to prevail in China.

The only occupation here, was the nurture of the silk-worm. Specimens of these were brought out for our inspection and acceptance, but we were not permitted to go into the houses where the process of silk-forming was going on, as light, or disturbance of any kind was supposed to be injurious to the insects. A number of eagles were hovering above the tombs and rocks, one of which, of the royal species, I shot.

After some hours spent in this lonely spot, we sailed for the opposite coast, where we found the same description of scenery and inhabitants. The islands on this side of the lake are the abodes of rich private families and Buddhist priests. Immense tracts of land are everywhere taken up by vast cemeteries of ancient date, full of groves of cypress, myrtle, and other evergreens. Granite tombs, of great variety of size and form, are scattered everywhere, and the Joss houses are very numerous.

We saw no game of any description, a fact I accounted for by the presence of so many falcons and eagles. Very little cultivation was apparent, but the chief occupation of the in-

habitants of all these islands and districts was the propagation of the silk-worm, and the production of raw silks, which is here produced in immense quantities. This district embraces many hundred square miles, and immediately succeeds the grain country. We returned the same evening to our boats, and having seen everything that we considered worth our inspection in the neighbourhood of the Tai-hou lake, prepared to quit it on the following morning.



SOWING PADDY.

We directed our homeward course by a

different route to that by which we had arrived, and on our way through the marshes bordering the lake, had some excellent shooting at bitterns of great variety of plumage, and a very large sort of snipe. We passed through several large towns and cities, without meeting with any annoyance,—ascended the pagodas, walked into



REAPING PADDY.

the houses, and shot game under the very noses of the people with perfect impunity. The grain fields of Europe, or even Egypt, sink into insignificance beside the crops that here cover

immense space, forming as it were one vast field, with no apparent, and scarcely any real traces of division. The most laborious, artificial irrigation, minute system of manuring by human manure, and every thing that can possibly tend to the culture and improvement of the soil is practised to the highest pitch of perseverance by the inhabitants; not a square foot is allowed to lie waste, and the very embankments of the canals are all under cultivation.

This splendid alluvial flat produces three crops during the year, 1st. grain, 2nd. rice, 3rd. cotton. Flax is also largely cultivated. It is impossible not to be highly impressed with the extraordinary character of a people, who educated under the grossest superstitions, and living under the most despotic government are yet capable of such extraordinary industry and perseverance, both of which qualities are carried out to the utmost minutiae of detail. The inhabitants of the country, through which we passed, seemed happy and contented, and I could not perceive any indications of oppression, misery, or even abject poverty.

My remarks, it must be recollected are confined solely to the north of China, and the neighbourhood of Shanghai, as not having visited any other part of the empire, I am not in a condition to speak from personal experience as to the character of the people or country. Recent events have clearly proved that the feelings towards foreigners, evinced by the inhabitants of Canton, and other parts of China, are widely different to those of their more northern brethren ; and that a trip into the interior of those provinces would have been attended with much danger, particularly in European costume.

We arrived at the settlement after a very pleasant trip of ten days, duration. During our progress, we received frequent reports of the rebel forces being in the vicinity, and the people entertained a great dread of them ; we did not, however, meet with any of them, and, indeed, entertained no dread of their harming us if we had. The cruelties, both rebels and Imperialists used towards each other, are atrocious, and sometimes too horrible to relate. There is not a pin to choose between them, and when one party gets the

better of the other, they retaliate their injuries, real or imaginary, in the same manner.

A Chinaman is, perhaps, the most naturally cruel individual in the world, yet his pusillanimity and unwarlike character is too notorious to need remark. A soldier's profession is not, as with other civilized nations, considered one of glory and honour, but as the lowest and most degraded of any. A very short period since, the imperial army consisting of between 20 and 30,000 men then laying siege to Shanghai, which was in the possession of the rebels, was totally routed and put to flight, by about 300 European inhabitants of the settlement, aided by some guns and sailors from the ships in the river, and armed and equipped at a moment's notice.

The cause of the affray was this. Some ladies were insulted, and a gentleman wounded, either by accident or design on the race-course, adjoining the settlement by soldiers of the imperial army, which was encamped a short distance from it; and, redress for some cause or other not being immediately obtained—indeed, some fears being entertained of their attacking

the settlement—every European turned out, armed as well as he was able, and with a loss of several killed and wounded to themselves, totally routed the imperialists, and burnt their camp. The rebels afterwards made a sortie from the city, and pursued their flying enemies. This affair was subsequently compromised.

Although it cannot be denied that the moral character of the Chinese is considerably below par, and that in debauchery and sensuality they perhaps exceed any nation in the world; yet it is evident that when their natural intelligence is fostered by good education, good government, and good example, they would be fully equal, in many respects, to any other people.

During my residence at Shanghai, the best speech I heard there was delivered in good and classical English by a Chinaman named Ly Sung, and connected with one of the English Hongs, at a large dinner-party, at which he was the only Chinaman present.

It was a noble defence of his countrymen from many of the imputations brought against them, candidly confessing their faults, but attri-

buting their most glaring errors to the effects of bad education, bad example, and, above all, bad government; yet, under all these disadvantages, triumphantly remarking that no country in the world possessed more energy, industry and perseverance; and, without the machinery and appliances of Europe and America, that, in some manufactures, they fully equalled, if not surpassed, those countries. He closed his remarks by appealing to the present party, whether they had ever experienced more liberality in commercial dealings from any other nation.

It is true this gentleman had been educated at Singapore as a British subject; but there were many other Chinese residents in Shanghai fully equal to him in capacity and information. In fact, nearly all the native business in the commercial houses, or hong, is carried on by the *compradors* or managers, very few of the merchants, either speaking or understanding the language sufficiently to go through minute details, and confining their part of the business to the choice and price of the articles they wish to purchase.

With reference to the treatment of the Chinese

by the majority of British residents, I will relate a circumstance I witnessed in connection with the above-named gentleman, Ly Sung, that will, in all probability, rather interest my readers.

During the period of my residence at Shanghai, he purchased a pony carriage for the purpose of driving out with his wife and children, after the European mode. The race course is, as I before stated, the only spot near the town where equestrian exercise can be taken, and is the usual resort for the foreign inhabitants of the settlement in the cool of the evening.

On his first appearance there, he was accosted by a *clerk* in an English firm, and told, in the most insulting manner, to quit the course instantly, and never appear again, on pain of personal chastisement.

A member of the respectable firm to which Ly Sung belonged, requested me in my capacity of a stranger and observer, to embody my opinion of this transaction in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Shanghai Journal*, which I did in the following manner.

“ I may, perhaps, be permitted to make a few remarks in your paper on a circumstance that appeared to me (a temporary resident in Shanghai) so strange and anomalous, as really to need public comment, in order that if the impression naturally conveyed be erroneous, the case may appear in its true light.

“ The facts are these. Whilst walking on the race course, I observed a Chinaman driving a pretty pony equipage, accosted by an *apparently* English gentleman, and in a very rude and violent manner, told to leave the course instantly on pain of personal chastisement.

“ I subsequently discovered that the Chinese in question was a person of high respectability, holding an honourable and responsible position in one of the first commercial houses, born a British subject at Singapore, and remarkable for his talents and acquirements. It appears that the race course is the private property of a company, who derive an income from it by subscriptions from the residents of the settlement fixed at certain rates. This subscription

was, after his expulsion, offered by 'Ly Sung,' but refused.

"I have passed some years in India, where natives of all descriptions are not only allowed the same privileges as Europeans on race-courses, similarly established, but encouraged to adopt our habits and equipages, as tending to promote, at the same time, a unity of feeling, as well as the interests of civilization and commerce.

"During my stay here, I have made an expedition far into the interior of China, and notwithstanding the very severe conditions of the existing treaty, have never met with the slightest molestation or annoyance; but, on the contrary, have received every civility and accommodation I could desire.

"I should imagine it was the object of our government, both in a commercial and political point of view, to cultivate friendly relations with the Chinese by every means in our power, and cannot but consider such a line of conduct, pursued towards a Chinese gentleman on his native soil, as totally unworthy of that generous

and liberal feeling peculiar to British gentlemen under similar circumstances.

“Portuguese, Jews, Armenians, and Persees, who form a large proportion of the resident foreigners at the settlement, might with more justice be excluded from the Shanghai race course.

I remain,

&c., &c., &c.

John Chinaman is not a very moral being, but not quite so bad as it is the fashion to represent him, at least in the north, and I very much doubt if we have taken the right means to make him better. We have certainly forced upon him the sacred and profane, viz. Christianity and Opium, in a manner not very well calculated to inspire him with a belief in our own sincerity and disinterestedness, and to speculate in his own way upon such a paradoxical nature of affairs; the least we can do, is to treat him civilly, if it be only for the sake of the many good cups of tea we owe to him.

It must be borne in mind that the Mandarins

receiving no salary direct from government, and paying themselves by local taxation, possess every power to oppress, and what is termed *squeeze* the people under their rule; which they do not neglect doing by every means in their power, and to the better educated and mercantile class of the community this state of things is particularly obnoxious, and strikes at the very heart of commercial prosperity and enterprize. Independently of their old and unconquerable attachment to the "Carolus" dollar as a current coin; and, indeed, the only one in use save and except the copper cash of the country, of infinitesimal value and infinite weight, that they will admit of in circulation, except at a ruinous discount, even this coin, which has risen to a premium far beyond its real value, is swallowed up in the secret recesses of some Chinese vault, or other repository for hidden treasures, beyond the reach of the Mandarins, and rarely finds its way again into circulation.

The greater part of the old Carolus, and Ferdinand and Isabella dollars, for which the whole world has been ransacked by capitalists and

speculators for years past, are now in China. Cunning imitations of equal value have been attempted to be palmed upon them, but the quick eye of the native "sheroff," or money changers is always proof against the deception, and indeed he often rejects real ones when offered in payment, in consequence of the most trifling mark or deficiency, so that the want of a national and government coinage is becoming greater every day.

Not having been at any other Chinese port than Shanghai, I cannot speak from experience, or from comparison, of their treatment, or respect for "barbarians;" but certainly neither at this place, or as I understand, any where in the north of China, is the same dislike manifested to Europeans, as is said to be at Canton, or in the south; on the contrary, the authorities and merchants, both of the city and settlement, are on the best terms, an interchange of civilities often takes place between them, and, as I have before stated, in spite of the stringent clause in the treaty, Europeans are allowed to travel with impunity through the country.

Mr. Fortune, who has travelled more in different parts of China than any other Englishman, considers that the arts are rather retrograding than otherwise, and that neither the porcelaine, silks or bronzes, are even in their own estimation, equal in quality to those of former years.

“There can be no doubt,” he says, “that the Chinese empire arrived at its highest pitch of perfection many years ago, and since that time has been gradually going down. Many of its noblest cities are in ruins. Its loftiest pagodas crumbling to the dust, and no efforts made to repair them. The spacious temples which I visited on the “Great Lake,” all show signs of decay.

The above writer suggests, that in the instance of the Pagodas and Temples, the neglect may arise from the increasing scepticism of the people, or rather apathy in matters of religion; but another author on China, “Mr. Wade,” says, immediately before the present rebellion broke out, “with a fair seeming of immunity from invasion, sedition, or revolt, leave is taken to consider this vast empire as surely though

slowly decaying. It has in many respects retrograded since the commencement of the present dynasty, and in none that we are aware of has it made any sensible progress."

It would, however, be very wrong to consider that anything like a fall is to be apprehended in China. After many convulsions it has always emerged with its pristine force. The enormous mass of its population, and identity of feeling, render it immortal, as far as this world is concerned. The whole population are one in blood, sentiments and language.

The Chinese are a very sensual race, having the fear of the Mandarins before their eyes, and not daring to spend their money in horses, equipages, or outward display; they expend large sums in private debauchery, which they carry on to the utmost limits of the grossest sensuality. The use of opium is very common amongst them; but I very much doubt whether the fatal effects of it, on the average, are so great as from the use of ardent spirits at home.

During my stay at Shanghai, the annual race meeting took place, and I witnessed some very

fair racing with Arab and Colonial horses, on the pretty little course that had been made close to the town by the European residents. All the beauty and fashion of the place were to be seen in the stand. The most amusing part of the scene was a stake given for China ponies, ridden by Chinamen. A Chinaman has a most indistinct idea of equitation, and were it not that he is ensconced in a sort of haystack of a saddle, would inevitably tumble off at every gambol of his steed, and he manages even to make his exit very often from this seat of comparative safety.

Imagine from ten to twenty shaggy animals of every colour and size, from ten to fourteen hands high, some of them resembling bears far more than horses, mounted by Chinamen of the most grotesque appearance and costume, and literally covered by housings or saddles nearly as large as themselves. Upon the start being effected, one half of these jockeys are unhorsed, or rather *unhoused*, and are either biting the dust or waddling after their impracticable steeds. Their companions who manage to keep their seats, and to direct their course in a proper

direction, continue to gallop on until some other catastrophe ensues, such as the reversing of one of their sheep skin saddles, or the pony bolting with his rider into one of the muddy ditches that line each side of the course; and there are rarely more than one or two survivors that accomplish the whole round. These would, if permitted, continue to gallop on to the end of time, or at least to the end of their ponies, having no idea of the termination of the race, and are often left to do so amidst the cheers of the spectators, so that the one who holds out the longest is declared the winner. The races terminate in balls, dinner parties, and all the profusion of Eastern hospitality.

The tables of some of these merchant princes would bear comparison with any in Europe. A Chinaman, with a little instruction, becomes one of the best cooks in the world, and, in the light and ornamental parts of the art, soon equals his Gallic brethren. Almost every delicacy that is met with in Europe, and many that are there unattainable, are here served up in rich profusion. Wines of every variety, ices of all de-

scriptions, and fine tropical and European fruits, adorn the dessert. The Chinese are extremely intelligent and active servants in every capacity, and, if tolerably looked after, quite as much to be depended on as our own countrymen. A great number, however, are employed in one establishment, each occupying his peculiar situation, similar to those (caste excepted) in the East Indies.

In the most agreeable part of the settlement, are situated the houses of the missionaries, and very pleasant and commodious residences they appear to be. There is both an American and English school for the education of Chinese children, but, I hear, not very well attended; nor could I discover any traces of Protestant missionary labour in the interior. Tracts and Testaments to an immense extent have been published in the Chinese language, and circulated through the country, and the inhabitants appear very eager to obtain them; but, it seems, more as literary curiosities than from any devotional view. By far the most extraordinary establishments I saw at Shanghai, were two

Jesuit Colleges ; one adjoining the walls of the city, and the other within a few miles of it. The former partook more of the nature of a monastery, and the latter of a college for secular education. Indeed, the Director (a Frenchman) assured me that they did not attempt to bias the religious opinions of the pupils in any way, a statement which I considered rather contradicted by the fact of a small illuminated print of some saint or other being attached to the desk of each scholar. Be that as it may, nothing can exceed the order, and regularity, and apparent harmony with which these extensive establishments are carried on.

Sculpture, painting, music, languages, &c., and evidently by able and distinguished masters, are taught to the Chinese youth by Chinese themselves ; for in dress, language, and appearance, these indefatigable men could not be distinguished from Chinese, and they adapt their mode of life entirely to the native model. When it is taken into consideration how extremely difficult it is to obtain even a smattering of the Chinese language, and how very few

Europeans amongst the commercial class, and even amongst our own missionaries and diplomats, arrive at anything like proficiency, the self-denying hard labour and study of these priests is truly wonderful. The pupils appeared happy, and proud of their occupations, and far more intelligent than the generality of the Chinese we met with. The utmost order and cleanliness prevailed, and the dormitories and refectories were a pattern of neat arrangement. A really handsome cathedral church is attached to the building, in which are some very fine specimens of wooden sculpture, by a Spanish priest attached to the establishment.

Following the example of Huc, and other celebrated Jesuits, these disciples of Loyola penetrate far into the country, and, under their almost impenetrable disguise, obtain and convey far more information than any other "barbarian."

The Chinese, in spite of all their moral and physical depravity, which render them essentially materialists, and indifferent on religious matters, possess some very extraordinary cha-

racteristics. Education is not only universal, but encouraged by a knowledge that through its means the highest honours can be obtained ; and there are very very few in this vast Empire that cannot read and write their own very difficult and complicated language. The greatest homage is paid to the "aristocracy of genius ;" even wealth, the great object of a Chinaman's (as well as most other men's) ambition, is regarded with far less respect.

The national religion is "Buddhism ;" a sort of negative faith, possessing numberless idols, but divested of all the cruelties and obscenities peculiar to the Hindoos. In fact, the Buddhist priests appear to exist in a sort of dreamy abstraction, approaching to idiocy. They profess celibacy, and lead a life of utter laziness and uselessness ; their only occupation, apparently, being the burning of incense and lighting of tapers before their numberless idols. They believe most implicitly in the immortality of the soul, and, possessing the most apathetic indifference to life, pay the utmost respect to death. All the members of a family are, after their

decease, enclosed each in a very thick and solid wooden sarcophagus, and buried, or rather placed upon the surface of the soil, and then *thatched* or *turfed* over, as near as possible to the dwelling of the survivors; and should these happen to change their domicile, these coffins (if in a state to permit of it) are carried with them to their new abode, so that the whole country is one vast grave-yard, and there is scarcely the smallest allotment of land, exuberant with fertility, and teeming with crops of different kinds, that has not one or more of these graves upon it; and upon and near those in a state of decay, I generally found the favourite resort of pheasants.

In this short narrative of my travels, I have especially eschewed entering into religious and political disquisitions, and shall content myself by briefly quoting the words of a celebrated author on China, without entering into the merits or causes of the late revolution, relative to the positive state of the government of the country.

“A monarchical spirit has, from the earliest

times, pervaded the government of China, but after the destruction of the feudal princes and nobles in the long civil wars that intervened between the fall of the Han dynasty and the rise of the Soongs, a further development of the executive took place, and a centralized bureaucracy established itself upon the ruins of all local authority. The Emperor is styled the "Son of Heaven," and is worshipped with divine honours, in virtue of his office. By immemorial custom, he has absolute control over the succession to the throne, and can select an heir, if he pleases, from beyond the circle of his own family. As the father of the nation, he is sole proprietor of the soil. He has a privy council, composed of two Chinese and two Tartars, and a number of Boards preside over the various branches of administration, and consult with him on all matters of difficulty and importance. A remarkable feature in the government is the office of censors, the members of which are despatched to various parts of the Empire as Imperial inspectors. By the ancient custom of the country, these censors are privileged to

present any advice or remonstrance to the sovereign without losing their lives; nevertheless, they are sometimes degraded and punished, when their addresses are more than usually unpalatable. From the Emperor downwards, a strictly defined gradation of offices extends, passing through ministers of state, governors of provinces, of districts, of towns, down to the head of a family, who is the absolute and irresponsible ruler of his own household, and who is, in some degree, liable to punishment for their crimes at any period of their lives, as well as to reward for their merits. The Mandarins are never permitted to gather round them the affections of their districts. They are never allowed to hold office in their native locality.

“The system of centralization is the only form of government possible in a country where two municipal institutions exist, and where the people are ignorant or apathetic in political matters—where, in short, they have not attained the art of managing themselves, and where no landed nobility exist to form a check upon the conduct of the government officials. Their

power is almost unlimited over those below them, and fraud, tyranny, and extortion find vent, despite the constitutional principles of Chinese government. These are not so much the defect of the system, as of the individuals who work it. Local *émeutes* against the authorities are not unfrequent, but it is the abuses of power only against which the people protest on such occasions, not its form. They admire and venerate with their whole heart the governmental system of their country, which is not only an elaborate machine, associated with their entire past history, but which adapts itself admirably to the national spirit. It is no mere theoretical constitution struck off at a blow, such as have lately been so much in vogue in Europe; it is a perfect embodiment of the Chinese predilections in government, and has grown with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of the people. A revolution would but transfer the present form of government to other hands, as the Chinese are unacquainted with the nature and merits of any other, and complain neither of the present mode of govern-

ment, nor of the laws, in which they are not stated to discern any defects, but merely the abuse of them."

Degraded and debased as the moral character of the Chinese people may be, nobody can deny them a meed of praise for that extraordinary industry and activity that actuates all their proceedings. Nobody is indolent in China but the priests, and however tedious and laborious their occupation may be, they always seem to work with courage and cheerfulness.

With our present views and intentions towards China, particularly as they point to extending our commercial connections with this people. The north of China presents a much finer field than the south, both as regards the character of the people, the productions of the soil, and the facility of intercourse by water-carriage. The Port of Shanghai is, of all others, the most advantageously situated; at the conflux of the river of that name, and the vast Yang-tse-Keang, which extends for nearly 2000 miles into the interior, and contains on its banks

and immediate districts, some of the largest and wealthiest cities in the empire, including Nankin, together with a population of 170,000,000 all united by a series of canals. This immense river is a league broad, six hundred miles from the sea, and of sufficient depth to contain ships of large tonnage, and possesses numerous tributaries.

If, however, any person be desirous of forming a correct idea of China and the Chinese, at least, of a very large portion of that curious country and people, let them peruse the books of M. Huc, and Mr. Fortune. The first of these is, perhaps, the most interesting and extraordinary work of the kind ever offered to the public, not only with reference to the wonderful adventures of this most heroic and dauntless of missionaries, but as a talented statistical account of this hitherto almost unknown empire, every line of which contains the stamp of truth and sincerity. The second is a simple and equally interesting account of the experiences of the traveller amongst the Chinese, more particularly in their

character of tea producers, farmers, and gardeners, and cannot fail of imparting amusement and instruction to the reader.

I was much surprised at Shanghai, by the paucity of European shops in the settlement, where articles in common use at home might be obtained. These were scarce, and at more exorbitant prices, and I am quite sure that there is a wide field for any intelligent shopkeeper to realize a fortune in a short time, as the Chinese themselves are amongst the best customers. There are plenty of native warehouses for the sale of silks, grass cloths, carved ivory and tortoiseshell and other Chinese productions.

One of the reasons of the former deficiency, is the custom the merchants here have of importing for themselves the greater part of their supplies, such as beer, wines, and liquors, &c., but there are innumerable little extras which would be forgotten in the category, and form a source of profit to a retail dealer.

Situated within a short distance of the great silk districts, and of easy communication with the tea countries, no port in China commands so

many advantages as Shanghai. The climate, also, is far more salubrious than that of the southern ports, and summer and winter are pretty equally subdivided. It is true, the summers are intensely hot, but this heat does not last above three or four months, and the remaining part of the year is pleasant enough.

The Chinese government has always encouraged the agricultural system by every means in its power. A country nearly as large as Europe; and with a far greater population, is maintained entirely on its own resources. No millionaire manufacturers overwhelm all competition by ruining the small traders. The small farmer rears his crop of rice, cotton, tea, or silk, dresses it, and sends it to market, and turns it to his own use as food and clothing, and although he cannot succeed in laying by money, it is only in periods of famine and inundation that he experiences the pressure of want.

The vessel in which I had taken my passage had now very nearly completed her cargo, which was to be composed of 1000 tons of tea and silk, and of a value exceeding £200,000, and every

day hastened our departure. Chinese curiosities, such as soap, stone ornaments, straw hats, fans, and other cheap productions, were scattered about the decks and cabin previous to being stowed away; and we ourselves began to make preparations for a long and tedious voyage. Unfortunately, at this period, the monsoon was dead against us; and we should have to beat against it as far as the equator, making a long *détour* to the eastward. We had also arrived at the season when typhoons and gales were certain to be encountered, both very disagreeable and dangerous contingencies; indeed, our prospects of the voyage as far as the Java seas, were anything but favourable. We intended to touch at that island for water and provisions, particularly poultry, which can be procured very cheap and good, either at Batavia or the small port of Anger, which commands the entrance to the Straits of Sunda, from whence we had every reason to anticipate favourable winds to the Cape of Good Hope, and during the homeward voyage. The snipes had departed, and the weather had become, what with the total absence

of foliage and glare of the sun upon the white buildings, hotter than I ever felt it before. Hats manufactured from the pith of trees were almost universally worn, as light, and better able to resist the penetrating force of the rays of the sun, considered here very dangerous, when the head is covered by any slight material. Large umbrellas were always carried when walking; but very few Europeans were to be seen on foot during the day. Some of the gardens attached to the houses of the merchants were, however, very beautiful. Gardenias of gigantic size absolutely made the air faint with their delicious odour, and magnolias of different colours were everywhere to be seen. Roses in great variety had now attained their full perfection. Indeed, the Chinese Flora is very abundant and beautiful. The natives are skilful gardeners, and passionately fond of flowers. Like the Dutch, they will give large sums for certain scarce roots and plants, and no *fête* or party is complete without the exhibition of flowers, both real and artificial. The latter they also excel in making.

In allusion to the agricultural habits of the Chinese, I cannot help quoting from that most agreeable and truthful author, Mr. Fortune. He says :

“ There are few sights more pleasant than a Chinese family in the interior engaged in gathering the leaves of the tea plant, or, indeed, in any other gardening or agricultural pursuit. There is the old man—it may be the grandfather or even the great-grandfather—patriarch-like directing his descendants, many of whom are in their youth and prime, whilst others are in their childhood, in the labours of the field. He stands in the midst of them bowed down with age ; but to the honour of the Chinese as a nation, he is always looked up to by all with pride and affection ; and his old and grey hairs are honoured, revered, and loved.

“ In the tea districts every cottager or small farmer has his own little tea garden, the produce of which supplies his own family, and the surplus brings him in a few dollars, which supply the other necessaries of life. When after the labours of the day are over, they return to their

humble and happy homes, their fare consists chiefly of rice, fish (with which their rivers and lakes abound), and vegetables which they enjoy with great zest, and are happy and contented. I really believe that there is no country in the world where the agricultural population are better off than they are in the north of China. Labour with them is pleasure, for its fruits are eaten by themselves, and the rod of the oppressor is unfelt and unknown. For a few cash (1200 of which makes a dollar) a Chinese can dine in a sumptuous manner on his rice, fish, vegetables, and tea, and I fully believe that in no country in the world, is there less real misery and want than in China. The very beggars seem a jolly crew, and are kindly treated by the inhabitants."

We have lately been wonderfully divided in opinion, and even gone so far as a dissolution of Parliament, on the subject of China, and our differences with her at Canton, the most ancient of our settlements, from whence such enormous public wealth, and princely private fortunes have come home to the British isles, and I cannot do

better than by again quoting Mr. Fortune on the subject of Chinese character.

“The natives of the southern towns, and all along the coast, at least as far north as Chekiang, richly deserve the bad character which every one gives them; being remarkable for their hatred to foreigners, and conceited notions of their own importance, besides abounding in characters of the very worst description, who are nothing else than thieves and pirates. But the character of the Chinese, as a nation, must not suffer from a public view of this kind; for it must be borne in mind, that in every country the most lawless characters are amongst those who inhabit sea-port towns, and who come in contact with natives of other countries; and, unfortunately, we must confess that European nations have contributed to make this people what they are. In the north of China, and more particularly inland, the natives are entirely different. There are, doubtless, bad characters and thieves amongst them too, but generally the traveller is not exposed to insult, and the natives are quiet, civil, and obliging.

Lord Jocelyn, who was with our fleet during the late war, and who landed on various points of the coast, states, as the experience of his rambles amongst the villagers, that a kind word to a child, or any notice taken of the young, will at once ingratiate a stranger with this humane and simple-minded people. The nation at large are remarkable for the virtues of sobriety and filial reverence. Instances of noble generosity in individuals are said not to be infrequent, and we may add that no people in the world, unless it be the French, are ready to take notice of, and applaud the casual utterance of noble sentiments : in fine, Mr. Lay says, that “no man can deny the Chinese the honourable character of being good subjects, though from the venality of their magistrates in general, they must often be exposed to many kinds of usage that tempt them to throw off their allegiance,” and attributes their steady obedience to constituted authority, not to a tameness of disposition that disposes a man to take kicks without feeling the gall of indignation, but to a habitual sentiment of respect, and a share of

sterling good sense that lead him to see and choose what is really best for his own interests. No individual living has had a better opportunity of understanding the Chinese character, or made better use of it than the author of these sentiments and opinions, and it would be, indeed, a bold man who would venture to put his judgment, on this head, in opposition to that of Mr. Fortune.

The last chest of tea that our capacious hold was able to contain, now occupied its destined space, and the last precious balé of silk was carefully deposited in its resting place, the hot weather had set in with frightful intensity, and in spite of the hospitable and kind treatment we had received from our Chinese acquaintances, we longed for the sea breezes again. I paid a last visit to the Pagoda, and shot a few more sacred rooks for the priest's *cuisine*, took a long farewell of our kind friend, and on the 24th of June, dropped down the river to Woosung, where we came to anchor. The captain and several passengers joined us on the following day.

On the 27th, we were clear of the Yellow Sea, and shaped an easterly course. On the 1st of July, we were off the island of Gotow, on the Japan coast, about 30 miles from the town and harbour of "Nagasaki." Several well constructed boats came out from the shore, and kept sailing around us, evidently sent to spy our movements. We were about five miles from the coast, and the wind being very light, we made but little progress, and had a fine and distinct view of the country, which although mountainous, appeared to be highly cultivated, and extremely picturesque.

From this period until the 18th of July, we had to beat up against contrary winds and monsoons, and were assailed by one terrific typhoon, such a storm of wind and rain as I never before experienced. The sea appeared one confused mass of white soap suds, and scarcely a speck of blue was to be seen, we could not shew any canvas to the gale, and were for some time under bare poles. Shortly afterwards we weathered, with some difficulty, the Loochoo and Magico Sina Islands, and after having left

our anchorage exactly three weeks, found ourselves off the northern point of the Phillipines, close inland, near the Bay of Manilla, and not above 700 miles from Shanghai.

Until the 7th of August, we had a succession of calms and contrary breezes, although light ones. We passed in lat. $5^{\circ} 31'$ north, and long. 131 east, two small low islands completely covered with cocoa-nut trees, named the St. Andrew's Islands. Several canoes with outriggers, similar to those of the South Sea islanders, came off to us, manned by about 12 natives in each. They were perfectly naked, with the exception of a narrow cloth round the loins; small in figure, but well made and active, of a dark copper colour, and profusely tattooed.

Their long hair was gathered up in a round bunch on the summit of their heads. The race is the same as the inhabitants of the Pellew Islands, celebrated with us in connection with the history of Prince Lee Boo, and which are not far distant. They are a mixture of the Papuan and Malay. They brought off no provisions of any kind, except a few cocoa-nuts, but plenty of

mats, of their own manufacture, from the cocoa-nut fibre, fishing lines, small pieces of tortoise-shells, and other shells, which they were anxious to exchange for knives, old razors, or hoop-iron; but seemed to care little for any thing else. They appeared to be a harmless, inoffensive race, and perfectly amphibious, swimming about the ship in all directions, quite regardless of the sharks which abound here.

On the 13th, we entered the Gelolo passage and were off the great island of Gelolo. We were now at the entrance of the vast Malacca sea, and Archipelago, and in the domains of the Dutch East Indies.

Little is heard, or indeed written, relative to the colonian history and policy of this most active and enterprising nation in this rich and productive country, and from which the mother country derives a princely revenue. It is well known, however, at present, that many of the numerous islands in these seas, which were lately the resorts only of pirates and savages, are now partially inhabited by civilized colonists. Small forts and settlements are gradually appearing on

their coasts, and the richest productions of the tropics in the shape of spices, sugar, cochineal, and indigo are raised.

Cruisers are continually sweeping the coasts ; and rooting out the old system of Malay piracy by every means, and particularly upon the well known principle of "Set a thief to catch a thief," by employing pirate chiefs to hunt down their old comrades. The Dutch are rigorous enforcers of their own laws and edicts, and a short thrift and speedy execution is all the crew of a pirate prau have to expect when captured.

The islands of Gelolo, Morta, and indeed numerous others, through which our course now lay, and near to which we were continually becalmed under an atmosphere of nearly 100° Fahrenheit in the cabin, presented much the same appearance from the sea. They were mountainous, and covered with forests of the richest verdure to the summit of the hills. The climate is supposed to be exceedingly unhealthy, owing to the great heat, and the miasma arising from swamps and decayed vegetation. We saw no boats of any kind, although we were upwards of

a fortnight in the midst of this archipelago, but we observed evident signs of cultivation on many of the islands, as well as the smoke arising from houses and towns.

At length, on September 4th, after a voyage of 70 days from Shanghai, we arrived at Java Heads, about fifty miles from the port of Anger.

CHAPTER IX.

JAVA.

ON approaching nearer the coast we were very soon surrounded by Javanese boats or praws, with large lateen sails, and containing provisions of all descriptions, including poultry, pigs, turtle, yams, sweet potatoes, and tropical fruits of all descriptions, amongst which splendid pine apples weighing several pounds, were about two-pence each, and equally fine shaddocks at the same price. Curry powder, and preserved tamarinds appeared also favourite articles of barter. Many of the owners of these boats were disputing for the situation of *comprador*, or commissary-general, to supply the vessel with all the provisions she required, by contract, at the port

of Anger, and exhibiting the different certificates they had, or pretended to have received from masters of vessels they had served in a similar capacity. The Javanese are small in stature, but muscular in form, supple and active in their movements, and of a light copper colour. Their countenances forbidding and sinister in their expression, generally betray the stamp of every evil passion, amongst which desperation and treachery are predominant, nor do their characters, by all accounts, belie their appearance. They are kept, however, under such complete subjection, and are treated with such rigorous authority by the Dutch government, that they are afraid of too often displaying their natural characteristics.

We shortly came to anchor within a mile of the shore, opposite the small town and fort of Anger, with the southern shore of the Island of Sumatra in full view in the distance, and forming the strait.

On landing to pay our respects to the governor, and receive and post letters by the Overland Mail, which embraces Batavia only ninety miles

from this place; I was much struck by the beauty of the vegetation in which the little town, consisting of detached cottages and gardens, and fort, was absolutely embosomed. The variety of plants and fruits that flourish in this luxuriant soil is so great, that it is almost impossible to enumerate them, even in confining oneself to a very superficial list; I shall, therefore, only speak of the most remarkable.

Although it was not far beyond mid-day when we landed, and the heat I really think greater than I ever felt in my life, I could not resist the temptation of a stroll into the beautiful country, and through the luxuriant groves near the coast. The cocoa-nut tree here grows generally to sixty or seventy feet high, and frequently bears from thirty to forty nuts. Several sorts of bananas are here cultivated, the fruits of which are very delicious; as soon as the fruit is gathered, the tree is cut down, as it only bears once, but it produces so many saplings, and grows so rapidly, that in the space of from six to eight months it has again attained its full size.

The noble Banyan tree (*Ficus Indicus*) is

here seen in its most gigantic proportions, covering an immense space of ground, and forming whole avenues with its pendant branches, so that it would not be difficult to create an entire forest from one tree, as each branch takes root as soon as it touches the earth.

The Bamboo is too well known to need comment, save and except that here there are several descriptions of that plant which are made a peculiar use of. From one, sugar is extracted, and vinegar manufactured, and from the tender shoots a confection is made, named *atjar*. These shoots are also eaten boiled, and have the taste of cabbages.

A tree called by the natives *pohontjat* grows wild, and furnishes a beautiful vermillion dye.

The wax tree bears fruit with which candles are made equal in quality and beauty to spermaceti. The paper tree (*morus papyrifera*) is cut down when it has attained the age of two or three years, and from its second bark, or pellicule, paper is made, and a coarse kind of cloth.

The *jambu* produces several kinds of excellent

fruit, in appearance similar to our green medlar, and possesses a delicious odour of roses, several kinds of mangos and the exquisite mangostene (or forbidden fruit) are amongst the natural fruit of the island, custard apples, guavas, oranges, shaddocks, citrons, pine apples, pomegranates, jack fruit, and many others unknown in our possessions in the East Indies, all flourish here in the greatest perfection.

High up in the hills, apples and peach trees are planted, the fruit of which is said not to be nearly so good as in Europe, but vegetables, such as cabbage, lettuces, asparagus, &c., succeed admirably. An immense variety of aromatic flowers; herbs and leaves abound, amongst the former may be noticed the *sundal malam* (*mirabilis jalapa*) the perfume of which is more exquisite before the rising, and after the setting of the sun.

But alas! among all these beauties and luxuries of creation, the destroying angel lurks, and this atmosphere, laden with the perfume of fruit and flowers, is pregnant with disease and death.

The heat is very great during the whole year near the coast, even in the rainy season, attaining very often from 95 to 100 degrees of Fahrenheit.

Cholera is of very common occurrence, and in its very worst form. The most robust are often attacked, and expire in less than an hour in frightful agony. A fever called the Java fever, and which has a striking resemblance to the yellow fever of the West Indies, immolates a multitude of victims. Diarrhœa and dysentery are very common and very dangerous. The patient falls suddenly into a state of such extreme weakness, that he resembles a living skeleton, and medicines are of little use here, where the stomach and intestines have become completely deranged.

Venereal disease is extremely common amongst the natives, but they are in possession of several specifics of their own for its cure, which from their simple manner of living is speedily effected.

The chief and most important production of Java is coffee, which is almost equal in quality

to Mocha, and its cultivation is carried to the highest degree of perfection. Pepper forms also a considerable branch of commerce. Sugar is largely manufactured, and of different qualities. Indigo is becoming an object of great attention to the settlers. Cotton is very extensively grown, and opium and tobacco hold a conspicuous place in Dutch exports.

Rice, however, is the staple production of the island, which was formerly the rice granary of Sumatra, the Malacca islands, Borneo, and Bandar. Many years ago, the governor of Anger informed me, they were enabled to export from Java 80,000,000 lbs. of rice yearly, but since the islands in the vicinity have discovered the advantage and necessity of cultivating this precious article at home, Java only grows enough for her own consumption, and the supply of vessels in her ports. But even this demands an enormous quantity. It is calculated that every native consumes one pound and a quarter of rice per diem, without including what is used by Europeans in their bakeries, and arrack distilleries. It is the custom to

give the horses two or three pounds of rice a day, and the poultry are kept upon it.

The short duration of our stay at Anger, and, indeed, the great heat prevented my enjoying my usual amusement of shooting, as the game in the neighbourhood was said to be abundant. Wild peafowl, partridges, a particular sort of pheasant, woodcocks, snipes, and wild pigeons are amongst the varieties of the feathered tribe, and strange to say, an enormous bat, called a flying fox from the formation of its head and tail, is considered one of the greatest delicacies of the table. This bird-animal measures sometimes six or seven feet between the extremities of the wings. These wings are furnished with hooks, by which they suspend themselves from the fruit trees during the night. In the morning, they retire into some dark and impenetrable forest.

Deer of many kinds are said to abound in the forests, and wild hogs are far too numerous for the good of the farmer. Wild buffaloes are also found, as well as leopards and royal tigers. The rhinoceros is also indigenous to parts of Java, and of the most ferocious description. When

wounded, his desperation is inconceivable. In spite of his unwieldy shape and size, his speed is wonderful, and he uproots trees, and bears everything down before him that opposes his pursuit of the unfortunate sportsman who has wounded, or even insulted him. It is very seldom that the inhabitants venture to hunt this animal, and then always in large numbers.

The little town and fort of Anger, with a garrison of twenty-five Dutch soldiers, is beautifully situated in the centre of a small bay in the midst of the most luxuriant tropical vegetation. The governor's house or bungalow, and those of several other functionaries, were models of neatness, and surrounded by gardens full of beautiful flowers and shrubs. All the European inhabitants, however, that I observed (although a Dutchman is supposed to be able to support anything) bore an impress in their cadaverous countenances of the effects of the climate. The few stores or shops in the town were principally kept by Chinamen.

From hence an excellent road is constructed

to Batavia, which can be reached by horseback or carriage in a few hours.

After ascending some rather lofty hills, and getting several miles into the country, the primitive vegetation of this island discloses a vigour and majesty which a European regards with astonishment the first time he beholds it. The deep shade sheds around a sort of melancholy obscurity—the colossal and imposing forms of trees, children of antiquity—the profound and mysterious silence of nature, interrupted only by the songs of birds, all tend to create sensations which to be able to convey an idea of should be expressed on the spot.

Nature here seems to obey other laws ; for she is constantly in activity. The trees are always covered with the richest verdure, and produce each year a double harvest of fruit, sometimes more ; and the fertile soil teems with valuable plants without the trouble of sowing or cultivating them.

The Javanese are chiefly Mahometans ; very few traces of their ancient idolatry now remains. The dress of the higher classes is excessively

rich and expensive, and so covered with ornaments, that it gives them an air of theatrical princes. Their long black hair, soaked in coconut oil, is plaited closely behind the head, and wrapt in a piece of coloured stuff resembling a turban.

A man of distinction wears a jacket, either of velvet, cloth, or silk, ornamented with tassels of gold and silver, and richly embroidered. To this jacket are attached eighteen golden buttons, this number, as well as that of nine, being sacred amongst the Javanese. They do not make use of shirts, but have a kind of white cotton under-vest, without any collar, and which, according to their means, is ornamented in front with eighteen buttons of diamonds, or other precious stones. The pantaloons are generally made of the same stuff as the jacket, with broad stripes of gold or silver down the sides. Besides this, the natives dress themselves for their ease in a long, loose robe of silk or cotton that reaches from the waist to the feet, and is called a *sarong*. Shoes or slippers of the Turkish form are in general use with them ; but they do not wear boots.

Their arms are exceedingly rich, and nothing is so sacred in their estimation. They give them different names, such as the *krease* or poignard, either with a straight or curved blade ; *badeh*, or dagger, with a straight blade and curved handle ; *wadung*, a large but short knife, which forms an indispensable portion of their court dress.

These poignards and daggers are worn either on the right or left side of the girdle, and cost sometimes several thousand piastres. The scabbards are frequently of gold, and set with diamonds and rubies. The blades are damascined, and are of greater or less value, according to the figures and hieroglyphics engraved upon them. The priests explain the subject of these figures, and nearly all the Javanese draw signs and auguries from them ; and nothing would induce them to carry a weapon which they considered as bearing unfavourable signs upon the blade.

All legacies of this kind are scrupulously preserved. Nothing in the world is so sacred to them as some old armour that has descended to them from their ancestors ; and he would be

considered an unpardonable apostate, who would mortgage or dispose of these relics.

The Javanese of the middle class is distinguished from the higher order by his dress and arms. His *coiffure* is not so elegant, the materials of his dress are not so rich, and, instead of stripes of gold and silver, he substitutes red or yellow cotton ones. He rarely wears pantaloons, and never shoes. He is often naked to the waist, and has no other dress but the *sarong*. His arms are devoid of ornament, and of simple manufacture.

The poorer classes wrap themselves in a worse *sarong*, or go quite naked, with the exception of a short apron round the waist.

The *coiffure* of the women has a striking resemblance to that of the Canton of Unterwalden in Switzerland, but instead of confining their tresses by means of one large needle, as is there the custom, they ornament the hair with a number of small coloured needles disposed in the form of a garland.

These needles or bodkins are often very valuable as they are generally embellished with

precious stones. The women are fond of allowing their long black hair to float over their shoulders, particularly on quitting the bath, which is very becoming to them. The beauty of their hair consists in its extreme length, and intense blackness of colour, but it is of so stiff and coarse a texture, that a Parisian artist could make nothing of it. Sweet scented flowers, with which they flavour cocoa nut oil, and wear in their hair, are also scattered about their persons, and repand an agreeable perfume.

The jewels which the women carry suspended from their ears, and which I was enabled to examine, are of different kinds. They most frequently wear a sort of rosette composed of stones, either of real or false, at the extremity of the ear, and rivetted behind. Some, particularly the dancing girls, wear ear-rings, and others appear to have their ears greatly elongated by the heavy ornaments they suspend from them.

The *sarong* I have already described, covers them from the feet to the waist or arms. The bosom is hidden by a piece of white cloth, or enclosed by a neat corset. They wear, with an

indescribable grace and coquetry, a long and light scarf which they twist into a thousand forms. Many of the women, and particularly the public dancers, have a massive golden or silver girdle round the waist. Others wear a waistband embroidered with the precious metals, and which sets off and enhances the beauty of their elegant figures. They do not make use of shoes, but slippers of embroidered velvet.

The poorer classes possess none of these objects of luxury. All their wardrobe is often composed of an old and short *sarong*, which scarcely reaches below their hips, and the thousand holes of which are patched with rags of all colours.

The system the Javanese adopt in the construction of their houses is very simple. The bamboo is almost the only material they make use of. For a house composed of from four to six apartments, seven or eight hundred bamboos are necessary; and one of twenty-five feet in length costs four centimes. The ordinary household utensils are made of bamboo, and four good workmen are able to construct a solid

habitation in the space of a week. The only instrument they make use of in their labour, is the *solok*, a large and heavy knife. They use no nails, but close everything with thin slices of rattan (*Calamus rotang*). They are exceedingly ingenious, and full of talent and invention when employed in these constructions, but have little or no knowledge of building with stone or wood.

On one side of the house there are also generally some small offices or go-downs, for the preservation of rice and paddy, and stables for the buffaloes, which are nothing more than a simple roof resting on bamboos, and enclosed by a hedge of cactus or prickly pear.

During our stay at Anger, a large vessel arrived from China with upwards of 1500 Coolies on board, and bound for the Havannah. They touched at this port for water and provisions, and whilst at anchor several of these unfortunate creatures were drowned whilst trying to escape on shore, by swimming, and an attempt was made by them to take the ship, and murder the officers and crew.

Nothing can be more infamous than this commerce in Coolies, which, in fact, is not only a nefarious method of avoiding the penalties attached to dealing in slaves, but from the way in which it is carried on, is quite as bad as any slave trade in the world.

A number of the lowest and most miserable of the Chinese, are induced by individuals, their own countrymen, who make this traffic their profession, to sell themselves to servitude for a certain number of years, and for a consideration, amounting in value to the comparative misery or desperation of the receiver, (generally a few dollars). They are then taken down in gangs to the nearest port, and disposed of, *en masse*, to the owners of some vessel, who despatch them at once to Cuba, Rio, or any other port where slave labour is at a premium. Their period of service is generally seven years, but very few live to return, even should they have the inclination.

Very large wages are given to the captain, officers and crew who will undertake to navigate and safely land at their destination, a cargo of

Coolies; and the risk they undergo certainly warrants a considerable increase of salary.

Often when the Coolies have been some time at sea, decimated by disease and bad provisions, and alive to all the horrors of their condition, they form plans for escape, and the destruction of the officers and crew of the ship. The latter are forced to be perpetually on their guard. They all dwell together in the after part of the ship, and the Coolies forward; the ship's complement of men is double the usual one. Two brass six-pounders, loaded with grape, are fitted at the cuddy doors, and pointed forward; and every individual composing the crew keeps his arms ready for instant service. In fact, during a voyage of three or four months or more, every moment, night or day, is pregnant with anxiety and danger.

The Dutch government were at war with a people on the northern part of the island of Sumatra, where several thousand troops were at that time employed. It is wonderful how completely this nation keeps its own affairs to itself, as the vulgar saying is, and how little the rest

of the world know any thing of its transactions. These transactions are, however, generally guided by good policy, and good sense, and, above all, extreme firmness and determination.

The head functionary of Java, and all the Dutch possessions in these seas, is the Governor-General, residing at Batavia, whose title is, "Governor-General of the Dutch Indies, and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces by Land and Sea of his Majesty the King of Holland to the East of the Cape of Good Hope."

His power, although very extensive, is still limited to a certain point by a Council of the Indies, whose members are designated Noble Seignors, and are joined to the supreme government in the quality of controllers. After these come the Supreme Court of Justice of Batavia, the Procureur-General, other law departments, those of Police, War, and the Navy, and all that belongs to the State, as well as the Resident or Lieutenant-Governors of provinces in the island of Java.

The governor of the Celebes, who resides at Macassar, and of the Malacca Islands at Am-

boina, are under the orders of the governor-general, and are appointed by him, with the reserved approbation of the king; indeed, all appointments of this functionary, must be confirmed by the home government. It would be too long, and too tedious to enter into details of all the other branches of the administration; suffice it to say, that in subdivisions, and fundamental basis, the government of the Dutch East Indies, may hold rank with the now distinguished powers of Europe.

I regretted very much that our time was too limited to enable me to visit Batavia, from which very interesting city I was but a short distance removed; but our water casks were re-filled, the hen coops crammed to suffocation, with the most extensive gallinaceous variety. Pumpkins and bananas were suspended from every possible hanging place. Small wicker bird cages containing Java sparrows, doves, lories, and other pretty specimens of ornithology, were fixed in every disposable corner of the cabin, und several green turtle floated in our large bathing tub on the poop.

We were once more ready for a start, and with wind and tide in our favour, sailed merrily through the Straits of Sunda, and were launched upon the vast Indian Ocean on the 6th September, 1855.

CHAPTER X.

THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE, AND ST. HELENA.

NOTHING of interest occurred during our voyage from the port to the Cape of Good Hope. The weather was delightful, and the wind fair, and on the 5th of October we came in sight of the coast of Africa, between Natal and Algoa Bay, and off St. John's River, having made a run of 4,400 miles within the month.

On the 18th, we had rounded the Cape, without having encountered one of those storms and gales so common in these latitudes, and which scarcely any vessel escapes. This morning, we hailed and spoke with a fine vessel,

named the "Suttledge," on her voyage to Calcutta with a detachment of the 6th Carbineers. On the 15th, we again fell in with the south east trade winds, and on the 21st, came to anchor in James Town harbour, St. Helena, having made the voyage from the Cape in ten days.

Many years ago, and under very different circumstances, I had passed some days in this Island. With spirits buoyant, with youth and happiness, I had just escaped, at a very early age, from the enervating climate of India, to the enjoyment of a very comfortable fortune in England, and had touched here on my homeward voyage. The tomb of Napoleon, Longwood, and all the souvenirs connected with the Emperor, were then the great objects of attraction to visitors at St. Helena; and I, in company with others, had braved the heat of a very tropical day to inspect them all; and, *selon les règles*, had brought home a handful of withered flowers, and some cuttings from the willow tree that then overshadowed the tomb, and

subsequently regaled ourselves at Solomon's, the Hebrew factotum of James's Town, at the price of a gold mohur each, for a very moderate entertainment. The remains of the Emperor had long since been translated to a far more magnificent resting place; but Solomon, or at least some descendants of that sapient family, still remained, and still enjoyed that commercial monopoly of all kinds, that had distinguished their predecessor. Most of the fortifications and detached forts, that had been erected at a great expense, for the safe guardianship of the formidable character in our custody, still remain, and the shores are still covered with pieces of heavy ordinance, and heaps of shot and shell. The town, however, was much improved since I last visited it in 1824, and many handsome buildings and fine barracks gave it an appearance of great comfort and prosperity. Some beautiful gardens producing many kinds of tropical fruits, flowers, and vegetables, as well as some European sorts, are situated at, and near the town, and many parts of the formerly barren

interior of the island, are now well cultivated by thriving farmers.

So many vessels of all nations touch at this place on their homeward voyage from the east, rather than brave the dangerous vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope at certain seasons, that a great deal of business is done in the way of victualling ships, &c., the greater part of which lucrative commerce is, as I before said, monopolized by the great "Solomon."

This general purveyor had also the honour and profit of supplying some of the deficiencies in our creature comforts, that were needed for the remainder of our voyage.

On the 22nd of October, we weighed anchor, once more in company with several other vessels, and on the 31st, again crossed the equator, with a fine and fair breeze, the weather being remarkably cool for that latitude.

On the 10th of November, the tropic of Cancer was passed; on the 21st we were off the Chops of the Channel; and on the 23rd, I landed at Portsmouth in a pilot boat, translated as it were

almost by enchantment from all the fervid influences of the torrid zone, into one of the most severe and early winters that had been experienced for some time in Great Britain.

END.

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