

AN  
**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
 OF ALL THE  
**VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD,**  
 PERFORMED BY  
**ENGLISH NAVIGATORS;**  
 INCLUDING THOSE LATELY UNDERTAKEN  
 By ORDER of his PRESENT MAJESTY  
 THE WHOLE  
 Faithfully Extracted from the JOURNALS of the  
**VOYAGERS.**

DRARE, undertaken in	1577-80	ANSON, undertaken in	1740-44
CAVENDISH,	1586-88	BYRON,	1764-66
COWLEY,	1683-86	WALLIS,	1766-68
DAMPIER,	1689-96	CARTERET,	1766-69
COOKE,	1708-11		
ROGERS,	1708-11	And	
CLIPPERTON and }		COOK,	1768-71
SHELVOCKE, }	1719-22		

TOGETHER WITH  
 That of SYDNEY PARKINSON, Draftsman to JOSEPH  
 BANKS, Esq; who circumnavigated the Globe with  
 Capt. COOK, in his Majesty's Ship the ENDEAVOUR.

AND  
 The Voyage of Monf. BOUGAINVILLE round the World,  
 Performed by Order of the French King.

Illustrated with Maps, Charts, and Historical Prints.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

To which is added,  
 An APPENDIX. Containing the JOURNAL of  
 a VOYAGE to the NORTH POLE, by the Hon. Com-  
 modore PHIPPS, and Captain LUTWIDGE.

---

VOLUME THE SECOND.

---

L O N D O N:  
 Printed for F. NEWBERRY, the Corner of St. Paul's  
 Church-Yard.

---

MDCC LXXIV.



# THE VOYAGES

O. F.

CAPTAIN COOKE.

THE rich cargo of the annual ship from Manilla to Acapulco, has ever been the object which private adventurers to the South Seas have had in view; while, on the other hand, the annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla has been the pursuit of the ships of war. This difference has arisen from the different constitution of the two ships; for the galleon, when she sets sail from Manilla, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, (such as Chinese silks and manufactures, vast quantities of Indian stuffs, callicoes, and chintz, besides the minuter articles of goldsmiths work, embroidery, &c. wrought at Manilla by the Chinese,) she has not the convenience of mounting her lower tier of guns, but generally carries them in her hold. Her hands too are as few as are consistent with the safe navigation of the ship, that she may be the less encumbered by the stowage of provisions; so that being but weakly manned, and indifferently provided for defence, she is thereby more exposed to the attacks of small privateers, and more easy

VOL. II.

B

to

to be made their prey ; and, though she does not contain so great a treasure as the other, yet she is sufficiently rich to recompense the undertakers, and to enrich the captors, her cargo being generally estimated at three millions of dollars.

But the ship from Acapulco making her return chiefly in silver and gold, and having little or no bulky goods on board, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tier is always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manilla. Besides, there being many merchants who take their passage to Manilla on board the galleon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of 600 fighting men ; so that she is more than a match for such small privateers as are generally sent upon hazardous expeditions, and a prize only for a royal ship of war ; and has therefore never been attempted by any other.

The voyage we are now about to relate was purposely fitted out with a view to intercept the Manilla ship at the instance of Dampier, in concluding of whose character (from reading the accounts written by himself) we were led into an error, which the present voyage, written by Captain Cooke, has enabled us to correct. The ill success that attended the voyage to the South Seas, under the immediate command of Dampier, of which a brief relation is given in the first  
volume



volume of this work, was so far from discouraging that enterprizing officer from pursuing his favourite project of making prize of the Manilla ship, that, after his return, when he had wearied the merchants of London with fruitless solicitations, he repaired to Bristol, where his representations were better understood, and where they were attended with better effect. By his solid remonstrances he prevailed upon nineteen of the principal merchants and gentlemen of that city to unite and form a company, for the purpose of fitting out two private ships of war, to shew what advantages might be derived from a well-conducted enterprize against the Spaniards in the South Seas: and it may, perhaps, be attributed to his judgment and experience, that they were more properly adapted to the service on which they were to be sent, and were better provided against every accident to which they might be exposed, than any privateers that ever were fitted out before them. Add to this, that their crews were furnished with better regulations, and subjected to stricter rules, and under severer penalties, than men listed to go on hazardous adventures are generally willing to submit to.

Their principal officers were gentlemen of experience, or highly interested in the success of the voyage; being the first subscribers, and the chief promoters of the undertaking; and these also were assisted with a second set of officers, equally able and experienced, who, in case of accidents, were ready to supply the places of those who might be disabled.

#### 4 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

But, besides being awed by penalties from trespassing the articles of agreement that were signed by every man on board from the highest to the lowest, they were likewise encouraged by rewards to behave gallantly; every common sailor who should lose a limb in time of action being entitled to a *douceur* of 30*l.* and so in proportion to officers according to their respective ranks: yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, we find them ever ready to mutiny.

The two ships, thus fitted up and regulated, were called the *Duke* and *Dutchess*; the first, of 300 tons, 36 guns, and 183 men, was commanded by Woodes Rogers; the other, of 270 tons, 30 guns, and 151 men, by Captain Stephen Courtney.

Captain Rogers, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active man, an indefatigable officer, one who would not give up his opinion readily to others, nor be flattered by other people's giving up their opinion, without being convinced, to him. He had been, according to Harris, a large sufferer by the French, and was naturally no great friend to that nation; but his most singular quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this command, was a peculiar art he had of maintaining his authority, and at the same time preserving his influence, over his seamen; an *art*, or *gift* rather, in which Captain Dampier was remarkably deficient.

Captain Courtney was a man of birth, fortune, and of many amiable qualities; he contributed

tributed largely to the expence of the voyage, and took a share in it to superintend the management, and to interpose and qualify the differences that might arise in the course of a tedious and dangerous navigation; being a person of an admirable temper, and remarkable for moderation in all his decisions, in which almost all men were ready to acquiesce.

Besides these two gentlemen, who were first in command, Dr. Thomas Dover (the same, who, about forty years ago, so effectually recommended the use of quicksilver in a little book, entitled *Dr. Dover's Last Legacy to his Country*, that ladies as well as gentlemen of rank and fortune bespangled the floors and carpets with quicksilver, and scattered their diamonds wherever they met to dance, or to play) was second Captain on board the *Duke*; and Captain Edward Cooke, our author, was second to Captain Courtney.

Dover was a considerable contributor to the voyage, but he was of a rough ungovernable temper, seldom pleased with either measures or men; but incapable of forming any party to support his own notions, because no party could ever be brought to approve them.

Captain Cooke was an able and experienced seaman, had been twice taken prisoner, and twice released by the enemy, and now embarked his All in this bottom with a view to make one effort more to gain a fortune.

Captain Dampier, who projected the voyage,  
was

## 6      CAPTAIN COOKE's VOYAGES.

was made pilot on board the Duke to direct it. Of him the reader has already heard enough in the former volume of this Work ; and from the character of the leaders it is natural to infer, that they were choice in the appointment of their inferior officers, and that even the common men were not of the meaner sort.

The general instructions of the owners were, first, to repair to Ireland to take in provisions, and then to proceed with all possible expedition to the South Sea ; if luckily they met with any prizes by the way, they were either to send them home or to America, as should best suit ; they were ordered by all means to keep together, and to act in concert ; to undertake no enterprise of consequence without first deliberating the matter in a general council of officers in both ships ; to be particularly careful in assisting each other in every circumstance of necessity ; and that in giving relief in times of danger, or in supplying provisions or water in case of want, they should be as one ship, and that on no pretence the one should be suffered to want while the other had any thing to supply ; but, as they were to share alike in all advantages, they should share alike too in all sufferings.

Thus fitted out and thus instructed, and the officers of both ships being provided with legal commissions to cruise against her Majesty's enemies, the French and Spaniards, in the South Seas, on the first of August, 1708, they unmoored from King-road, and on the 4th of the  
same

same month cast anchor at the Cove in Cork, where they continued victualling, and adjusting their men, changing some and enlisting others, among whom were many foreigners, till the first of September, when they sailed in company with the Hastings man of war, having first agreed, in case of separation, to meet at Madeira, there to take in wine and brandy for the remainder of the voyage.

[Here it is necessary to apprise the reader, that, as there are two very authentic accounts of this voyage, one written by Captain Rogers, and one written by our author, we shall endeavour to reduce them into ONE, by supplying from Captain Rogers what is wanting in Captain Cooke, and shall, contrary to the method pursued in Harris, continue the narrative in the person of Captain Cooke, though sometimes we may be obliged to use the words of Captain Rogers. And this being premised, we will now proceed:]

On the 10th of September, says Captain Cooke, we spied a sail, which we chased and came up with. She happened to be a Swede, bound for Cadiz; and though from several circumstances there was reason to suspect that she had contraband goods on board, yet it being difficult to prove it, and we being in haste, dismissed her. This caused a mutiny on board the Duke, headed by the boatswain and three inferior officers, who persuaded the men not to give her up. Captain Rogers confined the au-  
thors

## 8      CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

thors of this disorder, in which there was not one foreigner concerned. He put ten of the mutineers in irons, a sailor being first soundly whipped for exciting the rest to join him ; others less guilty he punished and discharged ; but the chief officers continued armed, fearing what might happen, the ship's company seeming too much to favour the mutineers. They had afterwards a great deal of trouble with these fellows, who did more mischief when in irons than before, by stirring up the men to release them, pretending that they suffered in the cause of the crew, and therefore the crew ought to rise and release them. This determined the Captain to make some examples, but not to irritate too much ; he therefore began by removing the boatswain from his office, and appointing another in his room, without intending any thing further. But on the 14th this intestine storm rose higher than ever ; for then a sailor, with the best part of the ship's company at his heels, went up to the Captain, and demanded the boatswain out of custody. With this man the Captain desired to speak alone, and when he came upon the quarter-deck, the officers seized him, and caused one of his chief comrades to whip him. Thus by different corrections of the like kind, the officers on board the Duke broke the combination, and allayed the tumult. The boatswain they sent home in the Crown Galley in irons ; the other prisoners they released upon their humble submission ; such among  
them

them as were petty officers they restored to their commands, and all on board were forbidden to disobey or reproach them: and thus ended an insurrection, which, had it succeeded, would have put a stop at once to the farther prosecution of the voyage.

On the 15th, finding ourselves to the southward, and at the same time somewhat to the eastward of Madeira, we changed our place of rendezvous, and bore away for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 18th, at five in the morning, we saw a sail right a-head, to which we gave chase. About ten, we came up with, and took her, being a small Spanish bark bound from Teneriff to Fuertaventura, with several men and women passengers on board, and laden with sundry sorts of goods. Next day we bore away for Oratavia-road, where we stood off and on, and sent away the prize's boat with one of our owner's agents, a priest, and the master of the prize, to treat about the ransom of her, and to get wine, provisions, and other necessaries, for the refreshment of both the ships. About eight next morning, a boat came from the town, with a letter from the English merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making prize of the bark, alledging that there was a free trade agreed to in these islands between her Majesty of Great Britain and the Kings of France and Spain, so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an English ship taken there by a French privateer,

to be restored; and farther, representing the danger that might arise to themselves, living by permission in an enemy's country, if the bark was not immediately given up, for which reprisals would be made on them; as also, that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled commerce. This letter was signed by the Consul and three capital merchants. Our Captains immediately returned for answer, that, having no instructions relating to the Spanish vessels trading among those islands, they could not justify the releasing of the ship on their bare opinions, without some order or proclamation of her Majesty, the English being protected there only on anchoring ground, and the bark being taken in the open seas; that, in case Mr. Vanbrugh, the owners agent, was not restored, they would carry away all the prisoners they had; and, if they apprehended any detriment to the factory, they might ransom the bark, and seek their redress in England. They desired dispatch, there being no time to lose; and, upon sending back Mr. Vanbrugh, they would release the prisoners. At night another letter came in answer to theirs, from the Consul, importing, that the English men-of-war were civilly received there, and never committed any hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any Spaniards, who were never made prisoners in England, or elsewhere; and the Governor there delivered up to him any English prisoners that were brought in by Spanish privateers; wherefore



fore he insisted, that those in our custody should be dismissed, and the bark discharged, accepting a present of wine in return. With this from the Consul at the city of Laguna, came another letter from the merchants at Oratavia-port, much to the same purport, only offering to pay to the value of 450 pieces of eight, the sum demanded for the bark, in wine, brandy, sugar, oil, barley, and greens, to prevent incensing the natives against them, not doubting but that reparation would be made them in England. Our Captains replied, by threatening to cruise among the islands to avail themselves for their loss of time, and to cannonade the town of Oratavia, unless they received instant satisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the morning, we stood in for the shore, making a clear ship; but, soon after, we saw a boat coming with our owners agent, and Mr. Cross, one of the English merchants, bringing five butts of wine, and other refreshments. We lay off the town, took the goods out of the prize, sold the bark to Mr. Cross, and put the prisoners on board her. Thus ended this troublesome business, which being unanimously approved of at a council of officers of both ships, they proceeded on their voyage; and, seeing a sail to the westward, gave chase to her, but, night coming on, lost her.

On the 24th we crossed the Tropic of Cancer, and, the Sunday following, performed the ceremony of dipping the men of both ships who had

not crossed it before; a ceremony that causes a good deal of mirth among the common men.

On the 30th we passed by Santa Lucia, one of the Cape de Verd islands, and by eight in the morning came in sight of St. Vincent, and about eleven came to an anchor in ten fathom water within the rock.

As we knew the island not to be inhabited, we were not a little surprized to see some people on shore; and, in order to learn who they were, and what their business was, I armed the pinnace, and went on shore, when we found them to be Portuguese come from the island of St. Anthony to catch turtle, who told us we might here wood and water.

This island lies in lat. 16 deg. 55 min. N. and in 25 deg. 36 min. W. long. from the meridian of London. There are on it Guinea-hens, hogs, and goats, and about the shore plenty of fish. In the woods there are spiders as large as little birds, whose webs are not easily broken through, being woven with a substance nearly as strong as ordinary thread.

The Cape Verd islands are eleven in number, St. Anthony, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, St. Nicholas, Sal, Bona Vista, Mayo, St. Jago, Fogo, Romes, and Brava; and take their general name from a promontory on the African shore. They belong to the Portuguese, but are not all inhabited.

While we lay at St. Vincent's, new disturbances arose among the men in relation to plunder; for  
here

here they had an opportunity of trading, and therefore every man wished to have something to exchange. The effects taken in the late prize occasioned a general murmur throughout both the ships; to put an end to which, and to fix the people in a firm resolution of doing their duty, we determined to settle the matter at once, by framing such articles, as, without giving our owners any ground of complaint, might inspire the seamen with courage and constancy, and make them as willing to obey as their officers were ready to command. It cost some trouble to adjust the articles; but that was fully compensated, by their effectually answering the purpose. And now, having composed all differences, the men again chearfully returned to their duty, all but two or three of the Duke's men, who made their escape on shore; among whom was their linguist, who probably had no mind to be left behind; but, having staid beyond his leave of absence, and paid no regard to the orders that were sent him to repair on board, it was thought proper, by way of example, to depart without him. Accordingly on the 7th of October we unmoored, and, on the 8th, after lying by all night for our consort, we set sail together for the coast of Brasil. But on our passage thither, some fresh disputes arose among our men; and, after various consultations to accommodate the differences, it was resolved, that Mr. Page, who was our second mate, should be sent to serve on board the Duke, and Mr. Ballet to come from the

## 14 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

the Duke to serve on board the Dutchess in his room. This was not to be effected without force, Page refusing to obey the order; and when it was on the point of being put in execution, he resisted; but, being overpowered, and carried on board the Duke, he was there charged with mutiny. He desired to go to the head, for a necessary purpose, before he made his defence, and was permitted so to do; when he instantly jumped over-board, with the design of getting back again to the Dutchess, but was taken up, tried, and punished, which put an end to the disturbance for that time.

On Wednesday the 27th we crossed the Line, and on Sunday the 14th of November saw land at a great distance, and at noon made Cape Frio, on the coast of Brasil. On the 18th we anchored before Illo Grande, and on the 19th moored our ship in ten fathom water. Here one of our men going from the ship without leave, giving the first Lieutenant foul language, and threatening soon to be revenged, was put in irons; and his messmates and confederates demanding his release, or desiring to share in his punishment, seven voluntarily went into irons.

On the 21st I went on shore in the pinnace with a present to the Governor, and to acquaint him we were friends. At our first landing they fired several shot, taking us for French; but afterwards made an apology, and received us civilly. On the 23d two of the mutineers were whipped, and put in irons again. On the 24th  
four

four of the eight men in irons were released, on their submission ; and two men went on shore, designing to leave the ship, and, having bargained with a canoe to carry them to the main, they were by mistake put ashore at a distant part of the island, where, finding themselves on an uninhabited coast, they began to relent ; and, after staying a night in the woods, where they were terrified with the roaring of wild beasts, they came in sight of the ship, and made signs of repentance, humbling themselves in the most suppliant manner, and on their knees, with their hands lifted up, endeavouring to move compassion. After some time the boat went off, and brought them on board, where they were confined in irons till the next day, and then ordered to be flogged and released.

On the 25th two Irish landmen stole away from the Duke, and secreted themselves in the woods, in like manner as the two seamen had done from the Dutchess. About four next morning the watch on the quarter-deck spied a canoe, and hailed her to come on board ; but the rowers not answering, but striving to escape, the Duke's pinnace pursued the canoe, fired into her, and mortally wounded one of the Indian rowers. He that owned and steered the canoe was a friar, and had a quantity of gold on board, which, after running the canoe ashore, he had just time to hide before the Duke's pinnace reached the land. A Portuguese, who was in the canoe, and who had no gold to lose, would not follow  
the

the friar ; but, on the contrary, knowing the English to be friends, called the Father back, who, upon his return, was carried with the wounded Indian on board the Duke, where the poor man was dressed by the surgeon, but died in a few hours. The officers in both ships were very sorry for this unfortunate accident, and entered their protest against it, and caused the man to be buried on shore in a very solemn manner. The friar, however, who had lost his gold, was not to be appeased, but threatened to seek for justice in Portugal or England.

In towing the ship about the easternmost part of the island, we spied the Duke's two men waiting for a canoe to carry them over to the main ; and two of our Lieutenants manned the boat, and, landing some men in a convenient place to get behind them, to prevent their escaping to the woods, they rowed to the place where the fellows were seen to lurk. When they found themselves beset, they endeavoured to fly ; but, being intercepted, they were brought on board, put in irons, and sent to their own ship, where they were afterwards severely punished.

On the 27th the principal officers on board both ships went in their pinnaces to the town of Angra dos Reys on the main, carrying the ships music along with them. They were kindly received and entertained by the Governor and Fathers, who with their servants are the principal inhabitants, there not being more than 50 or 60  
lowe

low-built houses in the place. They have a guard-house, where, at our landing, we were received by the Governor, with about 20 men under arms, and treated with a dinner, sweet-meats, and rum. The Governor and Fathers desired we would go to see their Franciscan monastery and church, that day being a festival with them, and the people coming from the plantations in the country to celebrate it. We complied; and, at their request, our musick, consisting of trumpets, hautboys, and violins, played in a gallery belonging to the church, and assisted in heightening the solemnization, to the no small satisfaction of the Fathers. After divine service we likewise joined in procession with them, and accompanied them from the church in the evening, every one carrying a large wax candle in his hand, according to the custom of the country on such occasions. The procession being closed, we were conducted into a great hall, and treated by the Fathers with an elegant supper of fish, sweet-meats, and fruits of various sorts in the highest perfection. At our coming away, they gave us some vollies with their small arms, and we returned the compliment by a flourish of trumpets, &c.

Fifteen days journey up the country there is said to be a very rich gold mine; and it was not long since the French plundered a bark with 800 weight of gold-dust on board, which it was bringing from the mine. Some men of credit told me, that the mines here are more

profitable than even Mexico or Peru; but that the Tapoyars, who inhabit the inland plains, are an unconquerable race of men, taller and stronger than the Portuguese, and not to be brought to labour. The Brazilian women are very fruitful, have easy labours, retire to the woods, where they are delivered alone, and return no more till after a certain time allotted for purification.

On Tuesday the 30th of November we weighed anchor; but a tornado coming on, we tacked, and stood under the island till its fury abated. On the 1st of December both ships sailed out of the bay, and pursued their course to the southward till the 21st, without meeting with any remarkable occurrence; but on that day a young man fell from the mizen-top-fail yard, and fractured his skull.

On the 23d we made land, which I supposed to be Falkland's Island, in lat. 51 deg. 25 min. S. by estimation.

On the 24th, as we ran along shore, the land looked like some part of England, having several good bays and vallies, but believe it to be wholly uninhabited.

On the 5th of January, 1709, we had a violent gale of wind at north-west, and very bad weather. At two in the afternoon we reefed both courses, then lowered our fore yard, and lay by till five, at which time our waste was filled with water, and we expected the ship to sink every moment: got down our fore-yard as  
well



well as we could, and loosed the sprit-sail to wear the ship, which at last we accomplished; but in wearing we thought we should have foundered with the weight of water that was in her waste. Thus we scudded before the wind, the Duke following, and at nine shipped a sea in the poop, as we in the cabin were going to supper. It beat in all the cabin windows and bulk-head, and hove the first Lieutenant half-way between the decks, with several muskets and pistols that hung there, darting a sword that was against the bulk-head of the cabin through my man's hammock and rug, which hung against the bulk head of the steerage; and, had not the bulk-head of the great cabin given way, all we who were there must inevitably have been drowned before the water could have been discharged. Our yaul was staved on the deck, and it was a wonder that many were not killed with the shutters, the bulk-head, and the arms, which were driven with a prodigious force; but Providence delivered us from this and many other dangers; only one man or two were hurt, and some bruised; but not one rag of dry cloaths was left us, our chests, beds, and bedding, being all soaked in sea-water. Next day the storm abated, and we continued our course, coasting very far to the south, where we endured much cold, by which many of our men were greatly affected, insomuch that a third part of both ships companies fell sick, occasioned, as I suppose, by their being long wet and cold. We

were now in lat. 61 deg. 48 min. S. long. from Falkland's Isles 18 deg. 5 min. W.

Monday 17, by a good observation I found that we were got round Cape Horn, Terra del Fuego, and the Straits of Magellan, and to the northward of Cape Vileria. On the 19th I reckoned we were to the northward of Port St. Stephen on the coast of Patagonia in the Great South Sea.

On Monday the 31<sup>st</sup>, at eight in the morning, made the Island of Juan Fernandes, where we designed to wood and water. In the afternoon Capt. Dover went off in the Pinnacle to get some provisions, and in the evening saw a fire ashore, which made us conclude there were ships in the road, as we were assured the island had no inhabitants: we therefore made the signal for the boat to return, and she accordingly came on board about twelve at night.

Tuesday Feb. 1, we rowed and towed into the great bay, and came to an anchor in 50 fathom water. All this day we had a clear ship expecting a rencounter; but were much disappointed, when, instead of a valuable prize, we discovered only an odd figure of a man, who had been the sole resident on the island for more than four years. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been Master of the Cinqueports, the ship that accompanied Dampier in his voyage to the South Seas, and was, as Dampier said, one of the best men in her. Captain Rogers immediately agreed with him to be his mate.

It was this man who made the fire in the night when he saw our ships, which he judged to be English. During his stay here, he saw several ships pass by; but only two came to an anchor. As he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them; upon which they shot at him. Had they been French he would have submitted, but chose to risque his dying alone on the island rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards, because he apprehended they would either murder, or make a slave of him in the mines; for he feared they would spare no stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Seas. The Spaniards had landed before he knew what they were, and they came so near him that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they charged their pieces, and killed several goats just by, but went off again without discovering him. He told us, that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here was a difference between him and his Captain, which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay here, than to go along with him at first, and when he was at last willing to go his Captain would not receive him. He had been at the island before to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months, till the ship returned, being  
chaced

## 22. CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

chaced thence by two French South Sea ships. He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but for the first eight months he had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts in Piemento-trees, covered them with long grafs, and lined them with the skins of goats which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound, and that being almost spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of Piemento wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he drest his victuals, and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

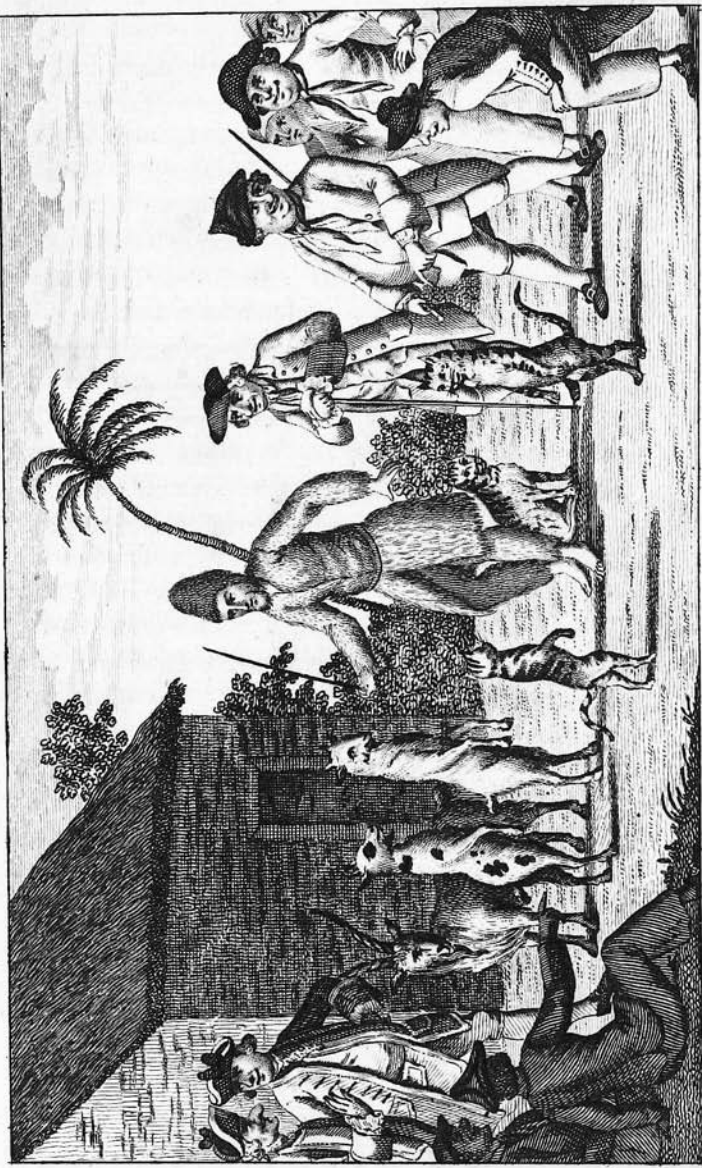
At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt, nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer. The Piemento wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for fire and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness, except crayfish, which

which are as large as lobsters, and very good. These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goat's-flesh, of which he made good broth. He kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked in the ear and let go. When his powder failed he took them by speed of feet, for his way of living and continual exercise cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog which we sent with several of our nimblest runners to help him to catch goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life. He pursued it with so much eagerness that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice of which he was not aware, the bushes hiding it from him; so that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was so bruised with the fall that he narrowly escaped with his life; and, when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days. He came at last to relish his meat without salt or bread. He had a constant supply of good turneps, which had been sown thereby

Captain

Captain Dampier, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had good cabbage from the cabbage-trees that grow wild upon the island, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the Piemento-trees, which is the same as Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found also a black-pepper, called Malageta, which was very good to expel wind and strengthen the stomach. He soon wore out all his shoes and cloaths by running in the woods; and at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without difficulty; and it was some time before he could wear shoes after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled when he came to wear them again. After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes with cutting his name upon the trees, sometimes with contrivances to vary and increase his stock of tools, and sometimes in clear evenings in counting the stars. He was at first much pestered with cats and rats that had bred in great numbers from some of each species which had got ashore from ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and cloaths while he slept, which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goat's flesh, by which many of them became so tame, that they would be about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids; and, to vary his diversions, would now and then sing and teach them to dance; so that  
by





Alexander Selkirk Makes his Cats and Kids dance before Capt. Cook and his Company.



by his natural flow of humour, and the vigour of his youth, being now but 30 years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his cloaths were worn out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goat's skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail; and, when his knife was worn out to the back, he made others of some iron hoops that were ashore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linnen cloth by him, he sewed himself some shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him on the island. At his coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language for want of use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals. He could give us no account of any other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except some black plumbs, which are very good, but hard to come at, the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks.

The officers that went first on shore were invited to his retreat; but the way to it being very rugged and intricate, only a very few of

them had curiosity enough to visit it. He had conceived an irreconcilable aversion to an officer on board the *Cinque Ports*, who, he was informed, was on board the *Duke*; but, not being a principal in command, he was prevailed upon to waive that circumstance, and to accompany Captain Dampier, for whom he had a friendship. He was very useful while the ships staid at Juan Fernandez, in supplying them with fresh provisions, and in facilitating the business of taking in wood and water. He said, he had seen snow and ice in July, which is the middle of winter in that climate; but the months of September, October, and November, are inconceivably pleasant; the air being perfumed with a fragrance that cherishes and revives the spirits, and has a wonderful effect upon animals, as well as men, which Selkirk remarked by their playwardness and plumpness. He particularly directed us to a plant not much unlike feverfew, of a most grateful and cordial scent, with which we strewed the tents of the sick, who were thereby much comforted, and their cure facilitated. We gathered many bundles of it, dried them in the shade, and sent them on board.

On the 13th of February, a general council of officers was held on board the *Duke*, when many necessary regulations were agreed to, for the maintenance of order, discipline, and secrecy; among which, two inspectors were appointed from on board the *Duke*, to take account of all prizes taken by the Dutchess; and the like  
number

number from the Dutchess, to register such as should be taken by the Duke.

While we continued in this bay the carpenters fitted up the pinnaces, the frames of which were ready prepared at Bristol, at our first setting out.

On the 14th the pinnaces were launched, and having each a gun fitted to her prow, were tried in the bay, to see how they would sail, being intended to serve as small ships of war, to examine the harbours where the large ships could not venture to approach the shore. And now, having all things in readiness, we began to prepare for our departure, all our sick men being recovered, except two who died, and were buried on the island.

On the 15th we cleared the bay, and pursued a northerly course till the 24th, when we crossed the Tropic of Capricorn, and shot some Tropic birds about the size of a partridge, with only a single feather in their tails, but that very long, and very taper. We had now the sea as smooth as a pond; and, having little to do, we ordered the men to attend prayers regularly twice a day, prohibited gaming, to prevent the artful from taking advantage of the simple; and imposed a penalty against swearing, by which that vice was almost excluded the ship's company.

On Monday the 28th I ordered three of our men to be put in irons, for cutting the meat in the steep-tub, and hiding it; and on the 2d of

## 28 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

March, Captain Courtney caused them to be whipped and pickled, by way of example.

On Thursday the 14th of March, Captain Rogers, Captain Dover, and Captain Dampier, came on board the Dutchess; and concluded, that the strict observation of Lent having prevented the Spaniards from trafficking in those seas, the most eligible plan would be to bear away under an easy sail for Lobos, and there to supply ourselves with boats to land at Guayaquil; but in the afternoon saw a sail, gave chase, and took her. She came from Guayaquil, and was bound for Cheripe to load flour, and had been out 16 days. The crew were all Indians, except one Spanish passenger. They had nothing on board but about 50 l. in money to pay for their cargo, and told us, that part of the new town of Guayaquil had lately been burnt; that the *Jesus Maria*, formerly a man-of-war, was coming from Lima to be there rebuilt; that another large ship was expected from Panama at Payta; and that they had heard nothing of any English men-of-war or privateers being in those seas.

On the 16th we made the island of Lobos, and in the evening anchored in the road. It lies in lat. 6 deg. 5 min. S. about 16 leagues from the continent, is barren, and affords neither wood nor water; but there is good riding for ships, and harbours proper for repairing and careening. Here the prize was fitted up, and it was agreed, that I should go out in her with 35 men, to cruise  
in

in company with the Dutchess; and with that view she was new named, and called *The Beginning Galley*.

On the 26th, at day-break, we saw a ship standing to the southward, and soon came up with her. She was a bark of 50 tons, bound from Guayaquil to Truxillo, with timber and coconuts. It was agreed, that Captain Courtney should stand in with her in the night; and that I should continue to cruise till farther orders, which on the 27th I received, and the same evening came to an anchor by the Duke and Dutchess in Lobos-Road. Next day, the prisoners being examined, reported, that a ship of 36 brass guns was expected from Lima with the Viceroy of Mexico and his mother on board; and that they were bound to Panama. Upon this intelligence it was resolved in full council to cruise in quest of this ship, and if she escaped to attack Guayaquil.

While the Duke lay at Lobos, the carpenters built a large boat to land men, in case of an attack; and, having made all necessary preparations, and the sick men from both ships being put on board the last prize, which was called the *Increase*, our first Lieutenant was ordered to command the *Beginning Galley*; and on the 31st of March we left Lobos, and agreed to cruise six leagues to the windward of the Saddle of Payta, as the most likely station to succeed in our enterprize.

On the 2d of April we fell in with a large ship,

ship, of 400 tons, from Panama, heavily laden with dry goods, commanded by Captain Morel, and thought to be one of the largest merchant-ships in all those seas. He had 50 or 60 blacks on board, besides several passengers.

The next day we took another prize of small value, having only about 90 or 100 l. in plate, and a small quantity of timber. She was of 50 tons burthen, commanded by Juan Perezillo Bastillo, who told us that a bishop was coming by sea from Panama to Lima with 200,000 pieces of eight, and a considerable quantity of family plate; but no ship appearing in sight from the 3d to the 9th, it was then upon consultation agreed to call in the cruisers, and to attempt the conquest of Puna and Guayaquil. This resolution being taken in council, it was next debated, who should command in chief on shore; and, after a warm contest, it was at length agreed, that Captain Rogers and Captain Courtney should each command a company of seamen, and Captain Dover a party of landmen; that Captain Dover should give the word of command the first night, and the other two Captains take their turns.

On Sunday the 10th, Mr. Vanbrugh, the owner's agent, was removed from the council, and Mr. Samuel Hopkins was chosen in his room; the charge against him was founded on killing the Indian, as already mentioned, and engaging to vote with Captain Rogers upon all occasions. Captain Dover likewise charged him

him with insolence, and with disobeying orders.

On the 12th, the attack of Guayaquil was finally settled, and the whole fleet set sail for that harbour. Some new regulations were framed, and fresh encouragement proposed to animate the men to behave resolutely.

The three commanding officers selected each their respective parties, Captain Dover the marines, and the Captains Rogers and Courney two parties of sailors, 75 men in each; Captain Dampier commanded the artillery, and was to form a body of reserve, to act as occasion should offer. The whole number employed in this service amounted to 238 effective men. The care of the ships and prizes was at the same time entrusted to the Captains Cooke and Fry, who, besides a small complement of sailors, had 226 Indians and blacks on board.

Friday 15. Saw a sail near the shore, and, having little wind, the Duke's boat commanded by Captain Fry, and ours by myself, made directly for her, going off in such haste that neither of us had the swivel guns we used to carry, nor our full complement of men. The Duke's boat nearing her first, she put out Spanish colours, fired a gun, and hoisted her Spanish flag at the main-top-mast head. The Duke's boat then lay by for us to come up. We saw she was French-built, and, by the description the prisoners had given us, concluded it must be the ship we had been so long cruising for, which

was

was to carry the Bishop. Our ships being almost out of sight, and the Spaniards so near the coast, we resolved to lay her on board on each bow, and accordingly fell to it. The dispute was hot for a long time, we keeping a constant fire, and the enemy returning it, who killed two of Captain Fry's men, besides wounding one of his and two of mine. One of the killed was Mr. John Rogers, our second Lieutenant, and brother to Captain Rogers. The Duke's boat, finding the enterprize desperate, bore away; and some time after we did the like: but Captain Fry having put some of his men aboard of us, given us some powder and shot, and taken in our wounded, I made again to the chace, resolving to keep her from the shore, and, rather than fail, to clap her aboard. The Spaniards, perceiving our design, edged off to sea, and we followed them. Our ships came up apace, and the Dutchess having fired a shot or two, she struck her colours, and surrendered. The men begged for good quarter, and we promised them all civility. This ship came from Panama, and was bound for Lima, to be fitted out for a man of war. There were 70 blacks, and many passengers, with a considerable quantity of pearls, on board: the lading consisted of bale goods, and some things belonging to the Bishop; but they had set him, with his attendants, ashore at point St. Helena, from whence he was to go by land to Guayaquil. While the French possessed this vessel, she was called *La Lune d'Or*. She  
was



was of 270 tons burden, and commanded by Don Joseph de Arizabella.

Saturday 16. Took a small bark laden with hides and some flour, and buried our Lieutenant, being all much concerned for the loss of so good an officer.

Sunday 17. All things being now in order, our men went aboard the two barks in order to land, and Captain Fry and I took charge of the ships, prizes, and prisoners.

Monday 18. At one in the morning, being near the island Santa Clara, our two barks with the land forces left us.

Tuesday 19. The boats rowed with 45 men towards the island Puna, and came to a grappling close under the land, out of sight of the look-outs. We seized the Governor of the island, and sent our carpenter and two or three hands along the shore, to cut all the bark-logs, and canoes in pieces, for fear they should get away and alarm the town of Guayaquil.

Thursday 21. I sent the Beginning a-head, for fear of danger, who, seeing a vessel riding close under point Arena, fired two swivel guns at her; but found nobody on board. She was a new Spanish bark going to load salt, and had nothing in her but a few jars of water. At five in the afternoon the transports rowed for the town of Guayaquil, and at eleven at night were so near as to hear one centinel call to another for fire to be brought. Perceiving we were discovered, we rowed over to the other side, and

saw a fire made where the centinels talked, and soon after many lights all over the town. We heard them likewise ring the alarm-bell, and fire several volleys; and we observed them to light a fire on the hill to give the town notice of our being come up the river. Hereupon the boats came to a grappling, when such a hot dispute arose among some of our chief officers, that they were heard ashore; the officers differing in their opinions, whether to land immediately, or stay till morning; however, at last it was agreed, that, since we did not know the ground, it was best to stay till day-light.

Friday 22. Our forces being all joined, we sent a flag of truce, with the Captain of the French-built ship, and another prisoner, to the Corregidor, who asked him our number, which the Captain magnified. The Corregidor suggested that we were mere boys; but the Captain replied, he would find we were men, for we had fought him bravely in our open boats, though he had killed one of the Commander's brothers, and wounded and killed others; and therefore advised him to agree for the ransom of the town.

Saturday 23. The pinnace went up the river after some vessels, and brought six of them to anchor by our barks; and we also took possession of two new ships, of about 400 tons each. We then went ashore with a flag of truce, and the Governor came on board to agree about the ransom of the town and ships; but this not  
being

being then concluded, he promised to meet the Captain at seven in the evening, but was not so good as his word.

Sunday 24. The Governor came off again to treat, and our Captains would have seized him for having forfeited his word; but he alledging that it was incompatible with his coming with a flag of truce, was set ashore again, and all things were made ready for the attack. Accordingly the men landed, and, being commanded to proceed, they went on with so much bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their first volley and fled, our people pressing and pursuing them to their cannon, which they soon deserted, the gunner only, who was an Irishman, standing by them till he was wounded in four places, of which wounds he soon after died. Our men then marched in a body through both towns, drove out the enemy, and, placing three guards in the three churches, set fire to five or six houses adjoining to the wood, lest the enemy should annoy our guard, which was within pistol shot. All this night they kept firing out of the woods at our centinels, but did them no harm. In the mean time the Dutchess's pinnace, commanded by Lieutenant Connely, went up the river, landed at every house, took the plate, and what else of value they found, and had some skirmishes with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded.

Monday 25. In the night one of our centinels shot another belonging to us, who was go-

ing from his post, and did not answer when challenged three times; our first Lieutenant's pistol went off by his side, and wounded him in the leg; and another of our men was also shot through the foot by one of our own people; moreover, our surgeon cut off a man's arm who had been hurt by one of our grenadoe shells, which broke in the bark when fired out of the cohorne. The afternoon was spent in shipping off provisions from the town, and disposing all things in case of an attack in the night.

Tuesday 26. A flag of truce came to treat concerning ransoming the town, which was at last agreed on for 30,000 dollars. We were to have three hostages, and to stay at Puna till they could raise the money.

Wednesday 27. The hostages came on board, and we took down our Union flag, and hoisted a flag of truce, firing a gun for a signal that the Spaniards might come into the town, and that no farther hostilities should be committed on either side.

Thursday 28. Our barks weighed with the beginning of the ebb, the Duke's pinnace making the best of her way down to the ships; and the float, after going ashore to fetch off the great guns, weighed also, and fell down the river.

Friday 29. Captain Rogers came aboard, and gave us an account that they had taken, plundered, and ransomed the town of Guayaquil; that three of our men had been killed,

two by our own people, and one by the Spaniards, and four wounded, that the inhabitants, whilst treating, had carried off their money and plate, retiring to the woods, and leaving their guns, four whereof were taken, with a considerable quantity of meal, pease, sugar, brandy, and wine, all which was coming down in the barks. This day Hugh Tidcomb, who was shot by his fellow-centinel, died. At four in the afternoon, spied a sail standing up the river with the tide of flood: we sent both ships boats after her, and before night they brought her in. She was a small Spanish bark from Cheripe, having on board 330 bags of meal, 35 hundred weight of sugar, some onions, quinces, and pomegranates. This, with the six barks, and two great ships ransomed by the town of Guayaquil, made fourteen prizes taken in those seas.

Sunday 30. Captain Rogers went aboard the French built ship to carry her up to Puna, in hopes of disposing of her cargo and some of the blacks, who only served to eat up our provisions; as also to bring down what water and provisions could be got; Captain Courtney being gone there before on the same account.

Monday, May 1. A boat came down from the town with part of the ransom, whereupon most of the prisoners were set on shore.

Thursday 5. Captain Rogers returned with the French-built ship, the Spaniards having brought none of her cargo; but they had paid

24,000

### 38 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

24,000 dollars, part of the 30,000 ransom; upon which, the Governor of Puna, one of the hostages, was discharged, but the others kept.

Friday 6. In the afternoon the Duke and the prizes joined us, when we were seven sail in all. A boat came down with about 3000 dollars more, in money and plate; and the men told us, that the other 3000 dollars would soon come, and 12,000 more to purchase goods: but this we supposed to be a trick to keep us till the men-of-war should come from Lima; whereupon we made all possible dispatch to get out of the bay, kept three of the hostages, and sent the prisoners ashore. The Beginning, being of no other use, since we had better vessels, we sold to the Spaniards for the value of 50*l.* in pearl, gold chains, &c. and put the prisoners aboard, but kept pilots, and a man that could speak English, the President of Panama's son, and the hostages. The weather being very hot, some of our men fell into fevers; and in a few days we had near 100 sick, and among the number Capt. Courtney.

Sunday 8. Sailed with a small breeze at N. W. At noon it began to blow fresh; but nothing material happened till the 13th, when, believing ourselves near the longitude of the Gallapagoes, where we designed to water, fit our ships, and refresh our men, we lay by from six in the evening till four the next morning, for fear of running by those islands in the night.

Monday 16. Mr. Hopkins, Lieutenant of the  
marines,

marines, and one of the doctors of the Duke, died.

Tuesday 17. Saw land, being one of the Galapagoe islands. Next day the Duke's boat went on shore to seek for water, but could find none in any of them, tho' Captain Cowley, in his voyage round the round, says there is good water in one of them; but we missed the place.

The 20th, 21st, and 22d, we spent in plying among the islands, where the boats found abundance of turtle, large rock-fish, and guanós. These last named creatures are larger here than those in other parts of the West Indies, and are of several colours and sizes. They are eaten by the seamen, and reckoned good meat, though their deformity made me loathe them.

Thursday 26. Captain Rogers and Captain Dover came aboard the Dutchess, and, after holding a council, it was resolved to run in for the island of Plata to water, and so come off again, for fear of meeting with two French ships, one of 60, and the other of 46 guns, and the Spanish men-of-war, which, we were told, would be shortly in search of us. Some days before this we lost Mr. Hatley, who was in one of the prizes, with five or six white men, four blacks, and an Indian, having on board little or no provisions or water, and no boat; and we never more heard of them.

Monday 30. The officers of the Duke came aboard, to consult about the properest place to careen and water at; and 'twas agreed to go to the island

island Gorgona, to see whether any Spanish ships were there, and from thence to Mangla, where are some Indians, enemies to the Spaniards, who, it was said, would supply us with swine and fowls, good water, turtle, plantains, and other refreshments.

Wednesday, June 1. Some of our men were told, that a conspiracy was forming on board the galleon among the prisoners and blacks. We examined the Spaniards, who protested they knew nothing of it; then put matches between the fingers of two blacks, making them believe we would burn them to the bone if they would not confess. They owned there had been a talk of killing the English among the Indians and blacks, but they believed it was not in earnest; however, they were dispersed into several ships to break the combination.

Sunday 5. Saw a sail right-a-head of us, chased, and at eight in the evening came up with her, fired a chase-gun, and she struck. The vessel was of about 80 tons burden, bound from Panama for Guayaquil, was laden with iron and other merchandize, and had two women and several passengers of note on board, one of whom was going Governor to Baldivia, whose name was Don Juan Cardozo, and who had been not long before taken on the other side by the Jamaica cruizers.

Monday 6. Made the best of our way for Gorgona; and at three in the afternoon next day, the Duke with the galleon came to an anchor



chor in that harbour. Same day saw a sail bearing down towards the island, till spying the galleon in the offing, she stood to the westward. I went out in the pinnace well-manned, and at noon took and brought her to an anchor. She was a bark of 50 tons, called *El Soldado*, came out of a small port the night before, and was bound for Guayaquil, to load salt, brandy, &c. She had in her in gold chains and money to the value of 5 or 6 hundred pounds, designed to purchase her cargo.

Monday 13. Held a full council on board the Duke, and resolved to careen our ships here as soon as possible. Here we continued till Sunday, August the 7th; and in the mean time plundered a settlement on the main, right opposite the island, set most of our prisoners on shore on the continent, and brought seven beeves, 14 hogs, some poultry, about 50 bushels of Indian wheat, and a few goats on board: at the same time a black born in Jamaica, who spoke very good English, and had been taken with some Jamaica-men eight years before, came over to us in a canoe. Captain Morel, too, formerly commander of the galleon, brought some money and fruit, and a merchant or two, who bought some of our blacks. During our stay at this island, Captain Rogers, Captain Courtney, myself, and some other officers, underwent much fatigue in fitting up the *Marquis*, for which ship we were forced to get entirely new masts and yards, make most of the sails, and a great deal of new cordage.

dage. The smith also made much new work ; as did the carpenters, sail makers, riggers, and rope-makers, who all came to help us from each ship.

The 6th of August, I received my orders to command the Marquis, carrying 20 guns, 60 white men, and 16 blacks ; and, the ships having taken in their loading from the prizes, and all our business being over at the island of Gorgona, we weighed anchor at 10 in the morning, and ran to the north of the island : but the masts of the Marquis being new and heavy, and a great weight of goods between decks, I found she proved crank, and sailed dull upon the wind ; so that the Duke and Dutchess were fain to spare a great deal of sail for me to keep up with them.

Friday 12. Held a consultation about sending the Marquis and a bark laden with bale-goods directly for India, to save provisions and gain time ; but this was opposed by Captain Courtney, and others, in regard to the Marquis, which being a good vessel, might be of great use in case we should meet with the Manilla ship, or the men-of-war we supposed were looking for us.

Thursday, August 18. At six in the morning saw a sail a-head, gave chase, and the Dutchess soon coming up with her, and firing a few guns, she struck, being a bark of about 70 tons, bound from Panama to Troxillo, with merchants goods, passengers, and blacks, on board. The master told us, he had been detained three months at Panama by an embargo, which being taken off  
upon

upon advice that we were going to the island of Juan Fernandez, he had set sail. Enquiring what ships were out in quest of us, the prisoners said, they had advice at Panama of five or six ships being ordered after us, two of them French, of 48 guns each, and some Spanish, of the like force, and good sailors. They could tell no other news, than that the whole coast was alarmed.

August 19. The Duke and Dutchess fired some vollies to exercise their men. Next day we fell in with land about a league to the leeward of Tacames, ran within a league of the shore, and on the 24th cast anchor in the bay, from whence the Dutchess sent her pinnace ashore for water, but could get none. Tacames is a village of only seven houses and a church, standing in a bay, about seven leagues to the northward of Cape Francisco. The houses are built of split bamboes, and covered with Palmeto-leaves, standing on stilts or posts; and, instead of stairs, they have a piece of timber cut in notches to ascend by. The men employ themselves in killing wild swine with bows and arrows, and striking fish with their lances, at both which they are very dexterous. The women have only a piece of baize tied about their middle, and carry their children at their backs. They are under the authority of the Spanish priests, and are not permitted to trade without their licence.

On the 27th. They received a letter of leave,

#### 44 CAPTAIN COOKE's VOYAGES.

and our boats went ashore to the houses for cattle; and on the 28th and 29th continued trading and watering till we had sufficiently supplied the ships. In return for the civility of these Fathers, I sent as a present to the church at Tacames four large images, one of which was the Virgin Mary with our Lord and Saviour in her arms; and I believe Captain Rogers and Captain Courtney also gave something to adorn their church. On Wednesday the 31st of August we set sail, the wind being at S. W.

Thursday, Sept. 1. Saw abundance of water-snakes, one of which was coming up the side of our ship, and our men beat it off. The Spaniards say, there is no cure for such as are bit by them; and one of our blacks happened to fall under that misfortune, and died, notwithstanding the utmost care was taken by our surgeons to recover him.

On Wednesday, Sept. 7. Made one of the Gallapagoe islands. On the 10th, stood close in for the head-land, sending our boat on shore for water and turtle. At night our boat came aboard, bringing 13 turtle, some weighing 200 weight; the other boats got near 50 each; and the Dutchess's several land-turtle, but no water. Our men saw several jars, and some of the wreck and rudder of a vessel, and should have guessed it to be the prize, Captain Hatley, lost when here before, but the rudder was too small for her.

Wednesday 14. The Dutchess, Marquis, and small prize, weighed, ran out, and lay by for the Duke,

Duke, which could not get out for want of wind. On the 15th, set sail in the morning; and, considering the sun was directly over our heads, the weather was cold, occasioned, as I believe, by the southerly winds, which are coldest in those parts.

Thursday, Sept. 22. The Marquis kept the pump continually going, having sprung two leaks, not being well caulked at Gorgona; therefore weared her on the other tack, and stopt one leak, but could not find the other, being about the stern. Weared again, and stood to the westward.

Friday 22. At a consultation on board the Duke, it was agreed to steer to the islands Marias, for a convenient place to refit, wood, and water; then to cruise in quest of the Manilla ship, which was large, and of great value, being reported by the Spaniards to be worth 2,000,000 sterling.

On the 3d of October. Cape Corientes appeared, bearing N. E. 10 leagues; and on the 4th in the morning we made the islands called Tres Marias, at the distance of about 16 leagues; but could not fetch them till the 6th, when we got under the lee of one of them. I lay off with the ship, and sent the boat ashore for water and turtle; but neither the one nor the other was to be got, because of the furr.

Before our coming to this place, we discovered the white rock, formerly mentioned by Dampier, and took it for a ship; on the sight of which the Dutchess let go the bark she had in tow, telling

ling her to make the best of her way to the middle island; under the lee of which both the Duke and Dutcheſs came to an anchor on the 7th and 8th; and I might have been there as ſoon, had I not ſeen the bark ſix or ſeven leagues to leeward. It was fortunate that I came in time to relieve her, otherwiſe ſhe muſt have periſhed, having neither wood nor water on board, and not being able to make up againſt the wind and current to reach the land. I bore down to her, ſupplied her wants, and took her in tow till the 20th in the morning, when the middle iſland bearing north, diſtant about ſeven leagues, we ſaw a ſail coming from the iſland before the wind, which proved the Dutcheſs, who came in ſearch of us, and was glad to find us ſafe; brought us ſome water and turtle, and told us there was game enough in the iſland, if we could bear up to it. Captain Courtney took us in tow, to help us in the ſooner, having cleaned his ſhip's bottom before he ſet ſail to come to our aſſiſtance.

On the 11th, I came to an anchor, after much trouble and fatigue in plying ſo long againſt the wind and current. Seven of Captain Rogers's beſt blacks this day left him, and ran away. We continued in this bay till

Monday the 24th, when a general council was held, at which it was reſolved to cruize off Cape St. Lucas for the Manilla ſhip, all our ſhips being now very well fitted, wooded, watered, and provided with turtle. Several warm debates happened in council among our chief officers; and,

Captain

Captain Dover quitted the Duke, and went on board the Dutchess, by his own free choice. I endeavoured to accommodate these differences, but to no purpose, which gave several of us great concern.

The islands of Tres Marias, where we anchored, abound with animals of various kinds, and the shores with fish; among these the sea and land turtle may be accounted of most use to navigators. Of the sea-turtle there are various sorts; as the green, which are the sweetest and best; the hawk's-bill, which are very good; and the logger-head, which the sailors never refuse when the others are not to be caught. The method of taking them is by turning them, and when they are on their backs, they appear as in the Plate, fig. 1.

The land-turtle lives constantly ashore, feeds upon grass, moves very slow, and, when an enemy approaches, covers itself under its shell, squatting close to the ground, from which it is not easily discernible, appearing like a bare patch without verdure. The shells of these animals are so hard, that a man may tread upon them without hurting them. Their flesh is very good and nourishing. They will live five or six weeks without food, and appear to be never the worse. They lay round eggs, about the size of a hen's, and are very good to eat. Some of the sea-turtle taken in the bay where we anchored had 200 eggs in them. Our men lived almost wholly upon turtle, and their eggs, from the time they went first to the Gallapagoes till

till their departure for the East Indies, saving their ship-provisions till their run across the South Seas. For the land-turtle, see fig. 2.

At these islands our men caught plenty of the fish called old wives. They have very small mouths, large eyes, a high fin on the back, and shaped as you see fig. 3. The colour of the body is a deep blue; the fins of a lighter colour, tipped with yellow. Others are of an ash-colour on the back, and white under the belly.

The rock-fish we caught in the island of Tres Marias were large, had great mottled fins, yellow backs, red bellies, and red and black tails. See fig. 4.

Another fish our men caught was the cavallo, in shape not much unlike the dolphin, with a large bright eye, black back, white belly, a long streak from his gills to the middle of his tail, and is about the size of a mackarel. See fig. 5.

A small fish we found there, about six inches long, was very delicious; the back of an indigo blue, a deep yellow streak running from the gills to the tail, the belly white, and the tail forked. It seems peculiar to these islands, and wants a name. See fig. 6.

Of the animals, the racoon was the most plentiful. It has a large black eye, whiskers and nose like a pig, tail and feet like a rat, a brownish fur on his back, and a white belly. See fig. 7.

Of the venomous creatures, the icorpion is the most noxious; its tail is jointed with a small sting at the tip; it has two claws like those of  
the



the lobster; and its head and feet have a near resemblance to those of the same fish. See fig. 8.

Among the singing-birds found in those islands, the cardinal bird was seen in greatest abundance. It is a very beautiful bird, with scarlet feathers; and on its head the male has a tuft of the same colour. They are of the same kind with those we call the Virginia Nightingale; but the Spaniards call them cardinal birds, from their scarlet feathers. See fig. 9.

Among the vegetables we found the Magney-plant, or silk-grass, of which the Indians make ropes, sails, sacks, and all their curious netting. It also yields a liquor of which they make wine, honey, and a good balsam. The liquor as it comes from the plant is as sweet as sugar; after standing it becomes a wine, and will intoxicate powerfully. It has thick juicy leaves, not unlike those of the houseleek, but grows up to a considerable height in the form represented by fig. 10. And, when it has stood about six years, the Indians cut out the middle leaves, leaving the heart of the plant hollow, which of itself fills with the juice, and is every morning during the season taken out and preserved. Of this juice the Spaniards make spirits; and it is so universally used in one shape or other by the Spaniards and Indians in New Spain, that the duty arising from it in one year is said to have amounted to 110,000 pieces of eight at the port of Angels alone.

The prickly tree found on those islands is esteemed a great curiosity. The trunk of it is angular, and covered with prickles; is of a pale green, and yields a gum which the druggists call euphorbium, which is said to be powerful in removing pains in the head. It grows about 12 feet high, in the form represented in the plate, fig. 11.

These were the principal peculiarities observable in the animal and vegetable tribes at the islands of Tres Marias.

On Tuesday, Oct 2, at two in the afternoon, we weighed, and set sail for Cape St. Lucas, where we spread ourselves for fear the Manilla ship should pass by unseen. The Duke cruised about two leagues to the southward of the Dutchess, the Dutchess in the middle, and the Marquis two leagues to the northward of her. Place of rendezvous six or seven leagues in sight of Cape St. Lucas.

Nov. 1. The Marquis sprang two great leaks, and broke the collar of the fore-stay, which obliged me to wear the ship to fix the stay, and then hauled up after the other ships, and stopped the leaks.

Tuesday 2. All the officers and men on board the Marquis signed an instrument, obliging themselves to stand by the articles agreed to by the companies of the other ships.

Nov. 4. I spoke with Captain Courtney, and changed stations with him, he having better boats than mine to send ashore for water and  
turtle;

turtle ; or, in case of seeing the Manilla ship, to prevent her sending the passengers ashore with their wealth. The 10th, the Duke and Dutchess having spoken with each other, changed stations, the Duke going in for the shore, and the Dutchess off to the outward station.

Nov. 22. Captain Rogers informed me, that the bark and his boat had been in with the shore, and had spoken with the natives, who seemed very civil, and had pearl and some grain to dispose of ; and that there was wood and water enough. Nothing material happened till

Dec. 13, when we had a consultation on board the Dutchess, to enquire into the stock of provisions on board the ships, and found by the accounts given in, that only three months meat at short allowance, and two months bread, remained unexpended ; and, as there was no appearance of the Manilla ship, though the usual time of her coming was elapsed, it was agreed to make all possible dispatch in fitting up the ships, in order to make the best of our way across the Pacific Ocean, that we might take the advantage of the trade-winds to carry us to Guam on our return home. In pursuance of this resolution, I was ordered into harbour, as the Marquis wanted more considerable repairs than either of the other two, and the Duke and Dutchess proposed to cruise a few days longer, while I was getting forward to be in readiness to accompany them to Europe.

On the 14th, I bore away for Puerto Segura,

H 2 and

and on the 15th entered the harbour at midnight.

On the 16th proceeded to business, my first orders being to return again to cruise as soon as possible; but these orders were afterwards countermanded, it being absolutely necessary that all the ships should rendezvous together before their final departure from the American coast.

This place is inhabited by about 200 Indians, living in huts made of boughs of trees and reeds, built like a bower, with a fire in the middle, round which they lie and sleep. They all go naked, only the women have short petticoats made of silk grass, or else of pelicans or deers skins. The men are straight, and well limbed; live by fishing and hunting, and value knives, scissars, nails, or iron, beyond gold and silver. They have long black hair, and are of a dark brown complexion. The women are very ordinary, and employ themselves in gathering and grinding corn, and in making fishing-lines. They are very honest and very civil. They assisted in fitting up the ships, and took nothing away but what was given them. Our people at their first coming got some pearls among them, but I never could see any afterwards. I made signs for them to bring gold; but they pointed up to the mountains. They use bows and arrows, and even the boys are so dexterous as to kill birds flying with them.

Dec. 22. Being busy about our repairs, at 10 in the morning heard some guns firing in the  
offing:

offing: I bent my sails to hasten to the assistance of my consorts, but the sea breeze coming on rendered it impossible; whereupon I ascended an adjacent hill, and saw our ships engage and take the Manilla ship, which we had been so long expecting,

The account Captain Rogers gives of the engagement is as follows: "At day-break, says he, we saw the chace upon our weather-bow about a league from us, the Dutchess a-head of her to leeward, near about half as far. Towards six in the morning our boat came on board, having kept very near the chace all night, and received no damage; but told us the Dutchess passed by her in the night, and she fired two shot at him; but they returned none. We had no wind, but got out eight of our ship's oars, and rowed about an hour, when there sprung up a small breeze. I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquors to give them. Then we went to prayers; and before we had concluded, were disturbed by the enemy's firing at us. They had barrels hanging at each yard-arm that looked like powder-barrels, to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'clock we began to engage her by ourselves, for the Dutchess being to leeward, and having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her stern chace upon us first, which we returned with our fore-chace several times, till we came nearer, and went close on board each other. We gave her several broadsides, plying  
our

our small arms very briskly, which they returned as thick for a while, but did not ply their great guns with the same alacrity. After some time, we shot a little ahead of them, lying thwart her hawse, close aboard; and plied her so warmly, that she soon struck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Dutchess came up, and fired about five guns, with a volley of small shot; but the enemy, having submitted, made no return. We sent our pinnace on board, and brought the Captain with the officers away; and, having examined them, found there came another ship out from Manilla with them of larger burden, having about 40 brass guns mounted, and as many patararoes; but they told us they lost her company about three months ago, and reckoned she was got to Acapulco before this time, she sailing better than this ship.

This prize was called by the swelling name of *Noftra Signiora de la Incarnacion Defengenio*, Sir John Pichberty Commander. She had 20 guns, 20 patararoes, and 193 men on board, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with powder. We engaged them about three glasses, in which time we had only myself and another man wounded. I was shot through the left cheek; the bullet struck away part of my upper jaw, and several of my teeth, part of which dropt down upon the deck where I fell; and the other, an Irish landman, was slightly wounded in the hip. They did us

no great damage in our rigging, but their shot disabled our mizzen-mast. I was forced to write what I had to say to prevent the loss of blood, and because of the pain I suffered by speaking.

On the 23d of December, after putting our ships to rights, we stood in for the harbour, which was distant about seven leagues to the N. E. Our surgeons went on board the prize to dress their wounded men. About four in the afternoon we came to an anchor, and received the compliments of all on board the Marquis on our sudden and unexpected success, which gave us no small satisfaction. We found that ship in good condition, ready to sail, and all the men on board her very brisk, and eager for action.

At eight in the evening, we held a consultation on the two great points; first, what should be done with the prisoners and hostages; and next, how we should act with regard to the other Manilla ship, which we thought at least there was a great probability of taking.

With respect to the first, we proposed, as the hostages from Guayaquil were men of honour, and as we had good reason to believe that the Chevalier Pichberty, being brother to the famous M. du Cas, was the same, to make the best terms we could with them, and set them at liberty. Accordingly, we put a part of the goods on board the bark into the prize, and then offered the remainder with the bark, together with what remained unpaid of the ransom, for 6000 pieces of eight, and to take the Chevalier's bills payable

able at London for the money. This they accepted; and gave us an acknowledgment at the same time, that they thought it a good bargain. When this was settled, we had nothing more to do than to provide for our own security, and to look after the other galleon.

I was very desirous of going out with the Dutchess to cruise for her; but there having been some reflections cast, on account of the Dutchess's not engaging our last prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, Captain Courtney was absolutely bent on going out with the Marquis; and the officers of both ships voting for this in council, my proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the harbour against our will. It was, however, agreed, that we should put 10 of our best hands on board the Dutchess; and on Christmas-eve she and the Marquis sail'd."

— We now return to Captain Cooke in the Marquis.

Sunday 25. At eight in the morning, being two leagues off Cape St. Lucas, we saw a sail distant about seven leagues, which we concluded to be the ship we were in pursuit of. The Dutchess was two leagues to the westward, and we both gave chase. At noon the enemy bore south, distant about five leagues. At 12 at night, the Dutchess got along-side, and began to engage her. Captain Courtney fought her bravely about four glasses, and then lay by to secure his masts, and knot his rigging, which were much wounded and shattered. Our ship not being so  
good



good a sailer as the Dutchess, could not come up.

Monday 26. As soon as it was day, we saw the Spaniard's flag, and knew him to be the Admiral of the Manilla. At eight we perceived the Duke coming out to us. At two in the afternoon we got alongside the enemy; but the wind shifting, could fetch no nearer than about half musket-shot to leeward of her. She then fired two shot at us, and we returned a broadside and vollies of small arms, beginning the combat with three cheers. When we had fought two glasses, the Dutchess came up under her stern, and raked her fore and aft, and then fell astern again, we still continuing hot at her for five glasses: then weared, and stood to the westward, to fetch nearer up to her; for firing so many guns had laid us to leeward. The Dutchess went up, and engaged again very briskly for half an hour, and then stretched a-head of her. We could perceive many shot in her between wind and water. At five we tacked, and raked her fore and aft with our starboard broadside, then weared under her stern, and did the same with our larboard broadside; and firing several vollies while we loaded our larboard guns again, gave her the other broadside. By this time it grew dark, and we fell astern, to speak with the Dutchess, and to get more ammunition, having but three rounds of shot for most of our guns left. At eight I went on board the Dutchess, and found her much disabled in her masts

and rigging, and had seven men killed and wounded. Capt. Courtney and I agreed to be yard-arm and yard-arm with the enemy in the morning, he to lie on the bow, and I on the quarter; and if he boarded, I was to clap him aboard, and enter my men over him. Being supplied with more ammunition, I returned on board the Marquis, both of us keeping close under the chace's quarter, and firing guns all night, to annoy the enemy, and to give the Duke notice where we were. Before day the Duke joined us. The chace, mistaking him for her consort, had made signals all night, and had edged away to meet him, otherwise the Duke could not have come up, there being but very little wind, and that contrary.

Then we all three agreed to fall upon the enemy at once, as soon as it was light; but while we lay athwart her hawse, those guns that missed the enemy flew through the Duke's masts and rigging, which obliged him to change his station, and to draw up along-side close aboard her, where he kept up a constant fire of round shot, all other shot proving ineffectual, because of the strength of the ship's sides, which no other shot would penetrate; and as none of the Spaniards appeared in sight, but all kept to close quarters, it was in vain to make use of small arms, except now and then, when a man appeared to observe our situation, and to keep an eye upon their ensign. In this manner, the Dutchess lying upon her hawse, the Duke along her broadside, and  
the

the Marquis athwart her stern, we kept pelting her for four glasses; and, in the mean time, the Duke received a shot in his main-mast, which much disabled it; and, in shifting, both he and the Dutchess came back close under the enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her. The Duke, in endeavouring to recover his station, received a fire-ball, which lighting upon his quarter deck, blew up a chest of arms and cartridge-boxes, all loaded, and several cartridges of powder in the steerage, by which means Mr. Vanbrugh, our agent, and two others, were very much burnt; the Dutchess going to lash to the enemy, was forced to cast off, and get clear, for fear of being set on fire. The enemy fired at us all three at once, but slowly, seldom missing our masts and rigging, and sometimes hulling us. After lying near half an hour along the chace's side, the Dutchess lay by to stop her leaks, and secure her fore-mast, being very much disabled, having 25 men killed and wounded, and the sails and rigging much shattered. Captain Rogers some time after lay by to secure his mast. Then I lay athwart the enemy's hawse till I had fired three broadsides, some odd guns, and several vollies; then gave another broadside and some vollies into her stern. The Duke came up again, and fired several guns, and both fell a-stern the chace, keeping under sail, and standing to the westward. We knotted some of our rigging, and stopt our leaks made with twelve pounders. Our main-mast was disabled also, the sails and

rigging much shattered ; but the enemy, aiming to disable my masts, I had the good fortune to have only my second mate, and some others, blown up with powder. The ship was once set on fire by the enemy's stink-pots, but we soon put it out. About eleven I wore the ship, and designed to have attacked the enemy again ; but, seeing the Duke and Dutchess lying by, the one with a waift in his ensign, and the other with a Spanish jack, the signals to speak with one another, I brought to. Captain Courtney came on board of me, and we both went on board the Duke ; where we considered the condition the three ships were in, their masts and rigging being much damaged in a place where we could get no recruit ; that if we engaged her again we could propose to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great hurt, because we could perceive few of our shot entered her sides to any purpose, and our small arms availed less, there being not a man to be seen above board ; that the least thing in the world would bring the Duke's main-mast, and likewise the Dutchess's foremast, by the board, either of which by its fall might carry away another mast, and lay us a perfect butt for the enemy, having nothing to command our ships with ; so that by his heavy guns he might either sink or take us ; that, if we went to board him, we should run a great hazard in losing a great many men with little hope of success, they having above treble the number on board to oppose us, and there  
being

being now, in all our three ships, not above 120 men fit for boarding, and those but weak, having been very short of provisions; so that, if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our men behind, the enemy by that means would have known our strength, and then gone into the harbour, and took possession of the prize in spite of all we could do to prevent it. Besides our ammunition was very short, having only enough to engage a few glasses longer. All this being seriously considered, and knowing the difficulty we should have to get masts, and the time and provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to forbear attempting her farther, since our battering her signified little, and we had not strength enough to board her; therefore, we agreed to keep her company till night, and then to lose her, and make the best of our way into the harbour to secure the prize we had already taken. We engaged first and last about seven hours, during all which time they had on board the Duke but eleven men wounded, among whom was the Captain for the second time, who had part of his heel-bone struck out with a splinter, and all under his ankle cut above half through with the same; on board the Dutchess, they had eleven killed, and more than that number wounded; and on board us only two men scorched with gun-powder. The enemy's was a brave, lofty, new ship, named the Virginia, and this the first voyage she had made. Her burden was 900 tons, and her complement  
of

of men 450, besides passengers, 150 of whom were European pirates, who, having now got all their wealth on board, were resolved to defend it to the last. The gunner, who had a post at Manilla, was an expert man, and had provided for her defence with great skill. He had filled up all the space between the guns with bales to secure the men. We shattered her sails and rigging very much, shot away her mizzen-yard, and killed two of her men out of her tops, which was all the damage we could see done, though we could not place less than 500 shot in her hull. Thus ended our attempt.

These large ships are built at Manilla, of excellent timber that will not splinter; and their sides are thicker and stronger than those of ships of the same burden constructed in Europe. Had we been together at first, and boarded her, we might, perhaps, have taken her; but, after her netting and close quarters were fixed, she valued us but little. We might, indeed, have burnt her, at the expence of one of our ships; but that was objected to, not only from a principle of humanity, but because we had goods of great value on board all our ships.

The enemy had heard at Manilla, that there were two ships fitted out at Bristol to cruise in the South Seas, and that Captain Dampier was to be their pilot; they had, therefore, provided for their own defence accordingly. However, to do them justice, they fought gallantly; and, had the two ships been together, it is more than probable, that neither of them had been taken; but,

but as it happened, had not our unreasonable squabbles prevented our sailing out together, the chance would have rather been in our favour: yet this miscarriage, instead of leading to a reconciliation, served only as a foundation for new disputes.

On the 1st of Jan. 1710, we returned again into port, and determined to hasten home with all possible dispatch. The first thing of consequence was to discharge our prisoners, and to provide for their voyage to Acapulco; and this being dispatched, we applied to the settling of our own affairs. We spent our time till the 7th in repairing the damage our ships had received from the enemy, in taking in wood and water for our voyage to the East Indies, and in taking an account of the goods and stores on board the prize: and it was no small satisfaction to find as much bread on board the prize as with our own stock would serve us, at short allowance, during our long run to Guam.

About this time a warm contest arose about appointing a Commander of the Manilla ship, which was looked upon as a trust of no small consequence. Captain Dover, being an owner, desired he might command in chief on board her. Captain Rogers and several officers of the council contended, that, as Captain Dover was wholly unacquainted with the navigating part of the business, the command should be given to Captain Fry, or myself; but, as I had already the command of the Marquis, I declined any  
farther

farther charge, and voted for Captain Dover; at the same time recommending Captain Fry and Captain Stretton to act under him; against which Captain Rogers and his officers entered their protest. However, on the 9th of January, at a full council, it was carried against them, and voted by a great majority, that the Captains Fry and Stretton should both act in equal post in the sole navigating the Batchelor Frigate (for that was the name now given to the Manilla prize), and in fighting her, if occasion should require, under Captain Dover, who at the same time was restrained from interrupting them in their business, but charged to be careful of what was in the ship, and to see that nothing was acted on board contrary to the interest of the owners and captors. The matter being thus qualified, the nominal command given to Captain Dover, and the executive power vested in the naval officers, Captain Rogers withdrew his protest, and the council proceeded to the choice of the inferior officers, appointing Alexander Selkirk master, and Joseph Smith, chief mate: they also agreed to furnish her complement of men, by selecting 30 from the Duke, 25 from the Dutchess, and 13 from the Marquis, which, with 36 Lascars taken on board her, formed a tolerable crew of more than 100 mariners. This business being thus fully settled, and the island of Guam pitched upon as the place of rendezvous in case of separation, on the 10th of January we weighed anchor, and ran out at midnight.

At



At 12 the next day Cape St. Lucas bore north, distant about five leagues. We steered away for some days S. W. by S. till we got into the trade-winds, and then our course was uniform.

All the natives of California that we saw during our stay at Puerto Seguro did not amount to 300. They had large limbs, were very straight and tall, and of a much darker complexion than any other people that we had met with in the South Seas. Their hair was long, lank, and black, and hung down upon their hips. The men were all stark naked; but the women had a covering about their waists made of the silk-grass already mentioned, fringed and knotted. All of them that we saw were old, and miserably wrinkled; perhaps they concealed from us their maidens, for reasons that need not be explained. The language of the natives was guttural, very harsh, and unpleasant. They seemed to cover nothing that we had, except axes, saws, and knives; and even these they did not attempt to steal. Their huts were low, and wholly made up of branches of trees; and seemed rather a kind of temporary coverings than settled dwellings. While we lay in port they subsisted chiefly on fish; and though they neither made use of nets or lines, yet they had a method of striking them with lances that was very dexterous, and at which they were very expert. They were besides most excellent divers, and instead of canoes made use of rafts. They were very civil and inoffensive; and were observed to pay

great respect to one among them, whose head was adorned with feathers very artificially combined, and who probably was their wizard, or cunning-man. Some of them had strings of pearls, and party-coloured shells so prettily intermixed, that, though we had glass-beads, and other showy trinkets, yet they paid no sort of attention to any of them; but prized their own ornaments above every thing but cutting instruments. Their arms are bows and arrows, in the use of which their boys were so expert as to shoot birds flying by way of amusement. They grew very familiar with us while we staid, and came frequently to gaze at the men as they cut wood and filled water, but never offered to assist in any thing like labour. They get fire like other Indians, by rubbing two sticks together, which kindle almost instantaneously.

From this harbour we departed but very slenderly provided, having but little live-stock, and hardly any liquors but what were found in the prize. As soon as we were out of sight of land, we were all put to short allowance, officers and men: to the latter four-and-twenty ounces of flour, four pounds of meat, and two gallons of water, to a mess of five men in 24 hours. But in a few days, the Batchelor made a signal to give us some bread, they having found a large quantity concealed, with some sweet-meats. We had 500 weight for our share, the Duke 1000 weight, and the Dutchess as much; in return for which we sent back to the prize some casks  
of

of flour, and a barrel of English beef; and the like present was returned from the other ships. From this time till the 10th of March nothing remarkable happened.

On that day we made the island Saraua, one of the Ladrões, and the same evening came in sight of Guam, distant about three leagues. Next day we came to anchor in the port of Umatta, at about a mile distance from the houses, in lat. 13 deg. 30 min. N. by estimation; long. from Cape St. Lucas, 100 deg. 19 min. W. We went in with French and Spanish colours, that they might not suspect us to be enemies. Several of their boats came about our ships; but none would venture on board, till being off the anchoring-place, one was sent by the Spanish Governor, desiring to know who we were, and what we wanted. We presently dispatched our interpreter with a letter, purporting, that we were subjects of Great Britain, and driven by necessity to stop at those islands to purchase provisions and other necessaries; that, if our wants were supplied with civility, we should pay generously; but, on the contrary, if our request was denied, we should proceed to act according to the laws of war. To this letter we received a very obliging answer from the Spanish Governor. Don Juan Antonio Pimental, and were furnished with hogs, oxen, rice, maize, poultry, and other necessaries in a more plentiful manner, and at a cheaper rate, than we could expect. We continued at Guam till the 21st of

K 2

March,

March, during which time reciprocal civilities daily passed between the officers on board and the gentlemen of the island; and we parted perfectly satisfied with each other's behaviour. We found the variation in these parts only half a point to the eastward, though in our run across the Great South Sea, we had it 12 degrees: the reason I take to be, the unevenness of the globe, and its unequal mixture of much matter differing in itself as to the magnetical quality; as having large and stoney mountains, spacious vallies, deep seas, long continued continents, with mighty scattered rocks of load stone, iron mines, and other magnetical substances.

The natives of Guam are of a dark complexion, but not so black as the Indians of California. They are in general the largest and best limbed men I ever saw, and some of them hairy, and very strong. The women are straight and tall, and in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards go decently cloathed; but in the remote parts of the island they go quite naked. They are said to be man-eaters, and to have no settled way of worship, but every one pays a kind of adoration to they know not what. The island is plentifully supplied with cattle, and might be made the garden of the world, if the Spaniards were not as idle as the Indians; but as nature spontaneously produces sufficient for sustenance, they avail themselves but little of cultivation. Of all the works of art for which the Indians are remarkable, the paroas, or boats, of this island  
are

are certainly the most wonderful, as they exceed in swift sailing every other vessel yet seen throughout the world. We were assured upon the best authority, that they will sail 20 leagues an hour; and the Captain of the Spanish guard said, he would lose his head if they did not perform it.

On Tuesday, March 21, 1710, we were under sail, and steered away W. by S. with moderate gales from the N. N. E. which continued so for some weeks; but about the middle of April the blowing weather came on, and continued till the 27th of that month, during which time most of our main-shrouds, several of our stays, most of our running-ropes, and the mizzen-gears, gave way, so that the yard came by the board, and by its fall wounded the first Lieutenant, so that we feared he never would have recovered. Most of our sails too were split; but, being supplied with new shrouds by Captain Rogers, and with other ropes by Captain Courtney, I bent new sails; but found the ship very leaky. The Duke and Dutchess too suffered much by the tempestuous weather, and the Batchelor split her sails; but being otherwise stoutly built and rigged, nothing but running against a rock could hurt her. I had no conception of meeting with such boisterous weather so near the Line, which proved as bad as that we encountered in surrounding Cape Horn, with this difference only, that the one was intensely cold, and the other intolerably hot. And  
being

70 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

being now crossed by variable winds, sometimes lying by, sometimes scudding before the wind, and unable to pursue our direct course, our provisions began to fail, and on board of us rats rose to a very high price. The ships were besides leaky, and our men began to sicken with excessive labour and hard living. A general council was therefore called to consider what was best to be done in our present condition, when it was agreed to make the island of Talao, that of Ternate, or, if neither of them could be reached, then to put into some part of Mindanao.

On Tuesday, May the 2d, we observed a ring about the sun, and were apprehensive of more bad weather. In the night we passed by Talao without seeing it; and Captain Dampier, who had been twice in these seas before, gave out, that, if we could not reach Ternate, it would be impossible for us to get refreshment on the coast of New Guinea, which proved true; yet it was with the greatest difficulty the men could be prevailed upon to submit to short allowance.

Monday the 8th, having had tempestuous weather, we perceived that a strong current had set in to the eastward; and to our astonishment we found the land in sight to be Cape Noba, a promontory at the east end of Gilolo, bearing S. S. E. distant 15 leagues. Perceiving now that we could not get to the island of Ternate, nor to that of Mindanao, we resolved to make the best of our way through the straits of Gilolo;

lolo : but, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we continued sailing among a cluster of islands, most of them uninhabited, but all capable of producing spices, during the whole month of May, without being able to avail ourselves of any of their refreshments, On the 20th of May we came in sight of the island of Ceram, as we then thought, but afterwards found it to be the island of Bouro.

On the 25th, we came in sight of a low island right-a-head of us, and about noon observed an opening, which, when we came near, we found to be a passage between two little islands that almost joined. They were very full of green trees, and by the sea-side we beheld many groves of cocoa-nut, plantain, and other fruit-trees, that exhibited a very pleasant appearance.

In a capacious bay we likewise took notice of a little town, and saw several inhabitants passing and re-passing along the shore. We sent in our boats for provisions and pilots, and the Duke and myself turned up towards the village, but on sounding found no ground. The natives informed us, there was a bank opposite a certain land-mark, on which we might anchor. Abundance of people came off with Indian wheat, cocoa nuts, yams, potatoes, papas, poultry, and several beautiful birds, which they exchanged for knives, scissars, and other toys, being very civil, and to all appearance honest. They are Mahometans, of a middle stature, and tawney ;  
but

but the women are fairer than the men, having very long, lank, black hair; their mouths, lips, and noses remarkably small. The women were decently covered; but the men in general were naked. These islands were named Camhava and Wanshut; but, not answering our purpose, we agreed to steer for Bonton, where we arrived on Monday the 29th of May; and, the same day, Captain Dampier, Mr. Connely, and Mr. Vanbrugh, went with a present to the King of Bonton, at the same time requesting him to supply us with provisions, and to send us a pilot to carry us to Batavia.

On the 30th, a paroa came from the King with one of his nobles on board, and a pilot to carry us into harbour. He put on an air of importance, and asked, How we dared to come to an anchor there, without leave from the Great King of Bonton? However, he brought each Commander a piece of his country-cloth, a bottle of arrack, some rice in baskets, as a present from the King; as also a letter from the officers we had sent on shore, giving an account, that they had been well received, and that the town where the King resides was large, walled, fortified, and defended after the European manner with a number of heavy cannon. Another present was returned, and five guns fired by every ship at the messenger's going off; at which he seemed very well pleased. Our people trafficked with the natives for poultry, maize, pompions, papas, lemons, Guinea-corn, &c. and gave them in  
exchange,



exchange knives, scissars, old cloaths, and old nails. The people were civil; but our officers making a longer stay than they intended, we began to suspect that the Moors had detained them; for they are very treacherous. However, we heard from them every day; and at length the Dutchess's pinnace came down with Lieutenant Connely, who told us, they had purchased four last of rice, which cost 600 dollars; and that Mr. Vanbrugh was detained for the payment of the money. The next morning it came, and was equally distributed among the four ships, some great men coming to deliver it, and receive the money.—The town of Bonton is very populous, and by it runs a fine river, but is barred so that ships of burden cannot approach it. About 50 islands are tributary to this king, who gives audience in a chair of state covered with scarlet-cloth, and is always attended by a guard of nine men, armed, after the European manner, with musquets and scymitars. He has, besides, four or five slaves, who sit at his feet, and are ready whenever he commands to do the most servile offices. The petty princes and great men sit on his left hand, and the strangers stand before him.

Wednesday, June the 7th, all the provisions and necessaries which this town could supply being brought on board, and the officers who went to wait upon the King, returned, the signal was given to weigh, and at four in the afternoon we set sail without a pilot, there being none to be

had on this island. Captain Dampier pretended to be acquainted with the passage, and mentions the same in his book, but now he remembered nothing of it but the story.

On Friday the 9th, we came in sight of Solayo, lying close to the island of Celebes, and inhabited by Malaysans, who are tributaries to the Dutch. Between the south-end of Celebes and the island of Solayo, are three small low islands, and the best passage is between that which lies next to Solayo, and a little one lying to the northward of it. It is very dangerous going to the southward of Solayo, the Dutch never daring to attempt it.

On the 10th we made prize of a country paroa, and brought the Master on board the Dutchess. He was a Malayan belonging to Macassar, bound thither, came last from Bonton, and undertook to pilot us to Batavia for a good reward, provided we would promise to keep the matter a secret from the Dutch, to both which conditions we very readily agreed; and the man performed what he undertook with great skill and fidelity. We passed through the straits of Salango, having always from five to seven fathom water in our passage; then steering to the westward, our pilot's boat attended us till we were through the last strait, and then bore away towards Macassar.

On Tuesday the 20th of June, 1720, according to our reckoning, we came to an anchor in Batavia road; but with the Dutch it was Wednesday,

nesday, June 21; for we had lost 18 hours in going round to the westward, and they had gained six in sailing to the eastward, which made a whole day difference between our account and theirs. The reason is, that a ship sailing to the westward, and so following the course of the sun, makes every day something longer than in any fixed station it would be. Thus in every 15 degrees she removes to the westward from the meridian from whence she first set out, she gains an hour; in 90 degrees, six hours; and in 360, which compose the whole circumference of the globe, she will find a whole day short in her reckoning, according to the account of the place she arrives at. The contrary happens to the ship that sails eastward; for, as she advances against the course of the sun, she loses so much of every day, which is thereby shortened, and becomes less than 24 hours, by consequence losing an hour in every 15 degrees, and consequently will be a day before the account of the place she arrives at. By this it appears, that the ship which sails round the world westward, loses a whole day, and that which performs the same voyage eastward gains a day. So we having made the greater part of the circumference, and the Dutch at Batavia the other part the contrary way, our loss and their gain made up the twenty-four hours; and thus we came to differ a day.

When we came to an anchor, the Dutchess fired thirteen guns to salute the Dutch flag; but

it being night, the Commandant did not then answer; but in the morning sent his boat to make an apology, and then fired gun for gun with every ship. Soon after this friendly salute taken on both sides, the Commanders went on shore; and, after waiting upon the Shebander, were introduced to the Governor, who received us with civility, examined our commission, and enquired much concerning the success of our voyage; but, not being King's ships, would not permit us to heave down in the States dock at Orerest, but gave us leave to careen at the island of Hern, which is at no great distance from the other, and allowed us some Malayan caulkers to assist in stopping our leaks.

As the Marquis was in the worst condition, she was ordered to be laid down first; but upon examination she was judged unfit to proceed upon the voyage; and therefore was unladen and put up to sale. We then hove down the Duke and Dutchess, and found their sheathing much worm-eaten; but otherwise not much damaged: the Batchelor wanted no repairs but in her rigging. The weather was extremely hot during our stay at this city: many of our men and officers fell sick; and I was among the number. The master of the Duke, the gunner of the Dutchess, and several of the common men, fell a sacrifice to this unfriendly climate. One Read, a young man belonging to the Dutchess, venturing to swim, had both his legs snapt off by a shark, which at the second bite, before we could

could get him on board, cut him in two in the middle, and put an end to his misery. During our stay, though we had the run of the markets, we found it very difficult to procure salt provisions, to lay in a stock to serve us till we should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope, and therefore were obliged to purchase live cattle, and to kill and pickle them ourselves. All manner of traffic, except for provisions, was prohibited with the natives or inhabitants of the city, upon the severest penalties, to avoid every occasion of dispute with the East-India Companies of both nations: and, having settled all our affairs in a very amicable manner, new rigged our ships, and disposed of the men belonging to the *Marquis* among the other ships, we began on the 15th of September to prepare for sailing, when I was appointed second Captain in the *Dutchess*, and Mr. Ballot, master; Capt. Pope, first Lieutenant of the *Duke*, and Mr. Selkirk, master; Capt. Dampier, second Captain in the *Batchelor*, and Mr. Knolman, master.

On the 20th we repaired on board; but before we were ready to sail, it was the 14th of October; when, about six in the morning, we weighed anchor; but in the afternoon the sea-breeze took us, and we were forced to return.

On the 19th we made sail with a fresh breeze, and at two in the afternoon came to an anchor off Java-head, when two English gentlemen came off to us, to demand the release of a man who had concealed himself, unknown to the officers,

officers, on board the Batchelor, and who was given up without opposition. In the mean time, while the gentlemen were in conversation with the officers, a party from the ship went off with their boat to buy fowls, for which they gave in exchange knives, toys, and other trifles, which the natives value more than money.

On the 23d the gentlemen took their leave; and the party who went off to truck for fowls having reported that there were buffaloes in abundance to be had for shooting, another party were sent off to bring some on board; but they returned without success. They came in sight of whole herds, but so exceeding wild, that the moment they saw the appearance of a man, they all took the alarm, and fled to the woods with so much swiftness, that it was impossible to come within musket-shot of them. One of the party, who had ventured to follow them into the woods, was surprized by a tyger, who was within less than a hundred yards of him before he thought proper to make his retreat; and was pursued by the creature so close, that, had he not reached the water, he must have been devoured. His companions fired more than twenty shot at the tyger before he went off, which he did at last, though sorely wounded.

We staid here till the 26th, when we made sail, and about noon Java-head bore E. by N. distant about seven leagues. From hence to the Cape of Good Hope we met with nothing remarkable; and, on the 30th of December, came  
to

to an anchor in Table-bay, in seven fathom water. We saluted the fort with nine guns; and they returned seven. As soon as the ships were moored, the Captains and principal officers went ashore to pay their compliments to the Governor, by whom they were honourably received. The place and people have been so often described already, that we shall not disgust the reader with useless repetitions.

During our stay here, we employed the time in victualling, watering, and refitting our ships, for the remaining part of our voyage home. The Duke, commanded by Captain Rogers, had been leaky ever since her departure from California; and, notwithstanding all that could be done both at Batavia and this place, it could not be stopped; but what was remarkable, in a few days after we left the Cape, it stopt of itself.

Here we had an opportunity of writing to our owners, by means of an East-India ship just ready to sail when we arrived. In the letter we acquainted them with our having made prize of a small Manilla ship, and of our having her in our possession; and also, that we intended to take the advantage of returning home in company with the Dutch East-India fleet, who were hourly expected, which would occasion us to tarry till the latter end of March, when it was imagined they would be ready to sail.

On February the 22d, the Dutch fleet arrived, being in all 12 sail. We saluted the Admiral at  
his

his coming with seven guns, as did likewise the fort. There were at this time in the harbour 17 Dutch ships, and six English. The town was crowded, and many of our men were ill. Mr. Vanbrugh, the owners chief agent, died, as did Mr. Appleby, mate of the Duke, and several others. We began to be impatient; and found it necessary to begin to furnish ourselves with provisions as early as possible, as every thing began to increase in price as the town began to fill. The Batavia fleet was soon followed by four ships from Ceylon. Six came from that island; but near Madagascar met with such a violent storm, that some were forced to cut away their main-masts, and throw over some of their lee-guns, having much water at the same time in their holds. The four came into the Cape much damaged, and believed the other two had foundered at sea. Several English Indiamen arrived also in the road; as also a Portuguese ship from Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brasil, bound for Mezambique, to take in slaves.

At length, on April the 6th, all the homeward bound ships being ready to sail, we weighed in the morning, and sailed with a small breeze of wind at E.S.E. and by noon came to an anchor at Penguin island, the east end of the island bearing south-westerly. At three we sailed again, being in all 25 sail of English and Dutch, all good ships, under the command of Admiral Peter de Vos. At six the Cape of Good Hope bore S. by W. half W. distant about seven leagues;



leagues; and thus, having taken our departure, we proceeded on our voyage April the 23d, which being St. George's-day, and the anniversary of her Majesty of Great Britain, the Duke and Dutcheſs ſaluted each other with drums, trumpets, and other formalities, in honour of the day; and in the evening the reſpective Captains gave an entertainment, of which all the officers on board partook.

Auguſt 3, 1711, we made the iſland of St. Helena, in lat. 16 deg. S. It lies 1000 miles at leaſt from any land, and is not more than 10 leagues in length, and about eight in breadth, ſurrounded with rocks, and elevated above the ſea by towering mountains, that look at a diſtance like lofty buildings riſing to the clouds. Theſe mountains are covered with wholeſome herbs and plants; and the vallies are ſo fruitful, that they yield an increaſe of whatever is ſown in them an hundred-fold. The Portugueſe firſt diſcovered this little ſpot accidentally, as they were ranging along the coaſt of Africa, in order to find their way to the Eaſt-Indies. It was then uninhabited; and, according to their cuſtom, they ſet ſome live goats and ſwine on ſhore, which multiplied to that degree, that ever ſince there have been enough to ſupply the ſhips that touch at that iſland with ſeaſonable reſreſhment. The Dutch firſt inhabited, and afterwards abandoned it, and removed their ſettlement to the Cape of Good Hope. The Engliſh then took poſſeſſion of it; when the Dutch, who did not

think it worth keeping before, returned, fell upon the English, and drove them out. The Dutch in their turn were expelled by the English, who have now been long in possession, have erected a very strong fort for their security, and built a town near the little bay, where ships generally anchor in their way to and from the East Indies. It is of infinite use in relieving the sailors from that dreadful distemper the scurvy; for, as it naturally produces lemons, oranges, and other fruits, and as greens and roots are planted in abundance, those who are languishing under the last stage of the scurvy are frequently recovered by the use of those refreshments without any other physic. It would be delightful living in this island, were it larger, or more frequented; but the confinement in so small a place in the middle of a vast ocean so remote from all communication with the rest of the world, renders the residence there so lonely, that it has rather the appearance of living in exile than in a land of freedom. And indeed, what makes it still more uncomfortable, our own ships find so much better entertainment at the Cape than can be expected in this little spot, that many of them store themselves there so plentifully, and recover their sick men so effectually, as not to be under the necessity of touching at St. Helena, whereby not only the residence of the inhabitants is rendered more dull, but their means of subsistence is very much restrained; for as they have nothing to depend  
upon

upon but their traffic with the ships that call to refresh, every one that passes by without touching is a diminution of their profits: so that in fact the people have little or no encouragement to continue there, and many of them make heavy complaints. Indeed, the surrounding sea, that abounding in fish is a considerable help, and the fertility of the soil, which is sure to reward the pains of the cultivator, exempt them from famine; but for cloaths and all other conveniences, their dependance is upon strangers.

On the first of May we took our departure from this island, and on the 7th made the island of Ascension, which is still uninhabited. As the springs, which were discovered by Dampier, lie remote from the shore, very few ships attempt to water, or indeed stop at Ascension; some indeed, who are in want of fresh provisions, fish here for turtle, of which there are great plenty all round the coasts.

Nothing remarkable happened in the course of our voyage till May the 27th, when two of our Dutch sailors died, and were decently buried according to the custom of the sea.

About this time all the flag-ships struck their flags, the Admiral hoisted a broad pendant, and all the other ships did the same. This was done with a view to deceive the enemy, that in case any cruisers should come in sight, they might take us for a squadron of Dutch men-of-war.

On the 12th, a mutiny happened among our men; and two Dutchmen who were the ring-

leaders were whipped and put in irons. For some days we had but little wind, being in the calm latitude, which we reckon from 22 deg. to 28 deg. N.

June the 13th, the Dutch Admiral made the signal for each ship to keep the Line, and we blacked our ship to make her look the more like a Dutchman.

On the 15th, in the morning, the Admiral made the signal for all the English Commanders, and some of the Dutch skippers, to come on board him, where we were sumptuously entertained at Dinner, and the frank humour of the Dutchmen made the company jolly before we parted.

June 23, a Dutch ship being in distress fired several guns; upon which the whole fleet shortened sail. Her damage being soon repaired, the signal was given to continue our course, and we took the Batchelor in tow, being a heavy sailer, and forced to crowd the canvases to keep company; but, it blowing hard the next day, we were forced to cast her off.

On the 26th, the Batchelor's pinnace had her back broke, by the ship's running over her; but the men that were in her were all miraculously saved, by means of the hawser which they were carrying from our ship to take her in tow. In the evening the King William Indiaman took her in tow, and next morning cast her off.

On the 28th, being got into the latitude of 51 deg. N. we had thick foggy weather, with  
the

the wind at south, which continued several days, and all the while the Admiral kept firing two guns every hour, and each ship in the fleet answered with one. This was done to keep the fleet together, and it answered the purpose very well; for when the fog dispersed, and the weather came clear, there was not one ship missing. The Dutch convoy, however, took care afterwards to be well paid for his waste of powder.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 12th of July, when the Donnegall Indiaman lost her fore-top mast, and made the signal for the fleet to shorten sail. Being now in near 60 deg. N. latitude, we had no night, but cold drizzling weather; yet nothing to compare to the cold in the same latitude in going round Cape Horn southward; for there the cold was so intense that many of our men sickened; and yet we were here and at Cape Horn much about the same time of the year, allowing for the difference of the two climates.

On the 14th, we came in sight of Bera, and spoke with a Danish ship bound to Dublin, who told us the war still continued, and that he had spoke a day or two before with a Dutch squadron of 10 men-of-war, and three victuallers, lying off Shetland to wait for us; so that by keeping between that and Fair Island, we could not possibly miss seeing them. Next day we came in sight of them, when all the fleet saluted the Commodore, and he made the signal for all the Commanders to come aboard of him  
for

for sailing orders. The Captains Courtney and Dover went accordingly, and were courteously received, and given to understand, that they might be supplied with whatever provisions they stood in need of, on paying for the same, he having brought victuallers from Holland for that purpose. We lay off Shetland some days, and caught ling and cod in abundance, during which time the Shetlanders came off to us, and brought fowls and sheep, which we purchased at much cheaper rates than of our Dutch victuallers.

We were now very sickly, having been more than three months in our passage from the Cape to this place; and we were besides very peevish and quarrelsome among ourselves; now that we came near home, jealousies arose about embezzlements. The agents had been to the Duke to demand the gold, plate, pearl, and jewels, on board; and they were returned not very well satisfied with their reception. But, while these disputes were at their height, orders were given to set sail. In the mean time letters were dispatched to London and Amsterdam, acquainting the owners with our progress, and present situation, and desiring their instructions to regulate our future proceedings. Before we left Shetland we took four hogsheds of beer on board from the Dutch Commodore, which served us till we arrived on the 23d in sight of Holland, in the evening of which day we came to an anchor in the Texel road.

On the 27th, we received a general letter from  
our

our owners, dated, Bristol, June 6th, 1711, in which they acquainted us, that the East-India Company were incensed against us, and had appointed a secret committee to inspect their charter as to privileges; and that they were resolved to take all advantages, in case of the least infringement on what they pretended to be their exclusive right of trading to the East-Indies. This letter likewise recommended the greatest caution on our part with regard to the Dutch East-India Company; or from that Company as well as from our own, they had reason to fear all possible obstruction. It was therefore most strictly enjoined, that neither officer nor sailor should, on any pretence whatever, be suffered to take any goods on shore; nor were we to allow any stranger to come on board to purchase the least trifle; for that, if any such thing should be proved, the whole cargo would be forfeited.

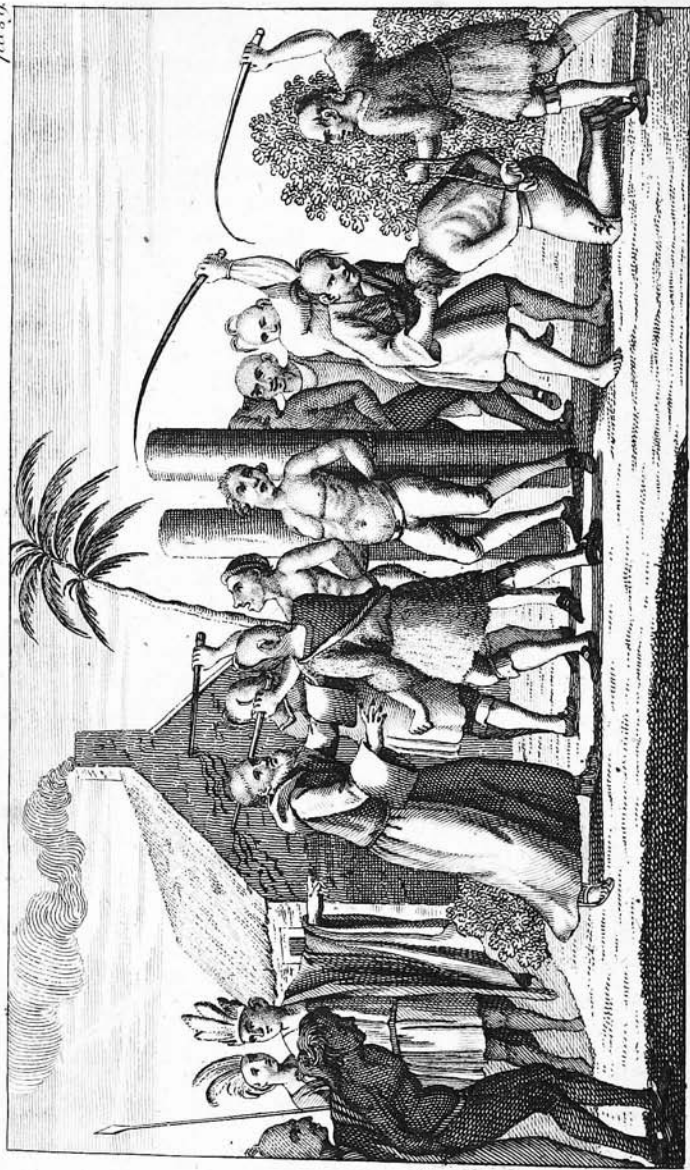
It was a great relief to us, when, on the 5th of August, Mr. Hollidge, one of our principal owners came on board us; for, though we kept the strictest watch, it was hardly possible to prevent the sailors from running things ashore in the night. On this gentleman's arrival, it was judged necessary to draw up a short account of our voyage from the journals of the respective Commanders, and an affidavit was made to the truth of it. In this memorial we set forth, that we went out as private men-of-war, and not as trading ships; and that no sort of merchandize was shipped on board our ships at any of the islands

islands or ports we touched at in the East Indies; nor any traffic carried on there, other than for necessaries and provisions for the ships and ships company. To this all the officers and most of the seamen voluntarily swore and set their hands. We continued in Holland, without any remarkable event, till the 30th of September, 1711, when we sailed from the Texel, under convoy of her Majesty's ships, Essex, Canterbury, Medway, and Dullidge, and anchored in the Downs on the 2d of October. On the 13th, the Duke and Dutchess came up to Eriff, where the Batchelor had been moored some time before: and here all the ships continued till they were unloaded. The produce of the cargo, and the treasure brought home in these ships, were supposed to amount to between 3 and 400,000 l. for, after all charges of convoy, agency, law-suits, embezzlements, of which great complaint was made, and of every kind of thievery practised in such cases, the nett profits, that were afterwards fairly divided, amounted to 170,000 l.

Among the disasters that befel the adventurers in this voyage, that of losing Mr. Hatley, with his little crew, near the islands of Gallapagoes, was most to be deplored; yet, though his death was supposed to be certain, having little or no provisions on board, and still less water, after the conclusion of the war, he returned home, to the astonishment of all who knew him. It then appeared, that, when he parted company with the Duke, having no resource, he made directly  
for







*M<sup>r</sup> Hadley & his Small Crew Cruelly Whipped by v. Savage Indians but are Saved by a Priest.*

for the main ; and, falling in with Cape Passao, his little crew almost famished, and himself in a miserable weak condition, he formed the resolution, with the consent of his people, to surrender themselves prisoners to the enemy : but, unfortunately, the enemy to whom they surrendered were not the civilized Spaniards, but a mixed breed of Indians and Mulattos, who bore an implacable hatred to all white men, from a rooted aversion to the Spanish tyranny. These wretches used their helpless prisoners barbarously, tied their hands behind them, and lashed them to posts, where they half-fled them with whips ; and most certainly would have tortured them to death, had it not been for the interposition of their priest, to whom these half-heathen converts pay great respect. Being, by the humanity of this good Padre, rescued out of the hands of those barbarians, and conveyed to a Spanish settlement, Mr. Hatley was received with kindness, and used with much civility ; and, when peace was declared, was set at liberty, and assisted to return to his country, where he afterwards engaged in a second expedition to the same seas, and again fell into the hands of the same enemy.

We have not yet been able to learn the future proceedings of the officers who conducted this enterprize. It is more than probable, that, having enriched themselves by the voyage, they retired and lived private. We find, indeed, a Mr. Cooke engaged in a succeeding voyage,

90 CAPTAIN COOKE'S VOYAGES.

but it does not appear that it was the Captain Cooke of whose voyage we have just given an account. Mr. Hatley, indeed, who fell into the hands of the Spaniards, was employed as second Captain under Shelvock, and of him we shall have occasion to speak largely hereafter.

T H E

T H E  
V O Y A G E  
O F  
CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON  
ROUND THE WORLD.

CAPTAIN John Clipperton (or, as some write, Clippington) was born at Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk; and his friends being most of them sea-faring people, he was from his infancy bred up a mariner. His disposition naturally inclining him to ramble, he embraced every opportunity to embark in new voyages, and there was hardly a corner of the earth which he had not visited before he was thirty years of age. When he was made choice of to take the command of the expedition of which we are now to give an account, he was esteemed, and that perhaps justly, the most experienced seaman of his time. He had been frequently in the East and West Indies; had been in the Northern and Mediterranean Seas, and had once surrounded the whole globe. He was that Clippington, who, in 1704, with a bark, of only 10 tons, two masts, two square-sails, two pattararoes, and 21 men, left Cap-

tain Dampier on the coast of Mexico ; and, after insulting Rio Leon, where he took two Spanish ships at anchor, one of which was ransomed for 4000 pieces of eight, and after visiting the gulph of Salinas, where he cleaned and refitted his little bark, undertook to sail in her from that coast round half the globe ; a great part of which he performed in a track never before attempted, pursuing his course in the 18th degree of north latitude, which former navigators had pursued after each other in the 13th ; and, in that direction, he reached the Philippines in 54 days, without seeing land, or meeting with any cross accident to interrupt his passage. While he was embarrassed among those islands, there came off a canoe with a friar on board, to enquire concerning so uncommon a vessel, the like of which was never seen before in those seas. He detained the friar till his crew were furnished with fresh provisions, and then released him.

From the Philippines we steered to Pulo Condore, where he expected to have met with an English settlement ; but, to his great mortification, he there learnt, that, some time before his arrival, the English had been all murdered by their Indian guards. Upon this melancholy news, he bore away for Macao, a port in the possession of the Portuguese, near the mouth of the river Canton, in China, already frequently mentioned, and lately made famous by the arrival of some Russian adventurers from Kampschatka, who,

who, by that navigation, have confirmed the reality of a north-east passage to the coasts of China. At this Port he arrived, where Shelvock affirms that near half his crew were hanged for pirates, that the rest escaped, some to one place, and some to another; that Clipperton himself being deprived of his little boat, found means to get on board an English East India-man at Canton, and arrived in England in 1706.

Clipperton was a blunt, rough, free-spoken sailor, had not much the air of a gentleman, and therefore never affected it; was free and easy among his seamen; and, though he was passionate, he was soon appeased, and, if in the wrong, ever ready to acknowledge his error, and to repair any injury his hasty temper betrayed him to commit. He had a strict regard to what he thought his duty, and was not to be diverted from the principles of moderation, which ever inclined him to acts of mercy and humanity towards those over whom the chance of war gave him the superiority. Having returned almost destitute from his first voyage round the world, he settled in the north of Ireland, to which retreat he was traced, after more than twelve years retirement, and persuaded to undertake this second voyage, as a means to repair his broken fortune.

The success that had attended the voyage of the Duke and Dutchess to the South Seas under the command of Captain Rogers, had revived the  
spirit

spirit of privateering, which, by former miscarriages, had been reduced to a very low ebb. Dampier, as has already been noticed, was unable, with all his skill and all his experience, to persuade the London merchants to engage in a second expedition into those seas, after having failed in the first, and was obliged to apply to Bristol to raise a new company of adventurers to second his views; but such is the nature of mankind, that emulous, not to say envious, of the success of others, they are ever ready to crowd the road that has led to fortune, without considering how unfit they are to undertake the journey. The owners of the *Duke* and *Dutchess* had been particularly careful to make choice of gentlemen, not only of ability, to conduct the voyage which proved so successful, but who also had confidence in, and friendship for, each other; and yet, with all this care and caution, it was with the greatest difficulty in the world that they were persuaded to keep together, and to act in concert. On the contrary, the Commanders in the present expedition, were gentlemen of opposite tempers, opposite views, and already, before they set out, engaged in opposite parties; it was therefore very unlikely that two such Commanders should unite in one common interest, or that the one should share the danger where the other was to reap the glory. The event will shew, that the miscarriage of this enterprize was not more owing to the mistakes in the voyage, than in the wrong setting out.

The



The impatience of the undertakers was so great, and their confidence of making themselves rich by the plunder of the Spaniards so certain, that, unwilling to trust to an eventual rupture between Great Britain and Spain, they took occasion, from the war that then subsisted between the Emperor and Spain, to apply to the Imperial Court for a commission to carry their plan of hostilities into execution. With this view, having equipped two stout ships, the *Success* and the *Speedwell*, it was thought necessary to find out some gentleman who had served on board the royal navy, that might take upon him the command of the expedition, and be able to act with propriety in a joint commission, wherein Flemish soldiers and English sailors were to be united in the same design.

For this difficult task no man was thought more fit than Captain George Shelvock, who had been bred from his childhood in the royal navy, had been thirty years in the service, and arrived at the rank of First Lieutenant of one of his Majesty's ships of war, which he had borne with great reputation; was in his person and behaviour a fine gentleman, and was confessedly a very expert and able seaman. He was, besides, of quick parts, ready speech, and very winning address, but withal rather too sensible of his own accomplishments. This gentleman the undertakers thought themselves happy in having found; and they accordingly not only invested him with the command, but entrusted to him the  
grand

## 96 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

grand business of the commission, and for that purpose he received instructions to repair to Ostend with the *Speedwell*, and there, as soon as the commission was obtained, to take on board the complement of Flemings that were to give countenance to the undertaking; and to join the *Success* in the Downs, which there lay ready under the command of Capt. Mitchel. On this occasion the names of the ships were changed; the *Success* was called the *Prince Eugene*, and the *Speedwell* the *Starenberg*, in compliment to the Prince and the Imperial Prime Minister. Capt. Shelvock was, besides, instructed to lay in such a stock of wines and spirituous liquors, as he should judge sufficient for the use of both ships in a voyage where such refreshments would be absolutely necessary, and without which the climate of Cape Horn could hardly be endured.

In this business, however, the Captain gave some disgust. He was either too extravagant, too ostentatious, or too remiss; and the voyage which the owners had so much at heart, was thought already to have suffered by unnecessary delay. But, what was still worse, the Flemish soldiers, 90 in number, commanded by their own officers, had hardly arrived in the Downs before they became so insolent, that it was presently discovered, that the scheme of their acting in concert with English sailors was utterly impracticable: so that after all this delay and expence, the commission was returned, the Flemish soldiers discharged, and a new plan formed,

which

which gave the first occasion to those dissensions that in the end proved the ruin of the voyage.

Captain Shelvock's management had much lessened his credit, and his friends were unable to support his interest. The reason for his advancement no longer existed; and it was found, that the discipline to which he had been accustomed on board the royal navy, was not the discipline to be practised on board privateers. It was necessary, therefore, as the circumstances of things were changed, war with Spain declared, and no extraordinary accomplishment required, to look out for an officer to take the command, who had experience in the business in which he was to be employed; who knew the western coasts of America, and was acquainted with the genius of the people with whom he was to contend, as well as the tempers of those with whom he was to attack.

On this new regulation, the character of Captain Clipperton was called to mind. He was known to some of the owners, and strongly recommended by other merchants, as of all men then living the fittest to be entrusted with the conduct of such an expedition. The owners, who had already expended more than 15,000 l. began to consider their own interest without respect to persons; and, therefore, they sought out and invested Captain Clipperton with the chief command, continuing Captain Shelvock Commander of the *Speedwell*, and appointing Captain Mitchell second to Captain Clipperton, and

## 98 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

Captain Hatley second Captain to Shelvock. The ships were restored to their former names, an English commission procured for the Commanders, and every thing prepared while the ships lay in the Downs for their immediate departure.

The instructions given to the respective Commanders were, in substance, the same with those given to the Commanders of the Duke and Dutchess, strongly recommending unanimity. But this precaution proved wholly useless. The expedition wore an unfortunate aspect from the beginning. The ships were obliged to lie three months at Plymouth, waiting for a wind. Factions were in the mean time formed, in which the crews as well as the Commanders were involved. Captain Shelvock highly resented the affront that had been offered in depriving him of the chief command; and Captain Clipperton, being a boisterous man, having himself strong passions, and not having art to conceal them, knowing Captain Shelvock's prejudices, nothing but dissention and discord prevailed. Every post brought the owners fresh complaints; and every post carried fresh reproofs to the Commanders. In this humour the parties continued while the ships lay at Plymouth. At length,

On the 13th of February, 1719, the Success, of 36 guns, and 180 men, commanded by Captain Clipperton, and the Speedwell, of 24 guns, and 106 men, of which Captain Shelvock was Commander, sailed with a fair wind; but, by an  
unac-

## CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE. 99

unaccountable over-sight, the Speedwell had on board the whole stock of wine and brandy, and the Success the greatest share of other stores.

For several days they had fresh gales, squally, with rain, and the Success was often obliged to shorten sail for the Speedwell. Captain Shelvock tells us, that he complained to Captain Clipperton of the crankness of his ship, and desired him to send for his wine and brandy, that he might strike down some of his guns into the hold, which would enable him to sail much better than he did : but this, it seems, was neglected ; a proof that Clipperton had no intention to desert the Speedwell, though it was a flight, which Shelvock could not but resent. On the 19th, a violent storm arose, which obliged both ships to take in their top-sails. The gale increasing, the Success made a signal for the Speedwell to bring to ; which Captain Shelvock readily obeyed ; and, by eleven at night, both ships were under bare poles. On the 20th, in the afternoon, the storm abated, and Captain Clipperton made sail, steering S. by E. whereas Captain Shelvock, according to his journal, stood north-west ; so that from this day they never saw each other, till they met in the South Seas by mere accident. Here then properly begins the history of Captain Clipperton's voyage round the world. He was now at sea without liquors, and without his comfort. The first place of rendezvous appointed by them, was the Canary Islands ; and, therefore, he sail-

## 100 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

ed thither, and arrived at Gomera on the 5th of March. Having taken in some wine and refreshments, for which he had great occasion, he continued cruising at the Canaries ten days for his consort; but, missing her here, he continued his voyage to the next place of rendezvous, at the Cape de Verd or Green islands.

The former islands, called by the ancients the Fortunate Islands, from their fertility and temperate air, were discovered by the Spaniards in 1402, who named them the Canaries, or the Islands of Dogs, because no other creatures were found on them. They are eight in number. The Great Canary is the largest, is far distant from the others, and contains 9000 inhabitants. It is the seat of the Bishop, the Inquisition, and of the Council Royal. There is a mountain on the Teneriff, called the Pike of Teneriff, which, according to the common opinion, is the highest in the world. It may be distinctly seen at sixty leagues distance. It is three days journey to the top of it, which, except in the months of July and August, is always covered with snow. Fero is one of the largest, but so dry, that there is not one drop of fresh water to be found in it, except in a few places by the sea-side: but Providence has furnished a supply to remedy that inconvenience; for there grows all over this island a sort of tree, which is pretty large, and full of leaves, that are always green, and covered with a little cloud that wets the leaves by its dew, so that a fine clear water distills from them

them into little pails, which the inhabitants set to catch it. This water falls in such quantities, that it not only abundantly supplies the necessity of the people, but it is sufficient also to water the cattle. The Canaries in general are very fertile, and abound with wine that is transported into all parts of the world. On the right-hand of those islands, about 100 leagues off, the mariners very often perceived an island named St. Baranora, inhabited, they say, by Christians; but no man can tell of what denomination they are, nor what language they speak. The Spaniards have often attempted to enter it, but could never find the way; which has raised an opinion in the people, that it is an enchanted island.

On the 21st they saw St. Vincent's, and the next morning anchored in the bay. Here they spent ten days cruising in hopes of meeting with their consort, but in vain; which so disheartened the crew, that Capt. Clipperton found it difficult to persuade them to continue the voyage for the Straits of Magellan, without wine or brandy to keep up their spirits in that uncomfortable navigation. Some are of opinion, that these islands were called Green Islands from the Green Cape of Africa, over-against which they lie; others, because the sea that surrounds them is so covered with a green herb, that you can hardly see the water; nor can ships sail through it, but with a stiff gale of wind. It produces berries, much like white gooseberries; but

## 102 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE:

but without taste. Nobody can tell how it grows; for there is no ground where it floats upon the water, and it cannot come from the bottom, the sea being in many places unfathomable.

On the 1st of April they left St. Vincent's, and on the 29th of May they had an observation, and found themselves in lat. 52 deg. 15 min. S. being then off Cape Virgin Mary, the north point of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. The next day they entered the Straits, and sent their pinnace on shore on the main, to a fresh-water river, which was at this time frozen up. They saw large flocks of geese and ducks, but very shy. The surgeon's mate, by some accident, was left on shore; and next morning, when brought aboard, was near dead with cold. They anchored at Queen Elizabeth's Island, and found great plenty of smallage, which was of infinite service to those sick of the scurvy. They eat it raw, boiled it in their soups, and kept the juice of it in bottles. They met with plenty of wild-fowl and shell-fish, filled their casks with water, and continued their course. On the 22d they anchored in a fine bay, which, from its depth, they called No-bottom Bay. The trees were high, loaded with snow, and exhibited a most astonishing prospect. On the 29th came a canoe, with four Indians. They were of a middle stature, dark complexion, their faces broad and round, low foreheads, black hair very lank and short, with no  
cloathing,



cloathing, except a piece of skin to cover their middles. What seemed most remarkable, was a circle round their wrists, of a bright azure. It seems these savages are extremely jealous of their women; for, notwithstanding all that could be said to them, they would not permit a woman, who was of their party, to come on board. Bougainville, and the English voyagers who lately passed the Straits, make the same observation. Capt. Clipperton ordered them bread and cheese, and a dram of brandy, though it was very scarce. The former they eat very heartily, or rather greedily; but the latter they could not be prevailed upon to taste. They had bows and arrows, and some fishing-tackle along with them. After about two hours stay, they rowed ashore, making signs that they would come again. The next day the pinnace was sent ashore, and returned in the evening with the Indian canoe laden with muscles, which the Indians had exchanged for bread, knives, and other trifles. In the beginning of the month of July they found the weather moderate. These natives were a harmless people: one of the crew, being left on shore, lived with them two nights and a day, and was very kindly treated by them; which shews, that, if they are well used, they are not treacherous. All this time their ship's company were very sickly, and scarce a day passed but some one or other died. On July 8 they buried their master-gunner. They caused a strong plank to be driven at the head of his grave,

# 104 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON's VOYAGE.

grave, on which was the following inscription :  
 “ Mr. William Pridham, gunner of the Succes,  
 “ deceased July 7, 1719, in this Strait, and lies  
 “ buried here.” On the 20th Capt. Mitchell and  
 Lieut. Davidson went in the pinnace to Terra  
 del Fuego, in order to make discovery of the  
 passage that a French Tartan is said to have went  
 through into the South Sea, May 1713, and to  
 see if there was any anchoring beyond Cape  
 Quad. On the 29th they returned, having  
 found the passage, but so narrow, that it was  
 judged hazardous to go that way. They found  
 likewise several good bays to the north-west of  
 Cape Quad to anchor in. The Indians brought  
 them a seal, which they broiled and roasted,  
 and said it eat like venison.

August 1, they resolved to prosecute their  
 voyage thro' the Straits, which, with much dan-  
 ger and difficulty, they accomplished. Aug. 18,  
 they arrived in the South Seas, but so weak,  
 that it was impossible to undertake any thing  
 immediately; they therefore steered directly for  
 the island of Juan Fernandez, the third and last  
 place of rendezvous, where they arrived Sept. 7,  
 and searched diligently in hopes of finding some  
 token of the Speedwell, but to no manner of  
 purpose. According to his instructions, Clip-  
 perton continued to cruise a full month, and,  
 before he took his departure, ordered an inscrip-  
 tion to be cut on a remarkable tree fronting  
 the landing-place; so that it was impossible for  
 any ship's crew to come ashore, and not see  
 it.

it. The inscription thus: "CAPTAIN JOHN W. MAGEE, 1719." This William Magee was surgeon on board the *Success*, was well-known to Capt. Shelvock, and all the ship's company, and therefore his name was made choice of rather than the Captain's, for a blind in case the inscription should be read by the Spaniards. Here the sick were set ashore, and every means used for their recovery; but the very thoughts of being without any cordial to comfort them, dejected them excessively. The weather was changeable; abundance of rain fell; and they had also some hard gales of wind. They took goats in plenty, which not only served them for the present, but likewise increased their sea store, having salted a great number with salt they found on the island ready-made. They likewise wooded and watered, and cleaned their ship, ready for action in the South-Seas, where it was now visible they were to cruise alone; for Clipperton was of opinion the *Speedwell* was lost; or at least he gave out so, to pacify his company, who were continually cursing Capt. Shelvock for running away with their liquors. One thing remarkable was, the beauty and fertility of this island, added to the stories they had heard of others, tempted four of Clipperton's men, with a view of remaining there, to betake themselves to the mountains, where two of them were made prisoners by the goat-hunters, who were forced to fire at them several times before they would surrender.

On October 7, they prepared to sail; and, in the mean time, Captain Mitchell went on shore, to set up a cross already cut for that purpose, at the foot of which he buried a bottle, in which was contained a letter for Captain Shelvock, directing another place of rendezvous, and some proper signal to know each other by at sea. At eight in the morning they weighed from the island of Juan Fernandez, and left their two men in possession of it, of whom more hereafter.

After leaving this island, Captain Clipperton sailed northward, till he was in the parallel of Lima, where he intended to act, though he was now in a very indifferent condition, having lost thirty men since his passing the Equator; and the remaining crew expressing some uneasiness in relation to plunder, he caused a paper to be fixed to the main-mast, which was assented to by the whole ship's company.

On October 25, they gave chase to a small vessel, and took her. Being their first prize, she was an ill omen of their future success. She was a snow of 40 tons, laden with sand and rubbish for manure, had seven Indians and two negroes on board; and all the captors could find worth taking, was two jars of eggs, as much treacle, and a couple of pieces of eight in ready money. The next day, they met with a ship called the *St. Vincent*, of 150 tons, laden with wood from *Guiaquil*, with two friars, sixteen Indians, and four negroes aboard. On the 30th, they took a large ship called the *Trinity*, of 400 tons, taken  
by

by Captain Rogers when he plundered Guiaquil ten years before. She had a great many passengers on board, and a cargo of considerable value.

On Nov. 2, they took another prize, of 70 tons, with the Countess of Laguna and several other passengers on board, a great deal of money, and upwards of 400 jars of wine and brandy, articles very much wanted. Captain Clipperton desired the Countess to make her choice, either to stay on board the prize, or accept of the accommodations they were able to afford her on board the Success. She chose the former; and the Captain sent an officer with strict orders to suffer nobody to enter her cabin but her own domestics: he likewise appropriated a part of the wine and brandy found on board the prizes for the use of his seamen, to whom, no doubt, it was a welcome refreshment.

He had already detached several officers, and above a third part of his company, to take care of his prizes; and yet was as eager to take more, as if, instead of a privateer weakly manned, he had commanded a squadron of ships of war. On the 12th he discovered, at some distance, a London-built pink, of 200 tons, laden with wood, named the Rosario, the Master of which being a very cunning fellow, soon saw the error that Clipperton had committed, and resolved to take advantage of it. He guessed, by the number of prizes, that many men could not be sent on board his ship; and, having about a dozen passengers, he directed them, under the command

of a French boatswain, to hide themselves in the hold, with orders, on his making a certain signal, to seize as many of the English as came down; assuring them, that he, with the ship's company, would be able to manage the rest. As soon as the ship struck, Captain Clipperton sent Lieutenant Serjeantson, with eight men, to take possession of her; who, as soon as he came on board, ordered all that appeared into the great cabin, and placed a centinel at the door of it. Thinking every thing secure, and not in the least apprehensive of danger, he with some of his men went into the hold to see what was in the ship; on which the passengers, who were concealed, sallied out, knocked most of them down, and the French boatswain, coming behind Mr. Serjeantson, knocked him down likewise, and then ordered them to be all bound. The Spaniards in the great cabin secured the centinel; and, having thus recovered their ship, made instantly for the shore, where their own company and the prisoners were all in equal danger of perishing; which the Captain no sooner perceived, than he ordered the English to be unbound; and, by good fortune every man escaped upon the rocks, against which the Spaniard in his eagerness had run his vessel, and against which she was dashed to pieces. Lieutenant Serjeantson and his people were secured, and sent prisoners to Lima. The Viceroy of Peru was no sooner acquainted with this gallant action, than he ordered a new ship to be built at Guiaquil for the Captain, and  
taxed

taxed the traders towards the expence of her, intending this as a reward for the service he had rendered the public, and hoping thereby to encourage others to behave as nobly. On the arrival of the prisoners at Lima, they were closely examined; and one of them gave a full account of every thing he knew, particularly of the two men left upon the island of Juan Fernandez, and of the bottle with a letter in it; upon which, the Viceroy ordered a small vessel to be fitted out, to fetch both the one and the other, which was accordingly performed.

It was not till the 20th that Captain Clipperton perceived that his last prize was retaken; when, considering what was best to be done, he prudently determined to set his Spanish prisoners at liberty, as well to save provisions, which, at that time, he could very ill spare, as that their good usage might be speedily known, and returned to such of his men as were in the enemy's power.

Accordingly, on the 27th, they came to an anchor with all their prizes, at the island of La Plata, and, in his way, took another prize, called the Cayetan, of 200 tons, having on board 40 negroes, and 30 Spaniards, most of them passengers. Here the Captain began seriously to consider how he should make the most of this expedition for his owners, as well as himself, and his company. He knew that all the coast was alarmed; and that two men of war, one of fifty, and one of thirty guns, were fitted out on purpose

## 110 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

pose to take him: he was sensible, that the goods he had on board were not likely to be ransomed in that part of the world; and that they would prove mere drugs, if brought into this; and therefore laid all these things together; and, reflecting on a proposition made by Captain Woods Rogers, to send a cargo of such prize-goods to Brazil, he resolved to try the experiment; and, accordingly, he fitted out the bark in which he took the Countess of Laguna; mounted her with eight guns; and, putting on board of her thirteen Englishmen, and ten negroes, with what provisions and other necessaries he could spare, he sent her with a cargo of European commodities, valued at 10,000 pounds, for Brazil, under the command of Captain Mitchell, his second in command. As soon as he was gone, the Captain parted with all his other prizes, presenting them to the Spanish prisoners, after taking out of them what he thought valuable, and detaining only the Captain of one of them for his pilot, and all the negroes; after which he sailed from that island, in order to cruize in his former station.

December 12, they saw a sail about five in the evening, and, at seven, took her. She was called the Rosary, and laden with provisions. The launch and pinnace were all the next day employed in bringing on board the cargo, and having got out of her as much as they could stow, they cut her main-mast by the board, left  
the



### CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE. III

she should overfet, and so let her go. The prisoners informed them that the men taken by the Rosario were sent to Lima by land. On the 27th they looked into Guanchaco bay, and found two ships at anchor. They fired a shot at each, but they made no return. Sending then their boats aboard, they found them abandoned, and could discover nothing left, except some bread, and a few jars of water. They hung out a flag of truce, and fired two guns at half an hour's interval, hoping they would have come aboard to ransom their ships. They were answered from shore; but no boat coming, they waited till next day, and then set them on fire.

It was now resolved to bear away for refreshment to the Gallapagos islands, where they might remain unmolested till the alarm of their being in those seas should be over; and, accordingly, put their design in execution. On January 9, 1720, they anchored on the north side of the Duke of York's island, immediately under the Equinoctial, where they found good water, and cleaned their ship, which confirms the account given by Captain Cowley, though Captain Rogers could not find the place.

On the 21st of January they observed a sail, and about eleven at night came up with her; and, on firing of their first gun, she struck. She was called the Prince Eugene, and had on board the Marquis de Villa Roche, and all his family, who were going to Lima.

On February 26th, a Spaniard dying of a wound

wound he had received at the taking this ship, the Marquis desired he might be buried according to their ceremonies ; which was granted. When the office for the dead had been performed, and the corpse thrown over-board, with a large bag of ballast tied at his feet, the Spaniards crying thrice, as their custom is on such occasion, *Bon Voyage*, i. e. a good voyage, the body, to the admiration of every one, presently floated, and continued floating as far as they could see it ; which the Marquis concluded to be an ill omen, and declared that some surprising accident would be the consequence.

On March 8, a priest, who was on board the Prince Eugene, desired leave to go on shore on the island of Velas ; which was granted, on his promising to persuade the inhabitants to drive some black cattle to the shore, in order to exchange them for what goods they liked best. On the 16th, he returned with four head of black cattle, some fowls, and fruit, as a present to the Marquis ; but at the same time declared, that the Governor would not suffer the inhabitants to trade. He said, Captain Mitchell had been ashore there, and had shot some of their cattle ; but that 200 men appearing under arms, they had forced him to retire. The next day some letters from the Marquis were intercepted, very little to his honour, since they tended to stir up the people to surprise, and secure the boat when it came next ashore to water. Upon this, Captain Clipperton confined him for some  
. days ;

## CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE. 113

days ; yet, on the 20th, he allowed both the Marquis and his lady to go ashore, leaving their only child as an hostage.

On April 14, the Marquis, his lady, and the Governor, came aboard ; and, an agreement being made for their ransom, the lady and child were sent on shore, and the Marquis only remained as an hostage. In this transaction Clipperton appears to have been outwitted by this nobleman, who basely broke his word, and provoked the crew for trusting him. On April 20th, they anchored in the gulph of Amapala ; and, not being able to water there, repaired to the island of Tigers, where they did it with great ease. On June 4, they sailed to Gorgona on the same errand, and were well supplied. On the 24th, they made prize a second time of the St. Vincent, now commanded by Don Clement de Andrado, laden with timber and cocoa-nuts. On August 11, they anchored, with their prize, at the island of Lobos de la Mar, where they set up tents on the shore, scrubbed and cleaned their ship, and where the crew talked over their affairs, till they began to think them desperate. Sometimes they reflected on the Captain, for pretending to remain in these seas without their consort ; at other times, they blamed him for giving in to the Spanish Marquis's project for ransoming his ship, which, they believed, would never be performed : and, now-and-then, the ship's corporal, one James Roch, a bold, busy, intriguing fellow, threw in some sly insinuations,

#### 114 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON's VOYAGE.

that, if they must go through such hardships, it was better they should do it for their own sakes, than for other peoples ; and one Joseph Maynard, the boatswain's mate, pushing things still further, a plot was at last formed for seizing the Captain, the rest of the officers, and running away with the ship. They likewise agreed, that, when their design was brought to bear, the officers should be set on shore on the island of Lobos, and all who afterwards opposed them shot without mercy. This wicked combination, however, was happily discovered, the two ring-leaders severely punished, and the rest pardoned ; by which wise conduct the conspiracy was suppressed. On the 17th they took a fishing-boat, with a large quantity of salt-fish well cured ; but found the St. Vincent, which they had left at an anchor under the island of Lobos, driven ashore, and sunk : here they put thirty-eight Spanish prisoners on board the fishing-boat, and sent them away.

Nov. 1, they entered the bay of Conception, where, missing a prize that outailed them, they bore away for Coquimbo, and took a ship laden with tobacco, sugar, and cloth, in their passage. On the 6th, in the afternoon, they opened that harbour, where they saw three men-of-war lying, with their top-sails loose ; and these no sooner spied them, than they cut their cables, and stood after them. The Success hauled close on a wind, and the prize did the same ; upon which the Spanish man-of-war that sailed best gave chase

chace to the latter, and took her. The other two ships crouded all the sail they could to come up with the Success, but she outailing them, made her escape. In the Spanish prize they lost their third Lieutenant, Mr. James Milne, and twelve of their best men. The Captain who took him was the famous Don Blas de Lessó, Governor of Carthagena, when attacked by Admiral Vernon. Don Blas treated his prisoner a little roughly at first, being enraged to find he had missed the English privateer, and only retaken a Spanish prize; and, in the first transport of his passion, struck Mr. Milne on the head with the flat of his sword; but, when he came to himself, he sent for him, and, finding him stripped by his soldiers, generously asked his pardon, ordered him a new suit of cloaths, and kept him for some time on board his ship. He afterwards procured his liberty at Lima, paid or his passage to Panama, where he gave him a jar of brandy, and another of wine, for his sea-stores, put 200 pieces of eight in his pocket, and sent him to England. This unlucky accident of losing their prize revived the ill humours among Clipperton's men, who did not indeed plot again, but became exceedingly dejected. On the 16th they saw another sail, and gave chase, which, after a few guns fired on both sides, bore away, being a clean ship, and left them, which proved a lucky escape; for this was likewise a ship of force, fitted out to take Capt. Shelvock, and commanded by one Fitz-

## 116 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

gerald, who, knowing this was not Shelvock's ship, and doubting what strength she might be of, had no great stomach to engage her. These repeated disappointments, as they broke the spirits of his crew, so they had a very bad effect on Capt. Clipperton himself, who began now to betake himself to drinking; and, as this vice generally grows upon people under misfortunes, he drank at last to such an excess, that he was hardly ever quite cool or sober. It was chiefly owing to this unhappy practice, that he fell into many errors in his future conduct. They were now in want of provisions, and they resolved to continue cruising to the north, to seek a supply. In this cruise they had but indifferent success; and, therefore, on the 27th, they set ashore their Spanish prisoners, and then determined to go once more to the Gallapagos in order to refresh. In their passage to these islands, they began to suspect some error in their log-line; and, upon measuring, found it three fathoms too short.

On the 4th of December, they lost their purser; and the same day found themselves very near the Gallapagos islands, but could find no anchoring-place, nor any fresh-water, though they had found a fine road on their first visit, which gave Shelvock occasion to charge Clipperton with want of skill; they therefore made the best way they could to the Isle of Cocoas, where they hoped certainly to get some fish, fowl, and cocoa-nuts, most of their people being very sick  
and

## CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE. 117

and weak. On the 17th in the morning they came in sight of it, which filled them with inexpressible joy. On the 18th, all that could be spared went on shore to build a kind of booth for the reception of their sick, who were all conveniently lodged. The Captain opened here the last cask of brandy for the use of the ship's company, and gave every man a dram a day; and, on New-Year's-day, he allowed a gallon of strong beer to every mess; and, by having here plenty of nourishing food and much ease, the crew began to recover, and were able to wood and water, though with much difficulty,

On the 17th of January, 1721, the Captain made the necessary dispositions for sailing; but, when they came to muster the men, there were no less than eleven missing, three Englishmen, and eight negroes, who chose rather to remain in this unfrequented island, than continue exposed to dangers and fatigues on board, and to their living constantly at short allowance.

On the 25th, they arrived on the coast of Mexico, where, discovering a sail, they sent their pinnace to give her chase; to whom she instantly struck. She proved to be *Jesu Maria*, commanded by Capt. Shelvock; and the account he gave was, That he had no more than forty men alive, the rest being all dead, or dispersed; that he had lost the *Speedwell* at *Juan Fernandez*, where they built a bark out of the wreck; that they had coasted along *Chili* and *Peru*, till they came to *Pisco*, near *Lima*, where they took  
this

## 118 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

this prize; that they had no regular command among them; that they had chosen a quartermaster, carrying every thing by a majority of votes; and that they had quite broken their articles with their owners, and had shared all among themselves.

On the 27th, Captain Shelvock came aboard, being sent for by Captain Clipperton and the agent, to give an account of his transactions. The boat brought Mr. Dod, Lieutenant of marines, having been used very ill for his attachment to the owners; at least so he asserted, and was firmly believed by Captain Clipperton, and his officers. The next day Captain Shelvock sent on board them six chests of pitch and dammer, and two barrels of tar, with six slabs of copper: Captain Clipperton spared him twenty-four quarter-deck guns, some great shot, a compass, and a few other necessaries: his people purchased cloaths, shoes, hats, and other necessaries; and Mr. Hendric the purser, and Mr. Dod, continued in the Success, designing never more to sail with Shelvock.

In the beginning of March, both time and place favouring, they determined to attempt the Manilla ship, before she entered Acapulco.

On the 13th, they again met Captain Shelvock, and, at a general consultation, agreed to make the attempt jointly. But, previous to the signing this agreement, it was proposed by Captain Clipperton to form a joint stock, to bury all former miscarriages in oblivion, and again to



act in concert for the good of the owners. This proposition was rejected by Captain Shelvock and his people, who did not care to part with what they possessed ; upon which Captain Clipperton and his company, perceiving there was nothing to be expected from their consort, and that they were too weak of themselves to effect their purpose, determined to sail directly to the East-Indies, and instantly put their resolution in execution, without waiting for or consulting Captain Shelvock.

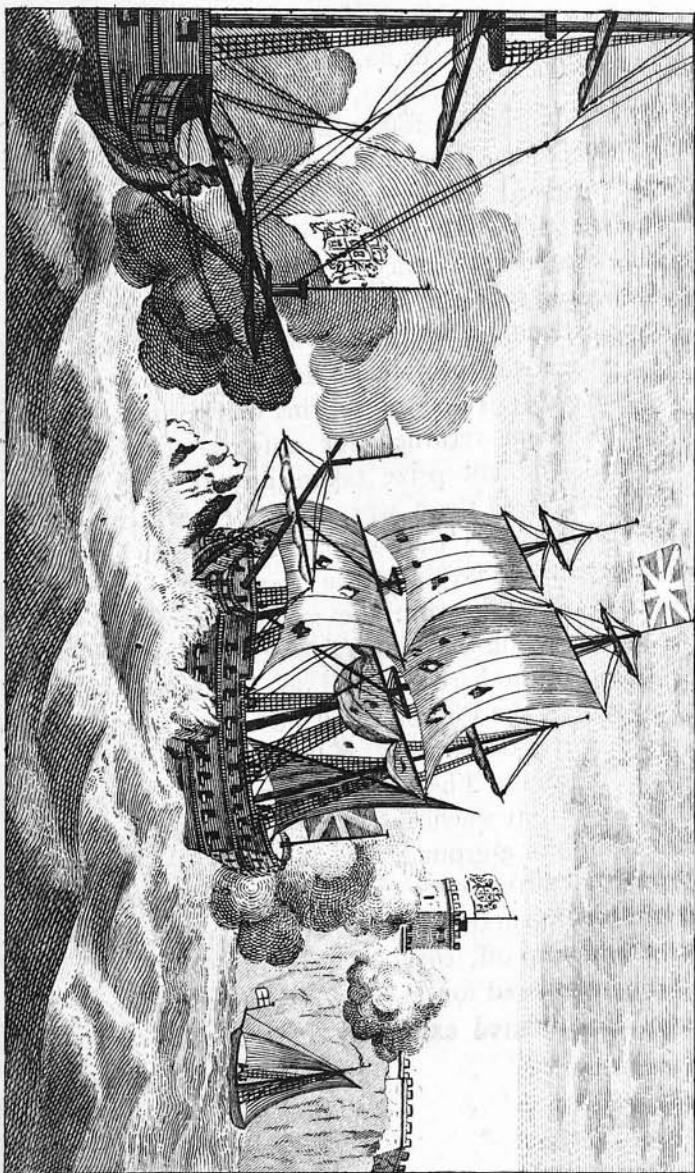
The run from the coast of Mexico to the island of Guam, they performed in fifty-three days ; and, May the 13th, anchored in the road of Umatta,—from whence they sent their pinnace ashore, with a flag of truce, in order to obtain some provisions, which met at first with a favourable reception, being told that, if they behaved civilly, and paid honestly, they should be furnished with what the island could afford. Soon after the launch arrived, and brought on board some cattle, bread, sugar, greens, palm-wine, and brandy, from the Governor, with a large quantity of chocolate. In return for which, his health was drank by the whole ship's crew, under a salvo of seven guns : this was the last act of civility that passed between them.

On the 18th of May, their prisoner, the Marquis de Ville Roche, went ashore, in company with the agent, the first lieutenant and doctor, having previously agreed with the Governor about his ransom. Our launch was employed

## 120 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE:

six days in bringing wood, water, and provision aboard; during which time, the Governor desired he might have some arms and ammunition in exchange: accordingly Captain Clipperton sent him twelve fuzees, three jars of powder, sixty round shot, four pair of pistols, besides cutlasses, long swords, and daggers. The 25th, they received a letter, in which the Governor demanded the Marquis's jewels, some consecrated plate, and two negroes, being Christians, and subjects to the King of Spain; as also a certificate, under the Captain and officers hands, that peace was proclaimed, detaining Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pritty till all this was performed. The Captain returned for answer, that the *Solidad*, the last prize taken on the coast of Chili, declared there was peace between England and Spain; but, withal, assured the Governor, that, if he did not, in twenty-four hours, send the ransom with the two gentlemen, he would demolish the houses upon the shore, burn the ship in the harbour, and do all the mischief he could at the Philippine islands.

After this declaration, hostilities commenced on both sides. The people on shore had raised a battery from whence they fired at the pinnace. The ship ran a-ground between two fires, one from the battery over their heads, and another from the ship in the harbour. In endeavouring to get their ship off, they ran foul of the rocks. The enemy fired so warmly with stones and shot, that they suffered extremely in their hull and  
rigging,



pl. 120

*The distant Situation of the Spanish Port at Trinidad & the Ship on the harbour  
herself at the same time Wrecked on a Rock*



rigging. They had three men wounded, besides the misfortune of losing Mr. Davidson, their first Lieutenant, who was an honest man, and a good officer.

In this emergency, the Captain being overcome with liquor, the officers signed a paper indemnifying Mr. Cook for taking upon him the command. They cleared away the hold, ready to start their water, to make the ship lighter; and got their upper and lower-deck guns forward, to bring her by the head, the ship hanging abaft on the rock.

During the last twenty-four hours, they had happily only one man wounded; but the ship was wretchedly torn and mangled between wind and water. The 30th, at six in the afternoon, the ship floating, they cut away the yawl, she being sunk with the shot; the other boats were much damaged; they hove to their small bower, then cut it away, and the other two hawsers, and sent their pinnace a-head, to tow the ship off. Just as they got afloat, the enemy fired so smartly from the new battery, that their shot raked them through between wind and water, killing one of their people, and wounding two others. They lost both their bow-anchors and cables, the stern and kedge anchors, four hawsers, four of their lower-deck guns, and nineteen barrels of powder, two men killed, and six wounded, having stood for no less than fifty hours a fair mark for the enemy to fire at; and, if they had not got clear, it was believed they would have been sunk before

## 122 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

morning. At ten in the forenoon they brought to, and began to splice their rigging, not a rope of which escaped a shot. Their carpenters were employed in fixing the masts and yards, and the rest of their people in fixing the rigging. At six in the afternoon they took their departure, leaving Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pritty in the hands of the enemy. This was certainly one of the worst errors committed by Clipperton; for he should never have quitted the Marquis, without having the ransom in his hands.

On the 24th of June, they were in sight of the Bashee Islands; and, on the last day of the month, they saw the island-shoals of Prata.

On the 1st of July, they fell in with other islands, and passed several boats that were fishing, though no such islands are laid down in any chart. They anchored under one of these islands, and dispatched their pinnace for intelligence; but not being able to learn their course to Macao, nor to get a pilot, they determined to sail for Amoy; before which port they arrived on the 5th in the evening, but were afraid to enter it in the night, and therefore plied off and on till day-light. They took notice of a great number of snakes in the sea, which were brought down by the rivers that empty themselves on that coast. In the evening of the 6th of July, they entered the port, and were well pleased to find themselves once more in a place where they might hope to obtain refreshments, and to be able to repair their ship; but they were no sooner anchored in this

this port, than they had 10 custom-house officers put on board them. The first thing these custom-house officers demanded was, what the ship was reputed to be, and what business she had there. Captain Clipperton answered, the ship belonged to the King of Great Britain, and that she put in there by stress of weather, in order to obtain provisions and necessaries. Next morning, the men mutinied, and insisted on being immediately paid their prize-money. Mr. Taylor, to whom we are indebted for this account, interposing, one Edward Boreman told him, he had best desist, unless he had a mind to have a brace of balls through his head. Mr. Cook, who commanded in the affair of Guam, and who succeeded Mr. Davidson as First Lieutenant, now demanded thirty shares, in right of his office; in which he was supported by the men. Captain Clipperton, and the rest of the officers, seeing the turn things were likely to take, were very desirous, that some allowance should be made to the officers that were taken prisoners, and to Mr. Hendry and Mr. Dod, who joined them from the *Speedwell*: but the men would hear of no such allowances. Whilst these disputes lasted, some took it into their heads to go ashore, without asking leave; and, when Captain Clipperton would have corrected them, the whole company declared on their side, and prevented it. After this, all things fell into confusion: the men refused to work till they had their prize-money; and, upon complaint, a guard of

## 124 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

soldiers was sent on board, with a peremptory order from the Mandarin to Captain Clipperton to comply.

On September 16, the distribution was made; and no allowance being reserved for such as were taken prisoners, the representatives of those who were dead, or the two gentlemen who had served on board the *Speedwell*, the prize-money of a fore-mast-man was 419 dollars. According to this distribution, the owners share in ready money, wrought silver, gold, and jewels, amounted to between 6 and 7000 l. sterling, which Captain Clipperton caused to be immediately put on board a Portuguese East-Indiaman, called the *Queen of Angels*, Don Francisco la Vero Commander, which ship was unfortunately burnt at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, June 6, 1722. So that of these effects the owners received no more, the charges of salvage deducted, than 1800.

On September 30, they weighed anchor from the bay of Amoy, which lies in the province of Tonkin, after having paid, under the article of port charges, the most exorbitant sum of 1700 dollars; and then proceeded to Macao, in the road of which they anchored, Oct. 4. As soon as Capt. Clipperton entered the port, he saluted the fortress; which compliment being returned, he went on shore, and found there the Captain of the Portuguese man-of-war, who had undertaken to carry what belonged to the owners to Brasil. The mutinous crew found themselves at a loss  
here,



## CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE. 125

here, the Portuguese Captain declaring absolutely in favour of their Commander; and, therefore, Captain Cook, and another officer, took passage to Canton, to consult Mr. Winder, supercargo to an East-Indiaman, and son to one of the principal proprietors, as to the measures which should be taken about carrying the Success home; and, upon their return, the ship was surveyed, condemned, and sold for 4000 dollars: but Capt. Clipperton, to shew his opinion of her, agreed with the persons who bought her, for his passage in her to Batavia; a plain indication, that there was no danger of her foundering at sea. The ship being sold, every man thought himself at liberty to shift as well as he could, and to use his best endeavour to save what little was left him. They were, by this time, satisfied, that Captain Mitchell, his crew, and cargo, were all gone to the bottom, or else fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; which was to them pretty much the same thing; and, therefore, what they had now in possession was all they had to expect. Twenty of them, however, who had agreed to give six dollars a-piece for a passage in a Chinese vessel to Canton, were taken by a pirate, and most of them lost all their effects. After a short stay at Macao, Mr. Taylor, the chief mate, got safe to Canton in an armed boat, for which he, and the rest of the English seamen that staid with him, paid 20 dollars a-head: and when they arrived, they were well received, and promised all imaginable assistance towards getting

## 126 CAPTAIN CLIPPERTON'S VOYAGE.

getting home. There were, at this time, several ships there ready to sail. The Captains of these vessels being solicited by the factory to take Captain Clipperton's men on board, they met, and agreed to carry them to Great Britain for five pounds a man; and accordingly they all paid their money. Mr. Taylor arrived safely at Batavia in the month of December, sailed from thence to the Cape of Good Hope in February, came to St. Helena in March, and, in May 1722, arrived in London. The rest of the ship's company returned, some sooner, some later, as opportunities offered; but, as for Capt. Mitchell, who was sent to Brasil with a small crew, he was never heard of, and most probably was destroyed on the island of Velas, where he went ashore for the sake of getting fresh provisions.

Captain Clipperton sailed in the Success, after she was sold, as a passenger, from Macao to Batavia; from whence he procured a passage home in a Dutch East-India ship, and arrived, in the beginning of July, 1722, at Galway, in Ireland, where he died in less than a week of a broken heart.

Thus ended the unfortunate voyage of Captain Clipperton; that of Captain Shelvock remains to be related.

THE

T H E  
V O Y A G E  
O F  
CAPTAIN SHELVOCK  
ROUND THE WORLD.

WE have already given an account, in the introduction to the preceding voyage, of the motives that influenced the owners to undertake it, and of the difficulties and discouragements that attended the first setting out. It remains now only to relate the proceedings of Captain Shelvock, the second in command, who has himself been very circumstantial in laying before the public the following particulars.

On the 13th of February, 1719, we sailed from Plymouth, in company with the *Success*, of 36 guns, Captain John Clipperton, who, in consideration of his knowledge of the coasts and customs of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, was to act as chief of the expedition.

On the 15th, I came under his lee, complained of the crankness of my ship, and desired him to send for his wine and brandy, which he neglecting, lost his sea stock of liquors; for we never saw any thing of each other till about two years afterwards.

Thursday

Thursday 19, a storm arose, and about midnight a sea drove in our quarter and one of our stern dead lights. For a considerable time we were under apprehensions of foundering; a succession of prodigious seas drove over us; and in this melancholy state, the chain pump was the only means of our deliverance.

February 20, we had no sight of the Success, and at midnight set the top-sails and stood to the north-westward.

This storm so terrified my ship's company, that no less than 70 of them were resolved upon bearing away for England, there to make complaint against the ship. But, on the 23d, perceiving their discontent, I ordered them all on deck, and used what arguments with them I was master of, to encourage them to proceed; but all I could say was but to little purpose. They continued in their resolution to clap the helm a *weather*; and grew to that height of insolence at last, that I was obliged to call upon my officers to assist in bringing the mutineers to reason. For this end most of them appeared armed; and the sight of this so startled the ringleaders, that they very submissively begged I would forgive them; as I did, upon promise for the future to behave as became them. After this, seeing them inclined to be tractable, I ordered them some brandy, and they drank to our prosperous voyage. But the very next evening, Simon Hatley, my second Captain, had like to have thrown every thing into confusion, by telling me upon deck, before  
most

most of the ship's company, that he had private orders from one of the chief of the gentlemen adventurers, and Captain Clipperton, to take the charge of the ship upon himself. I asked him, if he had a private commission too? but to this he returned nothing but expressions of contempt. This unseamanlike behaviour, immediately after my separation from my consort, laid me under a necessity of behaving with all possible circumspection, to prevent our being divided into parties, which would infallibly frustrate the ends of our expedition.

We had a very tedious passage to our first place of rendezvous, the Canary Islands; and did not arrive there till the 17th of March, where having finished our cruise without any thing remarkable, except taking an open boat with salt and wine, hearing nothing of the Success, on March the 29th, we took our departure from the island of Ferro, in hopes of meeting with Captain Clipperton among the islands of Cape de Verd, and we took our prize along with us. But in our passage, my people began again to murmur; and one Turner Stevens, my gunner, very gravely made a proposal to me, in the hearing of all the other officers, to go a cruising in the Red Sea; for, said he, there can be no harm in robbing those Mahometans; but, as for the poor Spaniards, continued he, they are good Christians, and it would, doubtless, be a sin to injure them. Upon this, I ordered him under confinement; and the man, after that, having threatened, in a

very outrageous manner, to blow up the ship, I, at his own request, discharged him as soon as we arrived, together with my chief mate, who had likewise been guilty of many and great misdemeanors.

On the 14th of April, we made the Isle of May; and, running along shore, saw a wreck, which we were told was the Vanzittern Indiaman, Captain Hide, who three weeks before had been cast away. I endeavoured to avail myself of this accident, to supply the necessaries we stood in need of; but could procure nothing but two or three sheathing-boards. At this place I sold our prize for 150 dollars to the Governor; and filled all our water-casks, and gave my ship a very good heel. Six of my people having deserted, I applied in vain to the officer on shore to deliver them up to me; but, threatening the Master of a Portuguese ship to make reprisals, he brought me off two of them, which happened to be the best. They fell on their knees, and asked pardon, assuring me the Commander on shore had seduced them, his design being to send the bark I sold him on the Vanzittern's wreck, where he said they might all make their fortunes; so I lost the other four.

Finding I could neither hear of the Success, nor get what might be serviceable to us in this place, and having read in Frezier's voyage, that in the island of St. Catherine's, on the coast of Brasil, in latitude 27 deg. 30 min. S. every thing might be had that we stood in need of, I

con-

concluded it would be best for me to put in there.

April 20, we sailed from the Isle of May, having wrenched the drum-head of our capstane in weighing anchor, which took us up the remainder of the day to repair. We were 55 days in going to St. Catherine's, during which little remarkable happened; except that on June the 5th we saw a ship stemming with us, and spoke with her. I ordered the five-oar'd boat to be hoisted out, and sent Captain Hatley in her, to enquire after news, and gave him money to buy us tobacco. The Success, amongst other things, had got our stock of tobacco, and had made what the seamen call a west-country famine on board of us. When Hatley returned, he told me she was a Portuguese from Rio Janeiro, and bound to Fernambuco. Instead of tobacco, which he said the ship had none to dispose of, he had laid out my money in china ware, sweet-meats, and the like; and, upon my expressing my dissatisfaction at his having squandered away my money in so silly a manner, his answer was, that he had laid out his own in the same manner. My reply was, I did not like his proceedings.

On Friday, June 19, we made the island of St. Catherine's; and at ten the next morning anchored in ten fathom water, the island of Gall bearing E. N. E. distant two leagues, and the easternmost point of St. Catherine's E. and by S. distant four leagues. The first thing I did, was to send the carpenter on shore, with all the

people that could be useful to him in felling of trees, and sawing them into plank, and to order the cooper and his crew to trim the casks, and fill them with water. Those who remained on board, I employed in different services. Mean while the inhabitants came off to us every day with the product of the place, which we purchased with salt.

On July 2, we were alarmed, at break of day, by the appearance of a large ship at anchor four or five miles below the place where we lay. I sent an officer in the launch, well manned and armed, to see what he could make of her, and put my ship into the best posture of defence I could. About noon my launch returned, and brought word that this ship was the *Ruby*, formerly an English man-of-war, and now one of M. Martinet's squadron; that she came from the South Seas, and was commanded by M. la Jonquiere; that he, his officers, and seamen, to the number of 420, were all French; and tho' in the Spanish service, they had not the least design to molest us. My Lieutenant became thus punctually informed, by a direct breach of orders in going aboard, and his temerity might have cost me very dear; for, had they been enemies, I should have lost 23 of my best hands; but their return confirmed the truth of his story: yet it was a great misfortune, that I had not, to the best of my knowledge, one man of experience or capacity sufficient to enable him to perform the common duty of an officer.

The



The next day, the Ruby turned up towards us, and the Captain sent one of his lieutenants and a priest, to assure me of his friendship, and to desire I would dine with him, which I did, and met with a very handsome reception, with offers of what money I would have upon my bills on London, or in general any thing else his ship afforded. He informed me that the Spaniards in the South Seas had advice of our two ships, and that they talked of fitting out some men of war to receive us.

About this time there was a report spread, that Hatley had taken a bribe of the Master of the Portuguese we met on the 5th of June, or had robbed him of 80 or 100 moidores, had given ten to his cockswain, and six to each of his boat's crew, not to divulge it. I charged him with what had been said against him; his answer was, He had done nothing he was ashamed of, or that he could not justify. All I could do was to protest against him, and I gave the protest to Captain Clipperton in the South Seas.

July 6, M. la Jonquiere, accompanied by several of his officers and passengers, came to dine with me; but in the midst of our entertainment, my boatswain took it into his head to create a disturbance, because he had not been invited into the cabin as a guest. He first assaulted Betagh the Captain of marines, and then Mr. Adams the surgeon. This outrage, which was supported by a party he had formed, being, by the help of my officers and the French gentlemen,

gentlemen, pretty well quieted, M. la Jonquiere declared, that, if they persisted in their disobedience, he would see the ringleaders punished by carrying them home in irons; and as they grew a little quieter, he expostulated with them, and appealed to themselves, whether they did not think it monstrous for people to behave themselves in such a manner.

The next morning I was informed, that the authors of the disturbance were most of them sorry for what had happened the night before, attributing the whole blame to the boatswain, and the effect of too much liquor. I was glad to hear this, and therefore passed it all over with only threatening how I would manage them, if ever they were guilty of the like again. I had resolved to punish the boatswain in the severest manner; but I was prevailed on not to do it, he, in very humble plight, asking my pardon, and begging I would not use any severity towards him. He said it was drink that had made him mad, and withal desired I would give him leave to go home in the French ship. This I willingly agreed to, he being a very odd sort of a fellow, and always incensing the people against the number of officers, whom he termed Blood-suckers.

July 15, we saw a great ship plying into the harbour's mouth; but when she discovered us, she made the best of her way out again. This possessed M. la Jonquiere with a notion of her being our consort, and put him into a hurry to  
be

be gone. Accordingly, when night came on, he weighed, and went to sea the next morning, and at his departure saluted me with five guns. Three Frenchmen, belonging to me, went away with him; but I had two Frenchmen, and one Morpew, an Irishman, in lieu of them.

During all this, our carpenter went on but slowly in the woods; and at last, when we came to case the stern all over with thick plank, we could find, to my great astonishment, no nails fit for that use. I was now told, that the first carpenter, and his crew, had sold most of the stores before the ship came to Plymouth, which was before I commanded her.

July 25, a large ship came in, called the *Wife Solomon*, of St. Malo's of 40 guns, and about 160 men, commanded by M. Dumain Girard, and bound to the coasts of Chili and Peru to trade. She was the same ship we saw coming in before, and had spoke with the *Ruby* at sea. This gentleman, I soon perceived, notwithstanding a little forced civility at his first arrival, was a designing mercenary man, and full of all the conceit and vanity ascribed to his nation.

Desiring him to spare me some nails, he readily answered he would; but, at the same time, gave me to understand that he could not afford them for less than 32 dollars a hundred, which sum I was fain to give him; I likewise bought of him 60 cheeses, and 300 weight of butter; so that it happened well for me, that I had some money from one of the *Ruby's* people. This done,

done, I now thought of making a quick dispatch from this place, when there came a letter from my ship's company to me, with articles annexed to it for the immediate division of prize-money, which they said they were resolved to insist on, alledging that they knew by woeful experience how they were used on board the Duke and Dutchess, that they were never paid one tenth of their due, and that they had been well informed what a paymaster a certain gentleman would make, if ever their fortunes should fall into his hands. They were so very importunate with me to comply with their articles, that both myself, and all my chief officers, thought it would be best and most adviseable to sign their papers with them, rather than run the risque of their proceeding, when they should get out to sea, to acts of piracy. As soon as they had gained their point, they expressed great satisfaction, and promised to be always ready to hazard their lives in any undertaking I should think conducive to the ends we were fitted out for.

August 3, there came in here the St. Francisco Xavier, a Portuguese man-of-war, of 40 guns, and 300 men, from Lisbon, bound to Macao in China, commanded by Captain la Riviere, a Frenchman. I made no doubt but that Captain Hatley's affair would be reported to this gentleman, and, therefore, I told Hatley, that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the Portuguese Captain, to prevent any disturbances  
that

that might arise on his account. To which he readily replied he would.

Hatley, at his return, told me, the Captain seemed to be angry with him for thinking he could harbour any ill thought of a gentleman bound on a voyage, which, to his knowledge, could hardly fail of answering the largest expectations.

August 6, three of my men deserted, and the mate and his party went up to the Portuguese plantations in search of them. It being almost midnight, the inhabitants took the alarm, and planted themselves in ambuscade to destroy them as they came back. No sooner had they returned into the boat, than they heard them rushing out of the woods, crying, "Kill the dogs, kill all the English dogs." This outcry was instantly followed by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of my men, two through the thigh, and another through the arm.

I sent a letter of complaint, by Hatley, to the Captain of the Portuguese man-of-war in the harbour: but Hatley, at his entrance into the ship, was furiously assaulted by Emanuel Manfa (the Captain of the island), crying out, This was the man who had committed so many insolencies towards them, and that this was he who had burnt one of their houses, and had made it a common practice to abuse and affront him with the opprobrious name of cuckold. Upon this exclamation, the ship's company sided with Manfa, and fell upon Hatley, and would certainly have used both him and his boat's crew very severely,

had not the Captain and his officers, with much difficulty, prevented it; for the Portuguese seamen were exasperated to that degree, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been timely hindered.

The Captain, in his answer to my letter, expressed his sorrow for what had happened, said the people were without law, and that it was out of his power to punish them; that they were wild and lurked in the woods; and that in seeking revenge, it would only expose my men to butchery. He asked my pardon for the ill usage my officer had met with on board his ship; but withal gave me to understand, there could be no greater provocation to the people of that nation, than that which Hatley was accused of by Manfa. That his ship's company had got Hatley amongst them before he knew any thing of the matter, and that he was obliged to call his priest to his assistance, before he could get him out of their hands, and in a very handsome manner touched upon Hatley's story. I made no long stay after this disaster, but took our departure from the northernmost point of St. Catherine's on the 9th of August; and on the 19th, Mr. La Port, my third Lieutenant, broke his leg.

From the time we left St. Catherine's, till now, we had for the most part squally weather. As we advanced to the southward, my people's stomachs increased with the sharpness of the air to that degree, that the allowance which the government gives in the navy was not sufficient to  
satisfy

satisfy their hunger. Some of my officers, in particular Mr. Betagh, my Captain of marines, who had been formerly a purser of a man-of-war, and a man whom I had a great regard for, was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table; for he told me he had orders from the adventurers to eat with me; and what was my table, if I did not eat better than the cook? He did not stop here, but urged by his intemperance, and finding me unwilling to squander away our provisions, without knowing when or where we might get any more, he at length had the insolence to tell me publicly, that the voyage should be short with me, which he often repeated. I should have had reason to fear it, had he been capable of commanding; but, for his punishment, I excluded him both from my mess and the great cabin. Upon this, finding I was in earnest with him, and fearing some heavier punishment, he sent me a letter, asking my pardon for what he had done; upon which I again restored him in a handsomer manner than he afterwards deserved, as will appear by the sequel.

Between St. Catherine's and the river of Plate, the whales, grampusses, and other fish of monstrous bulk, are in such numbers, that I cannot see why a trade for blubber might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm, it is a safer navigation than that carried on to the northward, and I am apt to believe here is a greater certainty of success in making up a cargo.

Sept 19, about midnight I perceived the water to be discoloured all at once, and upon heav-

ing the lead, we found ourselves in 26 fathom water; this done, I flood off again to sea, but we did not deepen our water in the running of five leagues. This seems to be a bank very near the entrance of the straits of Magellan. I had a fine opportunity of going through these straits: but Captain Clipperton in his plan pretended, out of the abundance of his judgment and experience, that the straits of Le Mair would be the best navigation for us, though he himself passed through the straits of Magellan. From this I might have conjectured, that he, who never was fond of having a consort with him, designed to make use of this as a likely expedient to separate himself; for he was a man that would do any thing, though ever so dishonest or inhuman; —[a reflection, however, that carries more of malice than of truth on the face of it.]

Sept. 13, the fog clearing up, we had a full, but melancholy prospect, of the most desolate country that can be conceived, seeming no other than continued ridges and chains of mountains, one within another, perpetually buried in snow. Towards noon we were becalmed within three leagues of the mountains called the Three Brothers, so named from their equal height, near resemblance, and proximity to one another. Till now, we had not been sensible of any helps or hindrances by currents; but this afternoon we were hurried with incredible rapidity into the straits, and just as we had gained somewhat more than the mid-passage, the northern tide came rushing  
upon



## CAPTAIN SHELVOCK's VOYAGE. 141

upon us with a violence equal to that of the tide which had brought us in, and, to our great astonishment, drove us out of the straits again at a great and extraordinary rate, notwithstanding we had a fresh and fair gale with us at N. W. Upon the shifting of this tide to windward, there arose such a short, and, while it lasted, so hollow a sea, and so lofty withal, that we alternately dipped our bowsprit end, and poop lanthorns, into the water. Our ship laboured in the most alarming manner, and became insensible of the guidance of her helm; but at midnight the tide shifted, and we put through the straits without seeing the land on either side, and in the morning had a very good offing to the southward. We had found it very cold before we came this length, but now we began to feel the extreme of it. The bleak westerly winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing, but they were always attended with drifts either of snow or fleet, which, continually beating on our sails and rigging, cased the masts and every rope with ice, so that there was no handling them. It was common with us to be two or three days together lying to under bare poles, exposed all the while to the assaults of prodigious seas, much larger than any I had ever observed before. The winds reigning thus tempestuously, without intermission, in the western board, we had stretched away into lat. 61 deg. 30 min. S. where we were in continual dread of falling foul of islands of ice, and  
where

## 142 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

where we found the variation to be 22 deg. 6 min. to the north-eastward.

October 1, as we were furling the main-sail, one William Camell cried out, that his hands were so benumbed, he could not hold himself; but before those who were next to him could lay hold of him, he fell into the sea, and the ship making fresh way, and the sea running high, we lost sight of him before we could bring to. Indeed, one would imagine it impossible that any thing could live in so rigid a climate; and, truly, we saw neither fish nor bird, except one solitary albitross, which accompanied us for several days, and hovered about us, till Hatley concluding, in a gloomy fit, that the company of this melancholy bird brought us ill luck, resolved to destroy him, in hopes we might then have better weather.

October 22, at eight at night, we carried away our fore-top-mast, and rigged another next morning. We crept by very slow degrees, after we had ventured to tack and stand to the northward, in hopes to weather our way into the Great South Seas; and indeed it may be averred, that from the time we passed the straits of Le Maire, till we had the first sight of the coast of Chili, we had been continually distressed by the winds, and discouraged by bad weather.

Nov. 14, we saw the coast of Chili, distant 10 leagues, lat. by observation 47 deg. 28 min. S.

Being now arrived on the confines of the Spanish settlements, we found ourselves under an absolute

absolute necessity of contriving some means by which we might recruit our wood and water. We had but seven butts of water remaining, and a much less proportion of wood. I thought it would be best for us to go first to Narborough's island, and accordingly directed our course to that place.

Nov. 21, at seven in the morning, we had soundings in 28 fathom water, of fine grey and black sand. But here we found a wild road, which could not be deemed safe for us — [Here Capt. Shelvock laments it as a great misfortune, that he could not reach Juan Fernandez, in latitude 33 deg. 30 min. S. without stopping; tho' at the same time it is plain, that he lost more time in searching for a nearer place of refreshment, than the direct passage to that island would have taken him up. But the imputation he would throw upon Clipperton is applicable only to himself: he never intended to act under him; and all his excuses are mere shifts.]

Surrounded with doubts and apprehensions, says he, lest we should be obliged to advance too far on these coasts, without a competent stock of provisions, one Joseph de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, assured me, that, if I would go to the island of Chiloe, which was at that time a little to the northward of us, there was no place for our purpose like it in all the South Seas; that the towns of Chacao and Calibuco, the first on the island itself, and the second on the continent, were rich places;

places; that the former was the usual place of residence of the Governor, and that at the latter there was a wealthy college of Jesuits; and that there were considerable magazines kept up, which were always well stocked with provisions of all kinds.

On these considerations I formed a resolution of going to Chiloe; and on the 30th of November we entered the channel, with an intent to surprize and attack the towns of Chacao and Calibuco: but, immediately after we had come to, the windward tide made out with prodigious rapidity, which instantly caused a great sea; and the wind increasing at the same time, the channel all about us appeared like one continued breach. In the midst of this our ship laid a great strain upon her cable, which unfortunately parted, and we lost our anchor. We passed by two commodious bays; and, at length, we rounded a point of land out of the tide's way, where we were commodiously sheltered from all inconveniences; and, the next morning, I sent my second Lieutenant to make a discovery of the towns of Chacao and Calibuco, and, at the same time, Captain Hatley, to find out a watering-place for us. He soon returned again, and brought with him an Indian, who gave us hopes of a sufficient supply of all we wanted, but afterwards came in the evening to tell us, the country was forbidden to supply us with any thing. The Lieutenant not being yet returned, this information made me apprehend

apprehend the enemy had taken him, and by that means had learned who we were.

December 3, there came to us a Spanish officer, in a piragua rowed by eight Indians, who was sent by the Governor to be informed who we were. As soon as we had a sight of the piragua, I hoisted French colours, and, when the Spaniard came on board, I told him, we were a homeward-bound French ship, called the *St. Rose*, and that my name was *le Janis le Breton*. Under this notion he staid with us all night, and next morning departed, not seeming to suspect us. I wrote to the Governor by this gentleman, signifying that I wanted a supply of provisions to carry me back to France, desiring him to assist me in what he could; and received for answer a complaint against the violences of our men, in killing their sheep, and driving away their cattle, by which I knew that they had seen my Lieutenant. But I was in despair of ever seeing him, or the people who were with him, any more. I therefore sent a message to the Governor, that provisions I wanted, and provisions I must have, and that very speedily; and that all the forces of *Chacao*, *Calibuco*, *Carelimapo*, or *Castro*, should not frighten or deter me from supplying myself. Soon after, there came a piragua with a message, signifying, that if I would send an officer to *Chacao*, he would treat with me. But I gave him for answer, that I would treat no where but on board my own ship; and farther, that it was now too late, since

## 146 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

I had already dispatched 80 men to take all they could find.

Soon after the pinnace arrived, which I had so long given over for lost, with all her crew ; but they were so terrified, that I had no hopes of their being fit for service in any reasonable time. The officer had no excuse for not returning as soon as he had got a sight of the town, but that the tide hurried him away at unawares, and that in the fright he had forgot he had a graplin in the boat to come to with, till the tide had shifted. I said but little to him ; and only made the officer sensible of his mismanagement, which had been the ruin of the advantageous views I might have had, in taking either Chacao or Calibuco.

December 16, we had now our decks full of live cattle, such as European sheep, hogs, guanicoes, poultry in abundance, and hams, &c. as also a good quantity of wheat, barley, potatoes, maize, or Indian corn; and, in short, I computed that I had added four months provisions to what remained of our English stock, and that without the least hindrance or molestation from the enemy.

December 17, we began to unmoor, and at noon we weighed, and sailed out with the wind at W. S. W. The night before we departed, one of our men made his escape into the woods. It was beyond all dispute that this fellow would give a full account of us. This, added to the ill conduct of my Lieutenant, together with the  
contrary

contrary execution of all my orders, by those officers whom I had hitherto entrusted in affairs of importance, made me despair of ever having any thing done to the purpose; and on this occasion, I could not forbear reflecting on the mismanagement of some gentlemen in England, who blindly made use of their interest to prefer persons to posts for which they were utterly unfit.

I sailed from Chiloe with a design to go straight to the island of Juan Fernandez, but was prevented by my people, who were possessed with notions of vast advantages to be made by going to the port of Conception. It was our Frenchman, who had been so instrumental in our Chiloenian attempt, who was the cause of this. Finding his accounts hitherto tolerably just, they once more listened to him; and every one of my ship's company, who could say any thing at this juncture, did not fail to speak his mind somewhat insolently; particularly William Morphey, one of the men I had out of the Ruby, and who had been in these seas several years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not signify much whether we arrived two or three days sooner or later at Juan Fernandez; that I was a stranger here, but that the Frenchman and himself were so well acquainted with these seas, that every body hoped I would be advised and go to Conception, and not put a mere punctilio to orders in the balance against a certainty of success, if we were so happy as to arrive at that port in time. Considering now how easily they might be

brought to throw off command, and how little I should be able to help myself, alone, as I might be said to be, if they came to that extremity, I complied with them, and resolved to spend two or three days in going to Concepcion; and, on December the 23d, we came abreast of the Teats of Bio Bio, and in the evening arrived in the bay, from whence I ordered the boats, well-manned and armed, to go up in the night to surprize what ships or vessels might be in the harbour, and to make what observations they could concerning the place.

About noon, Captain Hatley returned in the pinnace, and informed me he had taken the *Solidad d'Anday*, of 150 tons, the only ship in the road or port, lately come from *Baldivia*, laden with timber; had no body on board except the boatswain, an old negroe, and two Indian boys. He took also a small vessel of about 25 tons, near the island of *Quiriquine*, which belonged to a priest who had been gathering fruits, and was now made a prisoner in her, together with four or five Indians. This vessel we found very useful, and called her the *Mercury*, being well built, and ready upon all occasions to look into port. There was another small vessel that passed within pistol-shot, but Capt. Hatley never once offered to follow her, or bring her to. Hatley, truly, said, he did not mind her, though his boat's crew all agreed she was full of men. This vessel was bringing advice of us from *Chiloe*. I did



did not fail to reprimand him for this, but to what effect !

Dec. 26, the priest being very solicitous to ransom his bark, he left my ship in the morning, and, in my pinnace rowed by Indians, went ashore to get money for that purpose. At noon, Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, brought down the ship we had taken, and anchored her about half a mile short of us. The boatswain of her had not been on board above two hours before he gave me information of a vessel laden with wine, brandy, and other valuable things, bound to the island of Chiloe, lying at anchor in the bay of Herradura, about two leagues to the northward of us. Thither I ordered Mr. Randall, our second Lieutenant, with the boatswain of the *Solidad*, and 25 men, to go ; with positive orders not to set a foot on shore, or make any hazardous attempt whatever. But the next evening they returned with a dismal story, that they went into the bay, and finding the vessel hauled dry on shore, the officer ordered his people to land, and bring away what they could out of her ; but their career was soon stopped ; for they had no sooner got upon the bank, than they discovered the enemy rushing out furiously upon them. They all escaped except five, who were overtaken in shoal water, and they all agreed that those five were cut to pieces. The Spaniards came down upon them, preceded by 20 or 30 horses a-breast, linked to each other. These were two deep ; then came the enemy, mounted, and lying upon  
their

their horses necks, driving the others before them. They were not once seen to sit upright in their saddles, except when there was no danger, or to fire their musquets. This new addition to our misfortunes quite dispirited the greatest part of my ship's company. Nothing was now heard but murmuring, and damning the South Seas; and declaring that, if this was making their fortune, they had better have staid at home and begged about the streets; but just as I was expostulating with Mr. Randall, who conducted this unfortunate undertaking, I was agreeably surprized with the sight of a large ship, which we saw coming about the northernmost point of the island of Quiriquine. It was almost dark, and she could not perceive what we were, so that she stood towards us without fear. As soon as she approached near enough, I hailed her, to which she returned no answer, and I fired into her. This was no sooner done, than she came to, and called for quarter. She was called the *St. Fermin*, came from Callao, burthen about 300 tons, and laden with sugar, melasses, rice, coarse French linnen, and some cloths of Quito, together with a small quantity of chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 dollars in money and wrought plate. I sent Mr. Hendry (the agent for prizes) to inspect her lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her, and the ship's company sent their agent likewise. In the afternoon they returned, and brought all the bales, boxes, chests, portmanteaus, &c. that were in her;

her; and also all the rice, with a large quantity of sugar, melasses, and chocolate, and about 7000 weight of good rusk, with all her eatables, and stores.

Don Francisco Larrayn, her Captain, desired to ransom his ship, to which I willingly consented, and suffered him to go in his own launch to raise money for that purpose.

Dec. 30, there came a boat with an officer and a flag of truce, who brought word, that three only of our people in the skirmish at Haradura were killed, the other two wounded, and in a fair way of recovery, and that the boat had brought advice of us, as I suspected, from that island. The officer brought me seven jars of very good wine, a present from the Governor, and a letter full of civility, but written with a great deal of craft. He desired to see my commission, and then he would treat with me according to the laws of arms.

January 1, Captain Betagh went to Conception with a copy of my commission, the declaration of war, &c. and soon after he returned with a Flemish jesuit, a Spanish lawyer, and an Englishman and a Scotchman. The jesuit assured me he was only come to pay his respects to me, and to do his utmost to promote the affair of the ransom, and bring it to an immediate conclusion. Therefore the first thing I did, was to shew my commission to the Englishman, who read it in Spanish. The jesuit then told me, that the Captains of the St. Fermin and Solidad had resolved

solved to give me 12,000 dollars for the ransom of both the ships, and the Mercury included, instead of 16000 dollars which I had insisted on for the St. Fermin only. To this I positively answered, that all their persuasions, artifices, and pretences, should never make me agree with them. We had taken in the St. Fermin, ten large silver candlesticks, each of them weighing above twenty-five pounds sterling. The holy father, in a suppliant manner, represented to me that they were a legacy to his convent, and hoped I would make no dispute of so noble a charity as it would be to put them into the possession of those for whom they were designed. I offered to let him have them for their weight in dollars, which, considering the great price they pay in those parts for the fashion of wrought plate, was a very advantageous offer. But he said they never bought any thing for sacred uses; and that, as the workmen put a great deal of alloy into plate, it would be difficult to determine the different values of the dollars and the candlesticks; so, after a deal of needless dispute and entreaties, both about this, and the ransom of the ships, the jesuit and the rest affirming that the Captains of the St. Fermin, &c. were not able to raise above 12,000 dollars, there was nothing done.

Two days passing without news from the Governor, I began to be certainly convinced they had something else in view more than the accommodation of the ransoms; but on January the  
4th,

4th, my two wounded men came on board, and with them brought a letter, importing, that, as he had now sent back the prisoners, he hoped no difficulty would remain to prevent my sending on shore all the prisoners belonging to him.

January 6, the morning passed away without any news from the town. I now began to make preparations for sailing, and in those preparations spent the greatest part of the day. There being no appearance of any boat coming off to us, I ordered the *St. Fermin* to be set on fire. Her cotton sails being loosed, made a prodigious blaze. I had already set fire to the *Solidad*, to quicken their motions; and now, having concluded the treaty, I immediately got under sail, much chagrined at the loss of so many days without reaping any advantage. I was afterwards informed, that, if they had thought I would have destroyed the *St. Fermin*, they would have given even 20 or 30,000 dollars to have saved her; for she was one of the best sailers and the best fitted out ship of any of the Peruvian traders. I now directed our course to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, taking the *Mercury* with us.

January 8, the sea was all day perfectly red, appearing as if vast quantities of blood had been thrown into it, and curdled by the water. This, the Spaniards say, is occasioned by the spawn of prawns, which must certainly be a mistake. In our passage, the plunder was sold before the mast, by the ship's company's agent, at very extra-

gant prices. At the same time the account of every thing being taken, and the value of the shares calculated, the ship's company desired me to let them have their dividend, according to the articles at St. Catherine's, which request I could not withstand. The prize-money and plunder amounting to ten pieces of eight per share, was thereupon distributed; and all the bales of coarse cloth, bays, linnen, ribbons, lace, silk, and several other sorts of mercery wares, were equally divided, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company.

Jan. 11, at six in the morning, we saw the island of Juan Fernandez, and from that day till the 15th I kept standing off and on the shore for my boats, which were a fishing, who not having hitherto discovered any marks whereby we might conclude that Clipperton had been here, I thought it proper to render my coming hither serviceable in some respect, and therefore sent the Mercury on shore to stop her leaks, while the boats continued catching fish, of which we salted as much as filled five puncheons. At length, going on shore to make a nicer search, some of my men accidentally saw the word *MAGEE*, which was the name of Clipperton's surgeon, and *CAPT. JOHN* cut out under it upon a tree, but no directions left, as was agreed on by him in his instructions to me. His actions being thus grossly repugnant to his instructions, it was evident he never meant I should keep him company, or ever join with him again,—(This reflection

reflection may with great justice be retorted on the writer himself, and can in no shape affect Clipperton who followed his instructions in the most scrupulous manner.]—However, being by this confirmed in the certainty of Clipperton's arrival, I directly made the best of my way, and sailed to the northward.

Jan. 21, having a design to look into Copiapo as I went along shore, I sent Mr. Dodd, second Lieutenant of Marines, with eight men, as a reinforcement to the Mercury's crew, and the next evening they left us steering in for the land, whilst I kept a proper offing, to prevent our being discovered. The next day the officer returned and told me, he had looked into the port, but could see no shipping there, upon which I made him sensible of his error, and sent him to the right place, which was about six leagues to the northward of us, and ordered him to be ready to look into Caldera by day-light the next morning. They did so, and saw nothing; but, instead of making use of the land wind to come off to me, they kept along shore, till the sea breeze came on, and could not come to me till the morning after, by which means they hindered me almost a whole day and night's sailing; and in this vexatious manner were my orders always executed!

Feb. 5th, I dispatched Mr. Brooks a-head to discover if there were any shipping at Arica, and next day, I had a sight of the head-land of Arica, and the island of Guano, with a ship at an-

## 156 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

chor on the northern side of it, and saw the Mercury standing out of the bay, by which I judged the ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible haste to get up to her with our ship. When I came into the port, I found her already taken, and that the Mercury only went accidentally adrift. This prize was called the Rosario, of about 100 tons, laden with cormorants dung, which the Spaniards call guana, and is brought from the island of Iquique, for the culture of the agi, or cod-pepper, in the vale of Arica. There was no white face in her but the pilot, whom I sent to see if her owner would ransom her. At seven o'clock in the morning I received a letter from the owner, expressing his poverty, and declaring his readiness to comply to the utmost of his power : and the honest man was as good as his word.

I agreed upon restoring to him his ship, and six negroes, for 1500 pieces of eight ; and he was so punctual and expeditious, that at 10 the next night he brought the sum agreed on. Soon after the receipt of this, we took a vessel of about 10 tons, as she was coming into the road, with a cargo of dried fish and guana, within a mile of the town. The master of this bark likewise came off upon a balse, which is an odd sort of an embarkation, made of two large seal-skins separately blown up like bladders, and then made fast and joined together by a frame of wood. On this he brought off two jars of brandy, and 40 pieces of eight, for his ransom, which, considering



CAPTAIN SHELVOCK's VOYAGE. 157

ing his mean appearance, was as much as I could have expected. One part of his freight was valuable, which was his dried fish.

Feb. 9, 1720, I sailed from Arica, and as I went out, the inhabitants placed themselves round the bay, and made a very good hedge fire after me for about half an hour. I judged there could not be less than 5 or 600 of them. I shaped my course for the road of Hilo, which we had a sight of the next day at three in the afternoon, where we saw one large ship and three small ones at anchor. The great ship immediately hoisted French colours, and in the end proved to be the Sage Solomon, of 40 guns, commanded by Mons. Dumain, whom I had left at St. Catherine's, and who was now resolved to protect the vessels that were with him, and obstruct my coming in. I at first thought of shewing my resentment, but, upon second thoughts, I clapped the helm a-weather, and stood out to sea.

Feb. 12, in the morning, the ship's company had their moiety of the money taken at Arica divided amongst them, according to their number of shares.

Feb. 22, I came a-breast of Callao, the port for Lima, which is the metropolis of Peru; but there being no great prospect of performing much here in our present situation, I had nothing to do but to slip away from hence in the night, by the help of a favourable breeze.

Feb. 26, the officers in the Mercury desired to be relieved, and it being Capt. Hatley's turn  
to

## 158 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

to go in her, he proposed to me that he might continue along shore, till we had got the length of Lobos, an island in about seven degrees of south latitude. I could not but approve of this, considering the probability there was of his meeting with the Panama ships; and every body being well pleased, I added to their complement of men, and gave them a month's provisions, and mounted two of our quarter-deck guns on the Mercury, and lent Captain Hatley my pinnace. As soon as every thing was ready for their departure, Captain Betagh, whose duty and turn it was to relieve the marine officer in the Mercury, being unwilling to go on this party, addressed himself to the people, and with a fearful countenance told them, that he, and the rest who were to go with him, were sent for a sacrifice, with many other expressions tending to create a general mutiny. I now imagined no less than that he was about to act what he had threatened when he told me, it should be a short voyage with me; and, therefore, I addressed myself to the ship's company, desired to know who amongst them were of Betagh's opinion? Their answer was with one voice, None. This done, I ordered the Mercury alongside, and Hatley and Betagh went on board of her; and, putting off from us, gave three cheers, and stood right in for the land, in the latitude by observation of 10 deg. 9 min S.

The very next day they took a small bark laden with rice, chocolate, wheat, flour, and the like.

like. The day following they took another. On the fourth day of their absence they became masters of a ship of near 200 tons, worth 150,000 pieces of eight. Flushed with this success, it seems Betagh prevailed on Hatley, and the greatest part of the people with them, to lay hold of this opportunity and go to India: but they no sooner clapped their helm a-weather, than they saw a sail standing towards them, which, in short, proved to be a Spanish man-of-war, who caught them, and put an end to their Indian voyage. The English were treated very indifferently; but Betagh, it seems, who was of their religion, and of a nation which the Spaniards affect to be fond of, was made an officer, and used very respectfully. This he certainly deserved at their hands; for he gave them an account of the whole scheme of our voyage; and not only informed them of what we had done, but also of what I designed to do; so that they did not doubt but I myself should be in their hands very speedily.

Feb. 29, at six in the morning, we saw a sail at anchor in the road of Guanchaco; at eleven we came up, and anchored along side of her. There was no body on board of her but two Indiamen and a boy. They informed us, there was a rich ship in the cove of Payta.

March 21, at three in the afternoon, we saw the Pena Oradado, or the *Hole in the Rock*; and in an hour afterwards, we entered the cove of Payta with French colours flying. There we found

found only a small ship at anchor with her fore-mast out, and her main-top-mast unrigged; but the taking of this town being considered in the scheme of our voyage as a matter of great importance, I consulted with my officers concerning the properest methods of going about it. At two of the clock the next morning I landed with 46 men, leaving Mr. Coldsea the master, and some others, to bring the ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark the plunder we might get. Being now on shore, I marched up to the great church without meeting any opposition; and indeed I found the town entirely deserted by the inhabitants. At daylight we saw what seemed great bodies of men on the hills, on each side of us, who, I expected, when they had viewed our strength, would have paid us a visit; but I found, that as we marched up towards them, we drove them before us. The remainder of the day was spent in shipping off what plunder we had got, which consisted of hogs, fowls, brown and white calavances, beans, Indian corn, wheat, flour, sugar, and as much cocoa-nut as we were able to stow away, with pans, and other conveniences for preparing it; so that we were supplied with breakfast-meat for the whole voyage, and full of provisions of one kind or other. In the afternoon there came to us a messenger, to know what I would take for the ransom of the town and ship; to which I answered, I would have 10,000 pieces of eight, and those to be paid in twenty-four hours, if they intended

intended to save the town, or ship either. But the Governor gave me to understand in plain terms, that he neither could nor would ransom the town, and did not care what I did with it, so that I spared the churches. Having received this negative answer, and got every thing serviceable out of the town, I instantly ordered it to be set on fire; and the houses, being extremely dry, consumed away apace. But no sooner was Payta in a blaze than those on board made signals for me to come off, and kept incessantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour. Upon which I ordered all hands off, and went first on board myself in a canoe, with three men only; but, before I had got half way, saw a large ship lying with her fore-top sail aback, and with a Spanish flag flying at her fore-top-mast-head. At this prospect two of my three people were ready to sink; and when I looked back on the town, I could not forbear wishing that I had not been so hasty. As the Admiral was coming in with all his sails spread, Mr. Coldsea, by the assistance of the few on board, fired at him so smartly, that he stopped the enemy's career. The Spaniard apprehending he should have hot work with us, brought his ship to, that he might put himself into a condition of making a vigorous attack upon us. This inactivity of the enemy gave me an opportunity of getting on board, and suffered my men to come off, about 50 in number, but the Spaniard was within pistol-shot before they had all got

into the ship; upon which, we cut our cable, and our ship falling the wrong way, I had but just room enough to fill clear of him. Being now close by one another, his formidable appearance struck an universal damp on every one's spirits; and I myself could foresee nothing but that we should be torn to pieces by him, and longed for an opportunity to try our heels with him, while our masts were standing. I expected every minute that he would board us, and, upon hearing a shouting amongst them, and seeing their fore-castle full of men, I concluded they had now come to that resolution; but I presently saw that the occasion of this joy was their having shot down our ensign-staff; upon which, they, seeing our ensign trailing in the water, were in hopes we had struck: but I soon undeceived them, by spreading a new ensign in the mizzen-shrouds. Upon sight of this they lay snug, and held their way close upon our quarter; at last, designing to do our business at once, they clapped their helm well a starboard, to bring their whole broadside to point at us; but their fire had little or no effect. All stood fast with us, and they muzzled themselves; which gave me time both to get a-head, and to windward of him, before he could fill his sails again; and now I found, that, if our masts, which were by this time but slenderly supported, would bear what sail we had abroad, we should soon steal away from him. After this he was in a great hurry to get his spritsail-yard  
fore

fore and aft, threatening us very hard, and plying us with his fore-chace : but we soon were out of his reach, and all hands were immediately employed in repairing our damages. This ship was called the *Peregrine*, of 56 guns, with upwards of 450 men on board of her.

During this action, we had not a man killed or wounded, although the enemy often hulled us, and once, in particular, a shot coming into one of our ports, dismounted one of our guns between decks, tearing off the nut of the gun, and breaking itself into a great many pieces, which flew fore and aft in the midst of a crowd of people, without hurting any one of them. Our stern was also much shattered, and our rigging much disabled. Our main mast was a little wounded, yet stood a long while with only one good shroud to support it ; our fore-mast fared little better, yet I kept all the canvases, except the main-top-gallant-sail, at hard bats-end. An unlucky shot took the bow of our launch, as she lay upon the quarter, and set fire to some cartridges of powder, which were negligently left in her, and which blew away her moorings, and we lost her. Seeing a great smoke arise on the quarter, I at first imagined some accident had happened within board. In short, in about three glasses we got quite clear of the Admiral, who tacked, and stood in for Payta, and we shortened sail. A narrower escape from an enemy could not well have been made, considering the vast difference between us, as to force.

#### 164. CAPTAIN SHELVOCK's VOYAGE.

The Spaniard had 56 guns; we, on the contrary, had but 20 mounted: they had 450 men; we, on our part, did not exceed 73; and 11 negroes and two Indians were included in that number. He had farther this great odds over us, of being in a settled readiness, whilst we were in the utmost confusion. As for our small arms they were wet and useless to us; and, what is more, in the midst of the engagement, one third of my people, instead of fighting, were hard at work, to make farther preparation for an obstinate resistance, if we had been pushed to extremities; and particularly the carpenter and his crew were busied in making ports for stern-chace-guns, which, as it happened, we made no use of. Upon the whole, we had the good fortune to escape this danger, which was the more to be dreaded, because, as we had set fire to the town, they were probably exasperated upon the account of the churches, which I never intended to destroy; and, if I had fallen into their hands, they might have given us but uncomfortable quarters. At the best, however, it cannot but be allowed to have been a most unfortunate disaster. The loss of my boat and anchor was irreparable, and may be said to be the cause of that scene of trouble which will take up the remainder of this narrative; for we had now but one anchor, that at Payta being the third we had lost, and were besides entirely destitute of a boat of any kind.

At five, the same evening, we saw a sail under our lee-bow, which I took to be the prize we  
had



had left to cruise for us near the Saddle of Payta; and we, therefore, stood to the westward all night, and the next morning we saw two sail a-stern of us. I tacked, and stood towards them, and in a little time could see that one of them was standing in for Payta, while the other kept stemming with us; but the nearer I approached her, the less I liked her, and could not but think it adviseable to put my ship about, and crowd sail from her. However, she gained upon us, and advanced near enough to shew us she was the Brilliant, the Admiral's consort. She was a French built ship, of 36 guns, manned with people of that nation, and other Europeans. She was handsomely rigged, which is rare to be seen in those parts, and sailed almost two foot for our one; so that, notwithstanding we had almost a calm all the heat of the day, she neared us apace. But, night coming on, I made use of the old stratagem (I thought it might be new here), of turning a light adrift in a half tub, instead of a boat, darkening one part of the lantern, that it might the more appear to be a ship's light, and then immediately altered my course. As the day broke I hauled all my sails, and in full day-light could perceive nothing of the enemy. This was the ship wherein Betagh, my late Captain of marines, was so much respected; and by his advice it was, as I have been told, that the Admiral ordered his consort to ply up to windward to Lobos, our first place of rendezvous, whilst he himself came to Payta

in

in search of us. This separation, though intended as a sure means to catch us, proved to be very fortunately the means of our preservation.

Being thus closely pursued, I took an offing of thirty leagues from the shore, and then brought to, to consider what I had best to do. I was still in the dark, as to my comfort; an embargo, as I was told at Payta, was laid on all shipping to leeward for the term of six months; and our prize, which I designed to make a fire-ship of, was taken by the *Brilliant*; I had but one anchor, and no boat at all; and I was as yet ignorant of what had become of the *Mercury*.

In the midst of all this peril and perplexity, I called my officers together, to let them know, it was my opinion, we had, as we were thus circumstanced, a much better prospect to the windward than to the leeward; that on the coast of Chili we should not be in the least suspected, and should, at the same time, in the most effectual manner, escape the enemy's men-of-war; that, after taking in water at Juan Fernandez, we might cruise out the whole season off the ports of Concepcion, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo, where among the shipping we might be stocked with anchors, cables, boats, and a vessel to make a fire-ship of, on which I mightily depended. All this being universally approved of, we got our tacks on board, and stretched away to windward.

My intentions after this were fixed upon the  
coast

coast of Mexico. There I proposed to run the height of Tres Marias and California, as the most likely places to meet with the Success. These two places would have been commodious; the first for salting of turtle, and the last for wooding and watering at, and for laying myself in the track of the Manilla ship, which, if I should have had the fortune to meet with, and, having a fire-ship with me, I would have tried what I could have done with her.

March 26, having well secured our mast, and bent a new suit of sails, we stood to the southward, expecting to gain our passage to windward in about five weeks.

March 31, as they were pumping the ship, the water which came out of the well, was not only in greater quantity than usual, but was also as black as ink. This made me judge that some water had got to our powder; and accordingly going into the powder-room, we heard the water come in like a little sluice. This had quite spoiled the greatest part of our powder; so that we only saved the quantity of six barrels. We found upon search a leak to be on the bow, under the lower cheek of the head, occasioned by a shot which had been lodged there in our late engagement, and which falling out by the working of the ship in an head sea, had left room for a stream of water; but we brought the ship by the stern, and, with great difficulty, stopped it securely.

May 11, we saw the great island of Juan Fernandez,

Fernandez, bearing east half south. Here I plied on and off till the 21st, but could not get off as much water as we daily expended.

May 21, a hard gale of wind came out of the sea upon us, and brought in with it a tumbling swell; so that in a few hours, our cable, which was never wet before, parted, and inevitable shipwreck appeared before our eyes. But Providence so far interposed in our behalf, that, if we had struck but a cable's length farther to the eastward or westward of the place where we did strike, we must certainly all have perished. Our main-mast, fore-mast, and mizzen-top-mast, went all away together; and happy it was for us that they did so; for, by making them serve by way of raft, and by the help of those who were ashore before the wind came on, we were all saved, except one man. In the midst of this surprize, the first thing I took care of, was my commission; and, remembering the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, I got most of it up, with about seven or eight bags of bread: these we saved, as the ship did not come to pieces immediately. In a few minutes, however, after she first struck, she was full of water. We saved, notwithstanding, two or three compasses, some of our mathematical instruments, and books.

When we first got on shore, we were without any one thing necessary for our relief; not so much as a seat whereon to rest our harrassed limbs, except the wet ground, which, as far as

we

we could see, was also like to be our bed and pillow, and indeed it proved to be so.

In the evening, all the officers came to consult with me, how we should get some necessaries out of the wreck; and, having by this time lighted a fire, we wrapt ourselves in what we could get, laid ourselves round it, and, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, we slept very soundly; but, the next morning, getting up with the first glimpse of day-light, we looked at each other like men awakened out of a dream; so great and so sudden was the melancholy change in our condition, that we could scarce trust to our senses.

I went immediately among the people to set them about the work we had resolved upon the night before; but they were so scattered, there was no getting them together, or we might, probably, have regained all our beef and pork. This opportunity, however, was lost, by their eagerness to build huts and tents, in order to settle themselves for good; for, while they were thus employed, a furious gale of wind came on, which destroyed all the provisions in the ship, except one cask of beef, and one of farina de pao, which were washed whole on the strand. I had saved 1100 dollars belonging to the gentlemen adventurers, which were kept in my chest in the great cabin; the rest, being in the bottom of the bread-room for security, could not possibly be come at. I need not say how disconsolate my reflections were on the sad accident that had

happened. My first thoughts were on the means whereby to preserve our lives, and on some scheme of œconomy to be observed amongst the people, in relation to the distribution of such quantities of provisions as should from time to time be obtained.

I found a very commodious spot of ground about half a mile from the sea, on which I set up my tent. There was a fine run of water within a stone's cast of it on each side, with firing near at hand, and trees proper for our use. The people settled within call about me, in as good a manner as they could: and having all secured ourselves against the inclemency of the weather, we used to pass our time in the evening round a great fire, roasting craw-fish in the embers.

I now began to think of building such a vessel from the wreck as might carry us all off at once from this island; and for that purpose consulted with the carpenter; but was astonished at his answer, 'he could not make brick, he said, without straw,' and walked away from me in a surly humour. From him I went to the armourer, and asked him what he could do towards building a small vessel for us; to which he answered, that he hoped he could do all the iron-work; that he had, with much labour, got his bellows out of the wreck, and that he did not doubt but we should find a great many other useful things, when we came to set about a search for them in good earnest.

June

## CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE. 171

June 8, we laid the blocks, and got the bowsprit ready to make a keel. The carpenter for a little while went on with seeming good temper, but suddenly turning short upon me as I stood by him, he swore a great oath, he would not strike another stroke, 'he truly would be no body's slave, and thought himself now upon a footing with myself.' This provoked me to use him a little roughly with my cane; but afterwards came to an agreement with him to give him a four-pistole piece as soon as the stem and stern-post were up, and 100 pieces of eight when the bark was finished. He then went to work on the keel, and in two months time we made a tolerable show, owing to the diligence and ingenuity of Popplestone, the armourer, who made us hammers, chissels, files, gimlets, bullet-moulds, and an instrument to bore our cartouch boxes. These last we covered with seals skins, and contrived them so as to be both handy and neat. He, besides all this, began and finished with his own hands, a large serviceable boat, which was what we very much stood in need of.

For a few days the people behaved themselves very regularly and diligently, half of them working one day, and half another. But the time soon arrived when we fell into such confusion and outrageous disorder, that it was a miracle we ever got off from this place by any assistance of our own; for, one afternoon, I missed all the people, and could see no body but Mr. Adams,

## 172 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

our surgeon, Mr. Hendry the agent, my son, and Mr. Dodd, lieutenant of marines, who, for some reasons best known to himself, had a mind to act the madman. At night I was informed, they had assembled together at a great tree, had formed a new regulation and new articles, had excluded the gentlemen adventurers in England from having any part of what we should take for the future, and had divested me of the authority of their Captain, having regulated themselves according to the discipline of Jamaica. They had chosen Morpew to be their champion and speaker. This man addressed himself to me, and told me, ' that, as the Speedwell was cast away, they were now of consequence at their own disposal, so that their obligations to the owners and me were of no validity, the ship being now no more ; they therefore, he said, had now thought fit to frame such articles as would be most conducive to their own interest ; and, if I would sign them, well ; if not, they would not trust themselves under my conduct, as they should always be apprehensive that I should serve them as Clipperton had served some of his men, who (they heard) happening to be taken separately, he denied them, and suffered eight of them to be hanged as pirates before his face.'

In these articles, besides casting off the owners, I found myself reduced from sixty shares to six. I was at a loss what to do in this dilemma ; but at last I found myself under an indispensable



dispensable necessity of signing the articles, in order to get off from the island, where otherwise I might have been forcibly left behind.

And now, having very unwillingly satisfied them in all I thought they could ask, I recommended to them the vessel we had begun, not doubting, but after this they would have used their constant endeavours to finish her, that they might have an opportunity of putting their project in execution ; and they said they would.

But early the next morning, going down to the beach as usual, and expecting to find every one employed, I saw none of them, except the carpenter, and two or three more ; for, notwithstanding they were abettors of the designs that were carrying on, yet the hopes of a little money from me had made them work pretty diligently, though I cannot say they fatigued themselves. Upon enquiry, I was informed, that the rest of the people were again adjourned to the great tree; and it was not long before I was made acquainted with the result of their meeting ; for, betimes the next morning, they surrounded my tent, while Morpew, and Stewart, their agent, came in to me, and told me, They came in the name of all the people to demand every thing belonging to the gentlemen adventurers out of my possession, and particularly 750 weight in Pinna or virgin silver, a silver dish weighing 75 ounces, and 250 dollars in money, I did not easily part with all this : but they desired I would make no dispute ; for, as all this came out of the wreck,  
they

they insisted, the owners could have nothing to do with it, and they were determined to have it. In short, I was obliged to give it all up, and they shared it amongst them that very moment, according to their new regulation.

After this, they entirely destroyed what little power they had allowed me over them ; and the meanest of them were taught they were as good as I. They sometimes denied me a quota of the fish, and wondered I could not go out to catch it as well as they ; at best, they would give my servant who used to fetch it but the leavings, after they had chosen the prime : and, to complete their insults, my first lieutenant, who used sometimes to eat with me, entirely deserted my mess to join Morphew, to partake of his better fare.

Quite tired out with their incessant mutinies, I became at length so desperate, that I began to think of preferring the dangers of the sea, in a small open boat, to what I thought myself exposed to on this place from my ship's company. I apprehended, they would never rest till they had made themselves entirely their own masters, by privately making away with me ; and this made me melancholy and pensive, preparing myself for the worst that could happen. They perceiving this change in me, grew suspicious that I was now contriving some means to reduce them ; and, therefore, they determined to get the arms out of my possession. To this purpose they all came in a body, headed by Brooks and Morphew, who, in the presence of all the people,

people, used me with insupportable impudence; and even went so far as to threaten the life of my son, for only telling Morpew, that every one present had not chosen him for his speaker.

Having gained that point also, they had the pleasure of squandering away their time, and powder and shot, in firing at cats, or any thing else, to waste the ammunition.

What I have now related, is the substance of what occurred from May 24 till August 15, when we had sight of a large ship, which put us into a great hurry, and gave us a considerable alarm. Before she crossed the bay, I ordered all the fires to be put out, and confined the negroes and Indians, lest the ship should be becalmed under the land, and any of them should attempt to swim off to her. However, I was not long in fear, for she kept away large, and at too great a distance to perceive any thing distinctly of us.

On this occasion I got most of the people under arms, and was glad to see so many of them, in some measure, obedient to command. I told them, I was pleased to see their arms in such good order; to which they answered impertinently, that it was for their own sakes. But this alarm was scarce subsided before they became divided among themselves. The question started was, whether or no the bark should be carried on, or, whether they should not build two large shallops, and set what was done of the bark on fire. The workmen, and a considerable majority of the rest, sided with me in be-  
half

## 176 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

half of the bark: but at night the carpenter sent me word, that, if I did not deliver him the money agreed on at the beginning, notwithstanding the terms of the payment of it were not yet fulfilled, I should not see his face again; so I was obliged to treat this gentleman as he pleased to have me, and raise the money for him.

To complete the number of our divisions and dissensions, there arose a third party, who were resolved to have nothing to do with the other two, they purposing to stay on the island. These were to the number of 12, who accordingly separated themselves from the rest, and never appeared amongst us, except in the night, when they used to come about our tents, and the bark we were building, to steal powder, lead, and axes, and in short, whatever else they could lay their hands on. These, however, I found means to manage, and took from them all their arms, ammunition, and the rest of their plunder, and threatened, that, if they were found within musquet-shot of our tents, they should be treated as enemies.

In a little time these divisions had so far weakened the whole body, that, by degrees, they began to listen a little to what I said to them; and I prevailed so far as to get most of them into a working humour. Mr. Brooks now came with a feigned submission, and desired he might eat with me again; but this, in the main, abated nothing of his esteem for Morpew. His dissimulation, however, proved of signal service,

as it contributed to the speedy finishing of the bark. This claimed the assistance of all our heads and hands; for when we came to plank her bottom, we had most disheartening difficulties to encounter; for, having no plank but pieces of the wreck's deck, we found it so dry and stubborn, that fire and water had scarce any effect in making it pliable and fit for use. It rent and split, and flew like glass; so that now I had sufficient reasons to believe, after all our labour, that we must patiently wait to be taken off from hence by some Spanish ship, and, after all our troubles, be led to a prison, to reflect on our misfortunes past. However, by constant labour, and a variety of contrivances, we, in the end, patched our bark up in such a manner, that I dare say the like was never seen, and I may venture to affirm, that such a bottom never swam on the surface of the sea before.

Sept. 9, the boat, which I have already mentioned to be begun by the armourer, was launched; and, being now in a fair way of completing our bark, there yet remained, unconsidered and undetermined, what provisions we should get to support us in our present voyage. All the stock we had consisted of but one cask of beef, five or six bushels of farina or Cassader flour, together with four or five live hogs.

I made several experiments to cure both fish and seal, but found it impossible. At length, we luckily thought on a method of curing the conger-eel, by splitting it, and taking out the

## 178 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

back-bone, then dipping it in salt-water, and afterwards hanging it up to dry in a great smoke. As no other fish could be preserved after this manner, the fishermen were ordered to catch what congers they could. And now several of the people, who had not yet struck a stroke, began to repent of their folly, as they grew weary of living on this place, and offered their service to go a-fishing, every one making some foolish excuse or other, for having been so long idle. The new boat being sent to try her fortune, returned at night, and brought in a great parcel of fish of several sorts, amongst which were 200 conger-eels. This was a good beginning, and every tent took a proportion of them to cure.

Having this conveniency of a large boat, I desired Mr. Brooks, our only diver, to try what he could recover from that part of the wreck which lay under water. He accordingly undertook it, and could find but one small gun, which he weighed and brought on shore, together with two pieces of a large church candlestick, which was a part of the plate which belonged to the gentlemen adventurers.

Our boat was now daily employed in fishing. The armourer constantly supplied them with hooks, and there was no want of lines, which were made of twisted ribbon. In the meantime, those who were ashore, made twice layed stuff for rigging and other uses. We patched up the canvas for sails; the cooper completed his

his casks ; and, in a short time, we had masts an-end tolerably well rigged, and thought we made a comfortable figure.

And now, having done all we could, when we came to put in water, to try the tightness of our work, it was followed by an universal outcry, *A sieve ! a sieve !* I was afraid the people would have despaired, and desisted from using any farther means : but, in a little time, and by incessant labour, we repaired the ship's pumps, and fitted them to our bark. The next spring-tide we found means to launch her, which fell out on the 5th of October, by which time we had saved about 2300 conger-eels, weighing, one with another, about one pound each, and made about 60 gallons of seals oil to fry them in. This, with what I mentioned before, was all our sea-stock. As she went off the blocks, I named her the *Recovery*, though I was sadly afraid of hearing ill news from those afloat in her ; but all proved indifferently well ; and, knowing it to be dangerous for her to lie here long, especially having no other anchor than a great stone, and a slight rope to hold her with, and that the least puff of wind might have driven and destroyed her upon the rocks, we got all the water off that day, which we did so much easier and quicker, because the casks were ready stowed in the hold. She had two masts, and was of about the burthen of twenty tons ; and, to my great satisfaction, I found, that one pump, constantly working, kept her free. The next day, October the 6th, we

got every one on board and embarked, leaving behind us eleven or twelve of those who had deserted us. They were deaf to all persuasions; and, in short, sent me word, ' They were not ' yet prepared for the other world ;' so they, with the like number of blacks and Indians, remained behind on the island.

This island enjoys a fine wholesome air, inso-much that, out of 70 of us that were on it for the space of five months and eleven days, not one of us had an hour's sickness, notwithstanding we fed on foul diet, without bread or salt. For my own part, I must acknowledge the bounty of Providence ; for, although I lost much of my flesh, I became one of the strongest and most active men on the island, from being before very corpulent, and almost crippled with the gout. On the tops of some of the mountains of this island, are plains covered with groves of the Italian laurel. Palm-trees are likewise found in most parts, growing in smooth joints like a cane, some 30, some 40 feet high. What seamen call palm-cabbage is the very substance of the head of this tree, which being cut off, you find inclosed a white and tender young cabbage : but, for every one we got, we were obliged to cut down a fine lofty tree.

The northern part of this island is very well watered, and the water keeps well at sea, and is, I dare say, as good as any in the world. Down the western peak descend two cascades, to appearance, at least 300 feet perpendicular; which,  
with







*A Sea Lion when suddenly disturbed a Lions asleep by him & a Seal in a moving picture*

with the palm-trees that grow up close by the edges of them, exhibit a very grand and romantic prospect.

We might have found goats enough in the mountains, if we had been able to follow them; and cats are so numerous, that there is hardly taking a step without starting one. Those whose stomachs could bear their flesh for food, found a more substantial relief from hunger by one meal of it, than from four or five of fish.

The Spaniards, who first stocked this island with goats, have since endeavoured to destroy these goats by dogs, which are likewise very numerous; but the goats have many inaccessible places of refuge, where no dogs can follow them; and they still continue to afford a plentiful supply to strangers.

While we were here, it was the season for the sea-lionesses to come to land, to bring forth their young. These have bodies of a monstrous bulk, being from 10 to 12 feet long, and near as much in circumference. I may venture to affirm, that, one with another, they would yield each a butt of train oil. They are so indolent, that, as soon as they have gained the land, they fall asleep, and in that condition remain a month together so torpid, that you might fire a pistol at their heads without disturbing them; but where the sea-lionesses lie, as they do in companies after they have yeaned, to give suck to their young, there is always an old lion, of the largest size, incessantly on the watch, and at the approach of

an enemy makes a hideous roaring, threatening death to him who should be so hardy as to molest his charge; and, in truth, were they not so unweildy, they would be a desperate creature to encounter. We were accustomed to walk amongst them without dread; for all, but those who were to take care of the young, were lost in the profoundest slumbers. On the land they ingender, and bring forth their young, who ingender also before they go off, against the next season; so quick and suddenly do they increase and propagate.

The seals here may properly be called sea-wolves, from the resemblance of their heads to the heads of wolves, differing in that particular from the seals in the northern hemisphere, where their heads are more like the dog's. They are naturally furlly, and snarl in an angry manner, on the approach of any body. Two fins compose their tails, and with the help of these they get along much faster than the lions.

Every thing one sees or hears in this island is different from what is elsewhere to be found. The very structure of the island, in all its parts, appears with a certain savage, irregular beauty, not easy to be expressed. The several prospects of lofty inaccessible hills in the day, and the solitariness of the gloomy narrow vallies in the night, added to the mixed, confused noise of the surge continually beating against the shore, the tumbling of the waters from an immense precipice, the roaring of sea-lions and sea-wolves,

## CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE. 183

wolves, whose voices are more or less shrill or hoarse according to their youth or age, compose so wild and horrible a medley, that the stoutest man must long be accustomed to it, before he can taste the sweets of refreshing sleep, or wholly divest himself of terror,

October 6, we set sail, with nothing to subsist on at sea but the before-mentioned smoked congers, one cask of beef, and four live hogs, together with three or four bushels of farina. We were upwards of forty of us crowded together, and lying upon bundles of eels, with no convenience of keeping the men clean, nor any thing to defend us from their abominable stench; not a drop of water to be had without sucking it out of the cask through a pipe, which being used promiscuously, became intolerably nauseous. The unsavoury morsels we daily ate created perpetual quarrels amongst us, every one contending for the frying-pan. All the convenience we had for firing, was an half tub filled with earth, which made our cooking so tedious, that we had a continual noise of frying from morning till night.

Thus we traversed the ocean: happy, however, in the thought of being once more afloat, and cherishing the hope that something would speedily fall into our hands. Every day, while the sea-breeze continued, we were hard put to it, for not having above 16 inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually ran over us; and, having only a grating  
deck,

deck, and no tarpaulin to cover it, our pumps would but just keep us free.

October 10, being the fourth day of our new expedition, we fell in with a large ship, which I could plainly see was Europe built. This struck me with the dread of her being a man-of-war; however, our case being desperate, I stood for her, and, before we could get quite up with her, the enemy discovered the brownness of our canvas, and, suspecting us, wore ship, and hauled close on a wind to the westward. This done, they hoisted their colours, fired a gun, and crouded away from us at a great rate; but, in about two hours it fell calm, and we had recourse to our oars. In the mean time we overhauled our arms, which we found to be in very bad condition, one-third of them being without flints, and we had but three cutlasses; so that we were but ill prepared for boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any ship. We had but one small cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along upon the deck; and to supply it we had no more ammunition than two round shot, a few chain-bolts and bolt-heads, the clapper of the Speedwell's bell, and some bags of beach-stones to serve for partridge. In about four hours we came up with this ship, and every one seemed as easy in his mind as if actually in possession of her. But, as we advanced nearer, I saw her guns and patararoes, and a considerable number of men upon deck, with their arms glittering

tering in the fun, who called out to us by the name of English dogs, defying us, in a scornful way, to come on board of them, and at the same time gave us a volley of great and small shot, which killed our gunner, and almost brought our fore-mast by the board. This warm reception staggered a great many of my men who before seemed the forwardest, insomuch that they lay upon their oars for some time, in spite of all I could do to make them keep their way. We recovered ourselves again, and rowed close up with the enemy, and engaged them till all our small shot was expended, which obliged us to fall astern to make some flugs. In this manner we made three attempts, but with no better success.

All the night it was calm, and we were busied in making flugs, and had provided a large quantity by the next morning, when we came to a final determination of either carrying the ship, or of submitting to her; and accordingly, at day-break, I ordered twenty men in our yawl, to lay her athwart the hawse, whilst I boarded her in the bark. The people in the boat put off, giving me repeated assurances of their good behaviour; but, at the very juncture we were coming to action, a gale sprang up, and she went away from us.

This ship was called the Margarita, and was the same which had been a privateer belonging to St. Malo's, and mounted forty guns, all the last war. In the skirmishes we had with her,

we had none killed, except Gilbert Henderfon, our gunner; and only three were wounded, viz. Mr. Brooks, First Lieutenant, through the thigh, Mr. Coldsea, the Master, through the groin, and one of the fore-mast men through the small of his back. Two of these did very well, and I think there was something extraordinary in their cure; for the surgeon had nothing to apply to their wounds, but what he himself had prepared with seals-oil, and other matters he had found on the island. Mr. Coldsea, indeed, lingered in a miserable manner for nine or ten months; but at length recovered.

Our condition now grew worse and worse; for soon after we had parted from this ship, a hard gale came on, which lasted four days without ceasing, during all which time we had not an hour's hope of living a minute. We were obliged to scud away under bare poles, with our yawl in tow; and, having but a short scope of boat-rope, we were, on the descent of every sea, in the greatest danger of having the bark's stern beat in by the violence of the boat's precipitate fall after us; and, once in particular, a great hollow sea had like to have thrown her upon our deck, which would have put an end to our voyage immediately. The excessive fright of this storm made many of our people form a resolution of going on shore the very first opportunity.

In this extremity, calling to mind M. Frezier's account of Iquique, I mentioned the surprisal



prizal of that place to the crew, which being universally approved of, we directed our course to that island.

It was three weeks before we got this length ; and having nothing to ride the bark with, we were obliged to keep the sea with her, whilst the boat went in between the rocks, and was received by some Indians on the strand with a sort of welcome. The men, being landed, went to the Lieutenant's house, broke it open, and rummaged the whole village, where they found a booty more valuable to us at that time than gold and silver. It consisted of about sixty bushels of wheat-flour, 120 of Calavances and corn, some jerked beef, pork and mutton, some thousand weight of well-cured fish, a good number of fowls, some rusk, and four or five days eating of soft bread, together with five or six jars of Peruvian wine and brandy ; and, to crown all, they had the good fortune to find a large boat near the shore, to bring off the booty with, which otherwise would have been of little use to us, our own boat being already sufficiently laden with the men.

Words cannot express the joy that reigned among us when they came on board : the scene was now changed from famine to plenty ; the loaves of soft bread were distributed to every one, and the jars of wine were broached ; but I took care they should drink but moderately of it, each man having no more than half a pint to his share : and, after a day or two's

living on wholesome diet, we wondered how our stomachs had been able to digest our rank and nauseous eels fried in train oil, and could scarcely believe we had lived upon nothing else for a month past.

Mr. Randall, our Second Lieutenant, who commanded in this enterprize, told me, they did not meet with the least opposition, and that the few Indians they found seemed to be as glad of this opportunity of pillaging the Spaniards as we were.

The settlement at Iquique consists of about 60 scattered ill-built houses, which hardly deserve that name, and a small church. There is not the least verdure to be seen in or about it, nor does it afford the least necessary of life, of its own product, not even water, which they are obliged to fetch in boats from Pisagua, ten leagues to the northward.

By two Indian prisoners we took here, we were informed, that the Lieutenant's boat was then at Pisagua, and that it would not be long before her return; however, being determined to make some attempt in the road of le Nasco, in lat 16 deg. S. and at Pisco, in lat. 13 deg. 45 min. S. we set sail, and the very morning we came off the Sierra or high-land of le Nasco, two hours before day-light, we fell in with a large ship. The circumstances of our meeting and engaging her were, in some measure, the same with those we had with the Margarita. We met with both at the same time in the morning,

morning, and, whilst in pursuit of both, had the misfortune of being becalmed. We struggled with this last for six or seven hours, and were at length obliged to leave her, because the sea-breeze came in so strong, and the sea ran so high, that, had she been of no force, our slight bark must have been in pieces before a third part of us could have entered her. This ship was called the St. Francisco Palacio, of 700 tons, eight guns and ten peteraroes, and was well manned and provided with small arms.

It happened very unfortunately, that we should thus miss two of the best equipped ships in the private trade at that time in the South Seas. This last repulse was made a pretence for much murmuring; many, despairing of ever being able to take any thing as our condition was, were for surrendering to the enemy, who was all the night becalmed near us. To prevent their design, I took care to remove the two boats out of their power, by ordering two men in each of them, such as I thought I could trust, and to cast off from us at a little distance, that none might escape in them. But, notwithstanding the confidence I had in these four, the two in the best boat ran away with her; and the next day I was informed, that the First Lieutenant and Morpew had made a party, too strong for me to oppose, to go away with the boat that was left; but, it blowing fresh the next night, they were prevented from executing their design.

The

The next day we stood into the road of Pisco, as we had designed, where we discovered what appeared to be a large ship. We bore down to her with a resolute despair, and laid her athwart the hawse; but, to our great satisfaction, we met with no resistance, and were received by the Captain and his Officers with their hats off, in the most submissive manner asking for quarter. Before we came up, I had ordered our boat to intercept theirs, which was going on shore. They clapped her on board, but, not holding fast, they fell astern, and could not fetch up with her again; so that in this boat was conveyed away every thing that might have been valuable in the prize. She was a good ship, of about 200 tons, called the *Jesus-Maria*, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank, but nothing else. The Captain offered 1600 dollars for her ransom, but I could not give ear to it in the condition which I was then in.

The Spanish Captain informed me, that the *Margarita* had been arrived some time at Callao, where she had given a full account of us; that the Captain of her, and three more, were killed in the action with us, and that the Priest and several others were wounded; and that she was now ready to put to sea again, with an addition of ten guns and fifty men, to cruise for us: and, moreover, that the *Flying fish*, a frigate of 28 guns, was already out with the same intent. Upon this advice, having cleared our  
bark,

bark, we gave her to the Spanish Captain, and as soon as the breeze sprang up, we weighed, and went to sea, and in going out met with our boat, which I have mentioned to have left us in the night; they edged towards us, imagining we were Spaniards, by which means we got them again. The two fellows in her were almost dead, having ate or drank nothing for three days, and had just been ashore on a small island, to kill seals to drink their blood. They had no excuse for themselves, but that they fell asleep, and the faint breezes of the night had wafted us in the bark away from them.

Pisco being 40 leagues to the windward of Callao, I kept close hauled till I had gained a two degrees offing, and kept that distance till we had got well to the northward of Callao, and hauled in again for the land, a little to the southward of Truxillo, and looked into the roads of Guanchaco, Malabriga, and Cheripec; but, seeing no ship at those places, I passed between the island of Lobos de Tierra and the continent; and, Nov. 25, found ourselves near the Saddle of Payta, where having made some prisoners, I examined them concerning the condition of the town, which they answered was very poor at present, there being neither money nor provisions in it, and shewed me a small bark on the shore, which Captain Clipperton had sent in here a little while before with some of his prisoners, which had given them such an alarm, that every thing had been again removed into the country. This  
unwel-

unwelcome news did not hinder us from keeping on our way, with our Spanish colours flying, till we came to the place of anchorage.

No sooner was our anchor down than I sent away Mr. Brooks, with both the boats, armed with 24 men; no more of them, however, appeared than those who rowed, and two or three fitters in each, the rest, with their arms, lying in the bottom of the boat. Thus they advanced towards the town, without giving the least umbrage to the inhabitants, who were so thoroughly persuaded of our being Spaniards, that, when the people landed, they found the children playing on the beach, who were the first that took the alarm, and ran away at the sight of armed men. In an instant the whole place was in confusion; the town was deserted, and nothing left in it but a few bales of coarse cloth, about 500 of dried tole or dog-fish, two or three pedlars packs, and an inconsiderable quantity of bread and sweetmeats; so that we unluckily had but little employment for our boats.

As we lay at an anchor in the ship, we took a boat with about fifty jars of Peruvian wine and brandy, the master of which told us, he was come by stealth from Callao, there being orders that none but ships of some force should stir out. This man was the first who acquainted me with Captain Hatley's being taken, and the value of his prizes; and likewise assured me, that, if Captain Clipperton had landed the first time he was here, there were 400,000 pieces of eight in  
it,

it, besides a great quantity of jesuits bark, and other valuable commodities, of all which he might easily have made himself master ; but he wanted courage. Some of the King of Spain's treasure is frequently lodged under the Governor's care ; and, if he had made an attempt, even the second time, it would have been worth his while. As for Collan, which is two miles to the northward of this, situated near the mouth of a little river, it is a mean place, being entirely inhabited by Indians.

From this place we directed our course for the island of Gorgona, in the bay of Panama, and in our passage thither built a tank, or wooden cistern, big enough to hold 10 tons of water, wherewith to supply our want of casks, as without the help of some such contrivance we should have but little hopes of being ever able to return home. In our way we made the island of Plate, Cape St. Francis, and Gorgonella ; and on Dec. 2, we came to anchor to the leeward of the northernmost point of Gorgona, within less than a quarter of a mile of the shore. Here we had the advantage of filling our water-casks in the boat, the water running in small streams into the sea, and cut down our wood at high water mark ; so that in less than 48 hours we had done our business here, and hurried away to sea, for fear of those who might be in quest of us.

Having got out of the track of the enemies ships, we consulted on the best methods of proceeding, when the majority were for going di-

rectly over to the coasts of Asia. Upon this we changed our ship's name from the *Jesus Maria* to the *Happy Return*, and applied all our endeavours towards abandoning these coasts; but the winds and currents were averse to it; and some of those who opposed our departure, did so much damage clandestinely to our tank, that the greatest part of our water leaked out. This, together with continual contrary winds and dead calms, which detained us till our provisions were much exhausted, rendered us incapable to undertake so long a run; and therefore, to furnish ourselves with what we wanted, I proposed a descent on the island of Quibo, in lat. 7 deg. 40 min. N. where, by Captain Rogers's account, I guessed there must be inhabitants who lived in a plentiful manner on the product of the country.

On January 13, 1721, we anchored between Quibo and the isle of Quivetta, in a sandy bay, commodious for wooding and watering. The morning after our arrival, we saw two large piraguas rowing in for the isle of Quivetta, one of them with Spanish colours flying; and, after a little debate, whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our boat or not, it was resolved, at all hazards, to go after them in our yawl. This enterprize was commanded by Mr. Brooks, our First Lieutenant, who found the men on shore, brought away their piraguas, and two prisoners, the one a Mulatto, and the other a Negro; the rest sought for refuge in the woods. The Mulatto mortified us very much, by telling

us,



us, that a vessel laden with provisions had passed by very near us in the night ; but, to make amends, promised to conduct us to a place where we might supply ourselves without any hazard, provided we were not above two or three days about it. No news could be more welcome to us than this, wherefore we were very brisk in getting off our wood and water ; and, on January the 19th, we got safe in between Mariato and the island of Sebaco, and anchored in six fathom water, over against a green field, which is instruction sufficient, there being but that clear spot hereabouts. Our guide desired we might be going at least three hours before day-light, and that then we should be in good time at the plantations. Accordingly I embarked at two the next morning in our own boat, and ordered the two lieutenants in the two piraguas, leaving my son and a few men with him, to take care of the ship. Our guide carried us up some part of the river St. Martin, and out of that into several branches of very narrow creeks amongst mangroves, where we had not room to row, which made me suspect he had no good design in his head ; but we landed just at day-break on a fine savannah, or plain ; and, after a march of about three miles, came to two farm-houses, whose owners had made their escape, except the wife and children of one house.

The place answered the man's description, being surrounded by numerous herds of black cattle, hogs, and plenty of fowls of all sorts ;

## 196 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

and here we found some dried beef, plantains, and Indian corn; and, for present use, were entertained with a wholesome breakfast of hot cake and milk, a diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it came to be broad day, I saw our ship close by us, upon which I asked our Mulatto, How he came to bring us so far about? He answered, There was a river between us, and he did not know whether it was fordable or not. I therefore sent some to try, who found it was not above knee deep. Wherefore, to avoid the trouble of carrying our plunder so far as we had been led, I ordered our boats to row out of the river St. Martin, and to come to the beach over against the ship. We had not been long here before the master of the family we were with, being anxious for their safety, returned, and made an offer of as many of his black cattle as we should think fit to require; which offer we kindly received: and he brought us the number we thought we could save; for, having but little salt, and not being able to spare water to keep them alive when at sea, our demands were moderate; and the few we required, as soon as they were carried on board, were killed. Their flesh we preserved by cutting it into long slips of the thickness of a finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a quantity of salt, that we did not use above four or five pounds to a hundred weight; then letting it lie together two or three hours, we hung it up to dry in the sun, which perfectly cured it, and  
that

that better than it could have been done by any other way.

Having done all we proposed in coming here, we departed with our decks full of fowls and hogs, amongst which there was one with its navel, or something like it, on its back. The Spaniards say, that this, when wild in the woods, is a terrible animal to meet with, although at full growth it be but small.

January 25, we made a sail about two leagues to the leeward of us : we gave her chase till we found she was of European structure ; and fearing she might be one of the enemy's ships of war, I clapped on a wind, and in half an hour's time it fell calm. Soon after, we saw a boat rowing towards us, which proved to be the Success's pinnace, commanded by Mr. Davidson, their First Lieutenant. My first interview with him was attended by an astonishment equal on both sides ; he could hardly believe that he saw us in so mean and forlorn a condition ; and I could scarce believe that the Success (if in being) had been all this while wandering up and down these seas.

I entertained him with a rehearsal of the constant run of misfortunes which had befallen us in the long interval since we separated near the coast of England, till our present meeting that day ; and he, on his part, entertained me with several remarkable incidents, which had happened to them in the course of their voyage. Particularly, he told me, that, about a twelve-month

## 198 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

month before, they had taken a new French-built brigantine, and put their officers and ship's company's plunder on board of her, which they valued at ten thousand pounds sterling; that their second Captain, Mr. Mitchel, was intrusted with the command of her, and was ordered to go to some island on the coast of Mexico, and to stay there till Captain Clipperton should join him with his ship; but that they never could find the island since, and, therefore, judged that poor Mitchel, and his men, were either starved, or murdered by the Spaniards or Indians, or that he had perished with the island, such submersions being frequent on those coasts. The story of Captain Mitchel, who was a very worthy man, and an expert sailor, is, in all its circumstances, a very tragical one. There was always a jealousy between him and his Captain, who ordered him to a place, and pretended to give him infallible directions to find it, which never could be found afterwards, and, tis my opinion, never was above water; and the unfortunate gentleman, without doubt, perished in some obscure, miserable manner, in quest of a place that was never yet, and perhaps never may be discovered. In our discourse, I asked Mr. Davidson the value of the booty they had made, and he assured me it did not exceed 70,000 dollars—but that they had lost great opportunities—that in October, 1720, they were in the bay of Conception, and had the misfortune to leave three laden ships  
behind

behind them, and missed a fourth, which was coming into the bay, and which was so near as to hail and talk to them, besides being becalmed by them;—that though it was probable their launch could have taken them all four, yet, through their Captain's deafness to advice, they took none of them:—that, moreover, they had never yet cleaned their bottom, notwithstanding they had had it in their power to do it; and that this negligence had like to have cost them dear; for that, in their return from Conception, they looked into Coquimbo, where they saw five ships at anchor, three of which let slip after them, and overtook them apace, but by the favour of thick weather, and a hard gale of wind, they got clear of them; and further, that, off the port of Callao, they fell in with the Flying-fish frigate, which was cruising for me in the bark, and which, by unpardonable mismanagement on the part of Clipperton, got safe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable cargo designed for Cadiz. I have been since informed of this by one of my surgeon's mates, who was taken in the Mercury, and was surgeon of the Flying-fish at that time.

This was the substance of my discourse with Mr. Davidson, when, in the mean time, a gale sprung up, which interrupted us, and I bore down to the Success, and went on board of her. I gave Captain Clipperton, and Mr. Godfrey, the agent-general, the whole history of my voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have

have been treated by them as one belonging to the same interest, but found I was mistaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me since my ship was lost. However, I conceived, that he could not be so inhuman, as to deny me the supply of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The answer I had to this was, that I should know more of his mind the next day. Amongst the rest of the discourse I had with him, he told me he was just come from the island of Cocos, that his people were sickly, and at very short allowance. Upon this, I offered my service to pilot him to Mariato, which was not above thirty leagues distant from us, where he might have refreshed his people, and supplied himself with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being resolved to make the best of his way to the Tres Marias, where, he said, there was turtle enough to be had; so I left him for that night.

The next morning, as I was going on board of him again, with some of my officers, he suddenly spread all his canvas, and crouded away from us, who were in the boat: upon which I returned to our ship again, and made signals of distress, and fired our gun several times, which was not regarded by him, till his very officers cried out on his barbarity, and, at last, he brought to. When I had sailed up with him, (being exasperated at such inhuman treatment) I sent Mr. Brooks, our First Lieutenant,

to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to tell him that we stood in need of several necessaries, which, if he was not inclined to give, I would purchase of him. Upon these terms he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musquet-balls and flints, and a Spanish chart of the coast of Mexico and part of India and China, a half-hour, and a half-minute glass, a compass, and about 300 weight of salt; but with all the arguments I could use, I could not prevail on him to spare us the least thing out of his surgeon's chest for the relief of Mr. Coldsea, our master, who had been ready to die of his wounds received in the engagement with the Margarita, for above three months past. When this was concluded, I again asked him, if I could be of any service to him, and assured him, I had a pretty good ship under foot, though she made but a poor figure, and believed I could hold him way, and that he knew our cargo was pretty valuable. To all this he answered, that, if I had a cargo of gold, he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself. Mr. Hendry, the agent, and Mr. Rainer and Mr. Dodd, Lieutenants of marines, seeing but little prospect that we should ever get home, and being weary of the work that was imposed upon them, desired I would let them go on board the Success, for a passage to England; which I consenting to, they went on board accordingly, and Clipperton left us to shift for ourselves, near the island of Cano. Having purchased this supply, I was for going to

the southward into the bay of Panama, to try our fortune there; but the majority opposed me through fear, and were for going to the Tres Marias, to salt turtle there, and then stretch over for India. We directed our course thither; and, a few days after, met with the Success in quest of Sonsonate, where they expected to receive the Marquis of Villa Roche's ransom. That nobleman had been some time a prisoner with them, and his wife was now at Guatimali, a city within 30 leagues of that port. We ranged close under their stern, and asked how Captain Clipperton and the rest of the gentlemen did, but it was not thought proper to return any answer; so without any concern, he steered one way, and we another. After this, calms, and contrary winds, and unaccountable currents, reduced us to a very small allowance, which we were obliged to diminish daily, and should have been in deeper distress than ever, had it not been for the turtle which we took on the surface of the water. We had a continual look-out for them, and they were easily known, at a great distance, by the number of sea-birds that perched on their backs. Upon sight of these, we used to lay aside the advantages we might have made of the wind, to embrace the opportunity of prolonging our provisions. Upon the whole, though we lost some of our way in pursuit of turtle after this manner, it was not the greatest inconvenience that attended us; the dressing it made a great consumption of our water, the quantity of which decreased



decreased upon us very suddenly, by the continual use of it in boiling the turtle with plantain flower. This relapse into a state of famine, threatening us with speedy and certain perdition, if means were not used to avert it, made me propose the plundering of some small town as we coasted along the shore. Guatulco was the nearest to us : but the very morning we were steering in for this place, at sun-rising we saw a sail a considerable way to leeward of us. We thought it would be better to take this ship than to venture on shore, and therefore we bore down to her, who in the end proved to be the Success. We now met with a double baulk, both as to our hopes of Guatulco and the ship ; for we were by this accident got so far to the leeward of Guatulco, that it was needless to beat up so far against the wind for an uncertainty, when we had a gale, that, had it continued, would have carried us to some better port.

But the winds were but a few hours propitious, and were succeeded by perpetual contrary gales, which destroyed all our hopes, and brought us down to a small earthen plate of calavances, a kind of small bean, for 24 hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoked congers, which had for some months been neglected, and lain soaking and rotting in the bulge water. They were certainly as disagreeable food as ever men eat.

Under these calamitous circumstances did we

D d 2

meet

meet with the Success a fourth time, near the port of Angels; and, after having made the appointed signal, we stood so near to one another, that, to use the sea phrase, a biscuit might have been tossed from ship to ship, but we did not change a word with each other; for, Captain Clipperton, as I have since been informed, had ordered all his officers and ship's company to take no notice of us: and, though he was so truly sensible of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with, if our design was to go for India, that he said, The child that was born the day before would be grey-headed with age before we should arrive there (intimating by that expression, that it was impossible for us to do it), yet, notwithstanding, he, without any remorse, could see us on the brink of suffering the greatest severities our ill fortune could load us with, and not lend us a helping hand to deliver us from the impending ruin.

Thus surrounded on all sides by present want and threatening disasters, we, on the 12th of March, being off the port of Acapulco, saw a ship between us and the shore. I bore down to her, till perceiving her to be a large European-built ship, with Spanish colours flying, I concluded she was the *Peregrine*, who, as I had been informed, had carried the Prince of St. Bueno, who had been Viceroy of Peru, to this port in his way to Spain. With these suspicions, being as yet unwilling to run ourselves so immediately into the enemy's clutches, I hauled again  
on

on a wind, which he seeing, he pulled down his Spanish, and hoisted an English ensign, and made the signal agreed on between Clipperton and me for knowing one another. Had they been in any other part, I should have been so far from entertaining any thoughts of such a change in him, that I should have looked on all his signals as the artifices of the enemy, who might have acquainted themselves with them by the information of such of our men as they might have taken prisoners. But now, making no doubt that it was he, I bore down to him, and being come along his side, he sent Captain Cook, his second Lieutenant, in his yawl, with an obliging letter to me, to inform me, he was cruising for the homeward-bound Manilla ship, and desiring I would assist him in the enterprize, and come on board of him the next morning, proposing a union of our two ship's companies. I was very well pleased with this offer, and, without hesitation, returned him word that I would be with him early.

In the mean time, I read over his letter publicly to my people, and exhorted them seriously to consider of the great benefits that would accrue to us on all sides from it. Upon which they all expressed the most resigned willingness to join in the undertaking. But, as Clipperton had used us so unhand somely before, they desired I would get some security for their shares, signed by Captain Clipperton, Mr. Godfrey the agent, and the rest of their officers. I went on board, and, according

## 206 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

According to their request, Capt. Clipperton, and Mr. Godfrey, the owners agent, immediately drew up an instrument fully worded for the purpose, and they and all the other officers signed it. This was all my people wanted to make them easy.

We then proceeded upon our main business; and, after mature deliberation, it was thought most adviseable, that I should send the greatest part of my men on board the *Succes*, as soon as we saw the Manilla ship come out of Acapulco, and leave only a boat's crew with me to bring me away, in case I should have occasion to make use of my ship as a fire-ship, or a smoker, which we jointly proposed to do, if we found the enemy too hard for us; and it was determined to board her at once, as we should otherwise have much the worst of it, on account of their superior weight of metal, and the better capacity of their ships, which are built very strong, to bear a cannonading. Clipperton assured me, he was certain of the time when she would sail from this port, which the Spaniards say is always within a day or two after Passion-week, of which we had a fortnight yet to come.

Before I returned to my own ship, I acquainted Captain Clipperton with our slender stock of provisions, but particularly with our shortness of water; and he told me he had 80 tons of it on board, and he would spare me as much of it as I would have, or any thing else his ship afforded.

I had

I had now the pleasure of being restored to my command in as regular a manner as ever; every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the satisfaction he had in the prospect before us. But Morpew, that ringleader of all our disorders, fearing my resentment, thought it was his best way, to insinuate himself into the favour of the Captain and Officers of the Success, which he did effectually, by an humble, submissive, outward deportment, and prevailing presents. In short, he had his end, and left me; but, the next morning, Mr. Rainer, who acted with us afterwards as Captain of marines, came on board of us to visit his old shipmates, and so continued.

Thus we cruised in good order, and with a great deal of hope, until March 17, when, towards evening, Clipperton, contrary to his usual custom, stretched a-head of us about two leagues, without lowering so much as a top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him. I could not but be a little startled at this, as being quite contrary to his usual method. However, I kept standing after him, as I thought, in the night, till we were almost in the breakers on the shore, which of course obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea again, admiring all the time that we had had no signal for going about. The next morning we had no sight of any ship near us, which laid me under the most terrible apprehensions, considering the bad condition we were in for want of water, and the vast distance we were at  
from

from any place where we could expect to get a recruit of any, having now no choice left, but either to beat up 220 leagues against the wind, to go to the Tres Marias, or bear away a much more considerable distance for the gulph of Amapala, or the island of Cocos:

But, notwithstanding our distress, I kept our cruising station for him two or three days. At last it was resolved to bear away to the first convenient place to water at; and, in truth, it was time, for we were now 40 odd men, who had but three butts of water for a run of 300 leagues and upwards, on a coast subject to long calms, variable winds, and uncertain currents.

It was afterwards told me, that the night Clipperton left us, he assembled all his officers, and told them it was his intention immediately to quit the coast. His officers remonstrated to him on the barbarity of doing this without acquainting Captain Shelvock with his intention, and sparing us some water. But he put off their serious expostulations with an inhuman sneer, saying, That, if I should, through want, be obliged to surrender to the enemy, I should only share the same fate, that, perhaps, some others had met with before me.

Thus this man, perhaps, through an excess of mean-spiritedness, and dreading the engagement with a ship that was always known to defend itself with some obstinacy, neglected as fine an opportunity as most of our nation have ever had of taking this ship, which, as I was informed,  
by

by some Spaniards from Manilla, when I was in China, came out of Acapulco about a week after we left the cruize—[For Capt. Clipperton's account of this transaction we refer the reader to the preceding voyage.]

On March 30, in the evening, we entered the road of Sonsonate, and, as the sun set, saw a ship at anchor there. It being a moon-light night, I sent the first Lieutenant, with some of the best hands, to discover what this ship might be. On his return he informed me, the ship was a large one, of one tier of guns at least. I nevertheless continued to ply in all the night, and prepared for action. At day-light we found they had hoisted a jar of powder, containing about ten gallons, with lighted match, at each main and fore yard arm, and at the bowsprit end, with design to let them fall on our decks if we boarded them. This contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have soon made an end of both ships, and of all that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations, I expected a warm dispute with them; and, by what I could see, they were, in all points, superior by much to us in strength.

At eleven in the morning, the sea-breeze came in, and ran us upon them very fast, whilst our small arms were briskly and effectually employed to break their powder jars, before we came to board them, which we did without delay, and, after the exchange of a few shot when on board of each other, they submitted.

This ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, six guns, and 70 men; besides a great number of small arms, with some grenade shells and shot. She had been, for some time before, arrived from Callao, with wine and brandy; but had now nothing in her but fifty jars of gunpowder, and a small parcel of rusk and jerked beef. In short, she could hardly be said to be worth the trouble we took, and the risques we ran for her: but she was reputed to be a better sailor, and was visibly better fitted out than our own; wherefore I changed ships, and we all went on board our prize, which was equipped in the warlike manner we found her, and commissioned, on purpose to take us.

A merchant, the scrivener of the ship, being on board, desired we would sell him the *Jesus Maria*, which we agreed to, and sent him on shore to raise the money for that purpose; and at night he came off with another Spanish gentleman, and brought us a letter of advice from the Governor on shore, signifying that there was a treaty of peace on foot between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, which was what we had not before heard of. However, I sent to the Governor, signifying that I should be very glad to see the proclamation and articles; and that thereupon, I should be ready to obey the commands of my Sovereign; so we came to an agreement with the Governor to lye in the road till he sent to Guatimala, 50 leagues distant, for those papers, provided he would supply



ply us with water and provisions. On the 5th of April, the Governor sent on board two papers, which, by the best interpretation we could get of them, did not appear to us to be in the form of proclamations. We told those who brought the papers aboard, that we were in great want of an interpreter; upon which they said, there were some Englishmen at Guatimala, whom they would send for, if we would stay three days for them, and that they would supply us with water and provisions till that time; which we agreed to, and they desired we would send our boat on shore every morning for the supply. Accordingly, on the 7th of April, we sent our boat on shore with Mr. Brooks, our first Lieutenant, and five men. This officer, men, and boat, the Governor detained under a flag of truce, and, at night, sent off a small boat, with two of our men, with a letter from himself, and another from Mr. Brooks. His letter signified, that, if we did not deliver up our ship to him, he would declare us pirates. And Mr. Brooks, by his, informed me, that it was his opinion, that the Governor was endeavouring to bully me into a surrender, having spoken very ambiguously of a cessation of arms: notwithstanding which, I sent the Governor a letter, signifying, that, if we could be secured of a safe and sure conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and from thence, by the way of Porto Bello, be conveyed to any of our British plantations, we would come to a farther

treaty ; which if he intended, he was desired to signify it by firing two guns as soon as he had received this advice, and by sending back my officer and men ; if not, necessity would oblige us to sail. At three in the morning, (the Governor having shewn no signal, nor sent any word) we weighed our anchor, yet lay to in the bay till ten, but then made sail, being forced thereto for want of water ; having, however, no other intent, in case of the certainty of a peace, than to deliver up the ship we were now in at the first convenient port, as was signified to the Governor by letter.

Being now got out to sea, we reduced ourselves to a pint of water for 24 hours each man, and directed our course for the gulph of Amapala, which was about 35 leagues to the E.S.E. of this place, in order to get a fresh supply. The loss of my officer and boat's crew, sensibly diminished the number of white faces, and we should have been so much weakened by it, that we should never have been able to manage this great ship, with her heavy cotton sails, if we had not taken with us our negro prisoners, who proved to be very good sailors. The loss of our boat was also a very great inconvenience to us ; but as I only thought of taking water enough to carry us to Panama, where we were fully resolved to surrender, if it was really peace, I imagined we might make shift without her, and get such a quantity as we might want in two or three days time.

The

The winds were favourable, and we arrived there on the tenth following in the evening. As soon as we had entered the gulph we found ourselves in the midst of several small islands, one of which was the island of Tygers, where we expected to find water ; but our expectations proved vain, for, after a hazardous and fruitless search not only on that, but on some of the greenest of the other isles, there was not the least drop of fresh water to be found, by us, on any of them.

In this miserable condition, threatened on all sides with inevitable destruction, unfit for the sea, fearful of trusting ourselves in the cruel hands of the inhabitants on the shore, quite dispirited by the continued course of misfortunes which had hitherto been our constant attendants ; but, above all, lamenting this unhappy baulk in not finding water where we so much expected it, which had reduced us to such extremities as we had never known before ; in short, ready to sink under the burden of our calamities, we weighed our anchor on the 13th of April before day-break, and stood out from this gulph. And now having the open sea before us, I brought my people in general to an obstinate resolution not to surrender on this part of the coast, let the consequences be ever so miserable. Upon this unanimous agreement, with not 40 gallons of water in the ship, and no other liquids to supply the want of it, we came to so small an allowance as half a pint of  
water

## 214 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

water for 24 hours ; and even this allowance was rather too large, there being no place, that we knew of, where we could get any more, nearer than Quibo, to which island, about 200 leagues distant from us, we shaped our course, but having very uncertain winds and weather, we were 13 days at this allowance. Our sufferings from the extremity of thirst are hardly to be conceived ; some drank their own water to allay the burning heat within them, but though this moistened their mouths, it increased their misery ; some drank large draughts of sea-water, which was near putting a period to their lives ; while others eat just enough of the calavances moistened with water to sustain life, and these suffered the least.

At length we were fortunately relieved, by falling in unexpectedly with the island of Cano, in lat. 9 deg. N. where seeing a run of water, Mr. Randall, without dreading the dangerous surf, passed through the breakers, and, to the unspeakable joy of all the company, soon returned on board with his jars filled ; but as he could not bring off more than 60 or 70 gallons, I took care to restrain our people in the use of it, allowing to each man only a quart for their immediate use : and I was the more strict in this distribution, because Mr. Randall assured me, the breakers were so dangerous, that he believed we should not be able to get at any more.

Being willing, however, to make another trial, I next day sent the boatswain, to endeavour to  
procure

procure a further supply ; but, after wasting the whole day in search of a smooth beach to land upon, he could not see one spot where he durst venture on shore. Therefore, thinking we had a stock sufficient to carry us to Quibo, I weighed anchor, and in ranging the island I accidentally discovered a smooth beach, where the little boat getting on shore, the crew filled nine jars, which lasted till we arrived at Quibo, where we anchored at the same place we had twice anchored at before. Here we consulted about surrendering ourselves to the Spaniards, being within 80 leagues of Panama, a place of little or no strength towards the sea, and but little frequented by the enemy's ships of war, where we could treat with them at a distance, and be truly informed how affairs stood in Europe. During our deliberations we wooded and watered at leisure ; and some searched the woods for fruits to refresh us, by way of prevention against the scurvy, which we had been all along less subject to than any ship I ever saw or heard of in such long runs. Those who were thus usefully employed brought us papas, guayavas, cassia, limes, and a small kind of white sour plumb, which was much eaten and admired by most of us ; but, by its violent operation, it put a stop to our proceedings for some days. However, we soon recovered, without any bad symptoms, and made an end of wooding and watering, and set sail, fully determined to surrender at Panama. In our way we passed by a great many  
small

## 216 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

small islands, but the most remarkable are, Montuosa, Sebaco, and the isle of Picara, which lies on the western side of Quibo.

May 15, a small bark, taking us for Spaniards, bore down to us, the master of which was in the greatest consternation when he found his mistake, but recovered when he heard we were bound for Panama to surrender, and readily offered his pilot thither, his vessel, called the Holy Sacrament, being bound to that port, laden with dried beef, pork, and live hogs, which, as she was leaky, he desired that I would take in tow. I was glad this bark fell into our hands, and readily complied with his request, because, if we found the Governor of Sonsonate's account to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled by this help to go to India. In the mean while, it had remained a point yet undetermined, who should be the person entrusted with the flag of truce; for my people, having known much treachery, were apprehensive the person sent would only, or chiefly, make good his own case and that of his friends to the Governor, and not care what became of the common men. At last, my son was judged the fittest to go, as he would surely return, if it were purely for my sake. Other difficulties were started that could not so easily be removed, notwithstanding which, we kept on our way, fully fixed in our resolution.

May 17, another small bark came down upon us, but having stood pretty near to us, she bore away again, and ran on shore directly, at the hazard

zard of the lives of every soul on board. This unaccountable behaviour, gave us good reason to believe, that the governor of Sonfonnate's account of a cessation of arms was groundless.

May 19, we saw a sail a-head of us, standing along shore, and being desirous of speaking with her, I let go the bark we had in tow, and made all the sail we could after her. We gained very little upon her all the day ; but had, nevertheless, got a great way a-head of our bark, wherein were four of our own people and five Spaniards. However, notwithstanding night came on, all our sail was kept abroad, and next morning we were within gun-shot of her. I immediately ordered our colours to be spread, fired a gun to leeward, and set a man to wave a flag of truce ; but, on sight of our English ensign, she fired at us, and so continued to do, with her decks full of men, abusing us with the grossest appellations. I made no return until I came close upon their quarter, and then I sent one of their countrymen to the bowsprit end, to inform them in Spanish, that we were bound to Panama, and desired to treat peaceably with them, and hoped, at least, they would have some regard to the white flag which they saw flying ; but they still continued their fire ; and presuming, as I supposed, by our quiet behaviour, that we were unable to defend ourselves, they were preparing to board us, which I no sooner perceived than I met them with our helm, and gave them so warm a salute, that they steered round off from us. We just missed get-

ting hold of them, but it falling almost immediately calm, we continued our engagement for the space of two or three hours at the distance of musquet-shot. At length, a breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found that as fast as we approached, so fast did their courage cool. Their Captain, however, still bravely encouraging his people, and exposing himself in the openest manner, was shot through the body, and dropped down dead; upon which they immediately, and with one voice, cried out for quarter, and put an end to the dispute. Mr. Randall, and two or three more, went on board the prize, and found the prisoners in the most submissive posture, asking for mercy, which was granted, though they had no great reason to expect it, after their direct breach of the laws of arms and nations in firing at a flag of truce.

The most considerable prisoners, being brought on board, informed me, that their ship, called the *Conception de Recova*, belonging to Callao, was of the burthen of 200 tons, and laden with flour, loaves of sugar, bales of boxes of marmalade, jars of preserved peaches, grapes, limes, and the like, mounted six guns, and had 70 odd men on board. In this engagement, the Spanish Captain and a negroe were killed, and one or two slightly wounded. On our part, our gunner was slightly wounded by a pistol ball, and our mainmast had a small piece carried out of the side of it. We had now about 80 prisoners of all colours, though we ourselves were not above 26.

Amongst



Amongst our prisoners we had several of note, particularly Don Baltazar de Abarca, Conde de Rosa, an European nobleman, who had been Governor of Pisco, and was now upon his return to Spain, together with Captain Morel, who had formerly been taken by Captain Rogers. They were all treated with the utmost civility, which they the more wondered at, because, from a self-conviction of their own ungenerous behaviour towards us, they could not but expect to have been dealt with quite otherwise.

The winds and calms prevented our joining the Holy Sacrament, the prize we had left behind us, till May 22, when we bore down to her, and were surprized to find no soul on board, but that her decks and quarters were covered with blood. By many circumstances it plainly appeared, that the Spanish crew had butchered those who were left to assist them, while they were asleep; otherwise it could not have happened, that five unarmed Spaniards could have overpowered four Englishmen completely provided with arms for their defence. It is very probable, however, that these murderers paid with their lives, the loss of those lives they had taken away; for, being above four leagues from the land, and having no boat with them, they probably jumped into the sea on our approach, fearing, if they fell into our hands, to meet the vengeance due for so horrid a crime. That part of the deck which was dyed with gore they endeavoured to cover, by throwing the flocks and

stuffings of beds over it; so that till these were removed, the blood was not to be seen.

This tragical accident put a damp to the pleasure we had enjoyed for a day or two past on the account of our late prize. Our prisoners, at such a sad and sudden change, began to be alarmed, and looked at one another as if they all expected to be the victims of our revenge upon this unhappy occasion. On the other hand, I was fearful lest these apprehensions should urge them to some desperate attempt, they being 80 in number, and we not above 17 on board of our own ship, and, when we were all together, not above 25 that could stand to arms. In this dilemma, I ordered all the prisoners into the stern gallery, except the nobleman, and some of the chief officers, and a guard to be kept in the great cabin.

The Spanish gentlemen observing this, let fall some expressions whereby I perceived they were afraid I intended to proceed to severities towards their people; but I assured them, that, if I was of so revengeful a nature, the laws of my country forbid me from indulging it; that I acted under my King's commission; and that the natural abhorrence our nation had to barbarity, might quiet their fears, and make them perfectly easy. They then, on their part, in the most solemn manner disclaimed the very thought of an attempt upon our lives; and assured us, on their honour, that they thought they should never be able to make a just return for the  
generous

generous treatment they had met with. It was, however, prudent to secure our prisoners of the meaner sort, and when we had so done, we hauled the Holy Sacrament along-side of us. She was half full of water, and the greatest part of her dried beef was wet and spoiled, but all that was not damaged we took out, together with some live logs. We also took out of the Conception a twelvemonth's provision of bread, flour, sugar and sweetmeats, and a like proportion for the Success, whom I expected to find at the Tres Marias, being then a stranger to Clipperton's faithless desertion. I likewise took from them their launch and their negroes; for considering we had a large ship, and a run of 175 degrees of longitude to sail, which was little less than half way round the world, I thought we could do no other than reinforce ourselves with these blacks, who are commonly good sailors in these parts; and, indeed, we afterwards found we should never have reached the coasts of Asia without them.

Thus having supplied ourselves with every thing the Conception afforded, I suffered our prisoners to return to their own ship again; but the chief of them would not leave me till they had drawn up a writing, which they signed, whereby they acknowledged the circumstances of our engagement, in the manner I have already related. In short, no people, circumstanced as we were, could part in a more friendly manner than we did. Thus

Thus were we put by our design of surrendering, and were going to undertake a long and hazardous voyage to Asia. Our strength was indeed considerably augmented, for we had now 15 guns, and ammunition enough to supply them.

Before we proceeded any farther, it was necessary to get in a full stock of water. The island of Quibo was hazardous for us, being too near Panama; it was therefore determined to ply up to Cano, where, having a good boat, we soon did our business. In our passage thither, the sweetmeats of all kinds, which we had taken out of our late prize, were divided among the messes. It happened that one of the fellows, one day, complained he had a box of marmalade which he could not stick his knife into, and desired it might be changed. I opened it, and found in it a cake of virgin silver, moulded on purpose to fill such boxes, and being very porous, it was of near the same weight of so much marmalade. In overhauling the rest, we found five more of these boxes. This was a contrivance to defraud the King of Spain of his fifths, which he claims in all the silver taken out of any of the mines in Peru. We doubtless left a great many of these boxes behind us, so that this deceit served them in a double capacity, to defraud their king's officers, and blind their enemies. An affair as vexatious as this, is said to have been discovered too late on board a prize the Success had taken, where they found a very considerable

considerable quantity of Pinna's or virgin silver, in the form of bricks, very artfully plaistered over with clay, and dried in the sun, which being all the consistence they give their bricks in that country, they were taken to be really such, and a great number of them were thrown overboard as so much rubbish, without any discovery of what they were, till the four or five last pieces. How true this may be I can't say, but it was reported to be, as matter of fact, by several of the officers belonging to Captain Clipperton.

I must here observe, that every thing we took in the Conception was divided among us according to the Juan Fernandian articles, and that I had no more than six instead of sixty shares. They would not so much as allow me the money I had laid out at St. Catherine's, which was upwards of a hundred pounds. I had some difficulty to persuade them to run to the northward so far as California; and was obliged to use many arguments to prevail upon them to believe that the harbour of Puerto Seguro was the only port of security where we could safely lay down and refit our ship; but having at last obtained their consents, I weighed from Cano, steering to the northward, and had favourable gales for 48 hours; but then came on the constant, or what may be called the trade wind on this coast, which being as contrary to us as they well could be, I was willing to try how far off these winds might prevail, which,  
in

in my opinion, may be called the eddy of the true trade wind, whose course may be perverted by the interposition of this vast mountainous continent.

Accordingly I found, that, at the distance of 60 leagues, we had light winds and variable, and that, at the distance of between 70 and 80 leagues, it settled at E. N. E. and N. E. I therefore kept at this distance from the land till we had run up to the height of 20 degrees north. In all this passage, we were not in the least sensible of any currents, and entirely out of the way of certain riplings and overfalls of water, which we frequently met with nearer to the land, and which often surprized us when we were becalmed in deep water.

In this passage we were accompanied by vast shoals of fish, and were continually incommoded by numerous flocks of the birds called boobies, making our ship their resting place, which fouled our yards and deck with their dung as fast as we could clean them. However, for change of diet, some of my people made ragouts of them, and the smoakers made stems for their pipes of their long wing-bones.

We fell in with Cape Corientes in the beginning of the month of August, and were carried away to the islands called the Tres Marias, by a hard gale at south, and came to an anchor under the lee of the middlemost of these islands, but could see no sign of the Success having been there. After a tedious search on all the three islands

islands for fresh water, there was nothing like a stream of it that we could find. This was the more astonishing to us, as one or two of our late navigators have reported that fresh water is to be found there in sufficient plenty. It may have been so when they were there; but we were unfortunate enough to seek, when none was to be found.

After employing three days in a fruitless search, I stretched over for the coast of California, and arrived there on the 11th of August. The inhabitants, as soon as they discovered us, made fires all along the shore as the ship ran by them; and, towards the evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us on a bark-log, but were a long time before they would accept of our invitation to come on board of us. At length, they ventured in; when, in a moment, seeing our blacks promiscuously standing together with us white men, they, with very angry countenances, separated them from us, and would hardly suffer them to look at us. They talked to us with great vehemence, but we could comprehend nothing more of their meaning, than that they rejoiced to see us. Night coming on, they took their leave, and we gave them a knife or two, an old coat, and some other trifles, which seemed to please them very well. They expressed themselves by signs in such a manner, that we could guess they gave us repeated invitations to go on shore with them.

## 226 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

On Sunday the 13th of August, at day-break, we found ourselves near Puerto Seguro, which may be readily known by three white rocks, not much unlike the Needles of the Isle of Wight, and you must keep close on board the outermost to fetch into the bay. We entered Puerto Seguro, surrounded by numbers of small embarkations of the inhabitants, while the shore, on all sides, was crowded with Indians, whose numbers visibly increased by multitudes which flocked together from the adjacent parts. Our anchor was no sooner down, than they came off to us in shoals, some few on their bark-logs, but most of them swimming, talking and calling out to one another in a noisy and confused manner, but such as plainly shewed how desirous they were to come to us. Our ship was in an instant full of these swarthy gentlemen quite naked, and amongst the rest was their King, or Chief-man, who, unexpectedly, delivered to me his batoon, or ensign of royalty, which I immediately returned to him. This man, notwithstanding the wildness of his appearance to us, had a good countenance, and his behaviour had something that was very engaging in it. I was, at first, at a loss to know how to entertain our numerous guests, but at length I thought of regaling them with some of our liquid sweetmeats, which we had in great plenty. This they liked extremely, and the spoons, which were mostly silver, they returned with great honesty.

Having



Having thus commenced a friendship with them, at day-break next morning our boat went on shore to cut wood and fill water; and before the sun was up, we were again crouded with our former guests, who seemed as if they could never be weary of gazing at us. To keep up the amity we had already contracted with them, I ordered a great boiler to be carried on shore, with good store of flour and sugar, and a negroe cook, who was continually boiling of hasty pudding for the numbers of spectators on the beach; and it really behoved us to endeavour to keep in their favour, for on seeing a few of our men rolling great and cumbersome casks of water over the heavy sand, it inclined them to help us. To this may be added, a sense of the kind treatment they met with from us, and the particular readiness of their chief to serve us, by shewing his people a good example; for, after Mr. Randall, my Lieutenant, he himself took up the second log of wood to carry to the boat, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of them, who, encouraged by his example, all took to the work, repaying our civilities with their services, and every day they seemed more and more fond of us.

Mean while, the rumour of our arrival was spread through all the neighbouring parts, and some of the clans, different from those who inhabited the shores, came daily to take a view of us. Those who came from any distance in the country could not swim; and that they were dif-

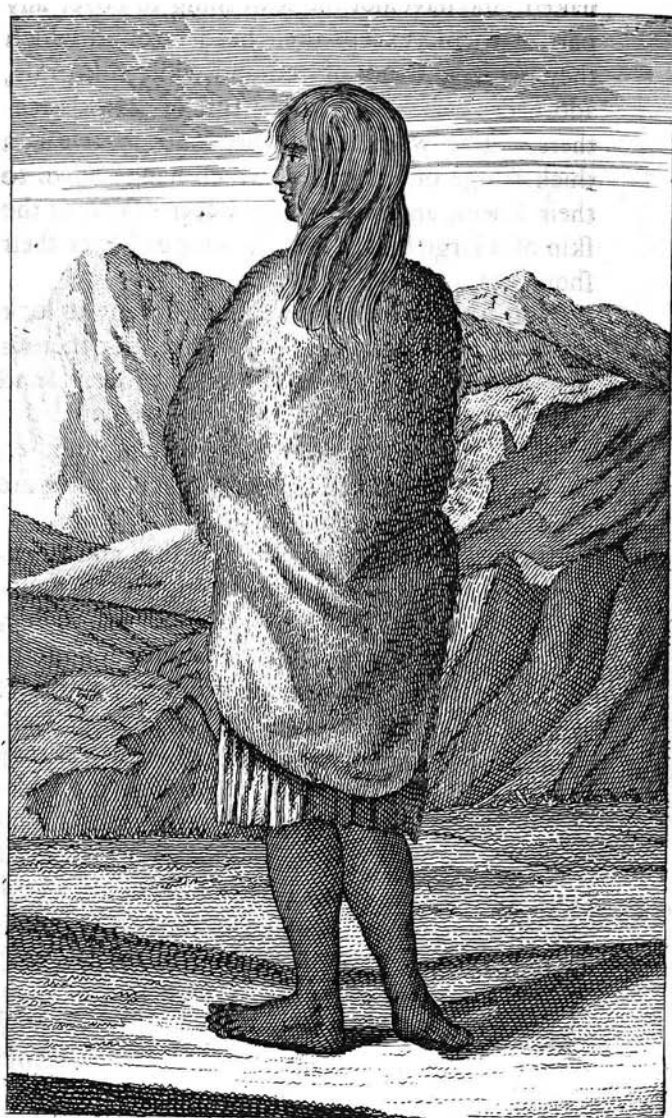
## 228 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

ferent from those we had first seen on our arrival here, appeared by their manner of painting themselves, and by other little distinctions which were visible amongst them; but they all united to assist us, nor were any of them idle but the women, who used to sit in companies on the scorching sand, waiting for their share of what was going forward, which they used to receive very thankfully and without quarrelling.

Having done all our business here, in the space of five days, on the 18th of August, in the morning, we prepared for our departure in the afternoon. We employed the morning in making a large distribution of sugar amongst the women. To the men we gave a great many knives, old axes, and old iron, which we had taken in our prizes. These were the most useful things to them, and of which they stood most in need; in return for which, some of them gave us bows and arrows, deer-skin bags, live foxes, squirrels, and the like. Great many of the men staid in the ship all the while we were purchasing our anchor, and it was not till we were under weigh that they all jumped overboard to join in the lamentations of their countrymen on shore.

The men in this southern part of California, are tall, straight, and well made; their limbs are large, their hair coarse and black, and barely reaches down to their shoulders. Their women are of a much smaller size; their hair is much longer than the mens, and with it some of their  
faces





*A Californian Woman habited in the Skin of a Deer*

faces are almost covered. The men go quite naked, and have not the least thing to cover any part of them, except their heads, round which they wear a band of red and white silk-grass, adorned on each side with a tuft of hawk's feathers. The women, on the contrary, wear a thick fringe of silk-grass, which hangs down to their knees, and have either a deer's skin, or the skin of a large bird, carelessly wrapped over their shoulders.

Nothing can be more wild and savage to look at, than these people at first sight : but there is a wide difference between what they seem, and what they really are ; for, by all we could discern in their behaviour towards one another, and in their deportment towards us, they are endued with great good nature.

They seem to lead a careless life, and to enjoy every thing in common amongst them ; and, having nothing but their daily food to provide, they are strangers to those numerous gratifications, the want of which multiply distresses among nations more civilized and more refined. Their contentment makes them honest, for they never offered to steal even the things most useful to them. In a word, they seem to pass their lives, according to the notions we have of the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of amongst men. Having no enemies, they live in perfect peace and harmony with one another. Hunting and fishing are their only employ-  
ments,

ments, except making the instruments they use in these pursuits, which are the simplest that can be. They have no canoes, and go to sea on bark-logs; but they are the most expert divers I ever beheld. By their simple manner of living, and their continual exercise, they live to a great age; and yet, what is very surprizing, they do not appear to be very numerous, considering the extent of their country. Their only enemies are the wild beasts, and of these there are plenty in the woods and forests. They do not appear to be so jealous of their women as they have been represented; for we had the company of some hundreds of them, young and old, without any restraint from the men. Two things were remarkable, that they never would suffer us to take snuff, but would earnestly take it from us whenever we attempted it; nor would they ever suffer us to look through a spying-glass, which I had frequent resort to, to see how our work of wooding and watering went on. In these two instances, they always took upon them to controul us, and in these two only; the causes of which we could never learn.

They go out to sea on their bark-logs, which are only composed of five logs of a light wood, made fast to each other by wooden pegs, rowing with a double paddle; and with their harpoons, which are made of a sort of hard wood, they strike the largest albicores, and bring them in when struck. This was altogether surprizing to us, who had so often experienced the strength  
of



*An Indian of the Southernmost parts of California as Returning  
from Fishing & another in his Barklog*





of that fish, and the difficulty of getting them into our ship, when either hooked or struck. One would imagine, that as soon as these Indians had struck one of these albigores, on his light embarkation, it would run away with him and his bark-log; but they either strike them so as to give them some mortal wound, or have some particular way of managing them, for they struggle and resist in vain. When we were in this port, it was apparently their fishing season; but by the number of deer-skins one sees amongst them, it is natural to conclude they have also their season for hunting. The skins of their deer are grey, and so are the skins of their foxes and squirrels; of all which, it is likely, they eat indifferently, as of most other animals that become their prey. Of birds amongst them we saw scarce any, but a few pelicans.

What these Indians used instead of bread is very remarkable. It is a small black seed of an oily substance, which they grind much the same way as we do our chocolate, and afterwards make it up in some such manner. The look of these black lumps or rolls so made up, is not very inviting, yet the taste is not very disagreeable. When they want to drink, they go to the river.

Their arms are bows and arrows. Their bows are about six feet in length, and their arrows seem to be somewhat too long for their bows. Their bow-strings are made of deer's sinews, and their arrows are composed of a hollow cane for

two-thirds of their length, and the other third next the point is of a heavy kind of wood, which is headed with a piece of flint, and sometimes with a kind of agate, the edges of which are indented, or cut in teeth like a saw. They made no manner of shew of their arms to us, and it was rarely that we saw them in the hands of any of the men. The women had them in the woods in search of game, which may be thence presumed to be some part of their employment. Upon the whole, they may be truly said to be a happy people.

Aug. 18, I sailed, as before-mentioned, from Puerto Suguro, and the same evening we took our departure from Cape St. Lucar, in latitude 23 deg. 50 min. N. bound to Canton, in China, the most likely place where we could hope to meet with English ships homeward bound for Europe.

Aug. 21, we discovered an island bearing W. S. W. 110 leagues distant from Cape St. Lucar. I endeavoured to get in with it; but night coming on, I could not lose time to view it. This isle my people called after my name. From hence we steered gradually into the parallel of 13 deg. N. but had our way stopped for two or three days by westerly winds. We were astonished at such an unforeseen delay, and began to dread we might meet with many such reverses of winds in this passage; nor could we conjecture, or conceive what might be the cause or causes of them. In the midst of this, the  
usual

usual trade-wind prevailed again, and delivered us from the fears and apprehensions we had been involved in upon this occasion. With this we proceeded on our passage, keeping the parallel or track of the thirteenth degree of northern latitude, except when we judged ourselves to be near the shoals of St. Bartholomew. We then ventured to sail a degree more northerly, and so continued to do for a run of 60 or 70 leagues.

About a fortnight after we had left California, my people, who had hitherto enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health, began to be afflicted with a sickness which particularly affected their stomachs. This we took to be owing, in a great measure, to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually devouring, together with the dried beef, half devoured with ants, cockroaches, and other vermin, which was their daily food. This sickness increased every day, inso-much that, out of our small number, we once buried two in one day, one of whom was John Popplestone, our ingenious armourer, who was of such use to us on the island of Juan Fernandez. Before we had stretched with favourable gales the length of Guam, most of my people were sick and disabled, my ship began to be very leaky, and, to add still to our misfortunes, we had the ill luck to have one of our pumps split, and rendered useless.

Under these circumstances, we met with black and dismal weather, with tempestuous winds,

flying and varying all round the compass. These boisterous gales raised such a tumbling sea, and our ship laboured so much in it, that the knee of her head, and the whole beak-head, became loose; so that the bowsprit fetched way, and played with the motion of the ship, which it continued to do all the time we were out at sea, and till we arrived at Canton. Our main-mast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old shrouds till our labour was in vain.

In the midst of all this sickness and distress, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no hope to recover till a fit of the gout gave me some relief. Great was our want of every thing fit or comfortable for persons in such a state of sickness; yet, about the beginning of October, we passed by Guam; and, though upon the very brink of perishing, we dared not venture in, for fear the inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness, and make some attempt upon our lives.

From Guam I directed my course for the island of Formosa. And now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, our sickness was daily increasing upon us in a much greater proportion; and most truly it may be said, that both our ship and ourselves were no longer fit for the sea. It was the 3d of November before we had sight of that island, and the 10th, before we could get any sort of direc-  
tions

tions to enable us to reach our intended port. At length, as we were passing through a very narrow channel, between a couple of islands, a fisherman took notice, by our cautious manner of working, that we were strangers, and made signs to us to bring our ship to, till he came up with us; when we made him understand in general, that we were bound to Macao, and he made signs that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he counted little fish out of his basket, which amounted to 40. We accordingly counted out 40 dollars into a hat, and next day he took us in charge, and anchored us safe in the road of Macao, near the entrance of the river of Canton.

Soon after our arrival, there came off to us a great many of the *Succels's* people, to make us a visit; I was amazed at the sight of them, and was very glad to hear their story. They said, their Commander, Clipperton, left me designedly; that they went directly to Guam, where they were very well refreshed, and supplied with provisions; that their Captain sold the Governor a great quantity of powder and shot, and several other valuable things, and permitted the Marquis of Villa Rocha, who was his prisoner, to go on shore there; that Mr. Godfrey the agent, and a marine officer, went to settle the accounts for what supplies of things they had had; and that, as soon as they were landed, and the boat come off again, Captain Clipperton weighed with his ship, in order to attack a ship of 20 guns from

## 236 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

Manilla, that had lain quietly in the road in company with him all the time : that in approaching her he ran his own ship upon the rocks, and soon found the enemy was prepared for him : that, his condition being desperate, and supposing the loss of his ship inevitable, he had recourse to his case of brandy, and took so abundantly of it, that he fell on the deck, and snored out his time in a beastly manner, whilst his First Lieutenant, Davidson, in his stead, undertook the command of the ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed : he was succeeded by Captain Cook, their Second Lieutenant, who made a handsome resistance, and got the ship afloat again, after she had lain on the rocks forty-eight hours : that they lost their prisoner the Marquis de la Rocha, and also Mr. Godfrey, the agent-general, with the officer already mentioned ; which gave the ship's company so much distaste, that they would not suffer him to have the command of them any more, and, locking him up in his cabin, chose Captain Cook to take charge of the ship.

They had, it seems, much bad weather between Guam and Amoy in China, whither they got with much difficulty ; and there made a dividend of all they had taken, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company. Clipperton designed for the straits of Malacca ; but his people, fearing he had no good intentions, would go no farther with him than Macao, that being a Christian port. Upon their arrival  
there,

there, the Governor ordered Clipperton into custody. It seems he had broke prison formerly from thence, where he had been confined (as far as could be learned) on account of his having run away with Dampier's commission and one of his prizes; but upon producing his Majesty's commission now for the *Succes*, they gave him no farther trouble, and only contented themselves with fleecing him a little. Here he sold his ship, the *Succes*, for about 1000*l.* sterling.—[Such is the account given by Captain Shelvock, for the information, as he says, of the gentlemen-owners, who will never, either publicly or privately, be let into the truth of that story.]

But to go on, Nov. 12, about noon, a pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the river of Canton, where, finding the *Bonita* and *Hastings*, two English country-ships, I anchored, and sent off an officer, to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this port, and to acquaint me with the customs of it. To this they answered, that, since the *Cadogan* and *Frances*, two European English ships were lying at Wampo, they would advise me to send up to their factories at Canton, to acquaint them of our arrival, and with the reasons which obliged me to come into that river, which I accordingly did the next day. I now thought I was going to rest a little from my labours; but, to my misfortune, I suffered as much here, all circumstances considered, as

I had

## 238 CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE.

I had in any former part of my voyage ; for the evening we anchored at Wampo, where the English ships commonly lie, there happened an accident which gave occasion to much trouble. One of my men, being in a hurry to remove his effects on board the Bonita, in order to go in her to Fort St. George, the Bonita's boat was, in her way to their ship, pursued by a Hoppo, or custom-house boat, who wanted to search her. The fellow, being in liquor, and fearing they would take away the silver he had with him, fired a musquet at the pursuers, and killed the officer. Early the next morning, the corpse was laid at the door of one of the English houses or factories, where Chinese officers, appointed for that purpose, waited for the first considerable Englishman that should come out, without any regard to whom this act of violence and murder was to be imputed. It happened that the Supercargo belonging to the Bonita, was the first that came out; on him they seized, put him in chains, and led him, by way of example, about the suburbs of Canton. All that could be said or done by the most considerable of the Chinese merchants who were in commerce with the English, availed nothing; till my man, who committed the fact, was delivered to them, and then the Bonita's Supercargo was soon after released.

It is the custom in China, at least at Canton, to exact a certain sum of money from all ships that come there, according to their measurement, which is divided into rates or portions of  
first,



first, second, and third. I therefore every day expected the Hoppo to come to measure my ship, but was given to understand, that I must go up to Canton before that could be done, though even at the hazard of my life. I accordingly went, and staid two days at the Cadogan's factory, during which time I was hourly alarmed by such stories as made me fear that I should, indisposed as I was, be dragged away from my bed, and put in irons: but at the end of two days, I was obliged to go down again to the ship, to be present at the measurement; and a day afterwards the Hoppo came with a numerous retinue, and seemed to do his business very quietly, but would not let me know what was the sum he intended to exact. This gave me much trouble, for I began to think the Chinese, through a false report of our great riches, had an intention to gratify their love of money by a heavy imposition; and in this I was not mistaken.

I had not been here many days before I was deserted by all my officers and ship's company, who were continually employed in removing their effects from on board my ship to some of the Europeans, without my knowledge, as I was all the time confined to my bed. My officers were engaging the Indian gentlemen in their interest, and had left me and my son, with a few negroes, to look after the ship. In short, my ship's company had so many ways of disposing of their effects, that it was impossible to oblige  
them

them to do what I should have thought justice to the gentlemen in England and to myself. In a word, they were all soon recovered of their illness by the assistance they met with here, and were become their own masters. The gentlemen who presided over the trade, so little considered our case, that they had half a mind to refuse me a passage in one of their ships; and, in effect, I was treated by them almost as one enemy might treat another in a neutral port.

The Captains Hill and Newtham, when they first came to see me, were astonished at the ruinous appearance of my ship; and when I had given them a short history of my voyage, and desired they would receive me with my effects, they answered, that, since they plainly saw my ship was in no condition to stir any farther, upon paying our passage, they would entertain us as soon as we pleased. This I depended upon, and expected to have no farther trouble than to remove ourselves at any time; but, on the contrary, I found that I had ignorantly applied to the wrong persons, and that my address should have been to the Supercargoes, by which means I was left neglected, while the English Captains were ordered to fall down with their ships five or six miles below us. Thus was I left destitute in the company of five foreign ships, who, perceiving my own countrymen to be so careless of me, were so kind as to offer me their service, and assisted me with what they could; and, had it not been for them, I don't know what I might have suffered,

suffered, for I was under perpetual alarms that the Chinese had a design to chop my ship, that is, to seize her.

Having found out my error in applying to the Captains, and not to the Supercargoes, I sent up a letter to them, not to desire, but to demand a passage for me, my officers, and ship's company, which I was sensible they could not refuse, and indeed they did not; but their condescension was accompanied with a charge to the English Captains, not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consigned to the India Company in England. This was an article which my people utterly rejected, vowing they would as soon throw what they had into the sea, as comply with such a demand; for my part, it gave me no concern, being conscious to myself that I had infringed none of their privileges. At the same time that I was acquainted with this intention of receiving us as passengers, I was also informed of the Hoppo's demand for anchorage in the river, which was no less than 6000 tael; and, to quicken me in the payment of this exorbitant sum, there was a penalty annexed to this extortion of 500 additional tael for every day we failed in the payment of it. In short, there was no means by which I could evade this unconscionable imposition; and as it was a day before I could possibly send the 6000 tael up to Canton, they required 500 tael more for neglect of payment; so that they received from me, upon this extraordinary occasion, the

full sum of 6500 tael, equal to 2166l. 13s. 4d. English money. This was, as is apprehended, about six times as much as the Cadogan paid, which was the largest English ship there, and measured a third more than mine. It was now high time to get out of my ship; but before I quitted her, I sold her for 2000 tael, which money, and the rest of my effects, were consigned to the India Company.

Towards the latter end of December, 1722, I sailed in the Cadogan, commanded by Captain John Hill, in company with the Frances, Captain Newsham, who, sailing better than we, left us as soon as we were out at sea. Captain Hill, finding his ship very tender, put into Batavia, where we continued about 10 days, and were informed there were several pirates in those seas; we, therefore, when we departed from Batavia, joined the Dutch homeward-bound fleet in Bantam-bay. The Dutch Commodore promised to assist us in wooding and watering at Mew-island, the water at Batavia being very bad; but on our joining Capt. Newsham in the straits of Sunda, the Dutch made that a pretence to leave us before we got the length of Mew-island; and Capt. Newsham also deserted us the same evening, so that we were left to ourselves.

We continued at Mew-island six or seven days, during which time several boats came to us from Princes island, and brought us turtle, coconuts, pine-apples, and other fruits.

Some of the people having seen wild cattle grazing

grazing near the strand, went on shore with design to kill them; but before they had advanced near enough, they discovered a small tyger, and saw the track of an old one, upon which they retired to the boat. At this place some of the gentlemen belonging to this ship, in their outward-bound passage, saw a rhinoceros.

From Mew-island we had a very pleasant passage to and about the Cape of Good Hope, which, in my opinion, was greatly owing to Captain Hill's good conduct, in coming in with the land betimes, I mean upon the easternmost part of the bank, and keeping a moderate distance from the land. I cannot be positive, but I think we never exceeded a degree in distance from it, generally less, and sometimes even made the land itself.

In this course, I do not remember that we took in our top-sails above twice; once for a squall, which was over in an hour's time: and, another time, being threatened by the appearance of bad weather, Capt. Hill made all the requisite preparations to receive it, which done, he stood in for the land; and, in a few hours, we had fair weather, a favourable gale, and all our small sails set, at the same time that there remained great appearance of foul weather to the southward of us, which continued for several days afterwards.

I have observed before, that the Frances and the Dutch ships had seven days the advantage of us, by leaving us in the straits of Sunda, notwithstanding which, we gained the Cape about

as many days before the *Frances*, although she failed so much better than we : and, as to the Dutch ships, there was no appearance at all of their arrival when we left the Cape.

The officers of our ship, by comparing their accounts with those of some of the Gentlemen belonging to the *Frances*, found that she had suffered a great deal of bad weather ; whilst we, who were 10 leagues, or thereabout, to the northward of them, or nearer the shore, enjoyed fine pleasant weather and fair wind continually, till we arrived in the Table-bay, which we did the latter end of March. This I should think of sufficient weight for any other to pursue the same track. Here we found Governor Boon, in the London East Indiaman, and others, bound for England.

Whilst we lay at the Cape of Good Hope, nothing remarkable occurred, and it has been so often described, that I can say nothing of it that has not been said by most who have been there before.

From the Cape of Good Hope we had an agreeable passage to the island of St. Helena, and from thence to England.

We made the Land's-end in the latter end of July ; and, being come into the British channel, met with brisk gales from the western quarter, with thick foggy weather.

On July the 30th, in the evening, we anchored under Dungeness, and the same night some of the Supercargoes and passengers, and  
amongst

CAPTAIN SHELVOCK'S VOYAGE. 245

amongst the rest myself, hired a small vessel to carry us to Dover, where we arrived early the next morning, and the same day proceeded towards London, where we arrived on the first of August.

Thus ended a long and unfortunate voyage of three years, seven months, and some days; after having sailed very considerably more than round the circumference of the earth, and having gone through a great variety of dangers and distresses, both on sea and shore.

COMMODORE ANSON'S  
VOYAGE  
ROUND THE WORLD.

WHEN, in the year 1739, the Spanish depredations had roused the national resentment, and the pacific ministry who then were entrusted with the administration of affairs, found it impossible any longer to prevent a war with Spain, several projects were proposed, and several plans formed, for distressing the enemy in the most effectual manner, by cutting off the resources by which alone they were encouraged to continue their insults, and by which alone they could be enabled to support a war.

Among the rest, two expeditions were planned by Sir Charles Wager, then at the head of the admiralty, and two gentlemen named by him for carrying them into execution; which were no sooner laid before the privy council to be examined than they were unanimously approved.

Captain Anson, who was nominated to command the one, being out upon a cruise, a vessel was dispatched to order him to return with his ship, the Centurion, to Portsmouth; and Mr. Cornwall, who was appointed to command the other, was acquainted with the honour conferred upon him, and directed to prepare accordingly.

There



There are not to be found in the annals of Britain two expeditions, remote in the destination, yet having a connection one with the other, that promised equal advantages with these to the nation, equal honour to the promoters, or equal wealth and glory to the commanders: but by what fatality these expeditions were changed, or by what state-craft one came to be laid aside, and the other delayed,—who were the traitors that betrayed the secret of their destination, or who the demon of seduction was that perverted the grand design to the pitiful purpose of one single pilfering project,—remains at present among those secrets, which, perhaps, a second Dalrymple, in some remote period of time, may discover; when it will probably appear how much the influence of Chilian gold had operated in defeating the most formidable project for the humiliation of Spain that ever was devised; and how easy it is for a prime minister of England, in the plenitude of power, to defeat the best concerted measures, backed and supported by the King in his council, when either pride, envy, avarice, or emulation, may prompt him to opposition.

The project, as first intended, was to consist of two strong squadrons; one under Captain Anson was to take on board three independent companies of 100 men each, and Bland's regiment of foot (who was himself to command the land forces), and was to sail with all possible expedition by the Cape of Good Hope to  
the

## 248 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE:

the city of Manilla, in the island of Luconia, of which city and island frequent mention has already been made in the course of this work; while that commanded by Captain Cornwall, of equal force, was to proceed round Cape Horn into the South Seas, there to range the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico; and when the Commander in Chief had made himself master of the royal treasures in that quarter, he was then to direct his course to the Philippines, and join the Squadron of Captain Anson. This done, they were to act in conjunction, as circumstances should arise, or to wait for fresh orders from Government to proceed on fresh enterprises. The reader will perceive, at first view, the vast importance of this noble undertaking, calculated at once to enrich the nation, and to determine the war without the effusion of much blood; for the places intended to be attacked were at that time incapable of resistance; and as they were in possession of the royal treasures, any failure in the return of which must of necessity oblige Spain to sue for peace, that haughty nation must thus have been subdued without a battle. But posterity will stand amazed when they are told the issue of this project, on which Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that, tho' it was the 10th of September before Captain Anson arrived in town, yet by the 18th he had received orders to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Trial sloop, and to proceed to victual the same with the utmost

most expedition. Before the end of December such dispatch had been made by that vigilant officer, that the ships were in readiness to take the troops on board; but in January, when Captain Anson attended the Board to receive further orders, he was told by Sir Charles, that the Manilla expedition was laid aside, for what reasons he knew not, but that the expedition to the South Seas was still intended; and that he and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service.

Accordingly on the 10th of January, 1740, he received his commission as Commodore; yet it was not till the 10th of June that he obtained from the Duke of Newcastle his Majesty's instructions; and even then so many obstacles were thrown in the way, so many difficulties started, and so many delays contrived, that, before he was permitted to sail, which was not till the latter end of September, the Spaniards were so well informed of his designs, that a person who had been employed in the South-Sea Company's service, arrived from Panama, and was able to relate to the Commodore most of the particulars of his strength and destination, from what he had learnt among the merchants before he left the South-Seas: but a still more extraordinary proof of their early and perfect intelligence was discovered afterwards, in the course of the voyage, when the Pearl, being separated from the rest of the squadron,

in a storm, on the coast of Brazil, fell in with the Spanish fleet, that, during the unprecedented delay, had been purposely fitted out to ruin the expedition, and found Admiral Pizarro so well instructed in the form and make of Com. Anson's broad pendant, and those he employed had imitated it so exactly, that Capt. Mitchell, who commanded the Pearl, was decoyed by it within gunshot, before he was able to discover his mistake.

All delays being at length overcome, the squadron, consisting of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships, namely, the Centurion, of 60 guns, 400 men, commanded by Captain Anson, as Commodore; the Gloucester, of 50 guns, 300 men, of which Richard Norris, Esq; was commander; the Severn, of 50 guns, 300 men, the Hon. Edward Legg, Esq; Commander; the Pearl, of 40 guns, 250 men, Matthew Mitchell, Esq; Commander; the Wager, of 28 guns, 160 men, the Hon. John Murray, Commander; two victuallers, the Industry and Ann pinks, the largest of about 400, and the other about 200 tons burthen; were ordered to take the troops on board at St. Helen's. But how much the numbers, strength, and probability of success, of this squadron, were diminished by the various incidents that took place in near a twelvemonth's procrastination, may fully be conceived by what has already been said. Had the honourable Board from whence the first idea of the expedition originated been permitted to direct, all the old and ordinary  
seamen

seamen on board the ships would have been exchanged for such as were young and able; the full complement of each ship would have been made up; and the salt provisions which had been so long on board in the Channel would have been remanded on shore, and fresh provisions replaced in their room: but, instead of these necessary precautions, the Captains were glad to retain their old crews; the deficiency in the numbers of which, amounting to more than 300 men, was no otherwise made up than by sending on board about 100 cripples from the hospitals, and a party of raw marines who had never been at sea before: nor were they more fortunate in the change that was made in the land-forces; for, instead of three independent companies, of 100 men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, as first promised, they had only 400 invalids from Chelsea allotted them, one part of whom was incapable of action by their age and infirmities, and the other part useless by their ignorance of their duty. But this diminution of strength was not the greatest misfortune that attended these measures; the importance of the time which was wilfully wasted was in its consequences the source of all those calamities to which the enterprize was afterwards exposed, by obliging the Commodore to make his passage round the Cape in the most tempestuous season, when, as it was foreseen, almost all the invalids, to a man, perished long before they arrived at the place of action, ex-

## 252 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

piring in a most lamentable condition when they came to be attacked with the scurvy, with their wounds bleeding afresh, which had been healed some of them 20, some 30, and some 40 years before.

But to proceed: Of this voyage there are two very authentic and well-written accounts; one by Pasco Thomas, the mathematical master on board the *Centurion*, who sailed in her out of the British Channel, and returned with her in safety when she arrived at Portsmouth, and was an eye-witness and careful observer of all that passed: the other by the Rev. Mr. Richard Walters, Chaplain to the above ship, who received his materials, and every other assistance necessary to authenticate his narration, from the Commander in Chief.

We have chosen to follow the former in the narrative of facts, as most exact and least liable to imposition; but, in the explanatory part, we shall copy the latter; because, though Mr. Thomas suffered nothing material that passed to escape his notice, there were many things transacted, the motives for which he could only guess at; but these motives Mr. Walters has, by means of the Commodore's assistance, been able to explain.

“ Being quite ready about the beginning of September, 1740, we put to sea three different times, but were as often put back to the road of St. Helen's, by contrary winds and stormy weather. At last, on Thursday, Sept. 18, we  
failed

failed in company with the Lark and St. Alban's, two of his Majesty's ships, and several merchant-ships, besides our own squadron ; and Saturday evening saw some men-of-war, and a large fleet of merchantmen, waiting for us at Torbay. At one in the afternoon we joined them ; and the Commodore hoisted his broad pendant, which was saluted by all his Majesty's ships in the fleet with 13 guns each. The King's ships which joined us here were, the Dragon, Chatham, Winchester, and South-Sea-Castle, and near 200 sail of merchantmen under convoy, some of whom were bound to the Mediterranean, and others to several parts of North America. We had at present the command of the whole fleet ; and this same afternoon, seeing a ship to the south-west, we made the Dragon a signal for chasing her ; but she proved one of our own ships, too far a-head of her station. At four this afternoon, the Start Point bore from us E. by N. at the distance of eight leagues.

Monday the 22d, we saw two sail to the westward, and sent the Trial Sloop to speak with them. They were Dutch ships bound to Curacao, with soldiers for their garrisons there.

Thursday the 25th, the Winchester and South-Sea-Castle, with the merchant-ships under their convoy for Virginia, and other parts of North-America, parted from us, and proceeded on their respective voyages. And Monday the 29th, the Dragon, Chatham, St. Alban's, and Lark, with the merchant-ships in their charge for the Medi-

## 254 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

Mediterranean, did the like ; and we had now no ships left in company but our own proper Squadron.

Tuesday the 30th, we spoke with a Dutch man-of-war, who came from Malta, bound for Amsterdam.

Friday, October the 3d, we spoke with two English merchant-ships from Lisbon for New-York, and the 8th we spoke with a French sloop from Rochelle. The 13th, one Philip Merrit, a common sailor, died, which I mention because he was the first man we lost on the voyage. The next day, by an order from the Commodore, we went to short allowance ; that is, one third of the allowance granted by government is kept back, in order to make our provisions hold out the longer. The 23d, we spoke with a ship from Liverpool, and the next day with another from Glasgow, for the Cape de Verde islands ; as also with a small brigantine from Falmouth for Madeira, who kept us company thither. The next day we spoke with a Dutch ship from Surinam for Holland. The 26th, at 6 o'clock in the morning, we saw the land bearing W. N. W. distance six leagues, and at four in the evening anchored in Fonchale road, in forty fathom water, a-breast the town of Fonchale, and about a mile and a half from it. During this whole passage, we had almost continually contrary winds, and boisterous uncertain weather ; by which means, a passage which is very commonly made in 10 or 12 days, took us up 38.

Our



Our business in this place was only to water, and take in wine, and some private stocks: but, soon after our arrival, we were informed, that they had seen from the island, to the westward, about 16 or 18 sail of ships for several days together, which were supposed to be a junction of French and Spanish Ships of war; and as we had reason to imagine that our expedition had long been known, there was little room to doubt, but that those ships were designed to intercept and destroy us before we could attempt any thing to the prejudice of Spain. On this news the Commodore sent out an English privateer which lay in the road, with one of his own officers, to see if they could discover them at sea, and what they were; but she returned the next day, having made no discovery.

Nov. 2, Captain Norris, at his own request, being in an ill state of health, with the consent of the Commodore quitted the command of the Gloucester, in order to return to England. The Gloucester was hereupon given to Captain Mitchell, the Pearl to Captain Kidd, the Wager to the Hon. Captain Murray, and the Trial sloop to David Cheap, our First Lieutenant; and as one of the Lieutenants of the Gloucester had quitted with Captain Norris, our two mates, who had long depended on the Commodore, were preferred to be Lieutenants on this occasion.

The 4th, at four in the afternoon, we weighed and put to sea, with all the squadron under  
our

## 256 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

our command. An English sloop, which lay in the road, saluted us at our departure with nine guns, to which we returned five.

The 6th, at four o'clock in the evening, we saw the island of Palma, one of the Canary islands, in the latitude of 29 degrees north, and longitude from the meridian of London 19 degrees 44 minutes west. The same day we spoke with a French ship from Marseilles bound to Martinico, and the next morning with a Dutch ship from Amsterdam bound to Batavia, the metropolis of the Dutch settlements in the East-Indies.

The 11th, about four in the morning, we crossed the Northern Tropic for the first time in this voyage, in long. 24 deg. 24 min. west from London.

The 16th, being in the latitude of about 12 deg. 20 min. and the contract with our victualers expiring in that latitude, the *Anne Pink* fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at her fore-top-mast-head, to give us notice of it.

On the next day all the Lieutenants of the squadron were by a signal ordered on board the *Centurion*, and orders were given to unlade the *Industry Pink*, and each ship to take on board from her their respective quotas of provisions; in pursuance of which we immediately began to unlade her, lying by in the day, and making an easy sail in the night.

The 19th, having unloaded and discharged the *Industry*, at eight in the evening she parted from  
from

from us, in order to proceed to Barbadoes, whither she was bound; but the Commodore having entered into a new contract with the master of the *Anne* pink, she was detained with us for his Majesty's service, our ships being too much encumbered to admit of taking on board any more provisions at this time.

The 28th, about five in the morning, we crossed the Equinoctial, in the longitude of 28 deg. 15 min. W. from London, the variation of the compass at that place being 35 min. E.

December the 2d, at eight in the morning, we saw a sail to the north-west, to which we gave chase. At night we lost sight of her; but next morning we saw her and gave chase again, but in the afternoon quitted her. We imagined this sail to be a tender on the Spanish fleet, sent purposely to get intelligence of us: but on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, in our return home, we learned that she was the East-India-Company's packet bound for the island of St. Helena.

The 10th, expecting to be near the coast of Brazil, we sounded, and found 67 fathom water, on which we fired a gun for a signal, and altered our course more to the southward. This day died Thomas Waller, our surgeon, who was succeeded by Henry Ettrick, surgeon of the *Wæger*; the surgeon of the *Trial* succeeded him, and Joseph Allen, our surgeon's first mate, was made surgeon of the trial.

## 258 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

The 11th, we spoke with a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Santos, one of the principal Portuguese settlements in the Brazils. The 13th, we crossed the South Tropic for the first time, in long. 38 deg. 36 min. W. from London.

The 14th died Robert Welden, our purser, who was succeeded by John Rule, purser of the Wager, and Commodore's Secretary ; Thomas Harvey, one of our midshipmen, was made purser of the Wager, in the room of Mr. Rule.

The 17th, we saw the land of the Brazils, from W. to W. S. W. very mountainous, and full of woods. I have, for several days last past, found, by my observations, a strong current on this coast, setting to the southward near three quarters of a mile an hour, which, perhaps, may be occasioned by the neighbourhood of the vast river of Rio de la Plata ; another observation, which I shall have occasion to make after our leaving the coast of Brazil, will very much corroborate this conjecture.

The same day, at four in the evening, we had 40 fathom of water, muddy ground ; the island of Alvoredo, a small island at the north-east end of the large island of St. Katharine's, then bearing N. W. by N. about eight leagues distant ; and the next day at seven in the evening we came to an anchor in twelve fathom water, the north-east end of St. Catharine's bearing S. S. W. about three miles distant, and the island of Alvoredo, N. N. E. about six miles distant. Here

we

we found the tide to set S. S. E. and N. N. W. We sent ashore a Lieutenant to the fort to compliment the Governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The Governor returned a very civil answer, and granted our request. The next morning we weighed and ran up the harbour, and about noon anchored in five fathom and a half water, in a place they there call Boon Porto; but being still too far from the watering-place, we on the 20th, about eleven in the morning, weighed and ran farther up between St. Katherine's and the main land of Brazil, and in the afternoon anchored and moored in five fathom water, about two miles from the watering-place; and the same evening our third Lieutenant went ashore with materials for building a tent, to shelter the people who were to be employed in watering. We likewise saluted the Portuguese fort with eleven guns, who returned us the like number.

Our ships beginning to be very sickly, tents were erected on shore, one for every ship, and the sick were sent ashore to them, with surgeons and proper attendance.

The agents for victualling, of which we had two with us, were ordered to procure what fresh provisions we could expend during our stay here, which they accordingly did; but though their meat, which is altogether beef, was both cheap and plenty, it was for the greatest part miserably bad, and scarce fit to be eaten.

The men throughout the whole Squadron began now to drop off apace with fevers and fluxes, occasioned chiefly, I believe, by the violent heat of the climate, and the bad air; the country being so very woody that the air must thereby be stagnated, and rendered unhealthful.

We continued here wooding, watering, and overhauling our rigging, till Sunday, Jan. 18, 1741, during which time we had variable uncertain weather, sometimes sea and land breezes, at other times strong gales of wind, with heavy rain, thunder and lightning, but always excessive heat.

While we lay here, we gave our ship a thorough cleansing, smoaked her between decks, in order to destroy the vermin, and washed every part with vinegar, which I mention because it is absolutely necessary in large ships, the stench of so many sick persons being noisome in hot climates.

Dec. 21, I observed an eclipse of the moon, and by comparing the time of the end of it, with a calculation I purposely made of it in the meridian of London, from Sir Isaac Newton's New Theory of the Moon, I found the place where the ship then lay to be 49 deg. 53 min. to the westward of the meridian of London. The calculation itself, and the time it ended at St. Katharine's, I have unfortunately lost; but as the longitude is thereby settled, they are of no farther use, and not worth retrieving at the trouble of a new calculation.

Before

COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE. 261

Before we arrived at this island, we had received from the descriptions of M. Frezier, a French author, and some other persons who had been on the spot, such accounts as, together with the climate in which it is situated, gave us very great ideas of its fruitfulness, and hopes of a plentiful supply of every thing we wanted for a long run; but we found ourselves miserably mistaken in almost every article we expected.

As here are several fine sandy bays, we had very good fishing with a seine, for mullets, old wives, sting-rays, maids, turbot, and other flat fish, silver fish, bass, a very boney long fish like a bass, but which our seamen call a ten-pounder, and some other sorts. We likewise had fresh beef for present expending plenty enough, but scarce better than the carrion that we gave to our dogs. As for lemons, limes, plantains, bananaes, potatoes, and other roots, fruits, and greens, with which those climates generally abound, which the authors above mentioned aver to be extremely plentiful here, and which we principally depended on for sea-stores, there were so few at the time of our being here, that I believe we could have consumed all that came to our knowledge of those things in one day. The officers, however, no doubt, found plenty; as Mr. Walters agrees in his report with Frezier, that there was no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, and adds, there were besides potatoes and onions for sea-stores. Saffras

sassafras is here in great plenty, and we cut much of it among other wood for fuel. Guaiacum they report to be very plenty here likewise, but I saw none of it, nor heard of any person who did during our stay. Rum and sugar they have in small quantities, but very indifferent and dear. The inhabitants are a mixture of Portuguese and Indians incorporated together, and appear to be very poor, idle, lazy, ignorant, and rude. I believe the original of the Portuguese here was chiefly from felons, who fled hither from other parts of the Brazils to shelter themselves from justice; they never till lately having any government among them, except a Chief chosen from among themselves, who was more like a Captain of thieves and robbers, than the Commander of a colony. At present there are some European Soldiers, and a Governor from Rio Janeiro, whose name was Don Joffe Sylva de Paz, an expert engineer, who, as Mr. Walters observes, understood one branch of his business very well, which is the advantages which new works bring to those who are entrusted with the care of erecting them; for, besides a battery on a neck of land that narrows the channel to a little more than a quarter of a mile, there were three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which were then completed.

The country, both the main and the island, is mountainous, and all over-grown with thick  
woods,



woods, and those so entangled with the undergrowth of thorny briars, brambles, and the like, that in most places they are scarce penetrable. These woods are reported to be full of very fierce tygers, which makes any excursions into the country dangerous, unless you go well armed, and even then much caution is necessary.

They have here some hogs and fowls, but I believe not very plenty; and in the woods are monkeys, apes, armadilloes, and other wild creatures unknown to me; as also parrots, paroquets, and many other sorts of birds proper to the climate. Alligators are said to be plenty near the shores and in the lakes, but we saw none of them.

The country appears to me to be a good soil, and very capable of improvement, were the inhabitants more civilized and industrious.

This island lies in latitude 27 deg. 30 min. S. longitude, as before determined, 49 deg. 53 min. W. from London; and the variation of the compass 11 deg. 20 min. easterly.

Dec. 27, we discovered a sail in the offing, and the eighteen-oar'd barge was manned, and armed, and sent, under the command of the second Lieutenant of the Centurion, to examine her before she arrived within the protection of the fort. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande; but, though the officer behaved to the master with the utmost civility, yet the Governor took offence at our sending our boat, complained of the violation of  
the

## 264 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

the peace, and made that a pretence for sending Don Pifarro the most circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, as we afterwards found by letters intercepted in the South Seas.

January 18, 1741, we left this island, having had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been over-rated by former writers; for we found, that, though the Centurion alone had buried no less than 28 men since our arrival, the number of the sick in the same interval had increased to 96; and this very day we had three men die.

Before our departure the Commodore took every precaution to prevent a separation; but considering that, in such boisterous seas as we were about to encounter, he himself might be disabled, he called the officers together, and in a full council so ordered it, that, if but one ship escaped, the expedition should not be abandoned. Proper places of rendezvous were appointed; the time was settled for staying at these places; and, if the Commodore did not arrive in that time, the Captains were ordered to put themselves under the command of the senior, and to proceed without farther delay.

The 22d in the morning, we had very stormy weather, with some thunder, lightning, and rain; and the Trial carried away the head of her main-mast. A thick fog succeeding, we lay to, and soon after lost sight of the Pearl, the Trial, and the Anne pink. In the afternoon we got sight of and joined company with the  
Trial

Trial and the Anne, but the Pearl was still missing.

From hence to February the 13th, very variable weather, mostly foggy, from latitude 35, or thereabouts, to latitude 39; the rest a mixture not much unlike our weather in England in the month of October, except that we had pretty often thunder and lightning, which are not so frequent with us in that month. Being past the latitude of 36 degrees to the southward, I observed the current, which had hitherto constantly set southerly, now on the contrary, set to the northward; and the great river of Rio de la Plata being situated in between 35 and 36 degrees south, strengthens my conjecture that those currents are occasioned by the flux and reflux of that mighty river.

February 13, we saw the land from S. by W. to S. half E. appearing plain, with very few risings, and of a very moderate height, our soundings at that time from 46 to 56 fathom, the first mud, the latter stony ground. This day, at four in the evening, we were within about four miles of Cape Blanco on the coast of Patagonia, and in 12 fathom water; on which we hauled off, and ran along the coast, the soundings from 20 to 60 fathom water. At five the next morning we saw the land from W. by N. to S. W. half W. with an opening near the middle; which I believe to be the harbour of Port Desire, so called by Sir John Narborough. The northernmost land in sight is Cape Blanco,

## 266 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

and the southermost Penguin Island, so called from the great numbers of penguins about it, of which birds Sir John's ship's company killed and salted large quantities for provisions, and which he reports to be very good and wholesome food. Cape Blanco is in the latitude of 47 deg. 10 min. S. longit. from St. Katharine's 17 deg. 38 min. W. which makes it from London 67 deg. 20 min. W. taking the N. E. point of St. Katharine's in 49 deg. 42 min. W. to be about 11 minutes to the eastward of the place where the ship lay when I fixed it by observation.

The 17th, in the evening, we anchored about 17 or 18 leagues short of the harbour of Port St. Julian, so called by Sir Francis Drake, who touched there in his voyage round the globe, and where he condemned and executed Mr. Doughty, the next person in command to himself, on pretence of a conspiracy to murder him and ruin the expedition; whence a small island within the harbour is to this day called the Island of True Justice. The next morning we saw a sail at S. by E. which we believing to be the Pearl, made the signal for the return of all cruizers; but she not minding it, as I suppose not seeing it, we ordered the Gloucester to chase, and at two in the afternoon the Gloucester and her chace, which to our great satisfaction proved to be the Pearl, joined us. They informed us, that, on January the 31st, their Commander, Captain Dandy Kidd, died; and that on the

7th instant they were chased by five large ships, which they believed to be Spanish men of war, and were some time within gun-shot of them, though they never fired a gun, having endeavoured to decoy the Pearl by hoisting a broad red pendant, like that of the English Commodore, at the Admiral's main-top-mast head, and hoping by that means to be taken for our Commodore, and so to inveigle and make sure of their prey; Capt. Mitchell, thus decoyed, narrowly escaped them, by running through a space of water, where the tides or currents making a great rippling, the Spaniards, who thought it was rocky and broken ground, were afraid to follow her. These ships we supposed to be the Spanish squadron, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, the same who got so great a name among them for his conduct in bringing home their flota safe into Port Andero the last year, eluding the vigilance of our squadrons who waited for them off Cadiz, and was therefore looked on as the properest person to be sent to intercept us. We should not have been displeased, however, to have met them with our whole force, and did not much doubt to have either destroyed or disabled them. But the time of their destruction was not yet come; their miserable fate shall be related in its proper place.

We were now, being the 18th, sailing along shore for the harbour of St. Julian. I found the tide to set here north and south, about a mile an hour. The time of flowing here on the

full and change days is N. E. by E. and S. W. by W. nearest. We sent one of our boats with an officer in-shore, to sound and endeavour to discover the mouth of the harbour. At six in the evening we came to an anchor in 12 fathom water. At eight the Lieutenant returned, having found the harbour. We sent ashore our boats to make farther discoveries, and to endeavour some to get fresh water, and others to procure salt, (of which Sir J. Narborough observed, when he was here, that in February there was enough of it to load 1000 ships) for the use of the Squadron in the South Seas. We continued here till the 27th, during which time we stowed most of our empty casks, in order to clear our ships as much as possible, and got up and mounted such of our guns as we had before struck down into the hold in order to ease the ships; for now, not knowing how soon we might meet with the Spanish Squadron, it was necessary to have them all in readiness. We could find no fresh water here, and but a very small quantity of salt, and no other refreshments whatever; all the country, as far as we could discover, being quite barren and desolate. We got some provisions out of the *Anne* victualler on board each of the other ships, repaired the *Trial's* mast, and assisted her and the victualler to overhaul and new-fix most of their rigging. Having lost the hopes of a supply of water here, we were put to the allowance of one quart a man for one day, and three pints for another,

another, alternately ; but, considering our passage had hitherto proved extremely stormy and cold, and a dead time of the year coming on very fast, it was thought proper, in order to keep the people in as good heart as possible, to give them whole allowance of all other provisions, which was ordered accordingly.

Here we farther secured our lower-deck guns, by nailing quoins under the trucks, in case the tackles, breechings, or iron-work, might give way, or fail in the stormy weather, which we had much reason to expect.

Here likewise the Commodore removed the Honourable Captain Murray into the Pearl, in the room of Captain Kidd ; and Captain Cheap into the Wager in the room of Captain Murray. He advanced Mr. Charles Saunders, his First Lieutenant, to be Commander of the Trial sloop, in the room of Captain Cheap ; and made Mr. Piercy Brett, First Lieutenant of the Gloucester, Second Lieutenant of his own ship. The Trial being repaired, and the Pearl, who had thrown about 14 ton of water overboard when chased by the Spaniards, being supplied from the other ships, we made ready to prosecute our voyage.

This harbour of Port St. Julian is a barred harbour, only fit to receive small ships and vessels. We lay off in the road about two miles from the mouth of it. It is not to be seen open from where we lay, one point shutting in another ; and before any small ship or vessel pretends to venture into the harbour, they ought  
to

to send in their boats at low water, and fix poles or buoys on the ends of the shoals, which, in a manner, block up the passage. The country about it is pretty much on the level, except a few copling hillocks to the northward, and a pretty high one in the bay, which bears W.S.W. from the place where we lay at anchor. The latitude of Port St. Julian is 49 deg. 10 min. S. its longitude from London 69 deg. 48 min. W. and the variation of the compass 17 deg. 20 min. E. We had here uncertain boisterous weather, with much rain, some snow, and generally thick fog, with so much wind and sea as made us ride hard, and hastened our departure from this uneasy situation.

Sir John Narborough and some others write, that they have often seen and conversed with the inhabitants in this and other parts of Patagonia, and have given wonderful descriptions of them; but as we saw none of them, I have nothing to say of that sort, nor indeed do I think there is any thing in this wild part of the world worthy of the least notice.

The 27th, at six in the morning, we made the signal, weighed, and put to sea; but the Gloucester being long in weighing her anchor, and the weather proving thick and hazy, we soon lost sight of her, and at one in the afternoon, tacked, and lay by for her coming up; at seven we fired a gun, a signal for her, and soon after she joined us, having broke her main-yard in the flings.

Previous



## COMMODORE ANSON's VOYAGE. 271

Previous to our leaving this port, a council was held on board the *Centurion*, at which all the officers by sea and land attended, when it was proposed by the Commodore, that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town of *Baldivia*, the principal frontier of the district of *Chili*. To this proposition the council unanimously agreed; in consequence of which, new instructions were given to the Captains of the squadron, by which they were directed, in case of separation, to rendezvous at the island of *Neutra Senoro del Secoro*, and there cruise for 10 days; after which, they were ordered to repair to the height of *Baldivia*, and there between 40 deg. and 40 deg. 30 min. to continue to cruise 14 days longer; and, if in that time they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit that station, and direct their course to the island of *Juan Fernandez*.

March the 4th, in the morning, we passed by the Straights of *Magellan*, so near that we saw them very plain; the northernmost point of which, known by the name of *Cape Virgin Mary*, I found to be in the latitude of 52 deg. 28 min. S. longitude from *London* 70 deg. 55 min. W. variation of the compass 18 deg. 40 min. E. the soundings, when it bears about S. W. by W. at the distance of eight leagues, from 32 to 50 fathom, the bottom black-grey sand and mud. The afternoon of this day being very bright and clear, with small breezes,  
inclin-

inclinable to calm, most of the Captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the Commodore; but, while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame which burst out on board the *Centurion*, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information, that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge lighting on some gunpowder, and other combustibles, which the officers on board were preparing for use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished without any danger to the ship.

The 6th, in the morning, we saw the land of *Terra del Fuego*, consisting of high craggy hills, towering above each other, mostly covered with snow, with deep horrid vallies, some few scattered trees, no plains, nor one cheerful green through all the dismal prospect; so that the whole may not improperly be termed the Land of Desolation; and I much question whether a more dreary aspect is to be seen in any other part of the habitable earth; for voyagers say this is inhabited, but surely its inhabitants must be the most miserable of human beings. This evening we lay by, that we might not overshoot the Straights of *Le Maire* in the night; though I believe, had we kept on, and passed round *Staten Land*, a small island or two, which lie to the eastward of those Straights, and together  
with

with Terra del Fuego frame them, it would have been more to our advantage than by passing through them.

The 7th, at eight in the morning, we were very near a point of land on Terra del Fuego, called Cape St. James, bearing E. S. E. another called Cape St. Vincent, S. E. half E. the middlemost of the Three Brothers, being three high hills on Terra del Fuego, appearing almost contiguous to each other, S. by W. and a very high Sugar-loaf Hill, called Monte Gorda, farther up in the country, and appearing above them, bore south from us. It is by these marks that you know you are near Strait Le Maire; and indeed we began to open them in this position. By noon we were almost through them, being assisted by a very strong tide with much rippling, and which made to the southward somewhat before 10 o'clock in the morning. The course through is almost directly south, and there are no shoals nor rocks in the passage from whence you may incur any danger; the only thing you have to fear is, the tide's turning against you while you are in the straits, for in that case you are certainly hurried back again, and can have no passage there till the next turn of the tide. The breadth of this strait may be about six or seven leagues, and its length about seven or eight; which being passed, you enter into a vast open ocean, commonly known by the name of the South Sea. This strait lies in latitude 55 deg. south, longitude from London 67 deg.

30 min. west, variation of the compass 21 deg. 36 min. east, soundings in the straits from 43 to 58 fathom, the bottom black sand and pebble-stones. In passing through here, our joy was increased by the brightness of the sky and the serenity of the weather, which was indeed remarkably pleasing, for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. But we here found what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was ever the forerunner of a succeeding storm, and that sunshine and tempest followed one another like light and shade. We had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the straits, when the serenity of the sky, which had so much flattered our expectations, was all at once obscured, the wind shifted to the southward, and the sea began to swell to an astonishing height. Before night the tempest arose, and the tide, which had hitherto favoured us, turned furiously against us; so that, instead of pursuing our intended course, we were driven to the eastward, by the united force of wind and current, with so much precipitation, that in the morning we found ourselves seven leagues to the eastward of Straight Le Maire. From this time we had such a continual succession of tempestuous weather as surprized the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them

to

to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe: and it was not without reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for, had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must in all probability have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed against the masts or sides of the ship: and though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks by grasping at some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their holds, some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our best seamen was carried over-board and drowned; another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold, and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind. These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance, were rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at some times afforded; for, though we were often obliged to lie-to for days together

under a reefed mizzen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double reefed; and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to set our top-sails; after which, the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And, that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggravate our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain, adding inexpressible difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of the people employed in handing the sails, or handling the ropes, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many by mortifying their toes and fingers.

And now, as it were to add the finishing stroke to our misfortunes, our people began to be universally afflicted with that most terrible, obstinate, and, at sea, incurable disease, the scurvy, which quickly made a most dreadful havock among us, beginning at first to carry off two or three a day, but soon increasing, and at last carrying off eight or ten; and as most of the living were very ill of the same distemper,  
and

and the little remainder who preserved their healths better, in a manner, quite worn out with incessant labour, I have sometimes seen four or five dead bodies, some fown up in their hammocks, others not, washing about the decks, for want of help to bury them in the sea. But as the particulars of all the various disasters and sufferings of various kinds that befel us, would be endless, I shall only mention a few.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th, very stormy weather, with snow and sleet, and a very great overgrown sea from the S. W.

The 15th, one William Baker fell overboard and was drowned. The 16th, the Anne pink, which had separated from us the 11th in the storm, again joined us, in lat. 59 deg. 20 min. S.

Part of the 17th, 18th, and 19th, very strong gales, and a great rolling sea from the N. W.

The 18th, we had again strong gales of wind with extreme cold, and at midnight the main-top-sail split, and one of the straps of the main dead-eyes broke.

The 23d, and part of the 24th, a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very lofty sea. The 23d, in the evening, we sprung the main-top-sail yard, and split the main-sail into rags, the greatest part of which was blown overboard. On these accidents we furled all our other sails, and lay-to under a mizzen.

The latter part of the 24th proving more moderate, we bent a new main-sail, got down the  
broken

broken main top-sail yard, and got up and rigged another in its place.

The 25th, it blew a very hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ship; in doing of which, we had no other expedient but clapping the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds; in the execution of which we had one of our best men canted overboard. We perceived, that, notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he swam very strong; and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him. Indeed we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he swam, that he might continue sensible for a considerable time longer of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.

The 26th being somewhat more moderate we found two of our main-shrouds broke, which we repaired; we likewise bent our main-top and made sail.

The 30th, in the evening, the Gloucester made a signal of distress; and, on speaking with her, we found she had broke her main-yard in trifles; an accident the more grievous, as it tended unavoidably to delay us in these inhospitable latitudes, where every moment we were in danger of perishing. The weather proving  
favour



favourable, all the carpenters were ordered on board the Gloucester, and next day she was ready to sail.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of April, a continued storm of wind and rain; a dreadful sea, and very cold weather. We lowered our yards, furled our courses, and lay by for the most part under a mizzen and mizzen-stay sail. The 3d, about 11 o'clock at night, a raging sea took us on the larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge. For some time it laid the ship down upon her side; but she providentially righted again, though slowly; it threw down and half drowned all the people on the deck, broke one of the straps of the main dead-eyes, and shaped a mizzen and puttock shroud. This was the greatest sea which we had encountered since we came into those parts, and we met with but one such stroke more in the whole voyage; two or three such succeeding must certainly have sent us to the bottom.

The 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, continued very stormy and squally, with snow, hail, rain, and a large sea; the weather continuing very cold.

The 8th, at four in the evening, the Anne pink made a signal of distress; and, on speaking with her, we found she had sprung her fore-stay, and the gammoning of her bowsprit. This was the more unfortunate, as none of the carpenters were yet returned from the Gloucester. Nor was the Anne the only ship that suffered in  
this

this storm; the Wager lost her mizzen-mast and main-top-sail yard, owing to the badness of the iron work. In this dilemma we were obliged to bear away till these ships had made all fast.

The 10th, foggy and hazy. This afternoon the Severn and Pearl were far a-stern, and seemed to me to lag designedly. We made a very easy sail all day, and lay by at night, and fired several guns as a signal for them to join us; the weather being pretty moderate, and the wind fair for them, they might have effected it with ease. By the close of the evening we could but just see them, and from that time saw them no more. However, we heard afterwards in the South Seas, by letters taken on board some of the Spanish ships, of their arrival at Rio Janeiro, in the Brazils.

The 15th, the weather proved somewhat more moderate. At half an hour past one in the morning we saw two islands right a-head, at about two leagues distance; we immediately wore our ship, and stood off to the southward. Those islands were very unexpected, as well as unwelcome, we imagining we had been to the westward of all lands and islands of the coast of Terra del Fuego; but we now found our mistake, and that there was a necessity of our standing farther to the southward, in order to get a sufficient westing. Those islands I find to lie in the latitude of 54 deg. 20 min. S. longitude from London 84 deg. 10 min. W. Mr. Walters supposes the land we fell in with on this occasion

occasion to be Cape Noir, and a part of Terra dei Fuego.

From this time to the 23d we had nothing remarkable, the weather continuing very uncertain and variable, with a large sea and a very cold air; and the 21st, at nine at night, we were in the latitude of 60 deg. 5 min. S. being the greatest south latitude we made during the voyage.

The 23d very hard gales and squalls, with much rain. This evening we lost sight of the Gloucester, Wager, Trial, and Anne Pink, being all the remainder of our squadron, after the defection of the Severn and Pearl. The Wager's unfortunate catastrophe is well known; the others afterwards joined us at Juan Fernandez, as shall be related in its proper place.

The 24th, 25th, and 26th, the wind being mostly fair, though still blowing hard, we made pretty good runs under an easy sail to the north-westward. The 24th, it blew a hurricane, and the men endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clew-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheet being half flown, every seam in the fore-top-sail was soon split from top to bottom, and the main-top-sail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the mast; however, at length, some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives, whilst at the same time the fore-top-sail beat about the yard with

so much fury that it was soon blown to shreds : nor was our attention to our topsails our sole employment ; for the main-sail blew loose, which obliged us to lower the yard to secure the sail, and the fore-yard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizen. The 25th, we found much of our running rigging broken, which we repaired. The 27th, we bent other topsails in the places of those split. Nothing more remarkable the rest of this month and the first week in the next, but stormy uncertain weather, and great sickness and mortality among our people.

Friday, May 8, at seven in the morning, saw the main land of Patagonia appearing in high mountains covered mostly with snow. We likewise saw several islands, one of which we took to be the Island del Socorro, so called by Sir John Narborough, in his account of his voyage into those parts ; and from the fine description this gentleman had given of this island, (having been there in the very height of summer), this place was appointed for our first general rendezvous in the South Seas. An unhappy appointment it was in its consequences ; for when the people, already reduced to the last extremity, found this to be the place of rendezvous, where they had hoped to meet the rest of their companions with joy, and what a miserable part of the world it appeared to be, their grief gave way to despair ; they saw no end of their sufferings, nor any door open to their safety. Those  
who

who had hitherto been well and in heart, now full of despondency, fell down, sickened, and died; and, to sum up this melancholy part, I verily believe, that our touching on this coast, the long stay we made here, and our hinderance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to Juan Fernandez, lost us at least 60 or 70 of as stout and able men as any in the navy. This unspeakable distress was still aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship, as the scurvy had by this time destroyed no less than 200 of our men, and had in some degree affected almost the whole crew. It were, indeed, endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto experienced, seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown sea took us on our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were in danger of coming by the board; our ballast and stores too were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks a-port. Indeed, it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation, from the apprehension of instantly foundering. Our de-

## 284 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

plorable situation allowing no longer any room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandez ; and, to save time, which was now very precious, our men dying four, five, and six in a day, we endeavoured to hit the island upon a meridian course. On the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel in which it is laid down, we expected to have seen it, and indeed the Commodore was persuaded that he did see it ; but all the other officers being of opinion that it was only a cloud, to which the haziness of the weather gave too much colour, we made sail to the eastward, and by so doing lost near 14 days in recovering our westing again. This was a most fatal disappointment ; for in this run we lost about 80 of our men, which, probably, had the Commodore's advice been attended to, would most of them have been saved.

The 8th of June, at six in the evening, we at length saw the island of Juan Fernandez, bearing N. by E. half E. about 15 or 16 leagues off. The 10th, at two in the morning, we anchored in 56 fathom, close under the N. E. end of the island. At 10 in the morning of the 11th, we with much labour and difficulty weighed our anchor, and at noon happily moored our ship in the Great Bay, about a mile from the shore, in 52 fathom water, to our inexpressible joy, having been from St. Katharine's in the Brazils to this place 148 days, on such a dreadful and fatal passage as I believe very few other persons ever experienced.

The

The 11th, at two in the afternoon, the Trial sloop appeared in the offing. We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from the like calamities which we had so severely felt; for her Commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that, out of his small complement, he had buried 34 of his men; and those who recovered were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his Lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails.

The same day we got out our long-boat, and sent her on shore with materials for building tents for the sick, and with orders to bring on board some water.

The 15th, we sent our pinnace to assist the Trial, she being driven from her anchors to sea, by the violent flaws of wind which blow off the high lands. This and the next day we put ashore 75 sick men, in so weak a condition, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water-side over a stoney beach to the tents prepared for their reception. In this work of humanity, not only the officers, but the Commodore himself, cheerfully lent their assistance.

The 17th, the Trial came again to an anchor, and moored. This day and the next we sent

on

on shore the remainder of our sick people, the whole number now on shore being 135, many of whom, being too far gone in the scurvy, died one after another to the number of not less than sixty.

We now began to send on shore materials for tents for the coopers, sail-makers, and some of the officers ; a copper oven which we had with us for baking soft bread for the ship's company, and the smith's forge for making or repairing such iron-work as was necessary : and, after a short interval of relaxation, all hands were busily employed, some in cutting large quantities of wood for the ship's use, some in making charcoal for the smith, and for a farther store ; the bakers in baking bread, the coopers in making up and cleaning the casks for water, the sail-makers in mending the sails and making others ; some in fishing for the sick, and the rest were otherways employed : and here being very great plenty of fine fish, all taken by the hook, two or three people could never fail to take us as much in about two hours as all the ship's company could eat : besides this we took great quantities for salting and curing ; and some private persons who had hooks and lines fished for themselves, and never failed of enough for their own use, and to give to those who had none. The people on board were employed in cleaning the ship, which was in a very filthy condition, and in stripping the masts, and overhauling the rigging. One of the boatswain's mates, with some assistants,



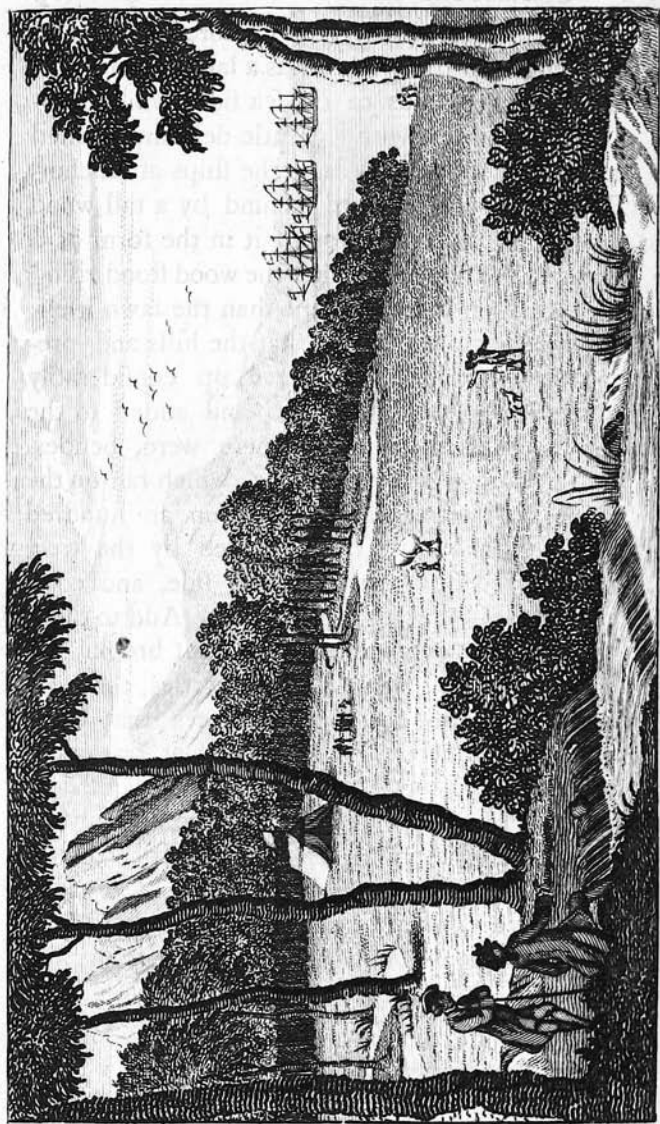
assistants, having run up a rope-walk on shore, was employed in making what small cordage we might want; others in watering, and, in short, in every thing that might contribute to put us in as good a condition, and in as short a time as possible; and as fast as the sick recovered, they were put on the like employments.

At first sight of this island, it appeared with a most unpromising aspect, being extremely mountainous, rugged, and irregular; but, upon our nearer approach, it improved upon us; and when we were landed, we found all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be peculiarly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders which are contracted by salt diet, and long continuance at sea; for here we found water-creffes and purslain, wild-forrel, and Sicilian-radishes, in profusion. These vegetables, not to mention the turneps which now abound in every plain, with the fish and flesh we got here, were not only grateful to us in the extreme, but were likewise very refreshing to the sick, and contributed not a little to the recovery of those who were not already too far advanced in the disorder to admit of relief; and to the restoring of others to their wonted vigour, who, though not apparently under the malignancy of the distemper, and its baneful concomitants, were yet greatly debilitated by continual watching and anxiety of mind, from which not a soul on board was exempt.

During the time of our residence here, we  
found

found the inland parts of the island no ways to fall short of the sanguine prepossessions we had first entertained in its favour; for the woods, which covered most of the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the island, necessarily traced out, by their various combinations, a great number of romantic vallies, most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, that tumbled in cascades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley by the course of the neighbouring hills was at any time broken into a sudden sharp descent. Some particular spots occurred in these vallies, where the shades and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the over-hanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination. The spot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and where he chose, during his stay, to fix his residence, exceeded in beauty any thing that words can be supposed to represent. It was a delightful little lawn, that lay on an easy ascent at the distance of about half a mile from the sea, and was probably the very spot on  
which





*A View of the Lagoon where Commodore Anson pitched his Tent at Juan Fernandez.*

which Shelvock twenty years before had pitched his tent. In front there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the sea-side, which sloping to the water with a gentle descent, opened a prospect to the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle, sweeping round it in the form of a theatre, the slope on which the wood stood rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself, though not so much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, besides, two streams of chrystal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards distance, and were shaded by the trees that skirted the lawn on either side, and completed the symmetry of the whole. Add to these, the gentle murmuring of the distant brooks, the music of the birds among the myrtles, the sweet aromatic odour of the spice-trees that every where perfumed the air with their fragrance, and you may form in imagination a faint idea of this second paradise, which could only be exceeded by the perfection of the first.

It is astonishing, that, among all the voyagers who have visited this fortunate island before us, and who have obliged the world with descriptions of it, none of them have mentioned a charming little bird that, with its wild, various, and irregular notes, enchants the ear, and makes the woods resound with its melody. This untu-

tored choirister is somewhat less in size than the goldfinch, its plumage beautifully intermixed with red and other vivid colours, and the golden crown upon its head so bright and glowing, when seen in the full light of the sun, that it surpasses all description. These little birds are far from being uncommon or unfamiliar; for they perched upon the branches of the myrtle-trees so near us, and sung so cheerfully, as if they had been conscious we were strangers, and came to give us welcome.

There is, besides the above, another little bird, unnoticed by any former writer, and which seems likewise peculiar to the island, and consequently without a name; it is still less than the former in size, but not inferior in beauty, tho' not so musical; the back, wings, and head, are of a lively green, intermixed with fine shining golden spots, and the belly a snow white ground, with ebony coloured spots, so elegantly varied as no art can imitate. To the catalogue of birds mentioned by former writers as inhabitants of this island, should also be added black birds and thrushes very like those in England; and owls, but of a diminutive size.

Of four-footed animals we saw none but dogs, cats, rats, and goats; and of the latter but few, as the dogs of various kinds, greyhounds, mastifs, pointers, spaniels, and mungrels, have thinned them in the plains, and driven them to the inaccessible mountains; yet some  
were

were shot by the hunters, and were preferred by them to the best venison. Among those presented to the Commodore were two or three venerable through age, that had been marked more than thirty years before by Selkirk, who trained them for his sport, slit their ears, and turned them loose to graze the mountains.

I remember we had once an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of those animals and a number of dogs ; for going in our boat into the eastern bay we perceived some dogs run very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars sometime to view them, and at last saw them take a hill, where, looking a little farther, we observed upon the ridge of it an herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path skirted on each side by precipices, in which the leader of the herd posted himself fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being ranged behind him where the ground was more open ; as this spot was inaccessible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they ran up hill with great alacrity, yet when they came within about twenty yards, found they durst not encounter this formidable Goliath, for he would infallibly have driven the first that approached him down the precipice ; they therefore quietly laid themselves down, panting, and did not offer to stir while we remained in sight.

These dogs have multiplied prodigiously, and have destroyed most of the cats as well as goats : the rats, however, keep possession, and were very troublesome guests in the night, when they generally paid us their visits. It is not easy to determine in what manner such a multitude of dogs subsist, as they are much more numerous than all the other four-footed creatures upon the island. Our people, indeed, were inclined to think, that they lived in a great measure upon the young sea-lions and seals, and supported their opinion by the report of the sailors, some of whom killed the dogs for food, who said they tasted fishy : and, truly, there is hardly any other way of accounting for the subsistence of these animals ; for, as has been said, they have already destroyed all the goats in the accessible parts of the country ; so that there now remain only a few among the crags and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These are divided into separate herds of 20 or 30 each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other ; by this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them, and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, that we discovered, I believe, all their herds, and it was thought, by comparing their numbers, that they scarcely exceeded 200 upon the whole island. The dogs had destroyed the pardellas, too, of which former writers have given a large account, so that there was not one of them to be seen ; we found indeed their boroughs in the  
earth,



earth, which leaves no room to doubt of their being found in plenty in Selkirk's time, as well as cats, of which there is now scarce one alive.

Flesh meat being thus extremely scarce, our people, being tired of fish, though excellent in their kind, at length condescended to eat seals, which, by degrees, they came to relish, and called them lamb. Of these, it being their brooding time, the numbers were incredible;—and likewise of the sea-lion—these animals have frequently furious battles among themselves, principally about their females; and we were one day surprized by the sight of two animals, which, at first, seemed different from all we had ever observed; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two sea-lions that had been goring one another with their tushes, and were covered with blood, with which they plentifully abound. This led us to watch them more closely, and one was observed larger than the rest, and from his driving off other males, and keeping a great number of females to himself, he was by the seamen humorously stiled the Bashaw. To this pre-eminence, however, he had not arrived without many bloody contests; for, on our people's attacking him in the midst of his seraglio of females, he made a desperate defence, and, when overpowered, the signals of his bravery appeared in numerous scars on every part of his body.

We had now been ten days on this island, when some of our people from an eminence discerned

cerned a ship to leeward with her courses even with the horizon, without any other sail abroad than her main topsail; from which circumstance, it was immediately concluded, that it was one of our own squadron; but the weather being hazy, no definitive conjecture could be formed concerning her. She again disappeared for some days, and we were all thrown into the deepest concern, fearing the weakness of her condition had disabled her from working to windward, and that all her people had perished.

We continued our employ till the 26th, when we again saw the same ship; and, on her nearer approach, could distinguish her to be the Gloucester; and, making no doubt of her being in distress, the Commodore sent our boat on board her with water and refreshments. We found her in a miserable condition, not many above 100 people alive, and almost all those helpless with the scurvy; their water so very short, that they were obliged to allow but one pint a day to a man; and the continual flaws off the land, together with their being disabled in their sails and yards, hindered them from getting into the bay. The next day we sent them a fresh supply of fish, greens, water, and men to help to work the ship; soon after which the flaws drove them off again, and the ship appeared no more till the 30th, when at two in the afternoon she fired a gun, and made a signal of distress. She continued in this manner off and on, sometimes in sight, and sometimes not, till July 23, during which time,

time, though we often relieved the people on board with water and other necessaries, yet their sufferings were insupportable, and their whole complement were reduced to about 96 living persons, all of whom must have perished in a few days more, had not the wind proved favourable to bring them into the bay; but providentially a fresh gale sprung up from the sea, and brought them to an anchor. We immediately sent men on board to assist in mooring the ship, and continued our constant assistance afterwards, during our stay at this place.

The 5th of August, the Commodore sent the Trial sloop to search the island of Little Juan Fernandez, lest any of the squadron should have mistaken that island for the place of rendezvous, and might remain there in expectation of meeting the rest of the fleet.

On the 16th, the *Anne* pink, which was separated from us with the rest of the squadron the 23d of April, appeared in sight. Her arrival gave us new spirits, she being laden principally with provisions, and we immediately were ordered full allowance of bread. This ship had been about two months in a safe harbour, on the main land, near the same parallel with del Socoro, where she had been directed by Providence, and where she lay in security, enjoyed plenty, and her people, 16 in number, being once freed from their fears of shipwreck, very soon recovered their wonted vigour, having experienced none of those hardships that were endured

dured by the rest of the fleet. They told us they had seen some Indians, and one time took one of their canoes with a man, a woman, some children, a dog, a cat, &c. and some implements for fishery; but in a day or two the whole family, the dog excepted, made their escape from them in the ship's small boat, and left them their canoe in her stead. Those Indians, they say, understood a few Spanish words, and probably might have some little correspondence with the southern Spaniards of Chili, or their nearer bordering Indians; or, perhaps, some of the Fathers for propagating the faith may now and then have been among them. The principal refreshments they met with in this port, were wild celery, nettletops, and sorrel; cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size; good store of geese, sheep, and penguins. They judged it to lie in lat. 45 deg. 30 min. S. and it may be known by an island which faces it, and which the inhabitants call *Inchin*, and by a river in which they found excellent fish.

This vessel, the *Anne* pink, was the last that joined us at Juan Fernandez. The remaining ships of the squadron were the *Severn*, the *Pearl*, and the *Wager* store-ship. The *Severn* and *Pearl*, as has been already observed, parted company off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learned, put back to the Brazils; so that of all the ships that came into the South Seas, the *Wager* was the only ship that was missing. Captain Cheap, who commanded her, knowing the importance  
of

of the charge he had in trust, without which no enterprize on shore could be undertaken, was extremely solicitous to reach Baldivia as the last place of rendezvous, and the first to be attacked, before the rest of the squadron should have finished their cruise, that no blame might rest upon him, if the attack of that city should be judged improper to be carried into execution. But, whilst this brave officer was exerting himself in endeavouring to keep clear of the land in making the island of del Soccoro, he had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder, and thereby to disable himself from prosecuting with vigour the purpose he had in view. The ship being little better than a wreck, the crew in a miserable desponding condition, the officers quite exhausted, the weather cold and stormy, and the wind and currents bearing in-shore, all these unlucky circumstances concurring, so entangled the ship with the land, that all the efforts of the feeble crew could not prevent her from running upon a sunken rock; where she grounded between two small islands, not a musquet-shot from the shore. In this situation she continued entire till every one on board might have reached the land in safety, and might have stored themselves with provisions, and every necessary for their present subsistence and future escape: but the moment the ship struck, all subordination ceased; one part of the crew got possession of the liquors, intoxicated themselves in a beastly manner, and grew frantic in their cups; another part began

## 298 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

to furnish themselves with arms, and to make themselves masters of the money and things of most value on board; while the Captain, and some of the principal officers, endeavoured in vain to maintain their authority, and to preserve a proper discipline among them, in order to effect the deliverance of as many as it was possible from the common danger in which all of them were involved; but the mutinous disposition that prevailed rendered every effort for their preservation ineffectual. Those who remained in possession of the ship and her stores, pointed the cannon, and fired at those who had gained the land; those at land grew riotous for want of provisions; nothing but anarchy and confusion prevailed; and, what added to the catastrophe, a midshipman, named Cozens, who had busied himself in opposition to all good government, was, by the Captain, shot dead upon the spot. This put an end at once to all manner of subserviency; and after this every one thought himself at liberty to pursue what scheme he thought best for his own preservation.

Of about 130 persons who reached the shore, 30 died on the place; about 80 others, having converted the long boat into a schooner, sailed to the southward, attended by the cutter. These, being distressed for want of provisions in re-doubling Cape Horn, and having lost their cutter in a storm, suffered unprecedented hardships in their return to the coast of Brazil, where only 30 of them arrived to give an account of  
the

the miserable fate of their companions, several of whom died of hunger; others desired to be set on shore; and some, beginning to be mutinous, they landed and deserted. Of the 19 who were left behind in Wager-Island with the Captain, 16 embarked on board the barge and the yawl, and attempted to escape to the northward; of these one was drowned in the yawl, and four were left on a desert part of the coast, where it is probable they all perished; the remaining 11, after a fruitless attempt to weather a point of land, called by the Spaniards Cape Tresmentes, were forced to return to Wager Island, from whence they first set out, where meeting with a Chiloen Indian, who could speak a little Spanish, they agreed with him to pilot them to Chiloe; but, after coasting along for four days, the Captain and his officers being on shore, five in number, the other six persuaded the Indian to put to sea without them, by which the rest were reduced to the sad necessity of travelling near 600 miles, sometimes by land, and sometimes by water, till at length, after a variety of misfortunes and hardships not to be paralleled in romance, four of them, namely, Captain Cheap, the Hon. Mr. Byron, who lately went round the world, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Campbell, arrived at Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity. After some stay at Chiloe, the Captain and his three officers were sent to Valparaíso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they con-

tinued above a year; but on advice of a cartel, the Captain, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe; and Mr. Campbell, who in the mean time had changed his religion, chose to embark for Spain; but not meeting there with the encouragement he expected, he soon after returned to England, where he published an account of his adventures, but mentioned not a word of changing his religion, neither does he assign his reason for leaving Spain.

It is very remarkable, that the place where the Wager struck upon the rock, was so near the harbour where the Anne pink found shelter during the winter, that the Wager's people were within hearing of the Pink's evening and morning gun, yet never had the thought to follow the sound, or to look out for any straggler from their own squadron.

On the 22d, the Trial arrived from searching the island of Little Fernandez, and reported that it lies about 20 leagues due west from this where we lay; that it is about three leagues in compass, being very mountainous, with some woods and good runs of water, with multitudes of goats, fish, sea-lions, and seals, as with us; but no ships were to be seen, nor any marks of any having been there.

While we continued at Juan Fernandez, besides our necessary employments, we likewise began, and pretty far advanced, a wharf for the better landing and embarking such necessaries



as we had occasion for. We kept two ovens employed in baking bread for the ship's companies, two smith's forges for repairing old and fitting new iron work, and made abundance of charcoal for future use. The Commodore likewise ordered the carpenters to take a careful survey of the *Anne Pink*, the master of which set forth, that she was in so rotten a condition, as not to be fit to proceed nor return without very considerable repairs; which representation upon a survey being found to be true, the Commodore purchased her materials at a fair valuation, and ordered her to be broke up, and her crew to be put on board the *Gloucester*, that ship not having hands enough left to navigate her, much less to fight her, in case of an attack from the enemy.

This island lies in latitude 33 deg. 40 min. S. and longitude 87 deg. 37 min. W. from London; distance from the main continent 105 leagues; compass, by the best accounts of those who had been round it, 12 or 13 leagues. There are two small and very commodious bays within the points, which form the large one where we lay, one to the eastward, the other to the westward of us, and no doubt several others in other parts of the island; variation, by an observation July 2, in the morning, 8 deg. 4 min. half E. 'Twas reported, that the S. W. end of the island is much more flat and level than that where we resided, and the goats more numerous, but wood scarcer.

On

On Tuesday, Sept. the 8th, at noon, we saw a sail at sea bearing N. E. by E. and, perceiving, by our glasses that she could be none of our squadron, nor an English-built ship, we fired a gun as a signal for getting all our people on board; and, having taken several men out of the *Trial*, bent our sails, set up our rigging, and flipt our small bower cable; at six in the evening we weighed in pursuit of her. In the morning of the next day we got down our stumps, which are generally set up in bad weather instead of top-gallant masts, and in their place got up our top-gallant masts and yards, rigged them, and bent their sails. At eleven the same morning we mustered and quartered the ship's company. At noon the island of Juan Fernandez bore W. half S. distance eight leagues; the two next days we saw nothing of the chase, nor any thing remarkable.

Saturday, Sept. 12, at five in the morning we saw a sail to windward, which bore down towards us, and at about two leagues distance she hauled up the lee clue-garnet of her foresail, shewed her Spanish colours, and fired a gun, which we supposed to be a signal concerted between her and others which came out in company with her; but we not answering nor regarding it, she hauled close on a wind and stood from us, endeavouring to escape; upon which we gave chase, and it proving sometimes hazy and foggy, we were in danger of losing sight of her. About nine in the morning we tacked,  
and

and at noon coming within gun-shot, we fired five shot at her rigging to bring her to ; but she keeping on her course, we fired four more, on which she struck her colours, and surrendered without making any opposition. This ship happened not to be the same we went out after. She proved a rich merchant ship, having on board 18,000*l.* sterling in dollars and plate, with some jewels, and abundance of gold and silver twist ; but the bulk of her cargo consisted in sugars and bale goods, most of the latter European, but some the produce of the country. She was called the *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*. She was of about 500 tons, was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra, and had on board 13 passengers, most of them persons of fortune, amongst whom was the son of the Governor of the city of St. Jago, the capital of Chili. She came from Callao, a port of Lima, the capital of the empire of Peru, bound for Valparaíso in Chili, where those ships annually trade, exchanging silver in return for gold and corn, the latter being very scarce in Peru. Some of the prisoners informed us, that, if we had taken her in her return from Chili to Peru, we should have met with as much gold in her as we had now found silver. She had in the whole a-board her 67 persons, many of them Indians and black slaves, who were afterwards very useful to us in assisting towards the ship's duty. She had been 27 days from Callao, and wanted

wanted not above two days sail to compleat her voyage when we took her.

We found in this ship, on search among the letters from some merchants in Lima to their friends in Chili, an account of the fate of the Spanish squadron which had been sent after us, viz. that, in attempting to pass the Cape, they had been forced to put back, after encountering the most terrible storms and most pressing famine, being reduced to two ounces of bread and half a pint of water each man a day ; that, besides being grievously attacked by the scurvy, which had made greater havock among them than among us, their ships were almost entirely disabled, their masts, sails, yards, rigging and hulls in a manner shattered and torn to pieces; that Admiral Pizarro, and one more of his squadron, after having suffered the greatest extremities, had got, with the utmost difficulty, to Buenos Ayres, on the River Plate ; that another of the squadron, a ship of 70 guns, had been entirely lost near Rio Grande, and that two more had never been heard of ; that on their return they had seen two large ships pass by very near them, which they supposed to be two ships of our squadron, but the weather proving stormy, and the sea running mountains high, they could not interfere with or attack each other. Those ships of ours we believed to be the *Severn* and the *Pearl*, and hoped they were safely arrived at some port of the Brazils. Those letters came over land from Buenos Ayres to Lima,  
and

and with them came others containing Admiral Pifarro's advice and instructions to the Viceroy of Peru concerning us; wherein he told him, that, though he himself had been forced back in such a miserable condition, not having above 80 or 100 of his men living, and his ships in so ill a state, that, till sufficient reinforcements could come to him from Old Spain, he could not possibly come into those seas, yet as the English were a stubborn and resolute people, and daring enough to persist obstinately in the most desperate undertakings, he did believe some of us might possibly get round; but as he experimentally knew what of necessity we must have suffered in that dreadful passage, he made no doubt but we should be in a very weak and defenceless condition; he therefore advised the Viceroy to fit out all the strength of shipping he could, and send them to cruise at the island of Juan Fernandez, where we must of necessity touch to refresh our people, and to repair our ships; and farther advised, that, in case of meeting us, they should not stand to fight or cannonade at a distance, in which possibly we might have the advantage, or make our escape, but should board us at once sword in hand; which must, if well executed, in our weak condition, infallibly prove the means of taking us.

This was a well-laid scheme, and in pursuance of it the Viceroy equipt three ships at Callao, one of 50, one of 30, and one of 20 guns, all double manned with the choicest men

they could possibly procure, and sent them to wait for us accordingly. Those ships arrived at Juan Fernandez some time, I think, in May, and continued till about June the 6th, when, imagining that we must be either put back or lost, they quitted their station, and sailed for the port of Conception in Chili, and by this means we luckily missed them: had it happened otherwise, as we arrived there with only our single ship, in such a defenceless condition, and had they put their orders in execution with any tolerable degree of resolution, we must in all human probability have fallen into their hands.

Our prisoners informed us further, that those ships, during their cruise, had met with a storm, in which they had received so much damage, that it must be at least two months before they could again be fit to go to sea. The whole of his intelligence was as favourable as we could have wished; and now we were at no loss to account for the fresh marks we found at Juan Fernandez, of that island's having been lately visited by some white people.

Sunday the 13th, having got on board most of the prisoners of note, and all the silver, we made sail for Juan Fernandez; and the weather proving very moderate, at six in the evening that island bore N. W. by N. at the distance of five leagues. At three the next morning we fired three guns, as a signal to the ships in the bay. At four we anchored, got in our small  
bower

bower cable, which we had slipped at leaving the place, and moored our ship.

The 15th we employed in watering, and setting up our rigging, in order to pursue our voyage. And this day, the Commodore being informed that several merchant-ships were now pursuing their trade without fear of any surprise, the Trial was ordered out on a cruise, and proceeded immediately.

The 16th we got up a new top-gallant-mast, and wanting some cordage we were supplied with it from the Gloucester. This and the following days, until the 19th, we spent in getting every thing ready for sea with the utmost expedition.

The 19th we sent 28 of our prisoners on board the Gloucester, she being weakly manned, and those prisoners being good sailors. We likewise supplied the prize with two months provisions of all sorts, at full allowance, for 20 men; put all the guns belonging to the Anne pink on board of her; and, having left orders with Captain Mitchell, of the Gloucester, to burn the pink, together with her useless stores, and appointed him his station off the town of Payta, which is the place where the ships between Lima and Panama generally touch to deliver part of their cargoes to be dispersed through the inland parts of Peru, with orders to sail to that station as soon as possible, we weighed, and took leave of our winter residence, in company with the prize, which the

### 308 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

Commodore had fitted up to cruise against the enemy.

The 21st, at four in the evening, we had the last sight of this island, it then bearing from us W. by N. at the distance of 17 leagues. The remaining days, until the 24th, we had variable and uncertain weather, in which we split our main-top-sail and fore-sail, and received some other slight damage.

The 24th, at five in the evening, being somewhat hazy, we saw two sail to windward, on which we cleared ship, in order to be ready to engage, the largest of the two ships bearing down upon us. At seven she came so near, that we hailed her in Spanish, and she answered in English, and told us, that she was a prize taken by the Trial, and that her consort was the Trial itself, which was very much disabled. At 11 the next morning, there being a hard gale and high sea, the Trial fired two guns as a signal of distress, and bore away before the wind, and we after her. The same day half an hour past noon we spoke with the Trial, and found she had sprung her main-mast, and that her main-top-mast had come by the board: and as we were all of us standing to the eastward next morning, with a fresh gale at south, she had the additional misfortune to spring her fore-mast; so that now she had not a mast left. This was a great obstruction; for now we had intelligence by the Trial's prize, that there were many ships at sea richly laden, and that they had



had no apprehensions of being attacked by us, having received intelligence that our squadron was either put back or destroyed. In the course, therefore, of the 48 hours we were detained in waiting upon the Trial, I am persuaded we missed the taking many valuable prizes. The result was, that a council being called, and all the officers convened together on board our ship, it was there concluded, that in her present condition the Trial could be of no farther service; and the Commodore, being resolved to separate the ships, in order to cruise upon the coast to the greatest advantage, gave orders to Captain Charles Saunders, the Commander, to burn the Trial, and in her room commissioned the Trial's prize for his Majesty's service, with the same Commander, officers, and people. This ship, the Trial's prize, was called by the Spaniards the *Nuestra Senora de Arinazie*; but, being now commissioned for his Majesty's service, she was henceforth called the Trial's Prize. She was the largest ship we took in those seas, being between five and six hundred tons, and loaded with bale goods, sugar, and other commodities, to a considerable value; and about 5000*l.* in specie and wrought silver.

The 28th, at nine in the morning, we parted with the Trial and both the prizes.

The 30th, we saw the main land of Chili. This day we began to exercise our people with small arms, which was the first time we had done it since we came into those seas, and which

we

we continued at all proper opportunities during the voyage.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October we came in sight of the high land of Valparaíso, bearing N. E. half E. at the distance of about 14 leagues. This city lies in the latitude of 32 deg. 58 min. S. its longitude from London is by my account 80 deg. 37 min. W.

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Commodore, being informed that there were murmurings amongst the people, because the prize-money was not immediately divided, ordered the articles of war to be read; and after that remonstrated to them on the danger of mutiny, and said he had heard the reason of their discontent, but assured them their properties were secured by act of parliament as firmly as any one's own inheritance, and that the money, plate, &c. were weighed and marked in public; so that any capable person, if he pleased, might take an inventory of the whole. He then read an account of the particulars, and told them they might (if they pleased) make choice of any person to take an inventory for them, or buy their parts. This spread a visible joy, and gave content to every one. We continued cruising off the coast of Valparaíso till the 8<sup>th</sup>, when at twelve at night we broke the main top-sail yard in the slings, on which we unbent the top-sail and got down the broken yard. At ten in the morning we saw the high land of Choapa, and over it the Cordillera mountains, being part of that long ridge

ridge of mountains called the Andes, which run from one end of South America to the other, appearing excessively high, with their tops covered with snow.

The 14th we crossed the south Tropic to the northward, and from this time, till we were some degrees to the northward of the Equator, met with nothing but fair weather and a smooth sea.

The 21st, at noon, the high land of Morro Quemado bore E. by N. at the distance of four leagues; and here we continued cruising off and on till Nov. 2, when, about six in the morning, we saw two sail of ships standing towards us; upon which we made a clear ship, and immediately gave them chase, when we soon perceived that they were the *Trial* and *Centurion* prizes. As we had the wind of them, we brought to, and waited their coming up, when Captain Saunders came on board, and acquainted the Commodore that he had cleared the *Trial* pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her, he remained by her till she sunk; but that it was not till the 4th of October before this was effected, by reason of the great swell and hollow sea; that, during his attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to leeward, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward, to regain the ground they had lost; that in their cruise they had met no prize, nor had seen any vessel on all the coast.

Nov.

### 312 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

Nov. the 3d, at five in the evening, the island of Asia, in lat. 13 deg. 5 min. S. long. 84 deg. 43 min. W. bore from us N. E. by E. distance five leagues.

The 5th, at four in the evening, we saw the high land of Barranca, bearing N. E. by E. distant eight or nine leagues; and half an hour after we saw a sail to the northward, to whom we gave chase, and cleared our ship for engaging. At 10 in the evening we came up with her, fired eight guns, and took her. She came from Guayaquil, and was bound for Callao, with timber, cacao, cordage, tobacco, cacao-nuts, and a small trunk with bale goods; all of little value to us, though a very considerable loss to the Spaniards. She was called the Santa Teresa, commanded by Don Bartolo Urrunaga, with between 30 and 40 people on board, passengers included, and five or six women, besides children. Our Third Lieutenant, two other officers, and a party of sailors, were sent on board to command and take care of her; and our other prizes being far astern, occasioned by our chasing this ship, we lay by till four the next morning, and fired a gun every hour as a signal for their joining us. This day I find, by the difference of our dead reckoning and observations, a current to set along this coast to the northward of near a mile an hour.

The 7th, we were employed in getting aboard several necessary stores, as planks, cordage, and the like, from our last prize, for the use of the squadron.

Squadron. The sea here appeared for several miles of a blood-red colour, which the prisoners informed us was common in those parts, and of which mention has been made more than once already in this work. This day we found aboard the prize, in specie and plate, 50 pounds averdupois weight.

The 9th, we brought from on board the *Teresa* 10 serons of cacao, one of wax, and 180 fathom of three and a half rope.

The 10th, we brought from on board our first prize the *Carmelo*, the following goods, viz. cloth two bales, bays five ditto, sugar 182 loaves, straw mats two, tar one skin, raisins three bales, indigo four serons, cotton cloth one bale, hats two cases, and 25 loose ones, skins one parcel, chocolate one bag, camlet one bale and two parcels, silks one box, lead four pigs, and combs one small parcel.

The 12th, at five in the morning, we saw a sail, to which we gave chase; but there being very little wind, we manned and armed our barge, pinnace, and the *Trial's* pinnace, and sent them to take her, and at eight they boarded and took her, and brought her to us at half an hour past 10. She was called the *Carmen*, commanded by Signior Marcus Marina, and came out of Payta the day before, bound to Callao, laden with iron and cloth, being a very valuable cargo. We found on board an Irishman, named John Williams, who pretended himself a prisoner amongst them, and with much seeming

joy entered with us. He informed us, that, amongst other ships in the Port of Payta, they left in the road a bark which was taking in 400,000 dollars, with which she would sail for Panama in a day or two at farthest; and the Spanish prisoners being examined, and confirming the intelligence, and farther giving some account of the strength of the place, the Commodore resolved to attack it this very night, and made preparations accordingly. Mr. Thomas Simmers, mate of our ship, with one midshipman and about 10 or 12 men, were sent to command and take care of this last prize. At four in the afternoon, Point Nonura bore E. by S. half S. distant eight leagues. At 10 at night, we sent our barge, pinnace, and Trial's pinnace, to attack the town of Payta, by surprise. They had 49 men well armed, and were commanded by the Lieutenants Brett, Dennis, and Hughes, who had orders, if possible, to secure the Governor of Payta, and send him prisoner on board, in order by that means to procure a supply of provisions, and a ransom for the town. Half an hour after 11 we sounded, and found 43 fathom water, the ground mud, the island of Lobos bearing N. N. E. at the distance of three or four miles. At seven in the morning, Point Onado, being the point that forms the bay of Payta, bore S. S. E. two miles distant; and the town of Payta at the same time began to open in a direct line with it, distant about four miles; soon after which we saw our British colours flying

ing on the castle. At 10, the Trial's boat came on board, loaded with gold and silver, corn, wrought plate, jewels, and rich moveables. They informed us, that they took the town about two in the morning; and that, though the Spaniards had some time before been apprized of our intent, they yet made a very faint resistance, having fired but two guns from their castle before our men landed, and a few small arms afterwards, when they all quitted the town with the greatest precipitation. The Governor and his family made their escape in so much haste, that his lady was handed out of a window with no other cloaths to cover her but her shift. All the inhabitants fled in the like confusion, except some negro women and children. In this action we lost one man, Peter Obrian, the Commodore's steward, who was shot through the breast by a musquet ball; and had two wounded, to wit, Arthur Lusk, a quarter-master, and the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, whom we had made use of as a guide; the first through the fleshy part of the arm near the shoulder, the second through the wrist, but neither dangerously: and I have had it reported from several officers then on shore, that our men ran to the attack, and fired in so irregular a manner, that it was, and still remains a doubt, whether those were not shot by our people rather than by the enemy.

The town of Payta, at the time of the attack, had a fort with eight guns mounted, which commanded the town and harbour; and the balcony

of the Governor's house, which again commanded that fort, together with several other houses, was lined with armed men, of which there might be about 400 in the town; but these people having enjoyed a long peace, and being enervated by the luxury so customary in those parts, their arms in a bad condition, and no person of experience or courage to head them, it is no wonder that they made so small a resistance, and were all driven out of the town in less than half an hour by only 49 men; but I believe the noise of two drums which we made use of, together with the suddenness of the surprize, contributed to intimidate them, and facilitated our success.

On our getting possession of the castle, our commanding-officer very inconsiderately ordered the guns to be thrown over the walls, which accordingly was executed; but some time after reflecting on the ill consequence which might attend that proceeding, he ordered two of them to be got up and re-mounted.

At 11, our barge came on board, loaded with money, plate, and jewels. This town contains about 140 or 150 houses; there are in it two churches, which, together with the Governor's house and castle, are the only remarkable buildings. There are several large store-houses full of rich European, Asian, and American goods, all which were destroyed when we set the town on fire; of which in its place. The town lies in latitude 5 deg. 3 min. S. and longitude from London 88 deg. 48 min. W. This afternoon

we



we employed ourselves in getting off the plunder, and provisions of hogs and fowls, which were here in great plenty. In the evening we anchored in 10 fathom water, the town bearing from us S. by E. half E. at about three miles distance, not being able to get farther in, by reason of the flaws of wind from off the land.

From this time to the 15th we were employed in getting on board the plunder, which chiefly consisted of rich brocades, laced cloaths, bales of fine linens and woolens, Britannia's, flays, and the like ; together with a great number of hogs, some sheep and fowls, cases of Spanish brandies and wines, a great quantity of onions, olives, sweet-meats, and many other things too tedious to name ; all which the sailors hoped would have been equally divided among the ships companies, but they found themselves disappointed.

We found in the road, one ship, two snows, one schooner, and two quarter-gallies, all which we took possession of. The 14th, in the morning, we saw a bark-log as they call it, being a sort of raft made of the stumps of trees fastened together, overlaid with poles, and covered with small twigs twisted mat-wise, with several people in her coming along shore from the southward. She had a sort of mast and sail in her, and at first sight we knew not what to make of her ; and none of our own boats being on board, we sent the carmen's boat, with Mr. Langdon, a midshipman, who commanded in the second place on board that ship, and some armed people,

ple, to pursue them, who perceiving it put on shore, and made their escape over the rocks. Mr. Langdon took their bark-log, which he found to be laden with dried fish, which we suppose they were carrying to Payta for a market. This evening the Spaniards, who had all along appeared in great numbers from the hills, and were now considerably increased, making a shew of warlike preparations, as if they designed in the night to attack our people in the town, they thereupon barricaded the streets, and kept very strict watches, to prevent a surprise. Several negroes delivered themselves up, desiring to be made prisoners, that they might have some food, and more especially water, to keep them from perishing; for the country thereabouts being for many miles round quite barren and sandy, without either water or any other thing necessary for life, and the nearest town to them, named as I think Sancta Cruz, whence relief might be got, being a day and a half or two days journey off, the people who had left the town were in a starving condition, and we had melancholy accounts of several dying among them for want chiefly of water during our small stay; and yet so greatly were they infatuated or frightened, that they never offered to treat for the ransom of the place, which if they had done, I believe it would not have been destroyed; in which case they might have secured to themselves not only their habitations, but provisions and water enough (till they could have

have got a fresh recruit), which we should on that condition have readily left them.

The town seems to be very unhappily situated on that and some other accounts, they having no water but what is brought them by land-carriage from several leagues off; so that they are obliged to keep very considerable quantities by them in earthen jars, not only for their own use, but for the ships who frequently touch here, where they likewise often unload, and take in fresh cargoes. They are in the same case as to grain, bread, and almost all other necessaries of life; and lie so open to an enemy, that the town has been often taken and ruined by the English, Dutch, and French; all which inconveniencies, one would imagine, should tempt them to change their situation: but then the conveniency of their trade is so great, being the only proper place they can pitch on for a mart between Panama and Peru, that they prefer this lucrative convenience to all other considerations.

Among the slaves who had desired to be entertained in our service, was one, who, having been a slave in Jamaica, had on the death of his master obtained his liberty, and thereupon entered himself a servant to one of the South-Sea Company's factors, whom he accompanied to Porto Bello and Panama, and there got into the service of a Spanish gentleman, who took a great fancy to him, and with whom he went to Lima in Peru, where this master likewise dying left him a very considerable legacy; but the power  
being

being now in the hands of his executors, they not only defrauded him of this legacy, but made him a slave a second time. He was now at Payta with one of his new masters, on his passage from Lima to Panama, when he took this opportunity to come over to us; and being a very handy fellow, and accustomed to wait on gentlemen, he was immediately taken into the Commodore's service, came with us into England, and, I believe, continued with him till his death. This person gave us some information of the designs of the Spaniards on shore, and told us we had killed one or two of them, and wounded several others; but this account was never, that I know of, farther confirmed.

The 15th, in the morning, we sent on shore all our Spanish, and several of our Indian prisoners, keeping all the blacks and some of the Indians, to assist in working the ships, &c. To the blacks, who were all or most of them slaves, was promised their liberty in England, in case they would stand by and assist us against our enemies the Spaniards; which they all promised very cordially: but we could soon discover, that, notwithstanding their seeming condescension, most of them would have much rather continued in the service of their old masters, than fail to accept of liberty with us; not that I believe those people were in love with slavery, or would not willingly have had their liberty, but then it must be on their own terms, the Spaniards in those parts being in great awe of the  
Indians,

Indians, whom, though they have subdued, and seem to have incorporated among them, they dare not trust, but keep these blacks as guards, and use them well. The truth is, those Indians have still preserved, by tradition from father to son, the memory of the great cruelties which the first Spaniards exercised in those parts, and are angry enough at their present hard usage. They look on themselves as the natural lords of the country, and the Spaniards as covetous intruders, and cruel inhuman tyrants; and want only opportunity to make them sensible of their resentment, and to recover their lost country and liberty. 'Tis on this account that the Spaniards are very kind to their black slaves, whom they cherish and encourage highly, and look on them in the same light of a standing militia, always ready to arm against those Indians; so that, though the negroes in all other plantations in the West Indies are ever ready for revolts and rebellions, these, on the contrary, are always ready to defend their kind masters with their lives. In effect they live very easy, are favoured by the Spaniards, and scorn and insult the poor Indians, who in return hate and detest both them and their masters; that being all that is left in their power.

This day an order was given to Mr. Brett, the then commanding officer on shore, to burn and destroy the town entirely, the two churches, which stood a little out of the way of the rest, only excepted; the Spaniards, as has been al-

ready said, never having made any advance towards treating for its ransom.

But now, before I entirely quit the relation of our transactions at this place, it may, perhaps, be expected, that I should give a more particular account of the booty we made, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained. I have already observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but, as most of them were what we could neither dispose of, nor carry away, the total of this merchandize can only be rudely guessed at. The Spaniards, in their representations sent to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured), estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we left behind us, were of the richest and most expensive species, as broad-cloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate.

As to ourselves, the acquisition we made, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet far from despicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of 30,000 l. besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then estimate: and over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; so that, upon the whole, it was by much the most important booty we met with upon that coast.

There

There remains still another matter to be related, which on account of the signal honour which our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. I have already observed, that all the prisoners taken by us were, before our departure, put on shore, and discharged, amongst whom there were some persons of considerable distinction, especially a youth of about 17 years of age, son of the Vice-President of the Council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uses the ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety ; particularly this youth, who, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country ; of all which, he was fully persuaded, he had taken his last farewell, believing that he was now devoted for the remaining part of his life to an abject and cruel servitude. Indeed, his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface those terrifying impressions they had received of us, always taking

care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for should dine at his table by turns; and giving the most peremptory orders, too, that they should always be treated with the utmost decency and humanity: but, notwithstanding this precaution, it was generally observed, that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, suspecting the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought-of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our sincerity, they grew perfectly easy in their situation, and remarkably chearful; so that it was often disputable, whether or no they considered their being detained by us as a misfortune: for the youth I have above mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at last so far conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, that it is doubtful to me, whether, if his own opinion had been asked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the *Centurion*, to the being set on shore at Payta, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and occasioned them, likewise, (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson before the capture of the *Teresa*,  
 their



their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards the ladies whom he took in that vessel; for, being informed that there were among them a mother and two daughters of exquisite beauty, who were of quality, he not only gave orders that they should be left in full possession of their own apartments, but also forbid, on the severest penalties, any of the common people on board from approaching them; and, that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or of having the means of complaining if they were not, he permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as a guardian and protector. These were measures that seemed so different from what might have been expected from an enemy and an heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themselves experienced his beneficence, were surprized at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all this was done without solicitation, and without the interposition of one friend to intercede in their favour. The ladies were so sensible of the obligations they owed him for the care and attention with which he protected them, that they absolutely refused to go to shore at Payta, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion to return him thanks in person. Indeed, all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment :

ment : a jesuit, in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he should consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice at all times, adding that his usage of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgotten, and such as he should never fail to acknowledge upon all occasions ; but that his behaviour to the ladies was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted if all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be sufficient to render it credible. Indeed, we were afterwards informed, that he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head ; but that, both at Lima and at other places, they had given the greatest encomiums to our Commodore ; that the jesuit, in particular, as we were told, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense, that article of his church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved—But to return :

After we had finished our business, set the town in flames, and got the treasure on board, Mr. Brett, the officer who commanded the attack, having collected his men together, was directing his march towards the beach where the boats waited to take them on board, when the Spaniards on the hill behind the town, observing his retreat, resolved to try if they

they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for future boasting. To this end a party of horse, all picked men singled out for this daring enterprize, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not entertained a just opinion of their prowess, we might have imagined, that, now we were upon the open beach, with no advantages of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed, and we were not mistaken, that all this was mere ostentation; for, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they at first came on with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopt their career, and never dared to advance a step farther.

When our people arrived at their boats and were ready to go on board, they were for some time retarded by missing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries among each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats and to depart without him: but, when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were just putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The place was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely discern him, though they heard his voice. However, the Lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief,  
who

### 328 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtless were, at the pillage and destruction of their town. On enquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed, at first opening his eyes, to see the houses on a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him into a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and, making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst (for he could not swim), before he ventured to look back.

By the time our people had helped their comrades out of the water, and were making the best of their way to the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and burnt so furiously, both by means of the combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the lightness of the materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down  
in

in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein. Mr. Brett had the curiosity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ships in the harbour, as may be seen in the Plate.

Our detachment having now safely joined the squadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. At seven, Cape Blanco, in lat. 4 deg. 28 min. S. and long. 88 deg. 16 min. W. from London, bore from us S. S. E. half E. about seven or eight miles distant. This afternoon and the next day we were employed in taking the most useful and valuable things out of the Santa Teresa and the Payta bark: we likewise designing to take every necessary thing which we conveniently could out of the Santa Teresa, in order to destroy her, and bring our strength into a less compass, we took her in tow, and set the Payta bark on fire with the same view. The next day we destroyed the Santa Teresa in the same manner, having got out of them both some anchors, cables, hawsers, yards, and top-masts, blocks, bales of goods, and several other necessities.

The 17th at three in the afternoon, the Gloucester, with a prize of her's in tow, joined us. This prize was called the Del Oro, and was chiefly laden with wine; however, out of her and a small boat which they took going along shore, they got, in gold, silver, and wrought plate, to about the value of 17 or 18000*l*.

These two were all the prizes the Gloucester took in those seas.

On board this prize of this Gloucester were two horses, which being, I suppose, fat, and probably better food than their salt beef or pork, they killed and eat them; and this, I imagine, gave ground to that fiction which one of the spurious accounts of our voyage has given, of our eagerly hunting and eating wild horses, whereas in reality we never saw nor heard of a wild horse during the voyage.

The Gloucester had chased two or three ships which had escaped her, and one of those touched at Payta; and though they could give no certain account that the ship which had chased them was an enemy, yet the circumstances they gave were so strong, that it put the people of Payta upon securing their treasure, and the best of their effects, not caring to be too well provided for the profit of such unwelcome visitants.

The 21st, at half past five in the morning, we saw the island of Plata, so called from Sir Francis Drake's having, as it is said, divided the treasure he took in the South Seas at this place. At two this afternoon, the port of Manta bore S. E. by E. distant about eight or nine leagues. We at this time sent six months provisions on board the Carmen; and all the ships had orders, in case of separation, for several rendezvouses on the coast of Mexico, or, in case of not meeting there, to make the best of their way to Macao,  
in

in China, where they were to await the arrival of the Commodore.

The 22d, a division was made of the plunder of Payta, and the Commodore not appearing in that affair, it was done at the pleasure, and to the entire satisfaction, of five or six (no doubt) very disinterested officers; and, indeed, most things of this nature, during the course of the voyage being managed with the same discretion and honour, no room was left for complaining of particular partialities.

Here, however, we cannot help remarking a very considerable difference between the relation given by Pascoe Thomas, and that given by Mr. Walters; the former having asserted, that the Commodore did *not* interfere in the distribution; the latter, that it was by his prudent management, that a jealousy, which had arisen between those who were the real captors, and those who remained on board the ship, was accommodated. Mr. Walters' account will set this matter in a true light: "And now, says he, (while the ships lay-to, in hopes of joining the Gloucester,) a jealousy, which had taken its rise at Payta, between those who had been commanded on shore for the attack, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the Commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it necessary to interpose his authority to oppose it. The ground of this animosity was the plunder gotten at Payta, which those who had acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, considering it

as a reward for the risques they had run, and the resolution they had shewn in that service. But those who had remained on board looked on this as a very partial and unjust procedure, urging, that, had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred the acting on shore to the continuing on board; that their duty while their comrades were on shore was extremely fatiguing; for, besides the labour of the day, they were constantly under arms all night, to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture: that, upon the whole, it could not be denied, but that the presence of a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprize, as the action of the others on shore; and, therefore, those who had continued on board maintained, that they could not be deprived of their share of the plunder without manifest injustice. These were the contests amongst our men, which were carried on with great heat on both sides; and, though the plunder in question was a very trifle in comparison of the treasure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but those on board had an equal right), yet as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the Commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Payta, he ordered



dered all hands upon the quarter-deck, where addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion ; but then, representing to them the reasons urged by those who had continued on board, for an equal distribution of the plunder, he told them, that he thought these reasons very conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were justly founded ; and therefore, he insisted, that, not only the men, but all the officers likewise who had been employed in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission ; and, to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the Commodore added, that, as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus, this troublesome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might, perhaps, have been attended with mischievous consequences, was, by the Commodore's prudence, soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company : not but there were some few whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning

ing

ing the force of equity, however glaring, when is tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands."

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that we should stand to the northward, and make the best of our way either to Cape St. Lucas on California, or to Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico. Indeed, the Commodore, when at Juan Fernandez, had determined to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get some correspondence over land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon; for when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portsmouth, which was intended to be sent to the West Indies, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements. And Mr. Anson, taking it for granted that this enterprize had succeeded, and that Porto Bello perhaps might be then garrisoned by British troops, he hoped that, on his arrival at the isthmus, he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side, either by the Indians, who were greatly disposed in our favour, or even by the Spaniards themselves, some of whom for proper rewards might be induced to carry on this intelligence; which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; so that Mr. Anson flattered himself, that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men from the other side, and that, by  
settling

settling a prudent plan of operations with our Commanders in the West Indies, he might have taken even Panama itself, which would have given to the British nation the possession of that isthmus, whereby we should have been in effect masters of all the treasures of Peru.

Such were the projects which the Commodore revolved in his thoughts, at the island of Juan Fernandez, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced; but in examining the papers which were found on board the *Carmelo*, the first prize we took, we learned, that our attempt against Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet in that part of the world would engage in any new enterprize that would at all facilitate this plan. Mr. Anson therefore gave over all hopes of being reinforced across the isthmus, and consequently had no inducement at present to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place, and there was great reason to believe that, by this time, there was a general embargo on all the coast.

The only feasible measure, then, which was left us, was to steer as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruise for the *Manilla* galleon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of *Acapulco*; and we doubted not but to get on that station time enough to intercept her: but there was a business which we foresaw would occasion some delay, and that was the recruiting

### 336 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

recruiting our water, it being impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of Mexico till we had procured a fresh supply. It was for some time a matter of deliberation, where we should take in this necessary article; but, by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama. Nor was it but on good grounds that the Commodore conceived this to be the properest place for watering the squadron. Indeed, there was a small island called Cocos, which was less out of our way than Quibo, where some of the buccaneers had pretended to find water; but none of our prisoners knew any thing of it, and it was thought too dangerous to risque the safety of the squadron, by exposing ourselves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of those legendary writers, of whose misrepresentations and falsities we had almost daily experience. Determined, therefore, to take in water at Quibo, we directed our course northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing S. S. E. half E. seven miles distant. By this time we found that our last prize, the *Solidad*, was far from answering the character given of her as a good sailer; and she and the *Santa Teresa* delaying us considerably, the Commodore commanded

commanded them to be cleared of every thing that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt. And having given proper instructions, and appointed a rendezvous to the Gloucester, and to the prizes, in case of separation, we proceeded in our course for Quibo.

On the 25th, Point Manta bore S. E. by E. at seven miles distance, and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell in the Gloucester took the opportunity of setting on shore several of his prisoners. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the prizes, to compleat their stock for six months; and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship a warm reception, if happily she should fall in our way, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks on the main and fore tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns.

On the 25th we had sight of the island of Gallo; and from hence we crossed the bay of Panama, shaping our course in a direct line for Quibo. Here we found, in a few days, a very considerable alteration in the climate; for, instead of that uniform temperature, where neither the excess of heat or cold was prevalent, we had now close and sultry weather, like that we met with on the coast of Brazil. We had, besides, frequent calms and heavy rains, which we at first ascribed to the neighbourhood of the Line,

where this kind of weather is observed to obtain at all seasons of the year ; but, finding that it attended us for more than seven degrees of north latitude, we began to suspect that the stormy season, or, as the Spaniards call it, the Vandewals, was not yet past ; though many writers, particularly Captain Shelvock, assert, that this season begins in June, and ends in November : but, perhaps, its end may not be always regular.

On the 27th, Capt. Mitchell having cleared his largest prize, she was likewise set on fire ; and now our fleet consisted only of five ships, and we were fortunate enough to find them all good sailors. On the 3d of December we had a view of the island of Quibo, the east end of which bore from us N. N. W. four leagues distant, and the island of Quicara W. N. W. at about the same distance. When we had thus got sight of land, we found the wind to hang westerly ; and therefore night coming on, we thought it adviseable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals at the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning, Point Marrato bore N. E. half N. three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point, all the squadron, except the Centurion, were very near it ; and the Gloucester, being the leeward-most ship, was forced to tack and stand to the southward ; so that we lost sight of her ; and, the wind proving unfavourable, we saw her no more till we quitted the island. At  
seven

seven in the evening we anchored in the Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, which is at least six miles in breadth, muddy ground. Next morning an officer was dispatched on shore to discover the watering-place, who, having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent our long-boat for a load of water, and at the same time weighed and stood further in with our ships, for the convenience of being sooner supplied; so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward, and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. In the places where they put on shore, in the course of this expedition, they generally found the soil to be rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the north-east point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind which human art had ever yet produced. It was a river of transparent water, about 40 yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near 150 feet in length. The channel itself was very irregular, intirely composed of rocks, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks, and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted; for in some parts it ran sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, whilst in

others it tumbled over ledges of rocks with a perpendicular descent. On the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood ; and even the huge masses of rock which over-hung the water, and which by their various projections formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the Commodore, with those who accompanied him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight, as it were to heighten and animate the prospect, a prodigious flight of Mackaws, which, hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing above it, afforded a most brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the sun, and their variegated plumage ; so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport when they recount the beauties which occurred in this extraordinary waterfall.

In three days we completed our business in this place, and were impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coast of Mexico, to intercept the galleon ; but the wind, being contrary, detained us a night ; and next day, when we had gained an offing, while we were hovering about in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester, we on the 20th discerned a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and coming up with her took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the *Jesu Nazareno*, laden with oakum, rock salt, and



and a small quantity of money to purchase a cargo of provisions at Cheripe, an inconsiderable village on the continent, which, however, has a good market, from whence future voyagers, in case of necessity, may be plentifully supplied.

On the 12th of September we joined the Gloucester, who informed us, that, in tacking to the southward, on her first approach towards the island, she had sprung her fore-top-mast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. We now scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno, and, on the 12th of December, stood to the westward, having previously delivered fresh instructions for the conduct of the fleet. We had now little doubt of arriving soon enough upon our intended station, as we expected, upon the increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind, but, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, so that it was the 25th of December before we saw the island of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only 100 leagues from the continent, and even then we had the mortification to make so little way, that we did not lose sight of that island again in five days. This island we found to be in the lat. of 5 deg. 20 min. N.

We had flattered ourselves, that the uncertain and western gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which,

as we got more distant, we hoped to be relieved by falling in with the eastern trade-wind ; but in this too being disappointed, we began at length to despair of the great purpose we had in view. This produced a general dejection among us, as we had at first considered the project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our dependency was, in some measure, alleviated by a favourable change of the wind ; and, as we now advanced a-pace towards our station, our hopes began again to revive. On the 17th of January, we were advanced to the lat. of 12 deg. 50 min. N. and, on the 26th of January, finding ourselves to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land ; and we expected, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with it on the 28th, yet, though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sign of it at sunset ; about ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard bow, bearing from us N. N. E. and, soon after, the Trial's prize made the signal for seeing a sail. As we had none of us any doubt but that what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manilla galleon, that had been so long the object of our wishes. We immediately cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forward with all our canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased

chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as we sometimes conceived the chace to be about a mile distant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up to this Manilla ship, whose wealth we now estimated at round millions: but, when day-light came, we were most vexatiously disappointed, by finding that the light which had occasioned all this expectancy, was only a fire on the shore. At sun-rising, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off land, extending from the N. W. to E. half N. On this land we observed two remarkable hammocks, which bore N. from us, and which a Spanish pilot and two Indians affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco; but we found them egregiously mistaken, these being in 17 deg. 56 min. whereas Acapulco lies in 17 deg. only.

Being now in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether she was or was not arrived: but, examining our prisoners about it, they assured us, she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us, that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction when she

she continued out longer than ordinary. On this reasoning of our prisoners, we resolved to cruise for her some days, and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of 12 leagues from the coast, in such a manner that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved; however, not seeing her soon, we were very solicitous to gain some positive intelligence. With this view the Commodore resolved to send a boat under cover of the night into the harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manilla ship was there or not. To execute this enterprize, the barge was dispatched the 6th of February, carrying a sufficient crew and two officers, as also a Spanish pilot and an Indian. Our barge did not return till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anson, that they had mistaken the harbour, and that Acapulco lay a considerable distance more to the eastward, and that, not having a sufficient quantity of provisions for their passage thither, they were obliged to return to make known their disappointment. On this intelligence we made sail to the eastward, and the next day we dispatched the barge, with particular instructions to keep at a sufficient distance not to be seen from the shore. We watched six days without receiving any intelligence, so that we began to be uneasy for her safety; but on the 7th day she returned with advice, that, being at the very place they sought for, though they were then ignorant of their situation, they surprized a fishing canoe with three negroes, who told us that the Manilla galleon

galleon arrived at Acapulco on the 9th of January, but that, having delivered her cargo, she was taking in water and provisions in order to return; and that the Viceroy of Mexico had by proclamation fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March. This last news was most joyfully received by us, since we had no doubt but she must fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to seize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the money for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be much more esteemed by us than the cargo itself. Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean.

As it was the 19th of February when the barge returned, and brought us our intelligence, and the galleon was not to sail till the 3d of March, the Commodore resolved to continue the greatest part of the intermediate time in his present station to the westward of Acapulco, in order to avoid a discovery from the shore. During this interval we were employed in getting all things in readiness to engage; and, when the long-wished-for 3d of March came, we were all so strongly prepossessed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an assurance of her coming out of port, that some or other of us were

constantly imagining that they discovered one of our cutters returning with a signal; but, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the succeeding night passed away without any news of her approach. However, we did not yet despair, nor did we abate of our vigilance: but, after remaining till the 25th of March, we at length concluded, and we afterwards found it to be true, that we had been discovered, and that in consequence an embargo had been laid upon the galleon, and her departure postponed till the next year.

The cutters, having on that day finished their cruise before the harbour, returned to the squadron, and the signal being given for the fleet to join, it was determined to retire to Chequetan, to take in a fresh supply of water, which was then nearly exhausted. In the mean time, a cutter, commanded by Mr. Hughes, Lieutenant of the *Trial's* prize, was ordered to continue off the harbour of Acapulco for 24 days, in order that, if the galleon should set sail in that time, we might be speedily informed of it.

On the 5th of April we entered the harbour of Chequetan, in lat. 17 deg. 36 min. N. about 30 leagues to the westward of Acapulco. The watering-place has the appearance of a large standing lake, without any visible outlet into the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand. The origin of this lake is a spring that bubbles out of the ground, near half a mile within the country. We found its water a little  
brackish,

brackish, but more considerably so towards the sea-side; for the nearer we advanced towards the spring-head, the softer and fresher it proved. This laid us under a necessity of filling all our casks from the farthest part of the lake, which was facilitated by means of canoes which traversed the lake, and brought a number of small casks to the side next the beach; thence the water was started into larger vessels in the boats, and by that contrivance brought on board with very little trouble.

As the country hereabouts, particularly the tract of coast contiguous to Acapulco, appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to have easily procured from thence some fresh provisions, and other refreshments, which we now stood much in need of. To facilitate these views, the Commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of 40 men well armed to march into the country, and to endeavour to discover some town where they were to attempt to set on foot a correspondence with the inhabitants; for, when we had once begun this intercourse, we doubted not but by proper presents we should allure them to bring down to us whatever fruits or fresh provisions were in their power. As our prizes abounded with various sorts of coarse merchandize, which were of little consequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable, our people were directed on this occasion to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to make as little

ostentation of hostility as possible; for we were sensible we could find no wealth in those parts worth our notice; and what necessaries we really wanted, we expected would be better, and more abundantly supplied, by an open, amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and therefore we desisted from any more attempts of the same nature, contenting ourselves with what we could procure for ourselves in the neighbourhood of the port where we lay. We caught fish in abundance; among the rest cavallies, bream, mullets, soals, fiddle-fish, and lobsters; and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fish called the Torpedo, which is in shape very much resembling the fiddle-fish, and is only distinguished from it in appearance by a brown circular spot of about the bigness of a crown-piece near the center of its back. This fish is, indeed, of a most singular nature, benumbing whoever touches it all over his body, but more particularly that limb which happens to come in immediate contact with it. The same effect, too, will be in some degree produced by touching the fish with any thing held in the hand; and it has lately been discovered, that it may be communicated like the electrical shock to a large circle, by means of a certain apparatus much more simple than that which is used in experiments in electricity.

The animals which we met with on shore  
were



were chiefly guanoes, with which the country abounds, and which are by some reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey, except we should esteem that amphibious creature the alligator as such, several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. It is, however, certain, that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them happened to make their appearance while we remained upon the coast. Parrots and pheasants were found in plenty, but by no means proper for food, being dry and tasteless, though they were often killed and eaten, being by some thought preferable to salt provisions.

The papah, lime, and a little four plumb, were all the fruits the woods furnished, and of these there were but a scanty portion; nor was there any other useful vegetable, except brooklime, which, being esteemed an antiscorbutic, was frequently eaten, though from its bitterness it was exceedingly unpalatable.

While we lay at Chequetan, it was resolved, after mature deliberation, to destroy all our prizes, as the whole number of men on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man-of-war. It was therefore judged most prudent to set fire to the ships, and to divide the men between the Centurion and Gloucester, now preparing to set sail for China. Besides the necessary repairs for a voyage of such length, the removal of their stores and cargoes into the men-of-war took up so much time,

## 350 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

time, that it was the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

It should have been remarked, that, from this harbour of Chequetan we discovered but one pathway through the woods into the country ; and as this was much beaten, we were from that circumstance convinced, that it was not unfrequented by the natives. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach to surprize us, we at some distance beyond the spring head felled several large trees, and laid them one upon another across the path, and at this barricadoe we constantly kept a guard. We, besides, ordered our men employed in watering, to have their arms always in readiness, in case of an alarm, and to march instantly to this post. And, though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being disturbed by the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was, to hinder our people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprized by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be very solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience the strictest orders were given to the centinels, to let no person whatever pass beyond this post ; but, notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Legere, who was the Commodore's cook. As he was a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, it was at first imagined that he had deserted  
with

with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise; for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transported to Mexico, and thence to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But, the vessel being obliged, by some accident, to put into Lisbon, Legere escaped on shore, and was by the British Consul sent from thence to England; where he gave the first authentic account of the safety of the Commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas.

The relation he gave of his own seizure, was, that he rambled into the woods, at some distance from the barricade where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stoppt and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to gather a quantity of limes for his master's stores; and that in this occupation he was surprized unawares by four Indians, who stript him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence; that afterwards, at Mexico, his treatment was sufficiently severe; so that the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed, Legere's  
 fortune

fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; as, after the hazards he had run in the Commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement among the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England; for though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr. Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, since he was killed in an insignificant night-brawl, the cause of which could scarcely ever be discovered.

When we were necessitated to proceed to Chequetan to recruit our water, the Commodore considered that our arrival in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco; and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in that port, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleons: he therefore ordered the cutter, as has already been noticed, to cruise twenty-four days off the Port of Acapulco, and her Commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the Commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was certainly a much better sailer than the galleon, Mr. Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific Ocean; however,  
the

the Viceroy of Mexico ruined this project, by detaining the galleon in port all the year.

Towards the latter end of April, all things being in readiness for sailing, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* weighed anchor; and, after having gained an offing, the prizes were set on fire, and a canoe fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it, well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr. Hughes, directing him to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruise for him in that station some days. Indeed, it was no small mortification to us, now we were at sea, and the stormy season approaching, that we were detained by the absence of the cutter, and under a necessity of standing towards Acapulco in search of her. As the time of her cruise had been expired near a fortnight, we suspected that she had been discovered from the shore, and that the Governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her; which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprize. However, this being only conjecture, the Commodore, as soon as he was got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her; and, to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought to every night, and carried lights which the cutter could not but perceive.

By the 2d of May we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco; and, having seen

nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost; which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune, which in our present scarcity of hands we were greatly interested in; since the crew of the cutter were the flower of our people, purposely picked out for this service, as known to be, every one of them, of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us, that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the Commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners on board, some of them of quality. The Commodore, therefore, wrote a letter to the Governor of Acapulco, telling him, that he would release them all, provided the Governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was dispatched by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a high opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of Spaniards, who gave their parole for their return. The Spanish officer, too, besides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition, signed by all the rest of the prisoners, beseeching the Governor to acquiesce in the terms proposed for their liberty. But while we were thus contriving their release, the centinel called out from the mast-head, that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable

derable distance to the south-eastward, which, to our unspeakable joy, upon her nearer approach, we found was our own cutter, the wan and meagre countenances of whose crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed; where, by rest, and nourishing diet, with which they were plentifully supplied from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour. And now we learnt that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks; that, when they had finished their cruise, and had just begun to ply to the westward, in order to join the Squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them upwards of 80 leagues to leeward, where they found every where so great a surf, that there was no possibility of landing; that they passed some days in the most dreadful situation, without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtles which they caught; that at last, giving up all hopes of succour, the heat of the climate too augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths; but that soon after a most unexpected incident

happily relieved them; for there fell so heavy a rain, that, on spreading their sails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centers of them, they caught as much water as filled their casks; that immediately upon this fortunate supply, they stood to the westward in quest of the Commodore, and being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined him in less than 50 hours from that time, after having been absent in the whole full 43 days.

And now having, to our entire satisfaction, got on board our people, and the season of the year for sailing to Asia being far (we found it too far) advanced, the Commodore resolved not to wait for any return from Acapulco, but gave orders to equip two large prize launches, to carry on shore the Spanish and Indian prisoners, both from ourselves and the Gloucester; and, having given them provisions and all necessaries for Panama, whither they intended to sail, about four in the evening they left us, to the number of about sixty persons, having first, though enemies, observed the custom of sea-faring people at parting, and wished us a prosperous voyage.

From the 6th of May, the day we took our departure, we met with little remarkable for above a month, except that the true trade-wind, which is said never to fail at about sixty or seventy leagues from the shore of Mexico at the farthest, was so far from answering our expectations, that we had nothing but cross winds,  
squalls,



squalls, rain, thunder and lightning, till by account we were 600 leagues to the westward of Acapulco, having been above 40 days in getting so far. The 9th, we found the foremast sprung in a dangerous manner, and thereupon fished and secured it very strongly.

The 22d in the evening, we sprung a leak, making 12 inches water in a watch, and on a search found it to be on the larboard side, abreast the main hatch-way, and not quite under water. The carpenters soon stopt it with very little trouble.

The 11th of June, we found a current to set to the southward, about 24 miles a day, but could not discover whether to the east or west, for want of opportunity to try it. This was by account about 450 leagues from Acapulco; and, much about this time, abundance of scorbutic symptoms, such as blackness in the skin, hard nodes in the flesh, shortness of breath, and a general lassitude and weakness of all the parts, began to prevail, almost universally, among our people. This, with the great mortality we experienced from this distemper in our Cape Horn passage, and the time we might still expect to be at sea, having yet 1800 leagues to those islands called, by Sir Francis Drake, the Ladrones, or Islands of Thieves, from the thievish disposition of the inhabitants, but by the Spaniards the Marian Islands, where only we could expect our next refreshments; and no trade-wind being yet settled;—these considerations,

### 358 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

derations, I say, gave us dreadful apprehensions of what this passage might terminate in; and the event shewed that we had but too much reason for them.

The 14th, at five in the evening, the Gloucester, having sprung the head of her main-mast, 12 feet below the trussel-trees, fired a gun as a signal of distress, on which we brought to, and waited for her; and, after enquiring into, and hearing the cause, we sent them on board two carpenters to assist in fisting and securing it; but the carpenters in concert, having viewed and considered the damage, reported, the next day, that the mast was unfit to stand, and would not bear repairing; but that it must be shortened 26 feet from the head, and the top-mast be set on the stump. This, therefore, was concluded on, and ordered accordingly.

The 23d, we found our own main-top-mast sprung in the wake of the cap; whereupon we reefed it 20 inches, that is, we lowered it so much, and secured it there, and flected and set up the shrouds and back-stays.

The 24th, in the evening, we got the top-mast down, and put up another in its place, and a man falling overboard, we brought the ship to, and took him up safe; likewise, the slings of our cross-jack-yards being broke, we fixed new ones, and the next day got up the fore-top-gallant mast and yard.

The 27th, we made the Gloucester signal, and sent our boat on board of her.

The

The 28th, we received from the Gloucester half an anchor-stock, for a farther security to the fore-mast.

The 29th, the Gloucester finished her jury-mast, and made sail on it. Nothing farther remarkable till

July 1st, we had fresh gales, and cloudy weather, with some lightning.

The 2d, we unbent the fore-sail, and bent another. We had, not only now, but for almost our whole passage, abundance of birds of prey, also flying fish, which are their proper food, and vast quantities of skipjacks, albigores, &c. whereof we took a great number, which contributed much to our refreshment after the loss of the tortoises, that generally leave all ships about twenty or thirty leagues off the land. I think this the more worthy of notice, because Dampier, Rogers, Cook, Cowley, and most other voyagers, some of whom have been not only once, but several times on this voyage, have reported, that they never saw a fish or fowl in this whole run. I will not say, as Mr. Cook frequently does, when any other person's account does not happen to square exactly with what himself has observed, viz. "What credit is to be given to such authors?" never making allowances for contingencies which might or might not happen, and which would better have displayed his own impartiality, than a dogmatical condemnation of every other person, without  
exami-

260 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

examination. For my part, I readily believe and conclude, that this difference in our observations and accounts is really occasioned by the different seasons of the year in which we happened to perform this passage; it being a known truth, and confirmed by the experience of thousands in all ages, that most fish have their different seasons for their different rendezvous.

The 10th, we saw three gannets, or, as they call them in Scotland, soland geese; being, by what I can learn from the most intelligent of that nation whom I have conversed with, and who often have opportunity to observe them in several different parts, of one and the same species; we likewise saw some sea weeds; both which circumstances made us imagine that some islands or shoals were not far off, those fowls never being observed to fly very far out to sea.

The 10th, we unbent the fore-top-sail, and bent another.

The 12th, at noon, we were, by my account, 180 deg. 11 min. to the westward of the meridian of London, which is just 11 min. more than half round the globe, for which reason I note it. We were at this time, by my account, 1429 leagues distant from the port of Acapulco.

From this time till the 16th we had fresh gales, with squalls and rain.

The 17th and 18th, we had moderate and cloudy weather.

The 19th and 20th, fresh gales, with abundance

dance of rain. We made this observation, that, with rainy weather, or even slight transient showers, the fish bit more freely, and were caught in greater numbers, than with fair weather; which made our fishermen the more attentive at such times. It was likewise remarked, that the Gloucester, when they could find opportunity to fish, had always much greater success than we; whether their fishermen had more art than ours, or whatever else occasioned it, the fact is true. They had also a better way of disposing of them, when taken, if I may be allowed to judge, than we; for Capt. Mitchell constantly ordered several boys, who were very dexterous at it, to catch fish for the ship's company, especially the sick; and those were very justly and regularly divided among them: whereas our fishermen were left at liberty to make their advantage of what they took, and to prey upon their suffering shipmates; and they took care not to overslip the opportunity, for the least fish you could purchase of them would cost you a bottle of brandy; which, at this time, was worth four, or perhaps six, and sometimes even eight shillings, or half a guinea; and you must be very thankful, and acknowledge yourself to be highly obliged into the bargain, or else expect none next time, and very often fail of it notwithstanding. About this time our people began to die very fast, and, I believe, above five parts out of six of the ship's company were ill, and expected to follow in a short time.

Those, whose breath was any ways affected, dropt off immediately; but those, who were attacked first in the more remote parts of the body, languished generally a month or six weeks; the distemper advancing, in the mean time, towards the lungs, by a very regular and sensible approach. As I was myself one of those who were severely afflicted in this latter manner, I shall give such an account of its progress, as I found by experience in myself, and corroborated by the similar report of my fellow-sufferers. I was first taken, about the beginning of this month, with a slight pain on the joint of my left great toe; but, having hurt that a little while before, I imagined it to be the effect of that hurt, and minded it the less—(but here I shall observe, once for all, that if ever any part of the body had received a bruise, strain, or contusion, if not perfectly cured, the scurvy was sure to attack that part first); but, in a little time, a large black spot appearing on the part affected, with very intense pains at the bone, gave me to understand my case. I now took physic often, by way of prevention, but to little purpose: several hard nodes now began to rise in my legs, thighs, and arms, and not only many more black spots appeared in the skin, but those spread, till my legs and thighs were for the most part as black as a negroe; and this accompanied with such excessive pains in the joints of the knees, ancles, and toes, as I thought, before I experienced them, that human nature could

could never have supported. It next advanced to the mouth ; all my teeth were presently loose, and my gums, over-charged with extravasated blood, fell down almost quite over my teeth : this occasioned my breath to smell much, yet without affecting my lungs ; but, I believe, one week more at sea would have ended me, and less than a month more, all the rest. One thing was very remarkable, and likewise universal, which was, that, when the distemper had far prevailed, if the afflicted person lay quiet in his hammock, he seemed to be perfectly well and hearty ; but, if he was removed out of it, on any necessity, he immediately fainted away ; and this was always a sure sign of the party's dissolution.

Since our passing Cape Horn, our surgeon, Henry Ettrick, who was a very good practical surgeon, had been very busy in digesting a theory of scurvies, wherein he enumerated many cases very particularly, having been allowed to open and examine as many bodies as were abundantly sufficient for that purpose. His system was principally grounded on the observations made on a long passage in a very cold climate. He took abundance of pains to prove, by many instances, that the tone of the blood was broken by the cold nipping air, and rendered so thin, as to be unfit for circulation, or any other of the uses of life ; and being thus deprived of a proper force and vigour, stagnation and death must necessarily ensue. From this supposition,

he had laid it down as an infallible rule, that food of a glutinous nature, such as salt fish, bread, and several sorts of grain, were alone proper on such voyages. As for liquids, I know not which he had pitched on, as the most salutary, on this occasion. But this passage, in a very hot climate, where the symptoms were not only more dreadful, but the mortality much more quick and fatal, in proportion to the number of people, put our scheming doctor to a sad non-plus : he could not account for this on the same principles with the other ; nay, they must be, in a manner, diametrically opposite. All this obliged him at last (though he was still endeavouring to reconcile contradictions), to own, that, though some of the concurrent causes of this disease were plain enough, yet the grand cause was certainly the long continuance at sea, or an entire secret ; and that no cure but the shore would ever be effectual. The Commodore, on this great mortality, having by him a quantity of Ward's pills and drops, in order to experience whether they would be of any use, first tried them on himself, and then gave what he had left to the surgeon, to administer to such of the sick people as were willing to take them. The surgeon would not recommend them to any person, but several took them ; though I know of none who believed they were of any service to them. They worked most people who took them very violently, both by vomit and stool : after which, as several told  
me,



me, they would seem to be a little easier, tho' weaker, for perhaps a day or two, but then they always relapsed, and became worse than before; and this, together with the inefficacy of all that our surgeons could do in the case, sufficiently shewed the vanity of attempting the cure of this distemper at sea.

And here, before I quit this subject, I shall endeavour to remove a prejudice, under which the afflicted have long severely suffered; and that is, from the notion generally prevalent, that none but the lazy are attacked with this disorder; whereas, the direct contrary is the truth; our experience having abundantly shewn, that the most laborious, active, stirring persons were ofteneft seized with this disease; and the continuation of their labour, instead of curing, only helped to kill them the sooner.

Many undeniable instances might be given of this in our voyage; and, if future voyagers will give themselves the trouble of observing this hereafter, I am certain that the event will correspond with my assertion; nor does this distemper, in a general way, incline people to indolence, till it is come to that height, that, at the least motion, the person is ready to faint. It is certain, that, if the person afflicted desires to lengthen out his life as long as he can, his best way is to stir as little as possible. This I have seen verified by many instances.

The 23d and 24th, we reefed and repaired our rigging,

rigging, which had suffered much in the variable weather.

The 26th, being, according to our reckoning, 300 leagues from the Ladrões, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again in four days. This was a most dispiriting incident, as we were all that while forced to lie to, the current insensibly driving us out of our course.

The 27th, our gunner, Henry Kipps, died of the scurvy, being one of the most able-bodied men, as well as the most active in the ship: he had taken Ward's medicines once or twice.

On the 28th, we had calms with much rain, and received from the Gloucester 20 casks of flour and four of groats. Having here an occasion of mentioning flour, it may not be amiss to take notice, that, since our departure from Juan Fernandez, the principal officers had always soft bread new baked, the biscuit being so much worm-eaten, it was scarce any thing but dust, and a little blow would reduce it to that state immediately. Our beef and pork were likewise very rusty and rotten; and the surgeon endeavoured to persuade us from eating it, alledging it was, though a slow, yet a sure poison; but very little other food being to be had, we were reduced to a very deplorable condition.

The 29th, in the morning, the Gloucester's fore cap splitting, her fore-top-mast came by the board, and, in its fall, meeting with the fore-yard, broke it in the flings. As she was hereby rendered

dered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were under a necessity, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow, and near 20 of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were removed from the duty of our own ship, and were continued eight or ten days together to assist in repairing her damages ; but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our misfortunes ; for, scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm from the western board, which obliged us to lie to. This storm lasted from the 10th to the 13th of August, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, and such a lofty and dangerous sea as I have seldom seen, and could not have believed in latitudes between the Tropics, especially for such a long duration. Most of the time we lay to, we drove to the northward ; abundance of our people died daily ; and, the ship proving very leaky, every person who could stir, the principal officers not excepted, was obliged to take his turn at the pumps, and all little enough to keep us above water.

The 13th of August, at 10 in the morning, the Gloucester made a signal of distress, and, being to windward, bore down towards us ; but we observed she was long in wearing, rolled very much, and made bad steerage. About half an hour after noon they spoke with us, and told us that they were so leaky that they must quit their ship ; that they had seven feet water in the hold ;  
and

### 368 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

and that all the men they had capable of stirring were quite exhausted with pumping, and could work no longer. This was an additional misfortune, and seemed to be without resource ; for, whilst the Gloucester's crew were thus enfeebled, our own sick were now so much increased, and those who still remained in health, so over-fatigued with labour, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid : all, therefore, that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular account of the ship's condition ; as it was soon suspected, that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying the Gloucester, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency both for the preservation of their lives and of our own.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the melancholy state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Capt. Mitchell and all his officers ; by which it appeared, that the ship was decayed in every part ; that her crew was greatly reduced ; that there remained alive no more than 77 men, officers included, 18 boys, and two prisoners ; that of the whole number, only 16 men and 11 boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm ; that the water was so deep in the hold, that those who were yet alive were starving, and could neither come at fresh water nor provisions.

From this representation, which was in no one instance exaggerated, the Commodore sent immediately

mediately an order to Capt. Mitchell, to bring his people on board the *Centurion*, and to take out such stores as could most easily be come at, among which he was very desirous of saving two cables, and a sheet anchor ; but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that it was with the greatest difficulty the prize-money was secured, (the prize-goods amounting to many thousand pounds being abandoned) : nor could any other provisions be got at, than five casks of flour, (three of which were spoiled by the salt-water), a small quantity of brandy, and some living stock. Even this little business was so languishingly performed, that two days were wasted in the execution, during which time three or four of the sick perished on being removed.

As the weather was now calm, and we were uncertain how far distant we might be from Guam, a settlement in possession of the enemy, to whom the wreck of such a ship with guns and ammunition on board would have been a very valuable acquisition, the Commodore judged the most effectual way to prevent her from falling into their hands was to set her on fire : and accordingly, as soon as the Captain and his Officers had quitted her, the combustibles placed for that purpose were lighted, and she continued burning the whole night, and at six the next morning she blew up. Thus perished his Majesty's ship the *Gloucester* ; and now, it might have been expected, that, being freed from

the embarrassment in which her frequent disasters had involved us, we should have proceeded on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done. However, we were soon taught, that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved.

We were at this time in the utmost distress; the ship considerably lumbered with prize-goods, and the small room we had left thronged with the sick, whose numbers were now very much increased with those from the Gloucester; the dirt, nauseousness, and stench, almost every where intolerable; more people daily disabled with the disease; no sign of land, nor but very little wind, and that not fair but variable; very bad provisions and water, and the ship very leaky; and, though we discovered the leak to be in her bows on each side the stern, it lay in such a manner that we could not stop it, nay the attempting it rather made it worse. In this distress we made the best of every little spurt of wind.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till Sunday the 22d, when, about eight in the evening, we discovered two islands, one bearing W. half S. and the other S. W. by W. at the distance of about 10 leagues. We were overjoyed at this sight, and stood toward them with all our sail; but, there being little wind, we did not get near them till the next day about noon, when being about three miles off the largest and most promising of them, which appeared very hilly and full of trees, we sent on shore one of our Lieutenants in the cutter to make discoveries,  
who

who returned at nine in the evening, and gave us but a very indifferent account of the shore. The trees were mostly cocoa-nut-trees, of which there were prodigious quantities; about 60 cocoa nuts they brought on board with them, but they could find no water, nor any good place to anchor in: on this account it was thought fit to stand further to the southward, for some more proper place. This was a severe disappointment to most of the sick, who, on the sight of land, (or hearing that we were so near it) had begun sensibly to revive: but as persons in such circumstances are soon driven to despond, when an aid they had depended upon deserts them, so this disappointment destroyed our hopes, and increased our dejection. We feared, that, if we met with more islands in the same run, they might be either as bad, worse, or inhabited by our enemies the Spaniards, who, in our weak condition, might easily be able to hinder us from proper refreshments: add to this, how near many of us were to death, and how little we could expect to survive any time in searching for other islands. I know not whether these were the general thoughts of the sick, but I must own they were mine, and made our situation at that time appear ten times worse to me than at any other in the whole course of our voyage. I was indeed very ill, and my illness might possibly occasion every thing to appear in its worst light, yet I never was one of those who were frightened at the apprehension, or even the visible approach

of death ; it had no unreasonable terrors in any of its prospects to me ; and I always could, and I hope always shall be ready to meet it with calmness and perfect resignation : but I believe the healthiest and stoutest at that time had probably the greatest apprehensions ; and I have since heard it from many of those, that they expected all to have perished, had we been so little as three weeks longer at sea ; and I much question whether they were not right in that expectation.

On the 26th, at five in the morning, we saw three other islands, bearing from S. E. by S. to N. E. the middlemost of the three, which was the largest, due E.

The 27th, at three in the afternoon, being got pretty near the shore of the middlemost island, we sent our cutter and pinnace in-shore for discovery. At four the pinnace came off, and brought with her an Indian paroo, with a Spaniard and four Indians, whom they took in her. They likewise told us, that they had in-shore a small bark of about 16 tons, and between 20 and 30 more people on the island, all of whom had been sent there from Guam to kill cattle and hogs, and make jerked beef and cocoa nut-oil, &c. for the Spanish garrison there ; and that there are constantly people sent on that account, who, after some months stay at that place, are relieved by fresh parties for the same purpose. We secured both bark and paroo, together with all the Indians who fell into our hands, to hinder



der their carrying intelligence of us to the Spaniards at Guam. One of those Indians was a carpenter by trade, and his father was one of the principal builders at Manilla. This young man, having been ill used by the Governor at Guam, voluntarily entered with us, and became one of our carpenter's crew, and proved a very useful handy fellow.

The Spaniard being examined as to the state of the island we were now approaching, the account he gave surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; and, tho' uninhabited, he said, it wanted none of those accommodations with which the best cultivated countries are furnished. On mustering up our whole force, as we drew near, all the hands we could collect capable of any kind of duty, even on the most pressing occasions, amounted to no more than 71 men, officers included. This number, inconsiderable as it may seem, were all of the united crews of the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Trial*, that could move without being assisted, notwithstanding that, when we left England, they consisted of near 1000 men.

When we had entered the road, our first business, after furling the sails and securing the ship, was to provide an hospital on shore for the sick; but the officer and seamen who were sent upon this service, returned joyfully, and acquainted us, that the Indians on shore had saved them that trouble, and had provided for us better than we could have done for ourselves;  
for,

### 374 COMMODORE ANSON's VOYAGE.

for, having erected a number of little cabbins for their accommodation during their residence on the island, and one in particular, which they made use of by way of storehouse to stow their provisions in, there could be nothing more suitably adapted for the reception both of the sick and the healthy than these erections. Accordingly, we instantly began sending ashore as many of the sick as could possibly be conveyed, among which number I myself was one ; I say, as many as could possibly be conveyed, for we were all so extremely feeble and helpless, that we were no otherwise to be landed than by being carried in our hammocks, both in and out of the boats, on mens shoulders, in which service both the Commodore himself and his officers very humanely assisted ; and, indeed, they were almost the only persons on board capable of performing it ; the healthiest seamen being so much enfeebled, that they had but just strength enough left to help themselves.

The next day, being the 29th, the remainder of the sick were brought on shore, of whom 21 men died ; but the greatest part of the rest recovered surprizingly. As soon as I was capable of stirring about, I found the island to lie in lat. 14 deg. 58 min. N. [Walters says 15 deg. 8 min.] and in long. 223 deg. 35 min. W. from London, being, according to my reckoning, 117 deg. 7 min W. from Acapulco. [Walters says 114 deg. 50 min.] And here it is observable, how writers of the first characters for veracity

racity differ in their accounts of the same places, by writing them at different periods. The description of this island of Tinian by Commodore Byron, who lately visited it in his voyage round the world, bears no similitude to that we are now about to recite; nor can any one conceive how an interval of only 30 years could occasion so remarkable an alteration. But to proceed:

The soil, upon examination, we found to be every where dry and healthy; and being withal somewhat sandy, it was thereby the less disposed to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation: and hence the meadows and woods were neater and smoother than is usual in hot climates. The vallies and hills were most beautifully diversified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns, which skirted each other, and traversed the island in large tracts. The woods consisted of tall and well-spread trees, some celebrated for their beauty, and some for their fruit; whilst the lawns were generally crowded with herds of cattle, of which it was not uncommon to see thousands feeding in a herd, and, being all milk-white, it is no wonder that such an appearance excited our longings, and increased our impatience, to kill and eat. Add to these, the innumerable swarms of poultry that crowded the woods, and, by their frequent crowings, gave us in idea the pleasing apprehension of being in the neighbourhood of farms and villages; and we even fancied, that in the covert of the woods

we

### 376 COMMODORE ANSON's VOYAGE.

we should find such concealed. The cattle we had sight of were computed at 10,000; and, besides these and the poultry, we likewise found abundance of wild hogs, which were excellent food, but fierce, and not easily mastered. At first we killed them by shooting; but, our ammunition failing, owing to an accident, we at last hunted them down with dogs, several of which joined us on the island, and, being trained to the sport by the Indians, readily enough followed us, and afforded us good diversion. In their conflicts with the boars, some indeed were killed; but those that came off victorious, were still more eager to engage in every new pursuit.

This island was no less fortunate to us in its vegetable than in its animal productions; more particularly abounding in such fruits and plants as were best adapted to the cure of that disease by which we had been so dreadfully debilitated. In the woods cocoa-nuts were to be gathered without number; and, what is remarkable, cabbages grew on the same trees. There were, besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and, what is common to all the Tropical islands, bread-fruit. In the plains we found water-melons, dandelion, creeping-purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh-meats of the place, were such salutary refreshments, that the sick, who were at death's-door when they landed, before they had been a week on shore, put on very different countenances,  
and

and with their new complexions received a fresh recruit of spirits.

Amidst such a variety of provisions as the land furnished, it was thought unnecessary to indulge ourselves in those offered us by the sea. From fish, therefore, we wholly refrained; and the rather, as some we caught at our first arrival surfeited those who eat of them. This, however, was not regretted, as beef, pork, poultry, and wild-fowl, were in such plenty, that, except the trouble of bringing them from a considerable distance sometimes, there was no difficulty attending their procurement. It were, indeed, an endless task to recount all the excellencies and delicacies we met with in this delightful island: nor is it easy to say which to prefer where every thing is worthy of admiration; the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded,—all these conspired to charm the sight, while at the same time the excellency of its productions could not fail to gratify the appetite. And these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of the climate, by the almost constant cool breezes that prevailed, and by the frequent gentle showers that seemed to fall just to refresh the earth, and add to its fertility; for these, instead of the long-continued rains that in other countries fill the air with noxious vapours, and overflow the earth with wasteful inundations, seemed just enough

### 378 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

to purify the air, and to refresh the soil ; which was observable enough by the effect it had in increasing our appetites, and promoting our digestion. This effect was, indeed, remarkable, since those amongst our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, were here in appearance transformed into gluttons ; for instead of one reasonable flesh-meal a day, they were scarcely satisfied with three : and yet our digestion so well corresponded to the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion ; for, after having made a large beef breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable, and even somewhat tardy event.

The principal inconveniences that attended our residence upon this island arose from the vast number of musketos and other troublesome flies, by which we were perpetually teized ; there was likewise a venomous little insect, that, like the sheep-ticks in England, would bury its head in the skin, and, if not instantly removed, would cause an inflammation.

Running water there was none in the island ; but that defect was supplied by a large lake, or lagoon, almost in the center of it, to which the cattle, in times of drought, generally resorted ; but the freshness of their pasture, and the copious dews and gentle showers that often moistened it, rendered that resource almost unnecessary. There were, besides, springs of excellent  
water,

water, and near the surface wells might every where be dug, whose waters, in any other place, would not have been complained of.

But the great danger we had to dread remains to be told. During four months in the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, when the western monsoons prevail, the winds, about the full and change of the moon, are variable, and blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables afford no security to ships riding at anchor in the road : and what adds to the danger is the rapidity of the tide, which sets to the S. E. and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea as is not to be conceived ; insomuch that, though we were in a sixty-gun ship, we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it. During the rest of the year the weather is constantly settled, and ships have nothing to fear, if their cables are well armed, which otherwise will suffer from the foulness of the ground.

From the 29th of August, when our sick were all put on shore, to the 12th of September, when the Commodore himself landed, those who remained on board were chiefly employed in mooring and securing the ship, in shifting her guns to come at her leaks, and in cackling the cables, to prevent their being galled by the friction against the rocky bottom. At the same time an anchor and cable were put on board the Spanish bark, her own being only a heavy log of wood, and a rope made of

bals; and some barrels of powder to be dried and recovered, which by long keeping was become moist.

From the 12th to the 18th, the hands were continually shifting, those who were so well recovered as to be capable of duty were sent on board, and those who had born the burden of the labour were relieved and sent on shore.

On the 19th, the weather began to alter, and to threaten a storm; on that day, the next, and the 21st, it blew hard; however, we rode it out, and flattered ourselves that the prudence of our measures had secured us from accidents. On the 22d, the hurricane came on, and our only hope of safety seemed to depend on our putting out to sea; but the Commodore was on shore, and all communication with the land absolutely cut off. At five in the afternoon, the small bower parted, and the ship sprung off to the best bower. As night approached, the violence of the storm increased; yet, notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the rapidity of the tide was such as to prevail over it, and to force the ship before it, as it were, in despite of its utmost rage. It was now that the sea broke all round us in a most tremendous manner; and that a large tumbling swell threatened to ingulph us in its bosom: the long-boat, which was moored a-stern, was on a sudden canted so high that it broke the transom of the Commodore's gallery, and would, doubtless, have risen as high as the taffarel, had it not been for the stroke,



stroke, which stove the boat to pieces ; but yet the poor boat-keeper, though much bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight, the tide slackened ; but, the wind not abating, the the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. In this extremity, Mr. Saumarez, our First Lieutenant, who commanded in the absence of the Commodore, ordered guns to be fired, and lights to be shewn, as signals of distress ; and, in a short time after, the night being excessively dark, the storm raging, the thunder roaring, and nothing to be seen but the blue lightning flashing through the rain, we were driven to sea, and, by this catastrophe, the whole crew, both by sea and land, reduced to a state of despair ; those on shore concluding they had now no means left them ever to get home ; whilst those on board, being utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of such seas and winds, expected each moment to be their last. In this state of despondency, while those on board were every moment in expectation of being dashed against the rocks of Aiguigan, an island at about three leagues from Tinian, those on shore were persuaded the ship could not survive the storm, the whole channel between the two islands appearing from the land like one continued breach, the sea swelling, breaking, and roaring, like mountains rolling over mountains, and forming the most awful and terrifying sight that the mind of man can possibly conceive. Indeed, the condition of those on  
board

board was truly pitiable; they were in a leaky ship, with three cables in their hawse, to one of which hung their only remaining anchor; they had not a gun on board lashed; nor a port barred in; their shrouds were loose; and their fore-top-mast unrigged; and they had struck their fore and main yards down before the hurricane came on, so that there was no sail they could set except the mizzen: to add to their misfortunes, they were no sooner at sea, than, by the labouring of the ship, whole floods of water rushed in through the hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers; which, with the usual leakage, kept the pumps constantly at work. Persuaded that their destruction was inevitable, sinking, however, was only their secondary concern; they judged, by the driving of the ship, that they were making towards the land, and that, in the darkness of the night, they should no otherwise perceive it than by striking upon it; but daylight relieved them from that uneasy apprehensions, and shewed them that the island they so much dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had proved the means of their preservation. It was not, however, till after three days that the turbulent weather that had driven them from Tinian began to abate; when every man in the ship was so worn out with fatigue, that they found it impossible to man the pumps, and haul the sails at the same time. They had twice attempted to heave up the main and fore yards, in which  
they

they had as often miscarried by the breaking of the jeers, and in the last effort one of their best men perished. During all this time the ship was driving to leeward, and dragging her sheet anchor, the only one she had left, with two cables an end at her bows. This was a circumstance of the greatest consequence, and required a speedy remedy; for, though upon a third exertion of their whole force, they had replaced their yards, they durst not, while the anchor continued in that situation, venture to spread their canvas. Some rest and refreshment became necessary before a work of such labour could be proposed to a feeble and diminished crew, who hardly consisted of 100 men. It was, therefore, five days after their departure before they could secure their anchor; and now they set their courses, and, for the first time, stood to the eastward, in hopes of soon regaining the island, and rejoining their Commander and the rest of their company: but in this they were unhappily disappointed; for having run, as they thought, the distance necessary for making the island, and being in full expectation of seeing it, they found themselves bewildered by the irregularity of the currents, and knew not what course to steer, till, after several days uncertainty, they came at last in sight of Guam, from whence they directed their course with infinite labour to Tinian, the wind being constantly against them, and the tide variable. This severe employment held till the 11th of October,

October, when, after nineteen days absence, they appeared again in the offing, and were reinforced from the shore, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew.

A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, *A sail!* and this spread a general joy, supposing it to be the Centurion returning; but presently a second sail was descried, which wholly destroyed the first conjecture, and made it difficult to guess who they were. The Commodore turning his glass towards them, saw they were two boats; and instantly concluding that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that those were her boats returning with the remains of her people, this sudden suggestion wrought so powerfully upon him, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged to retire to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments in the firm persuasion that all his hopes were now at an end, and that, instead of distressing the enemy, he must himself with his people fall a prey to their relentless cruelty. He was, however, soon relieved from this mortifying thought, they appearing, upon their nearer approach, to be Indian proas, directing their course towards the bay, with a view, as was supposed, to relieve their countrymen, or to take on board their provisions. On this intelligence, the Commodore ordered his people to conceal themselves; but the proas, after advancing within a quarter of a mile of the shore, lay by for the space of  
a few

a few hours, and probably observing some change in the appearance of the place, which might raise their suspicion that an enemy lay in ambush, they got again under sail, and steered to the southward.

After this incident an opinion began generally to prevail, that the Centurion would never more appear at this island; and that she was either lost, or forced upon the coast of China, from whence, in her crazy condition, it would be impossible for her ever to return. Though the Commodore did not apparently give into this opinion, yet he was not without his fears; and, therefore, to provide against the worst, he proposed cutting asunder the Indian bark which they took on their first arrival, and lengthening her in such a manner as to be capable of taking on board all who were then upon the island, and following the ship, if peradventure she should be driven to Mocoa. After some hesitation, owing to the difficulty attending the execution, the men were at length prevailed upon to engage in the work, and the Commodore by his example encouraged their diligence; for, being always at work by day-break himself, it was thought a disgrace to be idle when their Chief was employed. It fortunately happened, that the Carpenters both of the Gloucester and Trial were on shore, and that they had brought for safety their chests of tools with them. The smith, too, was on shore with his forge, but his bellows was still in the ship. This defect occasioned some

delay ; but was soon supplied by the ingenuity of his ship-mates, one or other of them never being at a loss for expedients on such occasions : they limed a fresh hide for leather, the carpenters shaped out a wooden frame, and a gun barrel served for a nozel. The smith being now in readiness to prepare the iron-work, some were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into plank, whilst the main-body were busied in digging out a draw-dock to receive the bark, and in laying of ways to heave her up and down. All, in short, were variously employed ; and the work went on successfully for 16 days, in which time the bark was sawn asunder, her two parts separated, and placed at the proper distance from each other ; and, the materials being all in readiness before-hand, they proceeded with no small dispatch in the enlargement, inasmuch that they fixed the 5th of November as the day when they should be ready to depart. The alacrity with which this business was carried on, left no room for reflection among the common sailors, though their superiors were not without their fears. They had no sea-provisions, except some jerked beef, which the Indians had prepared and abandoned when they fled, and they had a run of 600 leagues before they could presume upon a supply ; they had no bread, and the bread-fruit on the island could not be preserved at sea ; they wanted salt ; and, what was still a more necessary article in their present situation, they wanted ammunition for their defence,

in

in case of an attack from the enemy ; for, upon the strictest search, no more than 90 charges of powder could be collected, which was short of one round a-piece for each of the company ; they were, too, in an unknown sea, and wanted instruments to direct their course : in short, though the common men had no other thought but how they should get on board, the officers foresaw a thousand difficulties, which were almost insurmountable to human apprehension, but which they carefully concealed, that the main business might not be retarded.

But, in the midst of these gloomy apprehensions, which, the nearer the time of their departure approached, still became the more serious, and when all hope of seeing the Centurion at Tinian had subsided, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill at a distance looking out for cattle, perceived, as he fancied, something like a ship in the clouds, which, on steadily observing it, seemed to move slowly towards the land. It was not long before he was sensible of its approach, and persuading himself it was the Centurion, he in an extacy ran towards the landing-place, crying to his comrades, *The ship ! The ship !* This being heard by the nearest, was echoed from mouth to mouth till it reached the spot where the Commodore was at work, who, on hearing the joyful news, threw down his axe, and joined in the general transport. In a few hours the Centurion appeared in the offing, and a boat with

## 388 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

18 men was sent off to reinforce her, and to carry fresh meats, fruits, and refreshments, for the crew. In the afternoon of the 11th of October she happily cast anchor, the Commodore went instantly aboard, and the joy and congratulations on that occasion were equally sincere and mutual.

The labour of the artificers was now at an end, and another kind of employment succeeded, which was that of laying in water for the remainder of the voyage. Now also hunting, shouting, setting, and every device that could be contrived to catch live cattle, hogs, and poultry, for stores, took place; while, at the same time, the Commodore and Officers amused themselves with traversing the island, and examining more minutely its several parts. In one of these excursions, being on a rising ground, they observed, in a valley beneath them, the appearance of a small thicket, which, by attending to it, seemed to have a progressive motion, as indeed it had; but was no other than a parcel of cocoa-bushes trailed upon the ground by persons concealed beneath them. From this uncommon circumstance, it was immediately concluded, that the Indians, whose boat they had surprized upon their first arrival, must be the persons who were dragging the bushes, and that it could not be far to the place of their concealment; they therefore kept their eye upon them, and traced them to their cell; but, to their surprize, when they came to enter it, they  
found



found it abandoned, though all things were ready prepared for dinner, and stood smoaking hot on a table of turf. The officers, having in vain endeavoured to track them, returned, and, with an appetite increased by the keenness of the pursuit, sat down to that meal which the poor hungry savages had abandoned. It consisted of salted spareribs, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; all which they found ready drest, and in quantity as much as they all could eat.

On the third day after the second arrival of the ship, the Commodore being on board, a sudden gulf of wind arose, and again brought home our anchor, and drove us out to sea. Our chief officers were now all on board; and only about 70 of our men, with a midshipman or two to command them, were employed on shore in filling water and catching cattle. Of these about 30 came off to us in the cutter, and the eighteen-oared barge was sent for the rest; but they not being in readiness, and the ship quickly driving out of sight, it was no longer in their power to join us. However, as the weather soon proved favourable, and we were now stronger and healthier than at our first disaster, in about five days we regained the road, and anchored safe in our former station. On our return we found the Spanish bark restored to her old dimensions, and the parts brought together, and in good forwardness to be completed; for the few remaining people, despairing of the return of the ship, had determined  
to

to follow her to her destined port. We now laboured indefatigably to get in our water, in order to sail, in which service two of our men employed in the well unfortunately perished; for the sides of the well being loose earth, by the carelessness of those above, in not properly attending the filling, the bank gave way by the weight of a heavy cask, and both that and the bank fell in upon them together. Some other misfortunes happened through haste in rafting the casks to the ship; yet, notwithstanding, being such as are generally accounted trifling on board a man of war, our watering went on so successfully, that by the 20th of October it was completed; and on that day leave was given for a man from each mess to go ashore, and gather as many oranges, lemons, coconuts, and other fruits of the island, as should be sufficient for us all while at sea. This being accomplished, the Spanish bark set on fire, the men returned on board, and the boats hoisted in, on the 21st we set sail; and the wind being fair, and the weather moderate, nothing remarkable happened till we arrived on the coasts of China, except that while we were passing by the rocks of Vele Rete, near the south end of the island Formosa, we were alarmed by a cry of fire on the forecastle, which brought the whole crew together in the utmost confusion, so that it was difficult for some time to reduce them to order; but, as soon as discipline took place, and a proper examination

mination could be made, it was found to proceed from the furnace, where the bricks, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the wood-work, which, had it not been timely discovered, might have been of the most dreadful consequence; but, as it fell out, it was extinguished with the greatest facility, and the brick-work so secured, that no accident of the like kind could again happen.

From the island of Formosa we directed our course so as to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, as that rock is generally esteemed the best direction for ships bound to Mocoa; and, on the 6th of November we fell in with it, when we were presently surrounded by an incredible number of fishing-boats, which covered the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. Nor was this swarm of fishing vessels peculiar to that place; for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every other part of the coast. From among these we had no sort of doubt of procuring a pilot to Mocoa; but, when we thought ourselves near it, though we tempted them with shewing them bags of Spanish dollars, for which, it is said, a Chinese would sell his father, yet not one of them would venture to come on board us, nor give us the least intelligence; neither did our ship, the like of which, so armed and fitted, had never before appeared upon their coasts, seem to excite in them any curiosity: they continued their fishing

ing with the same apparent indifference as if any trading ship had been passing by; and, when we made them signals, they disregarded them as much, though they certainly understood them, as if we had been only in sport. The next day, however, about two in the afternoon, as we were standing to the westward within two leagues of the shore, still surrounded as before, we observed that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we apprehended was a signal for us, and accordingly we hoisted out our cutter, and sent to know the meaning of it; when we presently discovered our mistake, and that it was only the usual notice to leave off fishing, which the whole fleet instantly obeyed. Being thus disappointed, we kept on our cruise till we came to a group of islands, round the westernmost of which we were directed to pass, and then to haul up. While we were thus employed, a Chinese pilot came on board, and in broken Portuguese undertook to pilot us into harbour for 30 dollars, and on the 12th of November anchored us safe in Mocaoad; where the first thing we did was to salute the fort, and to send to the Portuguese Governor to advise with his Excellency in what manner to behave to avoid giving offence to the Chinese. The difficulty the Commodore principally apprehended related to the port charges usually paid by ships in the river Canton, from which charges men-of-war are exempted in every port of Europe, and which the Commodore was deter-

determined not to be forced to pay in this. In the evening the boat returned with two officers, who delivered it as the Governor's opinion, that, if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would most certainly be expected ; and, therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would send a pilot to conduct the ship into another harbour, called the Typa, where it was probable the port charges would never be demanded. To this proposal the Commodore agreed, the pilot was sent, and the ship safely moored.

Next day the Commodore paid a visit in person to the Governor, to solicit a supply of provisions, and of naval stores to refit the ship. The Governor very frankly acquainted the Commodore, that he durst not openly furnish either the one or the other ; for that he himself neither received provisions for his garrison but from day to day, by permission from the Chinese government, nor any thing else but what his present necessities required : however, he assured the Commodore in a friendly manner, that he would give him all the assistance in his power. On this declaration, the Commodore determined to go to Canton himself, to procure a licence from the Viceroy to purchase a supply, and, with this view, hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants to carry them into port : but just as they were ready to embark, the Hoppo refused to grant them a permit ; nor would he, notwithstanding all the interest the Commodore could make, withdraw the prohibition,

till he was threatened to be compelled to it by force. This operated when fair means had failed; a permit was next day sent on board, and the Commodore proceeded to the English factory, to consult with the principal officers there about the cautions that were to be used, lest the factory should suffer by violent measures, which he was solicitous to avoid. They advised him to transact the business by the mediation of the Chinese merchants, who at first undertook to accomplish it; but, after trifling with him more than a month, they declared they durst not interfere in it. The merchants then undertook to procure him provisions clandestinely; but that would not suffice. Upon his return, he found the ship so much out of repair, that she could not proceed without being hove down; he, therefore, next day wrote a letter to the Viceroy, acquainting him, that he was Commodore of a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships that had been cruising in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with his nation; that his ship was leaky; that his people were in want of provisions; that he had put into Mocoa, a friendly port, for a supply, but that, being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had been unable to succeed; and, therefore, requested, that he might be permitted to employ workmen to repair his ship, and that he might be supplied with provisions at the accustomed rates at which the articles he stood in need of were generally sold. Another difficulty  
was

was now started as to the delivery of this letter, the Hoppo at first refusing to intermeddle with it; but, on the Commodore's expressing some resentment, and threatening to convey it to Canton by his own messengers, he at length undertook not only to deliver it, but to procure an answer: accordingly, though the letter was only dated on the 17th of December, on the 19th a Mandarin of the first rank, together with two others of an inferior class, and their attendants, having in their retinue 18 half galleys, decorated with streamers, and furnished with bands of music, came to a grapple a-head of the Centurion, whence the Mandarin sent in form to acquaint the Commodore, that he came by order of the Viceroy to examine the condition of the ship, and to report the same as it should appear to him upon a just survey. On this message, preparations were instantly made to receive him; in particular, a hundred of the most sightly men on board, uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, were drawn up under arms on the main-deck against his arrival. When he entered the ship, he was saluted by the drums and military music, and conducted by some of the principal officers to the quarter-deck, where he was received in state by the Commodore, and then introduced to the great cabin, where he explained his commission, and presented the persons he had brought with him to take the survey. The Mandarin appeared to be a person of superior abilities, and endowed

with a frankness and honesty not usually to be met with among the ordinary ranks of Chinese officers; and, being an eye-witness of the dangerous state of the leaks, and of the necessity there was for a thorough repair, he expressed his entire acquiescence in the report that had been given, and promised to lay the same immediately before the council upon his return. He was exceeding curious in inspecting the ship, in examining her guns, and poising her great shot. He expressed his astonishment at her strength and her magnitude; and the Commodore, to increase his wonder, and shew his own power, let him know how easy it would be for him to destroy the whole navigable force of China, and lay the city of Canton in ruins; but, nevertheless, he assured him, that not the least violence should be offered, provided his wants were supplied upon reasonable terms.

At the same time the Commodore complained of the behaviour of the officers at Mocao, who had prohibited the country people from selling provisions to his company, though they had paid for what they purchased in sterling silver. The Mandarin heard the complaint without emotion, but said it should be remedied for the future. After the business was over, dinner was ordered, and the Commodore apologized for the meanness of the fare from the difficulty he had to procure better: but the two inferior Mandarines, who were the only persons of their retinue permitted to sit at table with them, shewed



ed no dislike to any thing set before them, except the beef, to which they have the same dislike as the Jews have to pork, from an early prejudice derived from their ancestors; of this the Commodore was not apprized, nor were they offended at its being set before them. They were, indeed, very awkward at the use of knives and forks, and it was found necessary to introduce their own servants to carve for them, before they could make an end of their dinners. But if they were deficient in their manner of eating, they were no novices in putting about the glasses; for there was not an officer at table that durst engage with them. Seeing they were fond of Frontinac, and that they presently emptied four or five bottles of it without any effect, the Commodore ordered a bottle of Citron water to be brought up, which, on tasting, they liked, and, the Commodore excusing himself on account of an illness he had not yet recovered, they clapped a ruddy-faced officer on the shoulder, and desired him to pledge them, saying, by their interpreter, they were sure he could not plead illness for declining his glass. When the bottle was out, they all rose from table, without appearing to be in the least disordered, and, after the usual ceremonies, departed, very well pleased with their entertainment.

The Commodore now impatiently expected the licence he had requested; but it was several days before it passed the necessary forms, chiefly owing to the intrigues of a Frenchman, who,  
having

### 398 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

having the advantage of speaking the language fluently, was at no loss in traversing the measures of the friendly Mandarin in favour of Mr. Anson; but a repetition of the threats already referred to, produced, at last, the desired effect. On the 6th of January, the licence was received, and the carpenters were set to work; but, previous to this, the prohibition was taken off, and provisions were every day brought to the ship in plenty.

It was, however, the beginning of April before the repairs could be completed, and the Chinese began to be very uneasy at their long stay. They had frequently sent messages to the Commodore to hasten his departure, not knowing or believing that he was no less in earnest to be gone, than they were to be freed from the dread of his stay. At length, on the 3d of April, two Mandarines came on board from Mocoa, with a peremptory command addressed to the Commodore, requiring him to depart; to which he made answer, in a determined tone, that he would go when he thought proper, and not when they presumed to command him. After this rebuke, however, all communication was forbidden, and no more provisions were suffered to go on board; and so strictly were those injunctions carried into execution, that from thenceforwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever. On the 6th of April, the Centurion weighed, and warped to the southward; and, by the 15th, she was safe in  
Mocoa

Mocao road, having compleated her water as she passed along. On the 19th, she again weighed anchor, and put to sea.

But long before this, that is, some time in November, Captain Saunders, Commander of the *Tryal's* prize, took passage on board a Swedish ship with dispatches from the Commodore to the government. And soon after, that is, about the middle of December, Captain Mitchell, Col. Crackerode, Mr. Taswell, with his nephew Mr. Charles Herriot, and the Rev. Mr. Walter, embarked on board the company's ships on their return home. About this time we received the first news of the safe arrival of the *Severn* and *Pearl* (the two ships of our squadron that parted from us in doubling Cape Horn) at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil. The *Severn* had been remarkable for the extraordinary sickness that had been more fatal on board her than on board of any other in the whole squadron, insomuch that her hands had been twice recruited from the *Centurion* during her voyage to the straits of Le Maire; and yet when she parted company she wanted hands to navigate her in a storm, which was the reason of her return. It was from the knowledge of this uncommon mortality that prevailed among the crew, that the Commodore concluded the *Severn* to be lost. The news, therefore, of her and the *Pearl's* safety was received with the greater pleasure, as we had long entertained

entertained an opinion that both of them had perished. But to return from this digression :

From the 1st to the 15th of April, we had stormy weather, with heavy rains and such amazing and terrifying claps of thunder and flashes of lightning as nothing of the kind I had ever seen or heard bore any proportion to. This was upon the breaking-up of the easterly monsoon, when such storms are usual in the country, accompanied sometimes with dreadful gusts of wind, called here by the name of Tuffoons, of the effects of which the Chinese relate very wonderful stories.

While we were warping out of the harbour, the Commodore went on shore to Mocao, to take leave of the Portuguese Governor, who had, to the utmost of his power, behaved in a very friendly manner; and, at his coming from the fort, he was saluted with 15 guns.

During our stay we had entered about 20 fresh hands, being chiefly Lascars, Persians, and Dutchmen; so that our whole complement, when we sailed, amounted to 224 men and boys, among whom were some of all nations, languages, and religions.

Being now at sea, we were some time in a state of uncertainty what course the Commodore intended to steer. He gave out at Mocao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; but his real design was very different. The project the Commodore had resolved upon in his own mind, was, to cruise  
for

for the annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla ; and, not discouraged by his former disasters, he determined again to risque the casualties of the Pacific Ocean, and to take his station off Cape Spirito Santo on the island of Jamal, being the first land the Acapulco ships always make in approaching the Philippines.

Being now at sea, it was no longer necessary to conceal this project ; he, therefore, summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and in a short, but spirited speech, informed them of his design ; which was received by them with the most expressive tokens of general approbation : and such a confidence of succeeding diffused itself through all the ship's company, that the Commodore, who had taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, enquiring one day of his butcher, why he had lately seen no mutton at his table ? the man replied dryly, that in truth there were only two sheep left, and these, with his honour's leave, he proposed to reserve for the entertainment of the General of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Mocao, she stood for some days to the westward ; and, on the first of May, passed the island of Formosa ; and, steering to the southward, on the 4th in the evening they came in sight of the Balhee Islands, which they suspected to be wrong laid down by Dampier, and from observation found them 25 leagues too far to the westward. On the 20th of May, they came in

sight of *Espirito Santo*. As it was known there were centinels placed upon the Cape to make signals to the Acapulco ships, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant-sails to be taken in, to prevent a discovery : and this being the station in which he proposed to cruise, he fixed the limits between the latitude of 12 deg. 50 min. N. and 13 deg. 5 min. the Cape itself lying in 12 deg. 40 min. N. and in 4 deg. of east longitude from Point Tobago Xima. It was now the time when the Manilla ship was every hour expected ; for they seldom or never fail of making land in the month of June, and sometimes sooner, and it was now the last day of May, according to their stile, when the Commodore took his station.

It were tedious to entertain the reader with the various conjectures, surmises, doubts, and anxieties, that agitated the minds of the people on board, from the day they came in sight of the Cape till the day that Mr. Charles Proby, a midshipman, called out from the mast-head, *A sail!* This was on the 20th of June, just one month after their arrival at the Cape. There did not remain a doubt but that it was one of the galleons (for two were expected this year, as none had been permitted to sail the year preceding) ; and the Commodore accordingly stood towards her. At half after seven in the morning, they could see her from the deck, at which time she fired a gun to leeward, and took in her top-gallant-sails, as a signal, as it was then supposed,

posed, to her consort ; but in reality, as a signal to her own people to prepare for action. The Commodore was surprized to see her steadily pursue her course, and was now in no fear of losing sight of her, as at noon he could fetch her wake. Her consort not appearing, it was concluded they had parted company ; and it now became visible, that the galleon did not intend to fly, but to fight. Every preparation had been previously made on board the Centurion, and all hands properly instructed ; so that every man on board repaired to his post with as much regularity and unconcern as if preparing for a review. Thirty of the best marksmen lined the tops ; two men placed themselves at a gun to load them ; and gangs of ten men each were appointed to go from gun to gun, to run them out, and fire them as fast as they were loaded. A constant running fire was by this means kept up, and no interval allowed for the enemy to stand to their guns in safety, as is common when whole broadsides are discharged at once.

About one in the afternoon, the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant-mast-head. About the same time the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, being within gun-shot of the enemy ; and the Commodore, seeing them clearing their decks of their cattle and lumber, gave orders to fire the chace-guns, to disturb them in

their work. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern-guns, one of which carried away one of our fore-shrouds, and our forestay tackle, which could not have been done by an ordinary ball. The Centurion setting her sprit-sail fore-and aft for boarding, the galleon, out of a bravado, did the same. Soon after, the Centurion shot a-breast of the enemy within pistol-shot, and now the engagement became hot. For the first half hour the Centurion over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, and, by the wideness of her ports, could traverse almost all her guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only bring a part of her's to bear upon the Centurion in return. In the heat of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up near as high as the mizzen-top. This accident threw the enemy into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the Commodore, for fear the galleon should be burnt, and for fear he himself might suffer by being closely grappled by her. Happily, however, that danger was averted, and the fire extinguished, by cutting away the netting, and letting the whole tumble into the sea. All this while the Commodore kept his first advantageous position, firing with great regularity and briskness ; while at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to our top-men, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one  
that



that appeared upon the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galleon himself. Thus the action continued for more than half an hour; but then the Centurion lost the superiority of her situation, and came close alongside of the galleon, when the enemy continued their fire with great activity for near an hour longer; yet, even in this position, the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of the dead and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great confusion, especially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer able to exert himself. The disorder was so great, that their officers were seen from the Centurion running about to prevent the desertion of their men from their posts: but all their endeavours were in vain; for, after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff at the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at the main top-gallant-mast-head; but even this office would have been at the peril of the man's life, had not the Commodore, observing what he was about, given express orders to leave off firing.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize to the river Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the  
galleon

galleon into the *Centurion*. His first business was to commission the ship, and put her under the command of proper officers : Lieut. Saumarez was appointed Captain, and was immediately ordered on board to take possession of his charge.

But, just as the galleon had struck, the officer who commanded between decks came up, seemingly to congratulate the Commodore on his conquest, but at the same time privately whispered to him, that the *Centurion* was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. It seems one of the lads, called powder-monkeys, being heedless, a cartridge that he was carrying blew up in his hands ; this fired another, and that three of the lower-deck guns on the off side of the ship, which being happily loaded and laid down for service, and the ports hauled up to vent the smoke, they did not occasion the least mischief ; however, the cartridges and guns together raised such a smother, that it was at first doubtful whether it proceeded from the explosion, or from a part of the ship being on fire. In fact, upon examination, it was found to proceed from both ; for, part of a cartridge having fallen between the planks of the ceiling, close aft by the scuttle of the Chaplain's cabin, not only a considerable smoke issued out, but a very sensible heat, and, had it not been immediately extinguished, the consequence would have been dreadful : to be brief, a few pails of water seasonably applied did more than all the water of the ocean could had effected after an hour's delay.

This

This alarm being thus happily subsided, we draughted out 50 of our people (of whom myself was one) to board and man the prize. I had heard we had killed them 60 men, and wounded as many more, and expected to have seen the horrid spectacle of mangled limbs, dead carcases, and decks covered with blood; but no such spectacle appeared; a party having been properly stationed, during the time of action, to wash away the blood, and to throw the dead over-board. We found, however, many desperately wounded, and among them the General, who had received a musket-ball in his breast, and was so ill, or pretended to be so ill, that it was judged unsafe to move him from his cabin; but all the other officers, together with the passengers of note, were sent on board the Centurion. Among the latter was an old gentleman, Governor of Guam, who was going to Manilla to renew his commission, and who had scarce mounted the Centurion's side before he was received with open arms by Mr. Crooden, Captain of marines, who 36 years before, at the battle of Almanza, had been his prisoner, and honourably used by him. These two renewed their old acquaintance, and Captain Crooden had a long-wished for opportunity of returning the favours he had formerly received, and which he gratefully remembered.

The ship, upon examination, was found to contain to the value of more than a million and  
a half

a half of dollars, was called the *Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga*, Don Jeronimo de Montero Commander, by nation a Portuguese, and accounted the most intrepid officer employed in the Spanish mercantile service : and, indeed, in my opinion, he was more brave than prudent ; for, surely, no wise man, intrusted with such a cargo, six leagues to the windward of a man-of-war purposely stationed to intercept him, would have borne down upon his enemy, and braved him to his teeth, when, with the advantage of the wind, he might have gone safe to port, from whence he was not more than 10 or 12 leagues distant, and where he might then have set his pursuer at defiance.

His galleon was indeed larger than the man-of-war, was pierced for 64 guns, but had only 36 mounted, most of them 12 pounders, and 17 of them brass : she had, besides, 28 petard-ropes, in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, carrying each a 4 lb. ball ; and, before the engagement, she mustered 640 men capable of bearing arms, officers and passengers included. She was, besides, well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong network of two-inch rope laced over her waste, and fortified with half-pikes placed in the manner of *cheveaux de frize* ; but, notwithstanding all her defences, she had 64 men killed, and 84 wounded, whilst the *Centurion* had only two men killed, and a Lieutenant and 16 men wounded,

wounded, all of whom recovered, one man only excepted.

And now the Commodore learnt from some of the prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the year before, instead of returning in company with this, as was expected, had sailed earlier in the season than usual, and was probably got into Manilla before the Centurion set sail from Mocao; so that, notwithstanding our present success, we had reason to regret the loss of time occasioned by the delays of the Chinese, which prevented our taking two rich prizes instead of one; though, to say the truth, it would not have been an easy task to dispose of the prisoners, which, even as it fell out, was a matter that gave the Commodore no small disquietude; for they were above double the number of our own people; and some of them observed, when they were brought aboard, how slenderly we were manned; and the General himself could not help expressing his indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. It was therefore necessary for our own preservation to prevent their rising; and that could not be securely effected without exercising a degree of severity, which in any other circumstances could not have been justified on the principles of humanity; for there was no method practicable but that of stowing the men in the holds of the two ships; and as for the officers, 17 in number, they were confined in the First Lieutenant's

cabbin, under a guard of six men, first depriving them of their arms, and then keeping a strict watch on all their motions. Indeed, the sufferings of the common men, such of them in particular who were not employed in navigating the ship, were much to be pitied; for, the weather being extremely hot, the stench of the holds loathsome beyond conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, being only a pint a day for each man, it was next to a miracle that not a man of them died during their confinement, except five of the wounded, who expired the very night they were brought aboard the Centurion. Thus circumstanced, the motives of humanity, as well as interest, strongly urged the Commodore to hasten his return to China; and the prize being much damaged, both in her hull and rigging, it was found necessary to take her in tow for the quicker dispatch.

On the 21st of June it blew a storm, which continued till the 25th, when the sea ran mountains high: in this storm the Centurion lost her long-boat, and the prize a launch.

On the 2d of July we passed between the Bashee Islands, though the rippling of the sea seemed to indicate breakers or rocky ground; but the wind being so far to the northward as to render it difficult to weather them, we risked the danger to shorten the voyage. On the 8th of July we made the coast of China, and on the 11th came to an anchor off the city of  
Macao;

Mocao; from thence we proceeded to the river of Canton, where we met with the usual obstructions from the custom-house officers, and where the Commodore was again obliged, as it were, resolutely to force his way to his intended station. The officer who came to take the dimensions of his ships, in the usual manner, seemed astonished when he talked of being exempted from the accustomed rates, and gave him to understand that the emperor's duty must be paid by every ship that came into his ports; and the pilot had private instructions not to carry the ships through the Bocca Tygris, or narrow pass that forms the entrance into the river of Canton, till security was given for the accustomed charges.

And here it may be necessary just to mention, that this pass, not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, is defended by two forts on the opposite sides; but these the Commodore disregarding, and being determined to enter the river without delay, as the stormy season was approaching, he caused the pilot to be brought before him, and in a determined tone threatened to hang him to the yard-arm, if he did not instantly take charge of the ship, and carry her safe, without striking ground, through the Bocca Tygris into the open river. The poor pilot performed his office, but did not escape punishment for what he could not help. He was instantly seized on being released from the Centurion, committed to prison, and rigorously

#### 412. COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get access to the Commodore afterwards, to supplicate a recompence, who, ever ready to reward the sufferers in his service, gave him such a sum as more than contented him for his whipping. Nor was the poor pilot the only sufferer; for the Governors of the forts were both displaced for not preventing what it was in vain for them to attempt to oppose, and for not doing what all the council must know was impossible to be done.

On the 16th, the Commodore sent his Second Lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the Viceroy, assigning his reasons for putting into that port, demanding a licence for purchasing provisions and stores, and intimating an intention of waiting upon his Excellency in person to make his acknowledgements. The Lieutenant was civilly received, and promised an answer the next day. In the mean time, the principal officers of the prize desired permission to go to Canton on their parole, which was readily granted. These no sooner arrived, than they were called before the magistracy, and examined; when they generously and frankly acknowledged, that they fell into the hands of the Commodore by the chance of war, and that though they were prisoners, they were notwithstanding at liberty to treat for their release: they said farther, that it was not the custom among European nations to put prisoners to death; but that the laws of war authorized  
much



much severer treatment than they had hitherto met with from their conquerors. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's naval force, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless free-booter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, three Mandarinines with their retinue came on board, and brought the Viceroy's permit for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as high as the second bar; and, at the same time, they delivered a message from the Viceroy, in answer to that part of the Commodore's letter which related to his visiting his Excellency; the substance of which message was, that the Viceroy wished the Commodore to defer his visit till the hot season was over, but that, in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to receive him. This the Commodore looked upon as a finesse, knowing an express was sent up to the Emperor's court at Peking; whence the real motive for putting off the visit seemed to be to gain time to receive the Emperor's instructions concerning the ceremony to be observed at his reception. The Mandarinines, having dispatched this part of their commission, next entered upon the business of the port charges; whereupon the Commodore at once cut them short, by telling them, that,

#### 414 COMMODORE ANSON'S VOYAGE.

as he did not come to trade, he was not to be treated upon the same footing with trading ships; that his Britannic Majesty's ships never paid customs in the ports of Europe, nor ever would be subject to any pecuniary imposts in any other port whatever. Finding nothing to be gained on this head, they told the Commodore, that they had still another matter in charge, and that was the release of the prisoners taken on board the galleon; for that the Emperor would never permit the subjects of princes with whom he was in alliance to be held in bondage in his dominions, nor could the Viceroy answer it to his Sovereign, if he suffered it; and that, therefore, his Excellency hoped that the Commodore would give immediate orders for their release.

Though nothing could be more agreeable to the Commodore, who wanted much to be rid of the incumbrance, than this requisition, yet, to inhance the favour, he at first raised difficulties; but at length suffered himself to be prevailed upon by their intreaties, and concluded, by assuring them, that, to shew his readiness to oblige, he would deliver up the prisoners whenever the Viceroy would please to order boats to fetch them. Matters being thus adjusted, the Mandarin's departed: and, in a few days, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton to carry them to Mocao, under the direction of one Captain Fial, Commander of a Spanish merchant-man, to whose ship we gave chase in our passage

passage from the Bashee Islands to Mocaço, but lost sight of her in the night.

To this gentleman the General of the galleon, and all his officers, except one who accompanied us to England, were delivered up. And now I have occasion to mention the General, I cannot help relating an affair which gave us on board the prize a great deal of concern, and sufficiently shewed the meanness of his spirit, and his beggarly craft. I have already taken notice of his being wounded in the engagement, and of his being indulged with the use of his own cabin till he was fit to be removed. The Commodore, over and above this indulgence, sent him a surgeon from his own ship, upon a complaint that the Spanish surgeon on board the galleon was quite ignorant in his profession; but at the same time he sent an officer to demand his commission. Pretending to the officer that he was unable to move, he referred him to a small box in a locker of his private cabin, in which, he said, it was, and likewise a sword-belt set with diamonds of great value, his own property; but, upon search, neither the commission nor the belt could be found: and, as some of our people had been rummaging both that and other parts of the ship, he protested, that, if they could not be there found, they must have been taken away and concealed. Under colour of this concealment, though he never produced his commission, he all along received the most humane and gentlemanlike treatment

treatment that the most worthy officer could desire or expect ; and such was continued till his departure, when neither his chests, of which he had two very large ones, nor any of his trunks or cases were suffered to be searched : but every thing which he claimed as his personal effects were delivered to him with the greatest care and punctuality ; though, as I was afterwards informed, he had many valuable ventures concealed, which ought to have been delivered up as prize to the captors ; but, as that was never examined into, he carried them off with the rest, and, it was supposed, was not the least among the gainers by the capture of his ship. He persisted, however, to the last in the loss of his commission and belt, and, though there were none on board on whom he could charge the theft, yet the Commodore sufficiently expressed his displeasure against the whole by the prohibition he laid upon us, as soon as the prize came to an anchor in the river, by which all communication was cut off between us and the country people, and no boat suffered to come near us but our own ; by which severe order we were entirely debarred from purchasing our own provisions and necessaries from the Chinese, which the people in the *Centurion* were at full liberty to do ; neither could we employ the Chinese tradesmen to supply us with apparel, of which we stood greatly in need, though in that too the *Centurion's* people were indulged : and all this for no other reason, that was  
ever

ever assigned, but that, if the jewels the General had lost were concealed, the Commodore was determined the secreter should have no opportunity of disposing of them without being discovered. Had this precaution been taken, as it ought, for the satisfaction of those who suffered under the severity of the censure, and had the effects of the Spanish General been properly inspected, the secreter would have been publicly exposed; for, when we afterwards fell down to Mocoa with the ships, where we sold the prize, I was myself told by an Irish priest, that the General had both his commission and his belt; that he made no secret of the matter at Mocoa; and that he had offered the jewels (being only made up by way of blind) among the merchants for sale.

But to return: during our stay in the river Canton, our people were employed in repairing the Centurion, over-hauling her sails and rigging, cleansing and ventilating her decks and quarters below, and in paying and decorating her hull; insomuch, that when she came to sail, she had more the appearance of a ship newly fitted out, than one that had been a three-year's voyage in traversing the globe. While these things were doing on board the Centurion, we in the prize were busied in rummaging for treasure, till about the latter end of August, when we made a full end of our search, and found, upon account of the captors, in specie, 1,278,546 dollars, and 1,324 of wrought plate and virgin

silver. The jewels we found were not then valued.

At the same time that the inferior officers and seamen were employed in these different services, the Commodore had a still more important business in hand. He knew it was impossible for us to proceed to Europe without an ample supply of provisions and other sea-stores; and, though we were furnished with a daily allowance, yet no order had been obtained for victualling us for our intended voyage. Application had indeed been made, and terms agreed upon with the contractors to furnish whatever was necessary; and they had undertaken to procure the Viceroy's permission for the delivery; but when, about the middle of September, the proper officer was sent to enquire what forwardness these things were in, he found that neither the baker had begun to bake the bread, nor the butcher to kill the oxen, nor was the least step taken to comply with any one article of the agreement. We could no otherwise account for this faithless procedure of the Chinese, than by supposing they meant to starve us into a compliance with their accustomed demands for port charges, with which the Commodore was determined never to acquiesce. Indeed, it was suspected, that the contractors themselves had some interest in promoting the delay, though it was not easy to penetrate the views by which they were influenced, as it may with truth be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and

and attachment to all kinds of lucre, the Chinese, as a nation, are not to be paralleled by any other people under the sun. It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practised on the Commodore and his people by this interested race. The method of buying provisions in China being by weight, the tricks made use of to make them heavy are almost incredible. At one time a number of fowls and ducks being brought for the ship's store, the greatest part of them presently died, which spread a general alarm on board lest they should have died of poison ; but, on examination, it was discovered that they had been crammed with small stones and gravel to increase their weight. The hogs, too, bought of the Chinese butchers ready killed, were found to have had water injected into the carcasses for the same purpose ; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that salt had been given them to increase their thirst, that methods had been used to suppress their urine, and that the tortured animals had been sold in that inflated state. Mr. Walter adds—[for it is on his authority that these instances are reported]—that, as the Chinese never scruple to eat the animals that die of themselves, they contrived, by their secret practices, when the Commodore put to sea, that part of his live sea-store should die in a short time after it was put on board : in order, therefore, to make a second profit of the dead car-

cases which they expected would be thrown over-board, they followed in boats to pick up the carrion; and, accordingly, two thirds of the hogs dying before they were out of sight of land, their labour could not be in vain.

The treachery of the contractors being now discovered, the Commodore determined to renew his former requisition for an audience with the Viceroy. With this view, he notified his intention to the proper Mandarin, and desired that he would fix the time with the Viceroy when he would be pleased to receive him; at the same time giving him to understand, that, on the first of October, he intended to proceed in his boat to Canton. The Mandarin returned for answer, that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. As it was apprehended, that the payment of the customary duties would be demanded at this interview, the Commodore took the necessary precautions to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their pretensions by having him in their power at Canton, and, therefore, gave the command of the Centurion to his First Lieut. Mr. Brett (now Sir Piercy), with orders, if he should be detained, to lie at the mouth of the river, and suffer no ship or boat to pass or repass till he was released, by which the whole navigation of the river would be immediately obstructed.

This being known to the Chinese, they were now more than ever embarrassed in their deliberations,



berations. The morning of the first of October arrived, and just as the boat's crew, eighteen in number, which the Commodore proposed to take with him, appeared in their uniform, namely, scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver, with silver badges on their jackets and caps, his linguist came to him from the Mandarin, to tell him, that a letter had been received from the Viceroy, desiring the Commodore to defer his intended purpose for two or three days, which not being doubted, the men were ordered to be undrest, and the preparations were all laid aside; but, in the afternoon of the same day, another linguist came on board, seemingly in a great panic, informing him, that the Viceroy had expected him up that day; that the council was assembled, and the troops under arms to receive him; and that the Viceroy was highly incensed at the disappointment, and had sent the Commodore's linguist to prison, chained, supposing him to be the sole cause of the contempt. This plausible tale gave the Commodore great uneasiness, not at that time suspecting any imposition; and though it afterwards appeared to be all a mere farce, yet the falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants, that three days afterwards the Commodore received a letter, signed by all the Supercargoes of the English ships then at the place, expressing their uneasiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would

would be offered to his boat, if he attempted to come to Canton before the Viceroy was fully satisfied of the mistake. To this letter the Commodore replied, that he did not believe there had been a mistake, but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the Viceroy; that, therefore, he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him any insult, as well knowing he should want neither power nor inclination to make them a proper return.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore continuing firm to his resolutions, all the Super-cargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships, came on board the *Centurion*, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion were sent to augment his retinue. As he passed by Wampo where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them except the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton.

The Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no opposition in his way, pretended that the Viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Peking, that there was no getting admittance to him; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court, as soon as he was at leisure, to notify the Commodore's arrival,

arrival, and endeavour to fix the audience. Though the Commodore knew this to be a falsehood, yet he suffered himself to be persuaded by the European Supercargoes not to appear to doubt it, provided the Chinese merchants would undertake that his bread should be baked, his meat salted, and his stores in readiness, within the space of 40 days; after which time, if the least article was pretended to be forgotten, he would force his way to the Viceroy, and prefer his complaint. During the interval, while the contractors were endeavouring in earnest to fulfil the terms of the agreement on their part, (which by the way they insisted should be paid for in advance on his), a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton, which on the first alarm might easily have been extinguished, by pulling down some of the adjoining sheds; which the Commodore with his officers and crew observing, were instantly about to carry into execution; but they were told, that whatever they pulled down they must build up again at their own expence, and that none but a Mandarin must presume to direct upon such occasions. The Commodore, on this admonition, dispatched his people to the English factory to assist them in securing their effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was safe from fire, where the common people contented themselves with gazing at it, and now-and-then holding up an idol or two to extinguish it. At length, however, a Mandarin came out of the city, with 4 or 500 firemen,

firemen, who made some very feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had extended itself, and had spread among the merchants warehouses, where the Chinese firemen had neither spirit nor skill to encounter it; so that it was feared the whole city would have been laid in ashes. In this emergency, the Viceroy vouchsafed to make his appearance, and a message was sent to the Commodore, requesting his assistance. Accordingly, he hastened a second time, with about 40 of his people, to the place where the fire raged with the most violence, and in sight of the whole city performed such daring, and, to the people who beheld them, such astonishing feats, that they looked upon them as salamanders, and cried out, that they could live in fire. In truth, it was no uncommon thing to see the boldest and most active among them tumble on the roofs amidst the ruins of the houses which their own efforts had brought down under them. And thus, by their resolution and agility, the fire was very soon subdued, to the astonishment of the Chinese who were spectators of the wonders they performed. On this occasion the Swedish was the only European factory that suffered; yet on my arrival in England, to my no small diversion, I read in the Paris Gazette, that the city of Canton had been almost wholly destroyed; and that, in particular, the English, Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese factories, had been burnt down, and almost all their effects consumed; but that the French  
factory

factory had providentially escaped, their goods being all shipped before the conflagration reached the quarter allotted for their residence.

This signal assistance gained the Admiral much respect; he was the next day waited upon by the principal inhabitants with presents and thanks; and soon after, a message came from the Viceroy appointing the 30th of November for the day of audience. Being highly pleased with this last intimation, he instantly gave orders for the necessary preparations; and engaged Mr. Flint, a gentleman belonging to the English factory, for his interpreter, who, being trained up from his infancy among the Chinese, spoke their language fluently, and who was not afraid to declare with boldness what the Admiral delivered him in charge, a part which the Chinese interpreters would not have dared to have performed with equal fidelity.

On the day appointed, at 10 o'clock, the Commodore and his retinue set out; and, as he entered the outer gate of the city, he was met by a guard of 200 soldiers, who conducted him to the great parade before the Emperor's palace, in which the Viceroy then resided, where a body of troops to the number of 10,000 were drawn up under arms, who made a fine appearance, being all new cloathed for this ceremony. Through the middle of this body the Commodore with his retinue marched to the hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of

state, with all his council of Mandarin's attending. He was seated the third in order from the Viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treasury being the only persons seated above him. He then, addressing himself to the Viceroy by his interpreter, complained to him of the delays he had met with, the insincerity of those he had employed, the vexatious impositions of the officers of the customs, the grievances of the British subjects, and, finally, the loss sustained by the *Haf-lingfield* Indiaman, who had arrived there dismasted but a few days before the fire happened, by which the crew had been great sufferers, and the Captain in particular, who had lost a chest of treasure value 4500 tael. To the latter article the Commodore received for answer, that, in settling the Emperor's customs with that ship, the Captain should be considered. To the other complaints, the Commodore received no answer at all. And having now gone through the several articles he had in charge from the company, he entered next upon his own affairs, and particularly concerning the licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which, he said, were all ready, and the season for sailing was now set in. The Viceroy replied to this, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day. The business being now at an end, the Viceroy continued the conversation for some time on matters of indifference and curiosity; and, after observing that the Centurion had been  
long

long on their coast, he concluded with acknowledgments for the services the Commodore had rendered the Chinese nation by the activity of his people at the late fire, and with wishing him a prosperous voyage to Great Britain. Thus happily concluded this long-expected audience; and, in pursuance of the Viceroy's promises, the provisions were begun to be shipped the very next day; and now all the preparations for putting to sea were pursued with so much expedition, that by the 9th the Centurion and her prize were ready to unmoor, and on the 10th passed through the Bocca Tygris into the open road, and on the 12th anchored before the town of Mocoa. While they lay here, the Portuguese merchants entered into treaty with the Commodore for the purchase of the prize, for which they would give no more than 6000 dollars, though worth double that sum; but the impatience of the Commodore to be gone, that he might himself be the messenger of his own good fortune, and thereby prevent the enterprizes of the enemy to intercept him, prevailed upon him to conclude the bargain; and, she being delivered on the 15th of December, and the money received, in the afternoon of the same day he hoisted sail, and took his departure for his native home. On the 3d of January he came to an anchor on Prince's Island, in the straits of Sunda, where he staid the best part of five days to wood and water, and on the 8th weighed and continued his course. From this time till

the 20th we had foul and stormy weather, so bad, that I thought it impossible to meet with such in latitudes so near the Equator; and the wind blowing directly against us, we were driven pretty near the coast of New Holland; and, had it continued blowing from the same quarter, with equal violence, for 48 hours longer, we should have found it difficult to have cleared that coast; but, on the 21st, the wind abated, and the weather became moderate. On the 24th, the trade-wind set in, and we then proceeded on our passage with the highest alacrity.

On the 22d of February, at half after four in the morning, I discovered a comet to the eastward, near the horizon, being, as I judged, lately emerged from the sun's rays. Its tail was at this time about 10 degrees in length; but in less than a fortnight it increased and extended itself to near 40 degrees. Its head appeared very large and bright; and, on a nice inspection, I have perceived it when the sun has been about a diameter above the horizon. The next time I observed its distance from the planet Venus to be 26 deg. 50 min. following the order of the planets; but not having instruments proper for taking altitudes without a very obvious sensible horizon, I was prevented from making more satisfactory observations. From this time, till the 6th of March, we had pleasant weather, with few exceptions; but on that and the three following days, being near the Cape of Good Hope, we had some boister-



rous storms; yet, when we arrived at Table-bay, on the 11th, the Dutch knew not that any such had happened. We found riding here two English East-Indiamen, the Salisbury and Warwick, each of which saluted us with 13 guns, and we returned 11. We also found five Dutch ships, one of which having, as Admiral, a flag at his main-top-mast-head, saluted us with 9 guns, to which we returned 7. At 11 at night we parted our best bower cable and hawser, both of which were very rotten, and the next day moored again with others purchased from the Dutch. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, and during his stay entered about 40 new men. On the 3d of May, having compleated our water and provisions, we on that day weighed and put to sea. On the 19th of April we passed within sight of the island of St. Helena, which, however, we did not visit. On the 26th we caught on board the ship a snake that measured in length six feet and two inches, which our surgeon, on examination, pronounced to be perfectly harmless. It was supposed to be brought on board with our wood, at Prince's Island, in the straits of Sunda. The 30th, being before the wind, with a fine breeze, and a gentle rain, a violent and sudden squall took us a-head, threw all the ship's sails a-back, carried away her fore-top-sail yard, split the fore-sail, the fore-top-sail, the fore-top-gallant-sail, and the mizzen and mizzen-

mizzen-top sail. During this squall the ship laid down very much, and we were in the utmost danger of our masts coming by the board; but providentially we escaped without further damage.

The 9th of June, in the evening, it being a thick fog, we on a sudden saw a ship close by us; we fired a shot, and brought her too. She proved an English ship from Amsterdam, bound for Philadelphia or Carolina, with Palatine emigrants. She gave us the first notice of a war with France, and proceeded on her voyage. The 10th of June we came into soundings. The 11th, at half past eleven in the morning, we discovered three sail, and at one in the afternoon spoke with one of them, being a Dutch ship from Dublin. At the same time, the second, being pretty near us, shewed Dutch colours. The third, who had been in chace of the others the whole day, perceiving we designed to speak with her, stood from us with all the sail she could crowd. We gave chace to her for about three hours, when, finding we did not gain upon her, we resumed our former course. On the 12th, in the morning, the fog clearing up, we perceived the Lizard Point: but that the signal perils, which had so often threatened us, and from which we had been more than once providentially delivered, might be discoverable to the last, we were afterwards told, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the channel.

nel, through the middle of which we had this night sailed without being perceived.

On the 13th, between the Isle of Portland and the Isle of Wight, we saw a ship towing another which was disabled in her masts. This ship proved the Salamander privateer, with a French prize. The 14th, at eleven in the morning, we anchored at the back of the Isle of Wight, and in the evening weighed, and again anchored at Spithead.—Thus we finished a long and perilous voyage, which had lasted three years and nine months, after having by its events, as Mr. Walter observes, strongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance, united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet, in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.”

[Having now brought this celebrated voyage to a conclusion, it may, perhaps, be expected that we should give some account of the Spanish Squadron, which we have more than once had occasion to mention, and which was so near intercepting the Commodore at first setting out, that, had the Spanish Admiral cruised to the eastward of the island of Madeira, instead of the westward of it, the two fleets must have certainly met; and, in that case, whatever had been the event of the action, the progress of the voyage must have been effectually prevented.

This

This squadron was composed of the following ships: the *Asia*, of 66 guns, 700 men, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, as Admiral; the *Guipuscoa*, 74 guns, 700 men; the *Hermiona*, 54 guns, 500 men; the *Esperanza*, 50 guns, 450 men; the *Estevan*, 40 guns, 350 men; and a patache of 20 guns, 120 men; and over and above this complement, they had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce their garrisons in the South Seas, and to counterbalance the land forces that it was known were intended to be put on board the Commodore.

When this fleet had cruised, as has been said, to the leeward of Madeira, till they were in a manner certain that the Commodore had either passed by, or deferred his voyage, their Admiral determined to pursue his instructions, and continue his course to the South Seas; but first, it was necessary to steer to the coast of Brazil to recruit his provisions, being victualled only for four months, and more than two of the four being already elapsed.

Accordingly, about the beginning of November, 1740, he quitted his station off the Madeiras, and, on the 5th of January following, arrived at the river of Plate; where coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldando, he sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply.

While they lay here, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese Governor of St. Catharine's, of the Commodore's  
arrival

arrival at that port, and of the weak condition he was then in; but, whatever were his reasons, Pizarro declined making any other use of this intelligence, than hastening his preparations to double the Cape, which he hoped to effect before the Commodore was in readiness to follow him. With this view, after refreshing his crew, and recruiting his water, he instantly set sail without waiting for his provisions (which, however, arrived a day or two after he set sail,) rightly concluding, that, if he got the start of the Commodore in the South Seas, he should not only alarm the coast, but so strengthen the forts against the attacks of the enemy, as effectually to baffle their designs, by depriving them of the means of procuring necessaries. But, notwithstanding this precipitation, the Commodore put to sea four days before him, and, in some part of the passage round the Cape, the fleets were so near each other, that the *Pearl*, as has been said, being separated in a storm, ran within gun-shot of the *Asia* before she found her mistake.

It was with the utmost difficulty, and not without considerable rewards, that the Spanish sailors were prevailed upon to undertake the passage round Cape Horn at that tempestuous season: however, being once engaged, they continued to persevere, till by the latter end of February they had run the length of the Cape, and were turning to the westward, when a storm arose, in which the *Guipuscoa*, *Hermiona*,

and *Esperanza*, lost sight of the Admiral, and on the 6th of March the *Guipuscoa* was separated from the other two. On the 7th the storm increased, and by its irresistible violence drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and, after several unsuccessful efforts, obliged them to return to the coast of Brazil, where the *Asia* took shelter in the river of Plate, and about the middle of May was joined by the *Esperanza* and *Estevan*; the *Hermiona* having, as was supposed, foundered at sea, as she was never more heard of, and the *Guipuscoa* being run ashore and sunk on the coast of Brazil. The patache, we should have observed, was condemned before they quitted the coast of Brazil, and her crew distributed among the other ships; so that, of the six ships of which this squadron originally consisted, there now only remained three, and those in a most miserable condition; for, though it does not appear, that the Spaniards were so severely visited with that most fatal disease the sea-scurvy, which carried off so many of the English in this passage, yet they were reduced by famine to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for several days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the dead corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance.

In this dreadful situation, they were alarmed by the discovery of a conspiracy among the soldiers

diers on board the *Asia*, to murder the Admiral, and all the ship's crew, originating from no other motive but that of appropriating the whole stock of provisions to the conspirators own proper use. But this plot was prevented, when just upon the point of execution, by means of the priest on board, who, having taken the confession of one of the conspirators as he lay at the point of death, pursued proper measures to defeat their bloody purposes, and to bring three of the ring-leaders to condign punishment.

But, though this combination failed of its effect, there were other distresses that multiplied upon them, and which could not be prevented. Hunger and thirst, the most dreadful of all other calamities, daily became more grievous; the ships grew continually more and more leaky, and the men less able to stand at the pumps; nothing was to be seen but despondency in every countenance; nothing heard but lamentations and complaints, which were embittered by the absolute impossibility of relieving them. Under the weight of these affecting circumstances, the *Asia* was near sinking, when she arrived at Monte Vedio with scarce half her crew alive. The *Esteven*, when she anchored in the bay of Barragan, had in like manner lost about the same number of her hands; but, what was still worse, and is almost incredible, the *Esperanza*, out of a crew of 450 seamen which she brought from Spain, had only 58 that reached the shore, and the whole regiment of soldiers, 60 men only excepted, perished.

Being now in want of all kinds of necessaries, masts, yards, rigging, provisions, and money, Pizarro dispatched an express over land to St. Jago, in Chili, to be from thence forwarded to the Viceroy of Peru, desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars; and what must astonish the reader is, that the Indian who was charged with this dispatch, though in the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are judged impassable by reason of the snow, was only 13 days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago, places distant from each other 300 Spanish leagues. At the same time an advice-boat was sent with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting of the Portuguese; but neither the one nor the other of these dispatches succeeded to the wish of the Spanish Admiral. The Viceroy, instead of 200,000 dollars, sent him only 100,000; and the Portuguese, instead of furnishing him with masts and yards, the principal articles of naval stores that he wanted, spared him only some pitch, tar, and cordage, with which he was obliged to be contented: but a more mortifying disappointment he had still to suffer; for a carpenter, whom, after the return of the money, he had trusted with a considerable sum, and whom he had sent up into the country of Paraguay to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business with which he was entrusted, married in the country, and settled out of his reach, refusing to return.

In this dilemma, the only thing that could  
be



be done, was, to shift the masts of the *Esperanza* into the *Asia*, and to fit up the *Estevan* with what spare masts and yards they could muster, and with these two ships to hazard a second attempt to double Cape Horn, as it was now summer, and the weather less severe. But a certain fatality seemed to preside over every part of this unfortunate expedition. The *Estevan*, as she was coming down the river Plate, ran on a shoal and beat off her rudder; and the *Asia*, though she proceeded alone with moderate weather and a favourable gale, yet when she came to the height of Cape Horn, and was tacking to change her course to the westward, by some misconduct in wearing the ship, rolled away her masts, and was a second time forced back to the river of Plate; from whence Pizarro undertook to cross the continent by land, and with some difficulty accomplished his design.

By this time Don Mindinuetta, Captain of the *Guipuscoa*, wrecked, as has been said, on the coast of Brazil, arrived, with those of his crew who escaped, at the place of general rendezvous; and, finding the *Esperanza* without masts, applied a second time to the Portuguese, by whose assistance he completed her repair, and, in 1742, doubled the Cape, and arrived in the South Seas, where he was met by Pizarro, who claimed the command of the *Esperanza*, which Mindinuetta disputing, an irreconcilable quarrel arose between the two Commanders,  
which

which the Viceroy of Peru in vain endeavoured to reconcile. In 1745, they both returned over land to the coast of Brazil, where they found the *Asia* still in a shattered condition. This ship, however, they determined to carry to Europe, and, with this view, they fitted her up in the best manner they could; and, having manned her partly with Portuguese, partly with English prisoners, and partly with Spaniards, together with some Indians whom they forced out of the country, they set sail from Monte Vedio for Europe about the beginning of November; but they had not been long at sea before the Indians, eleven in number, formed a conspiracy to destroy the Spaniards, and to regain their liberty, in which they had hopes of being joined by the English and Portuguese, whom the Spaniards used with great insolence. At the head of this conspiracy was their Chief Orellana; and one evening, about nine o'clock, he and his companions came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone; on this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the Chief and the remaining six seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gang-way, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry

cry used by those savages. This was the signal for beginning the massacre; accordingly, the six, with their Chief, who remained on the quarter-deck, falling suddenly on the Spaniards who were intermingled with them, laid near forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricaded the door; whilst of the rest, some endeavoured to escape along the gang-ways into the fore-castle, where the Indians placed on purpose stabbed the greatest part of them as they attempted to pass by; others threw themselves into the waste, and thought themselves fortunate to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or the rigging; and though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the fore-castle finding their communication cut off, in the utmost terror likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the fore-mast and bowsprit. But when the Indians had intirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for, not being joined, as they expected, by either the English or Portuguese, they could not pursue their advantage by carrying the disorder into those quarters to which they had driven the Spaniards, who thereby gained time  
for

for recollection; and, on finding none concerned in the plot but the Indians, they resolved to attack them in their turn on the quarter-deck. With this view, Pizarro and his officers ventured to half-open the cabin-door, which Orellana attempting to force, was shot dead by Mindinuetta; on which his faithful followers, abandoning all thoughts of further resistance, instantly leaped into the sea. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the Spaniards suffered afterwards quietly to proceed on their voyage; and, about the beginning of 1746, they arrived safe in Spain, after having been absent between four and five years.

By this unfortunate expedition the naval force of Spain was much weakened: they lost in it 3000 of their best sailors, one whole regiment of veteran soldiers, four stout ships of war, and a patache; for we have observed that the *Hermiona* foundered at sea; the *Guipuscoa* was stranded and sunk on the coast of Brazil; the *St. Estevan* was condemned and broke up in the river of Plate; and the *Esperanza*, being carried into the South Seas, was unable to redouble the Cape, or to return back; so that the *Asia* alone may be regarded as all the remains of that squadron with which Pizarro first put to sea.



