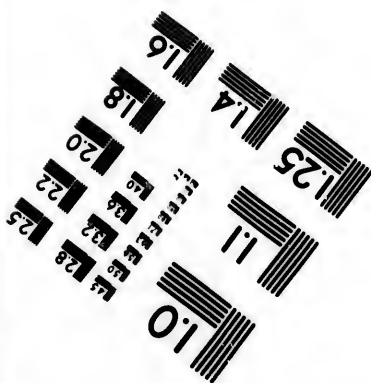
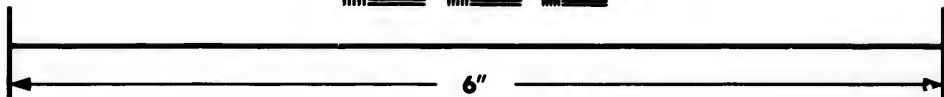
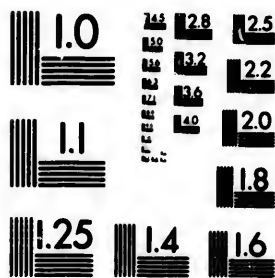


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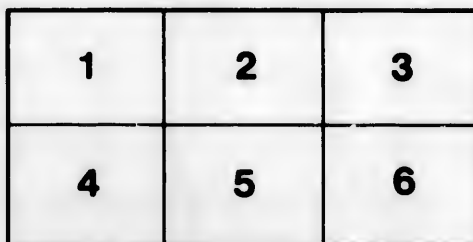
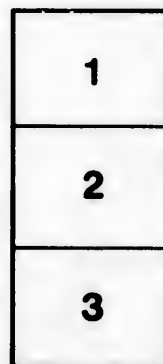
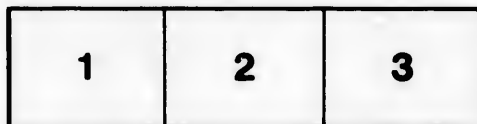
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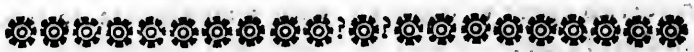
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## Commodore ANSON'S \* Voyage round the World.

A War with Spain appearing inevitable about the latter end of the summer, 1739, it was determined to attack that crown in her distant settlements, in order to cut off the principal resources of the enemy, namely the large returns of that treasure, which, alone, could enable her to carry on a war against Great Britain. Several projects were therefore examined, and several resolutions taken in council; where it was at last determined, that George Anson, Esq. then captain of the Centurion, should be employed as commander in chief of an expedition to the South Sea.

But notwithstanding this scheme had an evident tendency to advance the public service, the execution of it was strangely delayed, and such measures taken as

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\* He was created Lord Anson in 1747, first lord of the admiralty 1751, and in 1761, commanded the squadron that brought over the queen, which was the last service his lordship performed. He died June the sixth, 1762.

seemed calculated only to render it abortive. It was at first resolved, that a strong body of land forces, consisting of Col. Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, should embark on board Mr. Anson's squadron; but instead of these, five hundred invalids collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea college, and about ninety-eight marines formed the only detachment sent on this occasion; and of these almost half deserted at Portsmouth; so that none were left for this important enterprize, but the most decrepid and miserable objects that could be collected out of the whole body. The voyage was also retarded by the commodore's being obliged to take on board two agent victuallers; with merchandize to the value of 15,000*l.* which they were to exchange on the coast of the South Sea for provisions. By these, and many other delays, the voyage was deferred till the season of the year when the westerly winds are generally constant and very violent, and the difficulties and danger of the passage the greatest; and, in short, till the Spaniards were fully acquainted with the admiral's destination.

On the eighteenth of September, 1740, the commodore for fear of ruining the enterprize, weighed from St. Helen's with a contrary wind, and cleared the channel in four days. The squadron consisted of the Centurion of sixty guns and four hundred men, commanded by George Anson, Esq. the Gloucester of fifty guns and three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn of fifty guns and three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns and two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns and one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; the Tryal sloop of eight guns and one hundred men, John Murray commander; and two victuallers, which were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burthen. But the winds continuing contrary, they had the mortification to be forty days in their passage from St. Helen's to Madeira, though it is often performed in ten or twelve.

The

The island of Madeira, famous for its excellent wines, is situated in a fine and healthful climate \*, and composed of one continued hill of a considerable height, extending from east to west. On the south side the declivity is cultivated, and interspersed with vineyards and country seats belonging to merchants, forming an agreeable prospect. The only considerable town in the island is Funchiale, situated on the south, at the bottom of a large bay; it is defended by a high wall with a battery of cannon, and a fortified castle, standing on a rock that rises above the water at a small distance from the shore. This is the only place where it is possible for a boat to land, and even there a violent surf continually beats upon the beach, which is covered with large stones; so that the commodore thought it more prudent to employ Portuguese boats to carry water off to the fleet, than hazard the boats belonging to his squadron.

Soon after their arrival at Madeira, Capt. Norris desired to quit his command of the Gloucester, and return to England for the recovery of his health. This request being complied with, the Commodore appointed Capt. Mitchel to command the Gloucester in his room; to remove Captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and Capt. Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to Lieut. Cheap. During these transactions, Mr. Anson learnt from the governor, that, a few days before his arrival, 7 or 8 ships, supposed to belong to the Spaniards, had appeared to the westward of the island; on which the Commodore dispatched an officer in a clean light sloop to discover who they were; but the officer returned, without being able to get sight of them. Mr. Anson had great reason to suspect that these ships were apprized of his designs, and dispatched to prepare the Spanish settlements for his reception; and the justice of these sus-

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\* This island is in latitude 32 deg. 27 min. and longitude from London 18 deg. 1-4th to 19 deg. 1-half west, tho' laid down in the charts at 17 deg.

## 4 Commodore ANSON'S VOYAGE

pitions afterwards appeared from his discovering that the court of Spain had actually fitted out a Squadron to attend his motions, and traverse his projects.

This Squadron, the proceedings of which it will be necessary here to give a succinct account, was commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, and consisted of the *Asia*, carrying sixty-six guns and seven hundred men; the *Guipuscoa* of seventy-four guns and seven hundred men; the *Hermiona* of fifty-four guns and five hundred men; the *Esperanza* of fifty guns and four hundred and fifty men; the *St. Estevan* of forty guns and three hundred and fifty men, and a patache of twenty-one guns. Pizarro had also a regiment of foot on board, intended to reinforce the garrisons in the South Seas. After cruising some days off the island of *Madeira*, Pizarro steered for the river of *Plate*, where he arrived on the fifth of *January*, and sent immediately to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions. While the Spanish admiral lay in the river of *Plate*, he received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of *St. Catherine's*, that *Mr. Anson* arrived at that island on the 21st of *December* preceding, and that he was preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, extremely desirous of sailing round *Cape Horn* before the English, weighed anchor with the five large ships, without waiting for the provisions from *Buenos Ayres*.

About the latter end of *February* the Spanish Squadron had run the length of *Cape Horn*, and stood to the westward, in order to double it; but in the night of the last of *February*, the *Guipuscoa*, the *Hemiona*, and the *Esperanza*, were separated from the admiral; and on the 6th of *March* following, the *Guipuscoa* was separated from the other two. On the seventh they were overtaken with a furious storm at north-west, which in spite of all their efforts, drove the whole Squadron to the eastward, and obliged them to bear away for the river of *Plate*, where Pizarro, in the *Asia*, arrived about the middle of *May*, and after him the *Esperanza* and the *Estevan*. The *Hermione*, in all probability, foundered at sea, for she

she was never more heard of; and the Guipuscoa was run ashore and sunk on the coast of Brazil. The calamities of every kind which this unfortunate squadron underwent in this unsuccessful navigation, can only be paralleled by what the English themselves suffered in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. To add to their misfortunes, famine in the most frightful shapes stared them in the face, and they were at last reduced to such extremity of distress, that rats, when they could be caught, sold for four dollars a-piece, and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who, during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, merely to receive the dead man's allowance. In this dreadful situation they were alarmed by a conspiracy among the marines on board the Asia owing principally to the miseries they endured: for tho' the conspirators proposed to massacre the officers and whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution flowed entirely from the hopes of being by that sanguinary act in a condition of satisfying their hunger, by appropriating all the provisions in the ship to themselves. But their designs were prevented, just when they were ripe for execution, by means of one of their confessors, and three of the ringleaders put immediately to death. Thus were they freed from this impending danger; but their other calamities were so far from admitting any alleviation, that they became daily more severe and more destructive: so that the three ships which escaped, lost the greatest part of their men by sickness, hunger, and fatigue.

The Spanish admiral being thus reduced to the greatest distress when he reached the river of Plate, and finding it impossible to procure naval stores to re-fit his shattered ships, dispatched an advice-boat, with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese. At the same time he sent an express across the continent to San Jago in Chili, to be forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the misfortunes that had attended his squadron, and desiring a remittance of two hundred

## 6 Commodore ANSON's VOYAGE

dred thousand dollars from the royal chest at Lima, that he might be enabled to refit his remaining ships, and make another attempt to pass round Cape Horn, as soon as the season of the year should afford a favourable opportunity.

But the answer to this dispatch was by no means equal to Pizarro's wishes; for instead of the two hundred thousand dollars demanded, the viceroy remitted him only one hundred thousand, telling him he did not procure even that sum without great difficulty. The inhabitants of Lima however, who considered the presence of Pizarro as absolutely necessary to their security, asserted, that it was not owing to the want of money in the royal treasury, but to the interested views of some of the viceroy's confidants, that Pizarro's demand was refused.

In the mean time, the advice boat returned from Rio Janeiro with a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, but could not procure either masts or yards. However, by removing the masts of the *Esperanza* into the *Asia*, and making use of the spare masts and yards they had on board, they found means to refit the *Asia*, and the *St. Estevan*; but the latter soon after ran upon a shoal in coming down the river of Plate, where she received so much damage, that she was condemned, and Pizarro in the *Asia* proceeded to sea without her, about the latter end of October.

The Spanish admiral now doubtless hoped for a favourable and speedy passage round Cape Horn, as the weather was very moderate, and the whole summer before him. But he was again disappointed; for on his reaching the latitude of Cape Horn, the ship again rolled away her masts, and was obliged to put back a second time to the river of Plate in great distress.

It was now thought advisable, as the *Asia* had suffered considerably in this second unfortunate expedition, to refit the *Esperanza*, which had been left behind at Monte Vedio. Accordingly all hands were employed in this work, and the ship ready for sea about

about the beginning of November of the following year. It was now determined that Mindinuetta, who commanded the Guipuscoa, when she was lost on the coast of Brazil, should be made captain of the Esperanza, and carry her round Cape Horn, while Pizarro passed over land to Chili. Accordingly the Esperanza sailed in November from the river of Plate, and arrived safely on the coast of Chili, where Mindinuetta met the admiral : but great animosities and contests soon arose between these two gentlemen, occasioned by Pizarro's claiming the command of the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round into the South Seas, and now refused to deliver her up ; insisting, that as he came into those seas alone and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume the authority he had given up at Buenos Ayres. Mindinuetta was however at last obliged to submit.

But the series of Pizarro's adventures was not yet completed ; for on his return to Buenos Ayres by land, in company with Mindinuetta, he determined, if possible, to refit the Asia, and sail for Europe. But the great difficulty consisted in procuring a sufficient number of hands to navigate her ; for all the remaining sailors of the Squadron to be met with at Buenos Ayres did not amount to a hundred men. This defect they endeavoured to supply by pressing many of the inhabitants of that country, and putting on board all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among the latter was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been taken by a party of Spanish soldiers about ten months before. The name of this chief was Orellana, belonging to a powerful tribe that had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motly crew, Pizarro sailed from Monte Vedio in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November, 1745 ; and the Spaniards, conscious of the dissatisfaction of their foreign hands, treated them all with great insolence and barbarity ;



## 2 Commodore ANSON'S VOYAGE

particularly the Indians, who were often beat in the most cruel manner by the meanest officers in the ship, on the most trivial pretences, and sometimes merely to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for such inhuman usage; and knowing the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he took all opportunities of conversing with such as understood the Spanish language; doubtless with an intention of engaging them in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs and recovering his liberty: but having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he resolved to rely entirely on the resolution of his faithful followers. These, it appears, readily engaged to observe his directions, and execute whatever he should think proper to command. Accordingly they furnished themselves with Dutch knives, sharp at the point, and which they found no difficulty of procuring, as they were the common knives used in the ship. They also employed their leisure hours in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the quarter-deck guns; this when swung round their heads, according to the custom of their country, was a most destructive weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently very expert. These previous steps being taken, they waited for a favourable opportunity to carry their design into execution; but a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself precipitated their scheme. An officer ordered Orellana aloft, which he being incapable of performing, the brutal Spaniard, under pretence of disobedience, beat him in so inhuman a manner, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupified for some time with the wounds and bruises he had received. This wanton piece of cruelty could not fail of heightning the Indian's thirst for revenge, and rendering him eager and impatient,  
till

If he had the means of executing it in his power :  
and which happened a few days after.

About nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck, enjoying the freshness of the night air, and the fore-castle manned with its customary watch, the waste being full of live cattle ; Orellana and his companions having prepared their weapons under cover of the night; and thrown off their trowsers, as the most cumbrous part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and advanced towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to retire. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in the Indian language, and four of them immediately drew off, two towards each gangway, while the chief and his six remaining followers seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. As soon as the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangways, Orellana bellowed out the war cry used by these savages, and said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound known in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre ; and accordingly they all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double-headed shot. Their chief, with the six who remained on the quarter-deck, fell immediately on the Spaniards intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of whom above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. The greater part of the officers at the beginning of the tumult pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door ; while the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the fore-castle ; but the Indians, placed there on purpose, stabbed the greater part of them as they attempted to pass, or forced them off the gangways into the waste. Others threw themselves voluntarily over the barricadoes, and thought themselves happy to lie concealed among the cattle ; but the greater part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. In the mean time the watch on

the fore-castle, finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of a few, who had strength sufficient to force their passage along the gangways, and not knowing either the number of their enemies or who they were, gave every thing over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the fore-mast and bowsprit.

Thus eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves, almost instantaneously, of the quarter-deck of a sixty-six gun ship, manned with five hundred men, and continued in peaceable possession of their post for a considerable time; for the officers in the great cabin, the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, consulted nothing but their own safety, and were for a long while incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering the command of the ship. Indeed the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and filled them with those imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy, never fail to produce.

But when the Indians had cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in some measure subsided; for fear rendered those silent who had escaped, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. In the mean time Orellana, finding himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, where he hoped to find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, who are extremely skilful in the use of that weapon; but unfortunately for him they were concealed by the fire arms, which lay uppermost, and were of no use to these Indians. This disappointment in some measure disconcerted their project, and gave Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin an opportunity of conversing through the windows and port-holes, with those in the gun-room and between decks, from whom they learned that the English were all quiet below, not having the least concern in the mutiny;

mutiny; and by other particulars, they at last discovered that the whole had been contrived and executed by Orellana and his followers.

On receiving this information, Pizarro and his officers resolved to attack the Indians on the quarter-deck, before any of the discontented on board should so far recover from their surprize, and to reflect on the ease and certainty of seizing on the ship, by joining the Indian party. Accordingly Pizarro collected all the arms in the great cabin, and distributed them among his officers; but the only fire-arms in their possession were pistols, and these were rendered useless as they had neither powder nor ball. However having opened a correspondence with the people in the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket from the cabin window, into which the gunner, out of one of the ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. Having thus procured ammunition, and loaded their pistols, they set the cabin door partly open, and fired some shot among the Indians on the quarter-deck, but without doing any execution. At last Mindinetta was fortunate enough to shoot Orellana dead on the spot, on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, leaped instantly into the sea, where every man perished. Thus after the Indians had kept possession of the quarter-deck two hours, the Spaniards again recovered the command.

This dangerous mutiny being totally quelled by the death of those daring Indians, Pizarro continued his course for Europe, and arrived on the coast of Galicia in the beginning of the year 1746.

Having thus given a succinct account of Pizarro's expedition, which was confessedly planned, with no other intention than that of destroying the English, or at least of rendering all their attempts in the South Seas abortive, we shall return to Commodore Anson, whom we left at Madeira, taking in wine and water, which being compleated, the squadron weighed anchor on the 3d of November, 1740, and the next day the commodore sent orders to the captains, that in case the squadron should be separated, to rendezvous at

## Commodore ANSON'S VOYAGE

the island of St. Catherine's. On the 19th the Industry pink having fulfilled her charter party, and her cargo being divided amongst the other vessels, she parted company, being bound for Barbadoes, to take in a freight for England; but, in her return from that island, was unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November the captains of the Squadron represented to Mr. Anson, that the men grew remarkably sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, adding, that it was the joint opinion of themselves and the surgeons, that a fresh supply of air between decks would greatly tend to the preservation of the men; but that the ships were so deep, that there was no possibility of opening their lower ports. The commodore therefore ordered six air scuttles to be cut in each ship, in order to cause a more free circulation of air between decks. They were afflicted with calentures, a kind of fevers that are not only terrible while they last, but even the remains of the disease often proved fatal to those who thought themselves recovered, and always left them in a very weak and helpless condition. This disorder daily increasing while they continued at sea, they were filled with extraordinary joy at the discovery of the coast of Brasil, on the 16th of December in the morning, and on the evening of the 18th, they came to an anchor at the north-west point of the island of St. Catherine's.

On their approaching the island, they perceived two fortifications, which seemed intended to guard the passage between the island and the main, and seeing the two forts hoist their colours, and fire several guns, probably as signals for assembling the inhabitants, the commodore concluded that his Squadron had alarmed the coast, and therefore, to prevent confusion sent a boat with an officer on shore to compliment the governor, and desire a pilot to carry the vessels into the road. The governor returned an obliging answer, and ordered them a pilot. On the morning of the 20th they weighed, and about noon the pilot came on board, who in the same afternoon

brought the squadron to an anchor, in a large commodious bay on the continent side, called by the French Bon port.

The next day they weighed their anchors, steering in between the two fortifications above-mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz, and San Juan; and moored at the island of St. Catherine's on Sunday the 21<sup>st</sup> of December; the whole squadron being sickly and in great want of refreshments. The care of the sick therefore first employed their thoughts, and the commodore accordingly gave orders, that each ship should erect two tents, one for the diseased, and the other for the surgeon and his assistants; after which about eighty sick persons were landed from the Centurion, and nearly as many from the other ships, in proportion to their number of hands. This necessary duty being performed, the ships were next cleansed, smoaked, and every part well washed with vinegar. These necessary operations being performed, every method was taken to secure the ships against the tempestuous weather they had reason to expect in their passage round Cape Horn.

The island of St. Catherine's, which lies between the latitudes of 27 deg. 35 min. and 28 deg. south, and in the longitude of 40 deg. 45 min. west, is about nine leagues in length and two in breadth; and though it is of a considerable height, it can hardly be perceived at ten leagues distance, it being obscured by the prodigious mountains behind it on the continent of Brasil.

It is covered with a forest of trees, that retain their verdure in all seasons; but so entangled with underwood, thorns, and briars, that the whole forms one impenetrable thicket, except in some narrow paths made by the inhabitants for their own convenience; and these, with a few spots along the shore facing the continent, that are cleared for plantations, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The many aromatic trees and shrubs with which the woods abound, render them extremely fragrant. These woods also spontaneously produce many kinds of fruit; and the

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production of all climates thrive almost without culture, so that here are plenty of pine apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, melons, apricots, peaches, grapes, and plantains; but what is of still more advantage to seamen, there are plenty of onions and potatoes. Here are also great number of pheasants, but they are far from tasting so well as those in England. They have likewise small wild cattle resembling buffaloes; though these are but indifferent food, their flesh being loose, and of a disagreeable flavour. The other provisions of the island are parrots, monkeys, and particularly fish of various kinds, which last are exceeding good, and easily caught. The water also is excellent, and as fit for the sea as that of the Thames.

These advantages are counterbalanced by many inconveniencies, part of which flow from the climate, and part from its new regulation. With regard to the former, it must be remembered that the woods and hills surrounding the harbour prevent a free circulating air; and there is such a quantity of vapour produced by the vigorous vegetation of the place, that the whole country is during the night, and part of the morning, covered with a thick fog. This consequently renders the place close and humid, and probably is the principal cause of those fevers and fluxes that reign in the island. In the day-time the men were pestered with muscatos, resembling the gnats in England, but more venomous in their stings; and when these retired at sun-set, they were succeeded by an infinite number of sand-flies, which made a mighty buzzing, though they are scarcely to be perceived by the naked eye. Their bite raises a small pimple in the flesh, attended with a painful itching, like that arising from the harvest bug in England. In short, the sailors had a melancholy proof of the unhealthfulness of the climate; for the Centurion alone buried no less than twenty-eight men after her arrival, and yet the number of her sick was in the same interval increased from eighty to ninety-six.

The Squadron also suffered many inconveniencies from the form of government, and new regulations lately

lately established in the island. It was formerly only a retreat of vagabonds and out-laws, who fled thither from all parts of Brasil, and who having plenty of provisions, but no money, supported themselves without the assistance of any neighbouring settlements. While in this situation, they were extremely hospitable and friendly to such foreign ships as came amongst them; for as those ships wanted only provisions, and the natives wanted only cloaths, the ships furnished them with the latter in exchange for the former, and both sides were highly pleased with this traffic. But of late, since the discovery of the gold and diamonds on the opposite coast, they had been obliged to submit to new laws, and a new form of government. They had at this time, instead of their former ragged bare-footed captain, a governor named Don Jose Sylva de Pas, who had a garrison of soldiers, lived splendidly, and had a better knowledge of the importance of money than his more honest predecessors, and therefore took several methods of procuring it, which they were intirely unacquainted with. One of these was placing centinels at all the avenues to prevent the people selling refreshments to the ships, except at such extravagant prices as they could not afford to give, pretending he was obliged to preserve provisions for above one hundred families, with which he daily expected the colony to be reinforced. But this was not the worst part of his conduct; he was deeply engaged in a smuggling traffic, in exchanging gold for silver, by which the kings of Spain and Portugal were defrauded of their fifths; and in order to ingratiate himself with his Spanish correspondents, had the treachery to dispatch an express to Pizarro, the commander of the Spanish Squadron, fitted out to traverse Mr. Anson's projects, and who then lay at Buenos Ayres, in the river of Plate, with a particular account of the arrival of the English Squadron, the number of ships, guns, and men, and in short with every circumstance he could suppose the enemy desirous of knowing.



The country of Brazil, where the gold and diamonds already mentioned are found, was discovered by Americus Vesputio, a Florentine, then in the service of the Portuguese, who settled and planted it; but when the kingdom of Portugal devolved to the crown of Spain, this followed the other dominions. During the long war between Spain and the States of Holland, the Dutch possessed themselves of the northern parts of Brazil, and continued masters of them for some years. But when the Portuguese revolted from the Spanish government, the inhabitants of Brazil followed their countrymen, and soon after re-possessed themselves of the places the Dutch had taken, and the whole country has ever since continued under the Portuguese government. Its productions indeed were for a long time only sugar and tobacco, together with a few other commodities of very little value.

Accident however discovered treasures little thought of by the Dutch, while they possessed part of this country; treasures which the whole art and industry of mankind are exerted to discover; we mean gold and diamonds. The former was found in the mountains adjacent to the city of Rio Janeiro, where it was observed, that the fish-hooks of the Indians were made with that metal. This induced the Portuguese to enquire into the methods they took to procure it, and found that great quantities of it were annually washed from the hills, and left among the sand and gravel remaining in the valleys after the sinking of the waters. It is not much more than sixty years since any quantities of gold worth mentioning, have been sent from Brazil into Europe; but since that time, the imports from that country have been continually augmented, by fresh discoveries of places in other provinces, where it is found in as great, if not greater plenty, than those in the neighbourhood of Rio Janeiro. It is even said, that there is a vein of this metal spread through the whole country, about four and twenty feet below the surface; but that this vein is too thin and poor to answer the expence of digging for it. But however that be, it is known that where

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the rivers or torrents from rain have run any considerable time, gold may be collected, by washing from it the sand and earth.

This work is always performed by slaves, who are principally negroes, and kept by the Portuguese for this purpose. They are however under a very singular regulation; each of them being obliged to furnish their master with the eighth part of an ounce per diem; and if they are either so fortunate or industrious as to collect a greater quantity, the surplus is entirely their own, and they may dispose of it as they think proper.

The king has one fifth part of all the gold thus collected, and which has for many years amounted to an hundred and fifty arroves, each thirty-two pounds Portuguese weight, which at four pounds the Troy ounce, amounts to near three hundred thousand pounds sterling; consequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about one million and a half sterling. It should also be remembered, that a large quantity of this metal is exchanged for silver at Buenos Ayres, by which means the kings of Spain and Portugal are cheated of their fifths. This quantity, added to what is secretly sent to Europe, and escapes the duty, cannot be computed at less than half a million more; so that the whole quantity annually found among the sands of Brazil will amount to near two millions sterling.

With regard to diamonds, which are also found in Brazil, the discovery is much more recent than that of gold. It is scarcely forty years since the first of these valuable stores was brought from that colony into Europe. They are found in the same manner as the gold, namely in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but in particular places only, and not in every part of the province. They were often seen in washing the gold before they were known to be diamonds, and consequently thrown away with the gravel and sand. About forty years since, a gentleman acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds, was persuaded, that these pebbles, as they were then esteemed

esteemed, were of the same kind ; but it was a considerable time before this opinion was actually confirmed by proper trials and examination in Europe ; the inhabitants being with difficulty persuaded, that what they had been so long accustomed to despise could really be of so great value ; and it is said, that during this interval, a governor of one of the towns procured a great number of these stones, under pretence of making use of them at cards, instead of counters.

It was however at last confirmed by skilful jewellers in Europe, who after a thorough examination, declared these stones to be real diamonds, and that many of them were not at all inferior to those imported from the East-Indies. The Portuguese therefore applied themselves with the utmost assiduity to search for these stones ; and if all probability would have discovered considerable masses of them, had not an order from Portugal put an end to their enquiry.

It had been represented to the king, that if such plenty of diamonds should be met with, and there was reason to expect, their value and estimation would be so far diminished, that it would at once ruin those European merchants who had any quantity of India diamonds in their possession, and render the discovery itself of no advantage. These considerations, which were doubtless founded on reason, induced his majesty to restrain the general search for diamonds, and to erect a diamond company with an exclusive charter. This company, in consideration of a sum of money paid by them to the king, have the property of all diamonds found in Brazil ; but at the same time are prohibited from employing more than eight hundred slaves, in order to prevent their collecting too large a quantity, which would doubtless tend to lessen their value.

These important discoveries in Brazil have occasioned new laws, new governments, and new regulations to be established in many parts of the country, as well as in the island of St. Catherine: it having been found, that in the neighbourhood of this island, there

there are several considerable rivers extremely rich : and as the harbour in the island of St. Catherine's is by much the most capacious of any on the coast, it is very probable, it will in time become the principal settlement in Brazil, and the most considerable port in South America.

As the season of the year grew every day less favourable for their passage round Cape Horn, the commodore was very desirous of leaving St. Catherine's as soon as possible ; but on examining the Tryal's masts, it appeared that the main-mast was sprung at the upper moulding, and the fore-mast judged unfit for service. This obliged them to continue a considerable longer stay than they expected, in order to put that ship in a condition of supporting the storms, there was too much reason to expect they should meet with in their passage into the South Seas.

While they were thus employed in refitting the Tryal, they discovered a sail in the offing, and the commodore suspecting that she might be a Spaniard, gave orders for manning his eighteen oared boat, which he sent to examine her, under the command of his second lieutenant, before she arrived within the protection of the forts. But she proving a Portuguese brigantine, from Rio Grande, the lieutenant behaved with the utmost civility, and even refused to accept a calf which the master would have forced upon him as a present. Notwithstanding this the governor was greatly offended at Mr. Anson's sending the boat, and represented it as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of Great-Britain and Portugal. This ridiculous blustering was at first imputed to no deeper cause than Don Jose's insolence ; but as he proceeded to charge the lieutenant with behaving rudely, opening letters, and attempting to take by violence the very calf the commodore knew he had refused to receive as a present, there was reason to suspect that he raised this groundless clamour only to prevent their visiting the brigantine, when she should put to sea again, and discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with the neighbouring governors.

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The Squadron being refitted, and a supply of fresh provisions taken in, it set sail from St. Catherine's, on the 18th of January, 1741, in order to proceed to an hostile, or at best, a desert and inhospitable coast, where they must expect a more boisterous climate than any they had yet experienced. The day after their departure they had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning and thunder; but soon after became fair with light breezes, and continued thus till the 21st in the evening, when it blew fresh again, and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a violent storm, attended with so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships length, so that the whole Squadron disappeared; however, the next day at noon, when the fog dispersed, Mr. Anson discovered all the ships of the Squadron except the Pearl, which did not join him till near a month afterwards. The Tryal sloop was a great way to the leeward; having lost her main-mast, and for fear of bilging, had been obliged to cut away the mast: the commodore therefore bore down with the Squadron to her relief, and a great swell still continuing, the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow.

They now continued their course to the southward, with very little interruption, till the 18th of February, when they discovered a sail; and the Severn and Gloucester were ordered to give chase; but Mr. Anson perceiving it to be the Pearl, which had been separated from the Squadron in a storm, a signal was made for the Severn to rejoin the Squadron, and to leave the Gloucester alone in the pursuit; but to the surprize of the Squadron, it was observed, that on the Gloucester's approach, the people on board the Pearl increased their sails, and stood from her. The Gloucester notwithstanding this came up with them, when she found their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. The Pearl having joined the commodore, lieutenant Salt informed him, that on the 10th instant he had seen five Spanish men of war, which

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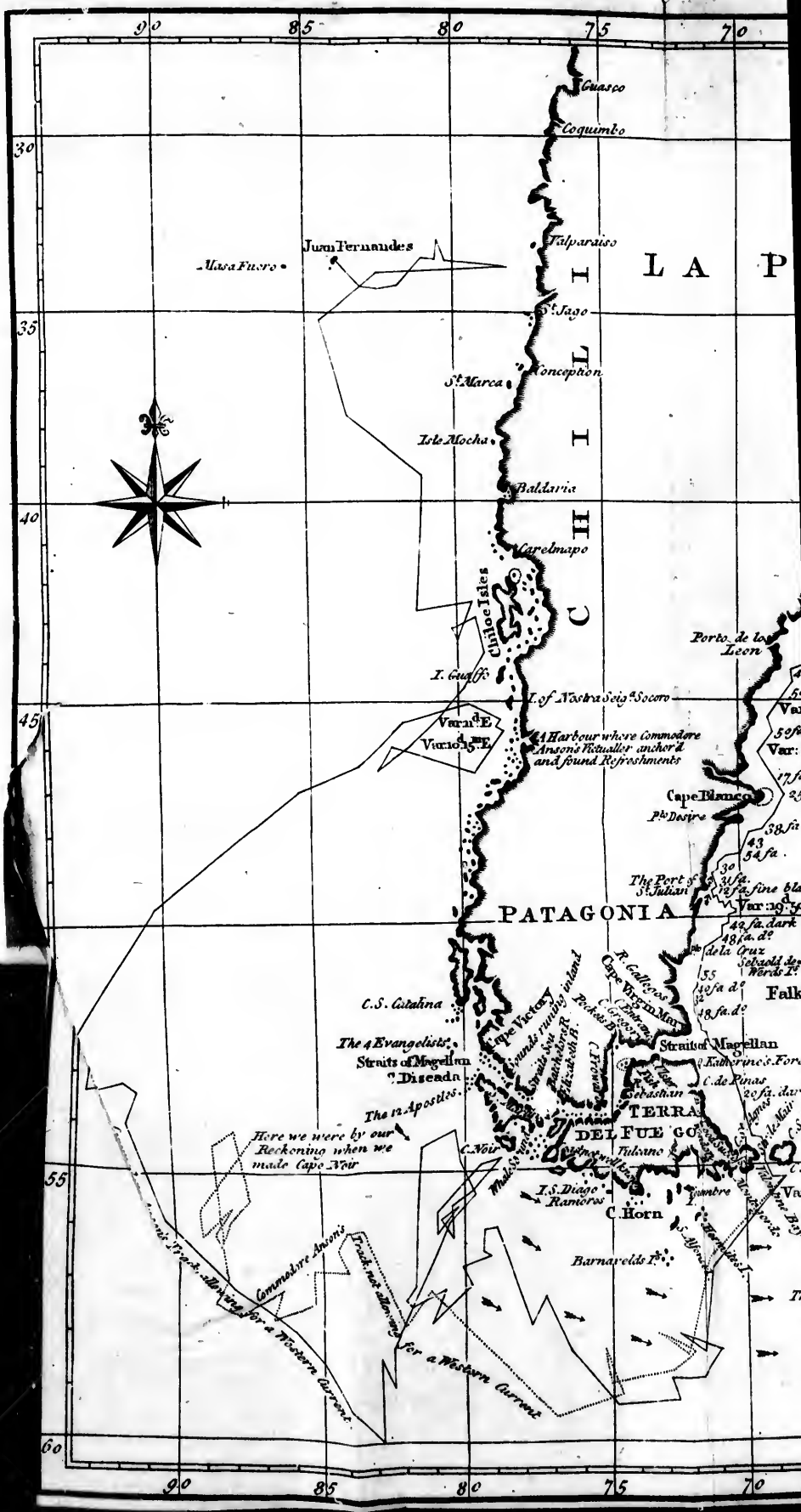
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C H I L E

PATAGONIA

TERRA DEL FUEGO

Masa Fuero

Juan Fernandez

Valparaiso

St. Jago

St. Marca

Concepcion

Isla Mocha

Baldivia

Carlemapo

Chiloé Isles

I. Guayfo

I. of Nuestra Señora Socorro

Varadero

Varadero

A Harbour where Commodore Anson's Squadron anchor'd and found Refreshments

Cape Blanco

Ph. Desire

The Port of St. Julian

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C. S. Catalina

The Evangelists  
Straits of Magellan  
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The 12 Apostles

Here we were by our  
Reckoning when we  
made Cape Noir

Commodore Anson's

Track not allowing  
for a Western Current

Straits of Magellan

Cape Horn

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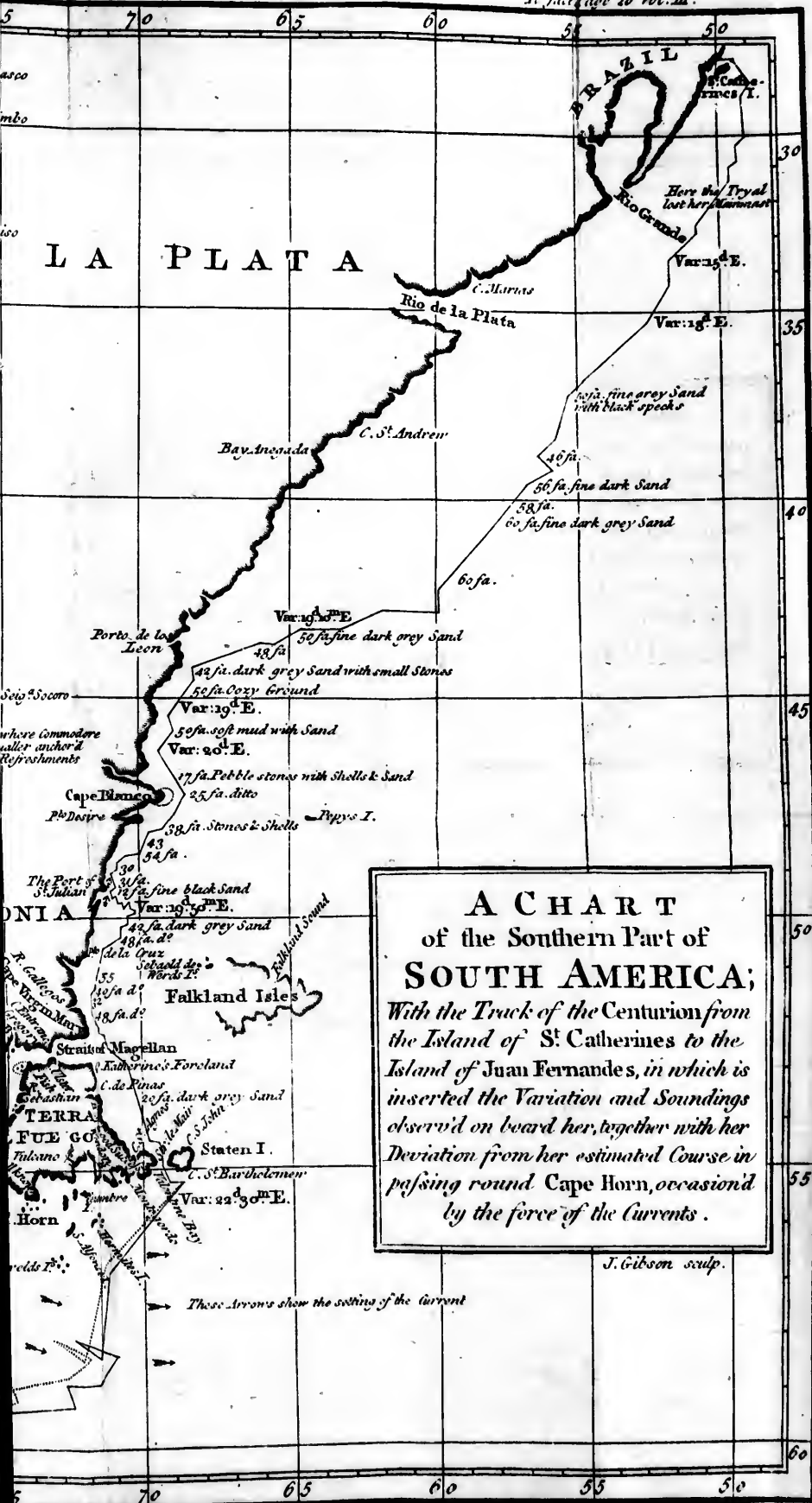
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**A CHART**  
of the Southern Part of  
**SOUTH AMERICA;**  
*With the Track of the Centurion from  
the Island of St. Catharines to the  
Island of Juan Fernandes, in which is  
inserted the Variation and Soundings  
observ'd on board her, together with her  
Deviation from her estimated Course in  
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J. Gibson sculp.



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which for some time he imagined to belong to the British Squadron, and that he had suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly resembling the commodore's, to come within gun-shot of him before he discovered his mistake; but finding that it was not the Centurion, he haled close upon the wind, and crowding from them with all his sail, happily escaped, tho' the whole Squadron continued the chase all that day. He added, that one of the Spanish ships was exceeding like the Gloucester, and for that reason they crowded all the sail they could set, imagining she was the same ship that chased them before.

On the 18th of February, at six in the evening, the Squadron came to an anchor in the bay of St. Julian on the coast of Patagonia, when the Tryal was immediately put in repair; and as this port is a convenient rendezvous in case of separation, for all cruisers bound to the southward, a description of it, and of the coast of Patagonia, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

The country stiled Patagonia extends from the Spanish settlements in South America, to the streights of Magellan. This country, on the east side, is very remarkable for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe: for though the whole country to the northward of the river Plate is full of woods, and abounds with large timber, yet to the southward of that river no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, first planted and cultivated by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres: so that in the whole eastern coast of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and as far back as any discoveries have been yet made, has no other wood than a few insignificant shrubs.

But tho' this country be so destitute of wood it abounds in pasture; for the land in general appears to be composed of downs, of a dry gravelly soil, covered with turfs of long coarse grass, interspersed with barren spots, where nothing is to be seen but gravel.

In many places this grass feeds immense herds of black cattle, a few of which were brought over by the Spaniards, after their first settling at Buenos Ayres, and these have multiplied to such a surprizing degree, and spread so far into the different parts of the country, that they are not considered as private property; many thousands of them being annually slaughtered by the hunters merely for their hides and tallow. These hunters are mounted on horseback, and armed with a kind of spear, the blade of which, instead of being fixed in the same line with the wood, is fixed across. With this instrument they pursue the beast, and the hunter who comes behind hamstring him, after which the beast soon falls, without being able to rise again, when the hunters cruelly leave him, and pursue others, who are served in the same manner. Sometimes, indeed, a second party attends the hunters to skin the cattle as they fall; but it is said that at other times, they chuse inhumanly to suffer the poor creatures to languish in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguish endured by the animal facilitates the separation of the skin from the carcase; a barbarous practice which the priests have loudly condemned, and laboured assiduously to abolish; but all their endeavours have hitherto proved abortive. The flesh of the cattle killed in this manner is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts, and particularly wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers; these are supposed to have been originally produced by Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres; but being allured by the plenty of carrion, left their masters, and ran wild among the cattle.

Besides the black cattle annually slaughtered for their hides and tallow, many of them are frequently taken alive, without wounding them, for the uses of agriculture and other purposes. This is performed with almost incredible dexterity. The hunters, who as mounted on horseback, take a very strong thong, of several fathoms in length, at one end of which is a running noose; they hold it in the right-hand, and  
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it being properly coiled up, and the opposite end fastened to the saddle, they ride at a herd of cattle, and when they come within a certain distance of the beast they intend to catch, throw the thong with such exactness, that they never fail to fix the noose about his horns. The beast generally runs, as soon as he finds himself entangled; but the horse, having greater swiftness, attends him till a second hunter throws another noose about one of his hind legs, and then both horses instantly turn different ways, by which means the beast is presently overthrown, and while the horses still keep the thongs upon the stretch, the hunters alight, and secure him in such a manner, as easily to convey him wherever they please. They also, in the same manner noose horses; and there are not wanting persons of credit who assert, that by the same method they catch even tigers.

Besides the wild cattle which have spread themselves in such vast herds from Buenos Ayres towards the southward, the same country is also furnished with horses. These too were also originally brought from Spain; but are now prodigiously increased, and run wild to a much greater distance than the black cattle; so that tho' many of them are excellent, yet their numbers render them of such little value, that the best are often sold in the neighbouring settlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for a dollar a piece. How far to the southward these herds of wild cattle and horses may extend, is not certainly known; but there is reason to think that some stragglers of both kinds may be met with near the straits of Magellan.

Besides the cattle and horses already mentioned, there are in all parts of this country considerable numbers of vicuñas, or Peruvian sheep; but these being remarkably shy, and extremely swift, cannot be killed without difficulty. On the eastern coast too are number of seals, and a prodigious variety of sea fowls, among which the most remarkable are the penguins, which in shape and size resemble a goose; but instead of wings have short stumps like fins, of no use

use to them except in the water. Their bills are narrow, and as they stand and walk in an erect posture, Sir John Narborough has whimsically compared them to little children standing up with white aprons before them. A principal disadvantage in this country is the scarcity of fresh water, which however has been sometimes found in small quantities; but the ponds and streams are generally brackish.

There are but few inhabitants on this eastern coast of Patagonia; but in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, where the continent is near four times as broad, and the climate much milder, they are sufficiently numerous, and excel the more southern Indians in activity and spirit. In their bravery they nearly resemble the gallant Indians of Chili, who have long set the powers of Spain at defiance, often ravaged their country, and still remain independent. They are excellent horsemen, and extremely expert in the use of all military weapons except fire arms, which the Spaniards are very solicitous to conceal from them; and to the vigour and resolution of these Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, formerly mentioned, is a memorable instance. Perhaps the best method of subverting the Spanish power in America would be to give proper encouragement and assistance to these Indians, and to those of Chili.

Sir John Narborough long since observed, that port St. Julian produces salt; and that in February, the salt found there was sufficient to fill 1000 ships; but Mr. Anson's sending an officer to the salt pond, to get a quantity of salt for the use of the squadron, he found that it was scarce and bad, which might probably be occasioned by the wetness of the season.

The Tryal being refitted, which was one of their principal employments at the bay of St. Julian, and the only occasion of their stay, the commodore held a council of the principal officers on board the Centurion, and informed them, that he was ordered to secure, if possible, some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refuted, and therefore proposed to attack Baldivia, the principal

principal frontier of Chili; to which the council unanimously agreeing, new instructions were given to the captains of the squadrons, importing, that in case of a separation, they were to make the best of their way to the island of Nuestra Señora del Socoro, where they were to cruize only ten days; when, if they were not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed and cruize fourteen days off the harbour of Baldivia; and if not joined by the rest of the squadron, to direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandes. It was also ordered that no ship should keep at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, without an unavoidable necessity.

These necessary regulations being established, the squadron weighed anchor on Friday the 27th of February in the morning; but the Gloucester not being able to purchase her anchor, was left a considerable way a-stern, and at last obliged to cut her cable, and leave her best bower behind. On the 4th of March, when they were in the sight of cape Virgin Mary, the afternoon being very bright and clear, most of the captains took that opportunity to pay a visit to the commodore; but while they were in company, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame bursting from the Gloucester, succeeded by a cloud of smoke; but their apprehensions were soon removed, on being informed, that the blast was occasioned by a spark from the forge lighting on a quantity of gunpowder, and other combustibles, which an officer on board was preparing for use, in case they should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished before the ship had received the least damage.

The squadron found that in these high latitudes, fair weather was of very short duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm. The fine afternoon just mentioned ended in a most turbulent night, succeeded by a dreadful storm the next morning, which continued during the whole day; but at midnight the wind abated, and the succeeding morning they discovered

the land called Terra del Fuego, which afforded a very uncomfortable prospect, it being of a stupendous height, and every where covered with snow.

On the 7th of March, they began to open the straits of La Maire, and had a prospect of Statenland, an island, which in the wildness and horror of its appearance, far surpassed Terra del Fuego. It seemed entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, which, without the least mixture of earth, terminated in a great number of ragged points arising to an amazing height: all of them were covered with everlasting snow, and on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most astonishing manner; while the hills which support them are generally separated from each other by clefts through the main substance of the rocks, almost to their very bottoms, so that nothing can be imagined more dreadful and gloomy; these stupendous chasms appearing as if produced by frequent earthquakes. The squadron was hurried through the straits by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these are usually reckoned the boundaries of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, the men began to hope that their dangers were almost at an end, and that they had now nothing but an open sea till they arrived at those wealthy coasts, where all their wishes were centered; they imagined that the golden dreams on which they had so long feasted in imagination, were now on the point of being realised; and indulged themselves in forming schemes for seizing the golden treasures of Chili, and the silver stores of Peru. These pleasing ideas were greatly heightened by the brightness of the sky, and the serenity of the weather; for though the winter was advancing, yet the morning of that day was as mild and delightful as any they had seen since their departure from England. Thus animated they traversed these memorable straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities then impending, and just ready to break upon their heads; ignorant that the time was just at hand when the

the squadron would be separated for ever, that this day of their passage was the last chearful portion of time the greater part of them would ever live to enjoy.

They had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the streights le Maire, when all their pleasing hopes were instantly lost in the prospect of immediate destruction; for before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the streights, the sky became suddenly obscured, and the wind shifting to the southward, blew in the most violent squalls; while the tide, which had hitherto favoured them, turned furiously, and drove them to eastward with prodigious rapidity; so that they were in the greatest anxiety for the two sternmost vessels, the Wager and the Anne pink, fearing lest they should be dashed to pieces on the shore of Statenland, which indeed they with the utmost difficulty escaped.

And now the whole squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the south-west, were driven to the eastward by the united force of the storm and currents; so that the next day in the morning they found themselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Statenland. The violence of the current, which set them with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the force and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught them to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprize that might baffle all their efforts, though some had lately treated these difficulties as merely chimerical. They were however soon convinced that their opinions were rash, and destitute of foundation; for the distresses with which they struggled, during the three succeeding months, are scarcely to be paralleled: they had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprized the oldest and most experienced mariners, who confessed, that what they had hitherto called storms, were considerable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short and such mountainous waves that justly filled them with continual terror; for had but one of these waves broke over them, it would



Probably have sent them to the bottom. The ships rolled incessantly gunwale to, and gave such quick and violent motions, that the men were in continual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks and sides of the ships. And though they took all possible care to secure themselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many were forced from their hold, and either killed or disabled. These tempests were rendered still more mischievous, by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals they sometimes afforded; for if after being frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under their bare poles, they sometimes ventured to make sail, with their courses double reefed; and the weather by proving more tolerable, encouraged them to set their top-sails, the wind would suddenly come with redoubled force, and in an instant tear the sails from the yards; and, to increase the distress, these blasts commonly brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which froze the sails, and rendered both them and the cordage so brittle, as to snap upon the slightest strain; while at the same time it benumbed the limbs of the people, and even disabled many of them, by mortifying their fingers and toes. The Centurion, by labouring in this lofty sea, in which she frequently shipped great quantities of water, grew so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water in every seam, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of March a violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, sprung the main-yard of the Centurion, and the foot-rope of the main-sail breaking, the sail itself split instantly to rags, and in spite of all their endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. This obliged the commodore to make a signal for the squadron to bring to, and the storm flattening to a calm, endeavours were instantly used to repair the damage. After which they bent a new main-sail, and got again under sail with a moderate breeze; but in less than twenty-four hours they were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane,

came, and reduced them to the necessity of lying to under their bare poles. After this the weather for two or three days grew less tempestuous than usual; but there was so thick a fog that the Centurion was obliged to fire a gun almost every half hour to keep the squadron together.

On the 31st they were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made to speak with the commodore; on which the Centurion bearing down to her, it was found that the main-yard was broke in the flings. This was considered as a great misfortune, since it would detain them the longer in that inhospitable climate; therefore, to shorten this delay as much as possible, the commodore ordered several carpenters on board the Gloucester from the other ships, that the damage might be repaired with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Tryal at the same time complaining that his pumps were bad, and that the sloop made so much water that he was scarce able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. The next day, which was the first of April, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind beginning to freshen and blow in squalls; indicated the approach of a severe tempest; and accordingly, on the third, there arose a storm, which, from its violence and continuation, exceeded all they had hitherto encountered. The Centurion soon received a furious shock from a sea, which breaking upon the larboard quarter, stove in her quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge. At the same time the masts and rigging suffered extremely; so that they were obliged to lower both their main and fore-yards, and furl all their sails. In this posture they lay for three days, when the wind somewhat abating, they ventured to make sail under their courses only. On the eight several guns were fired, as signals of distress, when the commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring to, it was soon perceived that the Wager had lost her mizen-mast, and main-top-sail-yard. Nor was the Wager the only ship in the squadron that had suffered from the late tem-

pest ; for the next day a signal of distress was made by the Anne Pink ; and it soon appeared the fore-stay and gammon of the bowsprit were broke, and that there was the utmost danger of all the masts coming by the board. They were therefore obliged to bear away till every thing was secured, when they again hailed upon a wind.

They now began to flatter themselves with hopes that their fatigues were drawing to a period, and that they should soon arrive at a more hospitable climate ; for towards the latter end of March, they were, according to their reckoning, near ten degrees to the westward of the westernmost point of Terra del Fuego, and ever since had been standing to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather would permit ; but these delusions only served to render their disappointment more terrible ; for on the fourteenth of April, the weather, which till then had been hazy, clearing up, the Anne Pink, between one and two in the morning, made a signal for seeing land right a-head, which being but two miles distant, they were all in the greatest danger of running ashore ; and had the wind blown with violence from its usual quarter, or if the moon had not suddenly shone out, every ship must have perished. This land, to their great amazement, appeared to be Cape Noir, though they imagined they were ten degrees further to the westward ; for the currents had driven them so strongly to the eastward, that when they imagined they ran down nineteen degrees west, they had not really advanced half that distance. By this discovery they found themselves obliged to steer once more to the southward ; and, instead of approaching a warmer climate, were again to combat those terrible blasts that had so often filled them with consternation. To increase their apprehensions, they were dreadfully enfeebled by the men falling sick and dying apace. Three days before they lost sight of the Severn and Pearl ; and though the ships were spread out in search of them, never saw them more ; whence it was concluded, that they had run upon this land in  
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the night, and perished. Filled with these desponding thoughts, they stood away to the south-west, till the 22d of April, when they were in upwards of sixty degrees of south-latitude, and six to the west of Cape Noir, in which run they had as favourable weather as could be expected : but on the twenty-fourth in the evening the wind increased to a prodigious storm, and the weather being extremely thick, the four other ships of the Squadron separated, nor did they meet again till they reached Juan Fernandes, and the Centurion, during this tempest, had her sails rent to pieces, and great part of her rigging broke by the rolling of the ship.

Soon after their passing the Straights of Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance among the crew ; and their long continuance at sea, the fatigue they underwent, and the various disappointments they met with, occasioned its spreading to such an astonishing degree, that by the latter end of April there were but few on board, who were not in some degree afflicted with it, and in that single month forty-three died on board the Centurion only. But though they thought the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope, that as they advanced to the northward, its destructive ravages would cease, yet they found themselves grossly mistaken ; for in the month of May they lost near double that number ; and as they did not reach the island of Juan Fernandez till the middle of June, so the mortality still continued to increase, and the disease extended itself in so amazing a manner, that after losing above two hundred men, they could muster no more in a watch than six fore mast men, who were capable of performing their duty,

The many forms wherein this dreadful disease, so very frequent in all long voyages, and so particularly destructive to the crews of this Squadron, attacks the human body, are as astonishing as they are unaccountable. Its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and scarcely did the complaints of any two persons

exactly resemble each other; yet there are some symptoms more common than the rest, such as large discoloured spots spread over the whole body, swelling legs, putrid gums, extraordinary lassitude, surprising dejection of spirits, shiverings and tremblings, with a disposition to be seized with unaccountable terrors on the slightest accidents; and whatever damped the hopes of the men, added new vigour to the distemper, killed those who were in the last stages of it, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty. It often produced the jaundice, pleurisy, rheumatic pains, and putrid fevers; but what is most extraordinary, it forced open the scars of wounds which had been many years healed, and dissolved the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, so that the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. Many of the people, though confined to their hammocks, were chearful, talked in a loud, strong tone of voice, and eat and drank heartily; but on being moved in their hammocks from one part of the ship to another, immediately expired. Others trusting in their seeming strength, resolved to get out of their hammocks, but died before they could reach the deck, and it was common to see the men drop down dead, upon a violent effort of duty.

This terrible disease, against which they had so long struggled, instead of lessening increased its baleful influence in proportion as they increased their distance from Cape Horn. Nor did they find the Pacific Ocean more hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego: for the Centurion being arrived on the eighth of May, off the island of Socorro, the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where they had flattered themselves with the hopes of meeting some of their companions, they cruized there several days without seeing any sail, or without finding the least mitigation of either the ravages of the scurvy, or the boisterous attacks of the elements. Bewildered in this labyrinth of misfortunes,

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tunes, it is no wonder they gave way to the gloomy suggestions, that all their friends had perished : at the same time they were in the utmost danger of being driven themselves on shore upon the coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to afford the least hopes, in case of that misfortune, of escaping from immediate destruction. For the land had a most tremendous aspect; the coast itself rocky and barren, and the water's edge skirted with precipices.

These disheartening appearances were aggravated by the difficulties they found in working the ship; the scurvy having by this time destroyed great part of their hands, and in some degree affected almost the whole crew. Nor did they find the winds less violent as they advanced to the northward; for they had, still prodigious squalls, which split their sails, and greatly damaged their rigging. In one of these squalls, which was attended with violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along the decks, with an explosion like that of several pistols, and as it passed, wounded many of the officers and men.

There would be no end in minutely describing the disasters and terrors they encountered on this coast, which increased till the 22d of May, when the fury of all the storms they had hitherto endured seemed to be united, and to have conspired their destruction. Almost all the sails of the Centurion were split, and great part of her standing rigging broken; at the same time a mountainous sea taking her upon her star-board quarter, gave her so prodigious a shock, that several of the shrouds broke with the jerk, and the ballast and stores were so strangely shifted, that the ship afterwards heeled above two streaks on her lar-board side. By this tremendous blow, the people were thrown into the utmost consternation, from the dread of immediately foundering; for though the wind abated in a few hours, yet as they had no sails but what were too much rent and torn to be bent to the yards, the ship laboured greatly in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale to, for want of sail to keep her steady.

They however exerted themselves to the utmost of their power, in repairing their sails and rigging; but during these necessary operations, they were in the utmost danger of driving ashore on the island of Chiloe, which was so near, that had not the wind fortunately shifted to the southward, this must have been the inevitable consequence. This fortunate circumstance enabled them to steer from the land with only the main-sail; the master, and the reverend Mr. Walter, the commodore's chaplain, undertaking the management of the helm, while the rest were employed in securing the masts and bending the sails.

This was however the last effort of that stormy climate; for after a fortnight's cruize, without seeing any of the other ships, the Centurion that day got clear of the land, and the weather being pretty moderate, bore away for Juan Fernandes, which was thought to afford the only chance the men had left to avoid perishing at sea; for though the harbour of Baldivia was the next appointed rendezvous, it was no longer thought on, they being by this time reduced to so low a condition, that instead of attempting to attack any place belonging to the enemy, their utmost hopes could suggest nothing farther, than the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the enfeebled crew yet remaining, by their speedy arrival at the island of Juan Fernandes. Their deplorable situation therefore allowing no room for deliberation, and time being now extremely precious, as four, five, and six of the Centurion's men died in a day, they stood directly for that island; but not finding it in the position which the charts had taught them to expect, they began to apprehend their being too far to the westward; and though the commodore himself was firmly persuaded that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, an opinion which the haziness of the weather rendered probable, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the island; but on the 30th of May, having a view of the continent of Chili, they had the mortification to find they had needlessly

needlessly altered their course, when they were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island. Those who remained alive were entirely dispirited by this new disappointment; and this general dejection prevailing, added to a want of water and the virulence of the disease, the mortality increased to a most dreadful degree.

To these calamities were added the painful circumstance, that on their standing to the westward in quest of the island, they were so delayed by calms and contrary wind, that it cost them nine days to regain the westing they had run down in two, when they stood to the westward. In this desponding condition, with great scarcity of water, and the crew so diseased, that there was not above ten fore-mast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, they saw the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandès, on the 9th of June, losing, by this last mistake between seventy and eighty men, who would doubtless have been saved, had they made the island when the commodore discovered it on the 28th of May; but notwithstanding this it will hereafter appear, that this mistake was providentially the means of the preservation of all who survived this seeming misfortune.

Though the island of Juan Fernandès appeared at first view to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular, yet as it was the land they had been so long seeking, it afforded them a most agreeable sight; it being here only they could hope to find an end of those calamities they had so long encountered, and which would have inevitably completed their destruction.

When they first made the island the wind was to the northward, so that they kept plying all that day and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ship in the middle-watch, the debility of the people was so great, that the lieutenant could only muster two quarter-masters and six foremast men; so that had it not been for the officers, servants, and boys, it might have been impossible to have reached the island after they had got sight of it: to such a



wretched condition was the Centurion, a sixty gun ship reduced, which three months before had passed the straits le Maire, with between four and five hundred men, almost all of whom were in health and full vigour.

On the tenth in the afternoon they got under the lee of the island ; ranged along it at about two miles distance, and being now near the shore, observed that the country, which at a distance seemed to be extremely mountainous, ragged, and irregular, assumed a very different appearance. The broken craggy precipices were in most places covered with woods, and between them appeared the finest vallies, clothed with the most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades. Such a scene, so beautifully diversified, must have been delightful to an indifferent spectator ; but in the distressed condition of the Centurion's men, who were in a manner languishing for the land, and its vegetable productions, a situation of mind which always attends the scurvy, it is not to be conceived with what transport and eagerness they viewed the shore, and how impatiently they longed for the greens, the fresh water, and the other refreshments then in sight ; and Mr. Walter observes, " That those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and can readily recal the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which they eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near one hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship." Those who had been long confined to their hammocks now exerted all the strength they had left, in crawling up to the deck to feast their eyes with the reviving prospect. They thus coasted along the shore, contemplating the enchanting landskip, which improved as they advanced ; but the night closed upon them, before they had discovered a proper bay ; they therefore determined to keep in soundings all night, and send the boat in the morning to discover the road : the current.

current however shifted in the night, and drove them so near the land, that they were obliged to let go their best bower in sixty-five fathom water, not half a mile from the shore. At four the next morning, the third lieutenant was dispatched with the cutter to discover the bay they sought for, and at noon he returned with the boat laden with seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, the boat's crew, during their short stay had not met with them, and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty, and indeed it was soon eagerly devoured. As for the seals they were at this instant rendered less valuable by the people on board having taken, during the boat's absence, a great quantity of excellent fish.

The cutter had discovered the bay where they intended to anchor, and the weather proving favourable, the next morning they endeavoured to weigh, and accordingly obliged even the sick, who were scarce able to stand, to lend their assistance; yet the captain was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before they hove the cable right up and down: after which, with their utmost efforts they found themselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. But a fresh gale springing up about noon, they set their sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor, and they steered along shore, round the point, which forms the eastern part of the bay, and soon after came to an anchor in fifty-six fathom.

The Centurion had not lain long in her new birth, when a sail was discovered, which, on its nearer approach, was found to be the Tryal sloop. The commodore immediately sent some of his hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor in the bay, when captain Saunders the commander, waiting on Mr. Anson, informed him that he had buried thirty-four of his men out of his small compliment, and those that remained were so afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails; and that on the ninth of May he had fallen in with the

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Anne Pink, with whom he had kept company four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind.

The commodore's principal attention was now employed in sending materials on shore to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died fast on board, the distemper being doubtless considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay, for few could be spared to look after them, which rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. But notwithstanding the eager desire of all to be on shore, they had not hands enough to prepare the tents before the sixteenth; but on that and the two following days, they were all landed, amounting to one hundred sixty-seven persons, besides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, on being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of the sick were obliged to be carried out of the ship in their hammocks, and afterwards to be conveyed in the same manner from the water side over a stony beach to their tents. This being a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy, the commodore had the humanity, not only to assist with his own labour, but obliged all his officers, without distinction to give a helping hand.

Mr. Anson was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and such observations to be made as might be of use to any British vessel, that should hereafter be sent into those seas. The island of Juan Fernandes \*, is said to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it; but after residing there some time abandoned it. Its greatest length is between twelve and fifteen miles, and its greatest breadth less than six. The northern part of the island is composed of high craggy rocks, many of which are inaccessible, though they are generally covered with

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\* This island, according to Mr. Anson's accurate observations, lies in 33 deg. 40 min. south latitude, and is one hundred leagues distant from the continent of Chili.

trees; but the soil is so loose and shallow, that the largest trees are easily overturned, which occasioned the death of one of the sailors, who being upon the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to assist him in his ascent; but it giving way, he immediately rolled down; and though in his fall he fastened on another tree of a considerable size, yet that too unfortunately giving way, he fell among the rocks, and was dashed to pieces.

The southern, or rather the south-west part of the island is widely different from the rest, being dry, stony, and destitute of trees, but very flat and low compared with the hills on the northern part. Nor is it ever frequented by ships, being surrounded by a steep shore, and having little or no fresh water: it is besides exposed to the southerly winds, which generally blow here the whole year round, and, about the winter solstice, with great violence.

The trees which compose the woods on the northern side of the island are mostly aromatics of different sorts, none of which are large enough to afford any considerable timber, except the myrtle, whose top is circular, and appears as regular and uniform as if clipped by art, and on its bark grows an excrescence resembling moss, which has the taste and smell of garlic, instead of which it was used by the people of the Centurion; but even this tree will not cut to a greater length than forty feet. The pimento and cabbage tree also grow here, but in no great plenty. There were besides a great variety of different plants, amongst which were almost all the vegetables that are esteemed peculiarly adapted to the cure of the scurvy; for they found great quantities of excellent wild sorrel, purslain, water cresses, turnips, and Sicilian radishes. Mr. Anson, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should afterwards touch there, sowed lettuce, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plum, apricot, and peach stones, which have since thriven to a remarkable degree.

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trees;

It is observable, that the hills in some part of this island resemble the mountains of Chili, where gold is found ; and in some places, there are several hills of a peculiar kind of red earth, more beautiful than vermilion, which upon examination might perhaps prove a very useful and valuable commodity.

The woods which cover most of the steepest hills, are so free from bushes and underwood, as to afford an easy passage through every part of them ; and in the northern part of the island the irregularities of the hills and precipices trace out a variety of the most romantic valleys, most of which have a stream of the clearest water, that runs through them, after its having fallen in cascades from rock to rock ; and in some particular spots in these valleys, the loveliness of the overhanging rocks, the frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, with the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, present scenes of the utmost elegance and dignity. In short, the simple productions of unassisted nature, may here be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the warmest imagination.

Perhaps the spot where the commodore pitched his tent has few equals in any other place of the globe. The place he chose was a small lawn that had an easy ascent, and lay at the distance of about half a mile from the sea. His tent fronted a large avenue, cut through the woods to the sea side, sloping with a gentle descent to the water, affording a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. The lawn was screened behind by a wood of tall myrtles, sweeping round it in a semicircular form ; the slope on which the wood stood, rose with a steeper ascent than the lawn itself, though the hills or precipices within land, towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and heightened the grandeur of the view. At the same time two streams of crystal water ran on the right and left of the tent, within the distance of one hundred yards, and completed the symmetry of the whole, by their being shaded with the trees which on either side skirted the lawn.

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The prodigious number of goats former writers mention to have been found upon the island, have been greatly diminished, by the dogs set on shore by the Spaniards, to deprive the buccaniers and privateers of the advantages they reaped from their numbers, which supplied them with plenty of provisions; but it is remarkable, that the Centurion's men found several of these of a most venerable aspect, which; from having their ears slit, they naturally supposed had belonged to Mr. Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been left upon this island, about thirty-two years before their arrival, and who often catching more goats than he wanted; sometimes marked their ears, and let them go. The large dogs, already mentioned; have destroyed all the goats in in the accessible parts of the country; so that the few which still remain, live among the craggs and precipices, are divided into separate herds, inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other. Mr. Walter and others were witnesses of a singular dispute betwixt a herd of these animals, and a number of dogs. They were going in a boat into the eastern bay, when perceiving some dogs running, they were willing to discover their game; upon which, lying upon their oars to watch them, they saw them take to a-hill, upon the ridge of which they observed a herd of goats, that seemed drawn up for their reception. The master of the herd had posted himself fronting the enemy, in a very narrow pass, skirted on each side with precipices, while the rest of the goats were all behind him, where the ground was more open. As this spot was inaccessible by any other pass, the dogs ran up the hill with great alacrity; but on their coming within twenty yards of him, became sensible of their danger; for the same gentleman observes, that he would infallibly have driven them down the precipices. The dogs therefore quietly laid themselves down, and gave over the chace. These dogs are extremely numerous, and being able to catch but few of the goats, they principally live upon young seals.

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As the sailors were seldom able to kill above one goat in a day, and grew tired of fish, they at last condescended to eat seals, which, by degrees, they became fond of, and gave their flesh the name of lamb.

There is another amphibious animal to be met with in the island, which, as well as seals, are very numerous, and is called the sea-lion: it resembles the seal, though much larger, and was eat by the ship's company under the denomination of beef. When arrived at their full growth they are from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference, but so extremely fat, that on cutting through the skin, which is about an inch in thickness at least, a foot of fat is found before either the lean or the bones can be seen; so that the fat of the largest of them frequently yielded a butt of oil. Their skins are covered with short hair of a light dun colour; but their tails and feet, which at sea serve them for fins, are almost black. Their feet are divided into five fingers, joined together with a web. These animals in some degree resemble an overgrown seal; but the males have a large trunk or snout, that hangs down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw; this particular females have not, and this renders them easily distinguished; besides, the males are of a much larger size.

The largest sea lion they saw on the island was the master of the flock; and from the number of females he kept to himself, and his driving off the males, was styled by the seamen the bashaw. These amphibious animals continue at sea all the summer and come on shore the beginning of winter, where they reside during the whole season, feeding on the grass and verdure that grows near the banks of the fresh water streams; and when they are not employed in feeding, sleep in herds in the most airy places. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth, of about the size of a full grown seal, which they suckle with their milk. As they are of a very lethargic disposition, and are not  
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easily awakened, it is observed that each herd places some of their males at a distance in the manner of centinels, who always give the alarm, whenever any attempt is made, either to molest or approach them; and they are very capable of alarming, even at a considerable distance; for the noise they make is very loud and of different kinds, sometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times snorting like horses in full vigour. The males have often furious battles with each other, chiefly about their females, and the bashaw, just mentioned, who was commonly surrounded by his females, to which no other male dared approach, had acquired that distinguished pre-eminence by many bloody contests, as was evident from the numerous scars visible in all parts of his body. The sailors killed many of them for food, particularly for their tongues and hearts, which were much admired, and thought preferable to those of bullocks. There was no difficulty in killing them, since they were incapable of either resisting or escaping, their motion being more unweildy than can be conceived; their blubber, all the time they are moving, is agitated in large waves under the skin; and it is remarkable, that they are so full of blood, that on their being deeply wounded in a dozen of places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance. To try what quantity of blood they contained, the men shot one first, and then cut off its throat, and measuring the blood that came from it, found, that besides what remained in the vessels, which was no doubt considerable, they got at least two hogsheds. But though these unweildy creatures are so easily killed, they are capable of doing much mischief; for a sailor being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea lion, the female, from whom he had taken it, approached him unperceived, and putting his head in her mouth, scored his skull in notches with her teeth, by which he was so desperately wounded, that though all possible care was taken to preserve his life, he died a few days after.

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The above are the principal animals that were found on this island; for they saw but few birds, and those were chiefly hawks, owls, humming-birds, and black-birds. With regard to the other animals mentioned by former writers, they saw very few, and therefore supposed them destroyed by the dogs; the rats, however, are still very numerous and troublesome.

But the most delicious repasts they found in this island were afforded by the fish, with which the bay was plentifully stored. There they found each of a prodigious size, cavaliers, gropers, large breams, maids, congers of a peculiar kind; and what was most esteemed, a black fish, that in shape resembled a carp, and which some called a chimney-sweeper: these fish were so plentiful, that a boat with two or three hooks and lines, sometimes returned loaded with fish in two or three hours. They, however, were frequently interrupted by great numbers of dog-fish and large sharks, which attended the boats, and prevented their sport. There were here also the sea crayfish, which commonly weighed eight or nine pounds; these were of a most excellent taste, and in such prodigious numbers near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often struck into them, in putting to and from the shore.

The arrival of the *Tryal* sloop, as already mentioned, soon after the *Centurion* reached the island, gave them great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the Squadron; and they were for several days continually looking out, in expectation of discovering them. But near a fortnight being elapsed, without seeing a sail of any kind, they began to despair of ever again meeting their companions; as they well knew, that had the *Centurion* continued at sea till that time, every person on board her must have perished, and the ship, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves. There was therefore the utmost reason to fear, that the same fate had attended their consorts; while every hour added probability to these desponding suggestions.

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But on the 21st of June, some of the men, from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to the leeward that had no sail aboard, except her courses and main-top-sail; but soon after, the weather growing thick and hazy, she disappeared for some days, when it was feared she had lost sight of the island, and that her crew were so weakened by sickness as to be unable to ply to windward. However, on the 26th a sail was again seen, which was thought to be the same ship, and soon after approached so near, that they could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. The commodore not doubting her being in distress, ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables. The commodore's apprehensions were but too well founded; never was a crew in a more distressed situation; already had they thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement, and scarce any were left alive capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants; their allowance for a considerable time had been only a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had so little left, that had it not been for this supply, they must soon have died of thirst. Though the ship was within three miles of the bay, the winds and currents being contrary, she found it impossible to reach the road. She however the next day continued in the offing, but having no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the wind and current shifted, the commodore sent the Tryal's boat, with a further supply of water and other refreshments. Mr. Mitchel, the captain of the Gloucester, was under the necessity of detaining both this boat, and that sent the preceding day; for he had no longer strength sufficient to navigate the ship without the help of their crews. In this tantalizing situation, the Gloucester continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and sometimes seeming as if she would gain her point. But on the ninth of July, she was observed stretching away at a considerable distance to the eastward, which it was supposed was with

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with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as they soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, they were deeply concerned, being sensible that she must be again in dreadful distress for want of water. However, after watching for her with great impatience, she was again discovered on the sixteenth, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind still blowing directly from the bay, hindered her from getting nearer than within four leagues of the land, when captain Mitchel making signals of distress, the long boat was sent to him with plenty of water and other refreshments; and the boat being not to be spared, the commodore gave the cockswain positive orders to return immediately; but the next day the weather being stormy, and the boat not appearing, it was apprehended she was lost, which would have been an irretrievable misfortune to all on shore; but from this anxiety they were the third day after relieved by the joyful sight of the long boat, on which the cutter was immediately sent to her assistance, who in a few hours towed her a-long-side of the Centurion. It was now found that the crew of the long boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men, to bring them on shore; but that two of them had died in the boat. At the same time the commodore was informed that the Gloucester, had scarcely a man in health on board, except those he had sent her; that numbers of the sick died daily, and that had it not been for the refreshments, and water carried on-board from the island, both the healthy and the diseased must have perished. These calamities were the more terrifying, as they seemed without remedy; for this distressed vessel had already spent a month in endeavouring to fetch the bay, and was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island; so that the people on board had lost all hopes of ever succeeding in their attempts, from the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. But the same day her situation became more desperate than ever; for after she had

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had received the last supply of refreshments, those on shore once more lost sight of her, and all in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus were the unhappy people in this vessel bandied about within a few leagues of the desired harbour, while the neighbourhood of the place, and the view of every thing that could put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress; but they were at last delivered from this most dreadful situation, when it was least expected by those on shore, who, after losing sight of her several days, were agreeably surprized, on the twenty-third of July in the morning, to see her with a flowing sail open the north-west point of the bay; when the commodore dispatching all his boats to her assistance, she within an hour's time after her being first perceived, was safe at anchor between the Centurion and the shore.

On their coming to an anchor, the commodore first ordered her to be assisted in mooring, and then had her sick sent on shore. She had buried above three fourths of the crew, and the sick were reduced by their dying to less than fourscore, the greatest part of whom it was feared would be lost; but whether those that were far advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens, the fresh provisions and water sent on board, had prepared those that remained for a speedy recovery, very few of them died on shore, and the sick in general were restored to health in a much shorter time than those of the Centurion had been on their first landing in the island.

We shall now return to the transactions on shore, during the Gloucester's many ineffectual attempts to reach the island. Their first employment, after landing the sick from the Centurion, and cleansing the ship, was filling the water, which appeared essentially necessary to their security, as they had reason to apprehend that such accidents might intervene, as would oblige them to leave the island at a very short warning; for on their first landing, they discovered some  
appearances

appearances on shore, that gave them room to believe that some Spanish cruifers had but just left the island at their arrival, and might probably return again, either for a recruit of water, or in search of the squadron; for the commodore could not doubt but their sole business at sea was to intercept him, and knew that, in their opinion, this island was the most probable place to find him in. The sailors had seen on shore several pieces of the earthen jars used in those seas for water and other liquids, and these seemed fresh broken. There were many heaps of ashes, and near them fish bones, pieces of fish, and even whole fishes scattered about, which, as they were but just beginning to decay, was a proof that they had not been long out of the water, and that ships had been there but a short time before their arrival. As the Spanish merchantmen are instructed to avoid the island, it was concluded, that those who had touched here were ships of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Callao, they could not fail of being under some concern for their own safety, while they were in so wretched and enfeebled a condition.

While these works were carrying on, the commodore ordered a large copper oven to be erected near the tents of the sick, in which bread was baked every day for the ship's company, it being thought that new bread, added to greens and fresh fish, would greatly contribute to the speedy recovery of the sick.

In the beginning of July, some of the men being pretty well recovered, the strongest of them were ordered to cut down trees, and split them into billets, while others, who were not strong enough for this employment, undertook to carry the billets, by one at a time to the water side. This some of them performed with the help of crutches, while others supported themselves with a single stick.

The commodore then ordered the forge on shore, and employed the smiths, who were but just able to work,

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work, in mending the chain-plates, and all the other broken and decayed iron work. They also began to repair the rigging; but as they had not junk enough to make spun-yarn, they waited for the arrival of the Gloucester, who had a great quantity of junk on board. But that the ships might be refitted as soon as possible, a large tent was erected on the beach for the sail-makers, in which they were employed in repairing the old sails and making new ones. These, with their attendance upon the sick, were their principal employments till the Gloucester's arrival.

Captain Mitchel on his landing waited on the commodore, and told him, that in his last absence, he had been forced by the winds as far as Mafa-Fuero, a small island, about twenty-two leagues to the west of Juan Fernandes, and observing several streams, he had endeavoured to send his boat ashore for water; but the wind blew so strong on the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible to land: his people, however, returned with a boat loaded with fish. Tho' that island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock, captain Mitchel assured the commodore, that it was almost every where covered with trees and verdure; and it being near four miles in length, he thought it not improbable but it might have some small bay, sufficiently large for sheltering any ship desirous of refreshing at that island.

This description of Mafa-Fuero gave rise to a conjecture, that as four ships of the Squadron were missing, some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and have mistaken it for the true place of rendezvous; a conjecture the more plausible, as they had no draught of either island that could be relied on; and therefore the commodore resolved, as soon as the Tryal sloop could be fitted for the sea, to send her thither, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, to be satisfied whether any of the missing ships were there or not. Accordingly on the fifth of August she was sent upon that expedition.

About the middle of August the Centurion's men being pretty well recovered, were allowed to leave

their sick tents, and to erect separate huts for themselves, which it was thought would render them much cleaner, and consequently contribute to the recovery of their strength; but particular orders were at the same time given, that on the ship's firing a gun, they should immediately repair to the water-side.

They were now employed on shore in cutting wood, procuring refreshments, and making oil from the blubber of the sea lions, which was used for burning in lamps, or when mixed with pitch, to pay the ship's sides; it was also worked up with wood ashes to supply the use of tallow; and there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the Centurion, the commodore ordered them to lay in a large quantity of salted cod for sea-store.

It has been already mentioned, that a copper oven was set up to bake bread for the sick; but the greatest part of the flour was on board their victualler the Anna Pink; and as that vessel had fallen in with the Tryal sloop on the ninth of May, her arrival at the island was daily expected; but hearing no news of her, during the months of June and July, she was given over for lost, and the commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. However, on the sixteenth of August, a sail was observed to the northward, upon which the Centurion immediately fired a gun, to call off the people from shore, who readily obeyed the summons, by repairing to the beach. Being now prepared for the reception of this ship, whether friend or enemy, they had several opinions about her, some imagining her to be the Tryal sloop, on her return from her cruize; but it was soon observed that she had three masts. This discovery gave rise to a variety of other conjectures; some were persuaded she was the Severn, others the Pearl, and several thought she did not belong to the squadron; but in the afternoon she was discovered to be the victualler the Anna Pink, and had the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival filled the people with extraordinary

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ordinary joy, and each ship's company was immediately restored to their full allowance of bread.

Every body on shore were surpris'd at seeing that the crew of the *Anna Pink* worked that vessel with little appearance of debility or distress; but on her coming to anchor, they were inform'd that she had been in harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before the *Centurion* arriv'd at *Juan Fernandes*; so that the sufferings of her men fell greatly short of those endured by the rest of the squadron. This vessel, on the sixteenth of May, fell in with the land in 45 deg. 15 min. south latitude, at the distance of four leagues; on the first sight of which they wore ship and stood to the southward: but the fore-top-sail splitting, and the wind driving the vessel towards the shore, the captain was at last either unable to clear the land, or as others said, resolv'd to keep the sea no longer, and therefore steer'd for the coast, in order to discover some shelter among the many islands then in sight; and about four hours after dropp'd anchor off the island of *Inchin*; but being too far from the shore, and not having a sufficient number of hands to veer away the cable briskly, they continued driving for two days, till they came within a mile of the land, and expected every moment to be forc'd on shore, at a place where the coast was so very high and steep, that they had not the least prospect of saving either the ship or cargo; and as their boats were leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, which consist'd of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, imagining, that if by some extraordinary accident any of them should get on shore, they would probably be massacred by the savages. Under these terrifying apprehensions, they drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which form'd the shore; but when the crew expected every moment the *Pink* would strike, they observ'd a small opening in the land, and instantly cutting away their two anchors, steer'd for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and



the continent, that led them into a most excellent harbour, which for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its waters, is perhaps equal to any in the known world. Thus were the horrors of shipwreck and inevitable destruction changed, as it were in a moment, to the exhilarating ideas of security, refreshment, and repose.

In this harbour, thus providentially discovered, the *Pink* came to an anchor, in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawser and a small anchor of three hundred weight. Here her people, many of whom were ill of the scurvy, were happily soon restored to perfect health, by the fresh provisions, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded. The principal refreshments they met with were greens, as nettle-tops and cellery, which they devoured with greediness; great plenty of geese, shags, and penguins, with cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size and delicious flavour. Though it was the depth of winter, the climate was not remarkably rigorous, nor were the trees or the face of the country destitute of verdure. And notwithstanding the tales of the Spanish historians, in relation to the barbarity of the inhabitants on that coast, their numbers were not sufficient to give the least jealousy to a ship of ordinary force, and they appeared to be neither of a mischievous nor implacable disposition. The discoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coast, were however of a very limited nature; for being few in number, and utter strangers to the country and inhabitants, their excursions were generally confined to a tract of land that surrounded the port, where they were never out of view of the ship; indeed, the country in the neighbourhood was so covered with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate far from the water side. They were however enabled to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who have represented the inhabitants of this coast as a fierce and powerful people: for they were certain no such inhabitants subsisted there,

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especially in the winter season; since they saw only one Indian family, who entered the harbour in a peragua, about a month after their arrival.

This family consisted of an Indian of near forty years of age, his wife, and two children, one three years old, and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have all their property with them, which consisted in a dog and a cat, a cradle, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, some bark of trees, intended for the covering a hut, a reel and some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow colour, and very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. As soon as the master of the *Pink* perceived them, he sent his yawl, which brought them on board, and being apprehensive of their discovering him, if they were suffered to go away, he took, as he imagined, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of violence or ill usage; for in the daytime, they were allowed to go where they pleased about the ship, though at night they were locked up in the fore-castle. As they had the same provisions as the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, of which they seemed extremely fond, they did not at first appear dissatisfied with their situation; for the master, when he went a shooting, took the Indian on shore, who always seemed greatly delighted when the master killed his game, and indeed all the crew treated them with great humanity. It was however soon perceived, that though the woman continued chearful and easy, the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He appeared to be a person of good natural parts, and though unable to converse with the people of the *Pink*, otherwise than by signs, was very curious and inquisitive, and shewed great dexterity in making himself understood. But the most remarkable proof of his sagacity was the manner of his escape; for after being eight days on board the *Pink*, the scuttle of the fore-castle, where he and his family were every night locked, happened to be unnailed; and the following night being very dark

and stormy, he conveyed his wife and children thro' the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl, and to prevent being pursued, cut away the long-boat, and his own periagua, which were towing a-fern, and immediately rowed ashore. All this he conducted with such secrecy and diligence, that tho' there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, he was not discovered till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape, and then it was too late, either to prevent or pursue him. The Indian, besides the recovery of his liberty, was in some degree revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in, about getting their boats, which were all adrift, and by the terror into which he threw them at his departure; for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried, "The Indians," the whole ship's crew were in the utmost confusion, and imagined they were boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas. The sagacity and resolution shewn by the Indian upon this occasion, were much admired by his late masters, who did so much justice to his merit, as to own it was a most gallant enterprize; and as it was supposed by some, that he was concealed in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared that he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought he most liked, in a particular place, where they imagined he would most probably find it. A piece of humanity which seemed to have answered the purpose, for on going to the place some time after, they found their provision gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

The crew of the Pink being now refreshed, and recovered from the scurvy, after having taken in a sufficient quantity of wood and water, put to sea a few days after the Indian's escape, and had an agreeable passage to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes.

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The Anne Pink having thus joined the commodore at Juan Fernandes, there were now only three ships missing, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship; the two first of which parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brasils; therefore the only ship missing, that got round Cape Horn into the South Seas, was the Wager. This store-ship had on board cohorn mortars, a few field-pieces mounted for land service, pioneers tools for the operations on shore, with several kinds of artillery stores, and tools; and as the enterprize against Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, captain Cheap, the commander of the Wager, was very desirous that these materials might be ready before Baldivia, that if the squadron should rendezvous there, he might not be charged with any delay or disappointment. This was his determined resolution when he made land on the fourteenth of May, in about forty-seven degrees of south latitude, when exerting himself to get clear of the coast, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and dislocate his shoulder. This unhappy accident rendered him incapable of acting, when the crew not taking proper care, the Wager struck on a sunken rock, and having soon after bilged, grounded between two small islands. The confusion produced by this accident was inconceivably heightened by the rebellious disposition of the crew, who imagining that the loss of the ship destroyed the captain's superiority, and put them all on an equal footing, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This frenzy was heightened by the liquors they had found on board, with which some of them got so extremely drunk, that falling down between decks, they were drowned in the water which flowed into the wreck. The captain, after having used his utmost endeavours to get the whole crew on shore, was, at last, obliged to leave the mutineers, and to follow his officers, with such as submitted to his authority; after

which, he sent back the boat to persuade those who had staid behind, to have some regard to their own preservation; but this was without success. However, the next day proving very stormy, and the ship being in danger of parting, they were seized with the fear of perishing, and wanted to get to land; but the boats not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they were filled with so unaccountable a frenzy, as to point a four pounder against the hut where they knew the captain resided, and fired two shot, which passed just over it; and so mutinous was their disposition when they landed, that notwithstanding their being on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be obtained, except those saved from the wreck, there was no possibility of making them husband such as were saved. In short, nothing but frauds, concealments, and thefts were practised, and these tending to animate each man against his fellow, produced infinite feuds and contests.

Another source of heart-burnings and animosities arose from the captain differing in opinion from almost all his people, with regard to the measures necessary to be pursued in the present exigency; for Mr. Cheap was resolved, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and proceed with them to the northward, since having above one hundred men in health, together with some fire-arms and ammunition, which had been saved from the wreck, he did not doubt being able to master any Spanish vessel he should find in those seas; and hoping to meet with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, he resolved when he had taken her, to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes: he farther insisted, that should they even light on no prize, yet the boats alone would easily carry them thither. But this scheme was not at all relished by the generality of his people, who could not think of prosecuting an enterprize that had hitherto proved so disastrous. It was therefore the common resolution to lengthen the long-boat, and with

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with that and the other boats to steer to the southward, and passing the streights of Magellan, to endeavour to gain the coast of Brazil, where they did not doubt of being well received, and procuring a passage to Great-Britain. Though this project must at first sight appear infinitely more hazardous and tedious than that proposed by the captain, yet as it had the air of returning home, that circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with unconquerable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, notwithstanding he could never change his opinion, was obliged to give way to the torrent, and to seem to acquiesce in this resolution, while he secretly endeavoured to oppose it; and in particular contrived that the long-boat should be lengthened to such a size as might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, and yet appear incapable of so long a voyage as that to the coast of Brazil. The captain had at first much embittered the people against him, by a steady opposition to this favourite scheme, and greatly increased their resentment against him by the following unhappy accident. One Couzens a midshipman, who had appeared foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew, had quarrelled with most of the officers, who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with abuse and insolence, till at length his turbulence and brutality growing daily more intolerable, it was not doubted, but that some violent measures were in agitation, in which he was to be the ringleader, and therefore the captain and those about him constantly kept on their guard. One day the purser, by the captain's order, stopping the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Couzens intermeddled in the affair, and grossly insulted the purser, who was delivering out the provisions just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent. The purser being enraged at his scurrility, and perhaps picqued by former quarrels, cried out, "A mutiny!" adding, "the dog has pistols;" and then rashly fired a pistol at Couzens. The captain on this outcry, and

the report of the pistol, instantly rushed out of his tent, and having no doubt but that it was fired by Couzens, immediately shot him in the head; and though he did not kill him on the spot, the wound proving mortal, he died about fourteen days after.

Though this incident exasperated the people, yet it struck them with awe, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority; but when they had nearly completed the long-boat, and were preparing to put to sea, his privately traversing their project of proceeding through the straits of Magellan, and the fear of his at length engaging a party sufficient to ruin their favourite scheme, made them resolve to make use of the death of Couzens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him to England to be tried for murder. They accordingly confined him under a guard; but when they were just ready to put to sea, they left him, and the few who chose to follow his fortune, with no other vessel but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the Wager was wrecked, there were near one hundred and thirty persons on board, about thirty of whom died during their stay, and eighty went off in the long-boat and cutter to the southward; so that after their departure, there remained with the captain only nineteen persons; which were, however, as many as the barge and yawl could well carry.

It was five months after this shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and stood to the southward, giving the captain, who with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land forces, and the surgeon, were then on the beach, three cheers at their departure. They had soon reason to repent their having engaged in this rash and desperate enterprize; for the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea, and their stock of provisions being only what they had saved out of the ship, was extremely slender; the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was  
saved

staved to pieces; so that when their provisions and water failed, they had frequently no means of reaching the shore to obtain a fresh supply. The miseries they endured were as great as can be imagined; they left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at; but a greater number perished by hunger during the course of this tedious voyage, so that only thirty out of the eighty who engaged in the enterprize, were so happy as to accomplish it; and these arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil, on the 29th of January following.

The captain, and those who were left with him, on their being thus abandoned, proposed to pass in the barge and yawl to the northward; but unhappily the weather was so bad, that it was two months after the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to sea. The place where the Wager was cast away, was not, as it was at first imagined, a part of the continent, but an island at some distance from the main, and which afforded no other kind of provisions but shell-fish, and a few herbs; and as the largest part of what they had taken from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were frequently in want of food, for they resolved to preserve what little sea-provisions remained for their voyage to the northward.

It is to be lamented, that the Wager's people had no idea, that the Anne Pink was, for a considerable time, while they were on shore, so near them; for she was at most not above thirty leagues distant, and came into their neighbourhood about the very time in which the Wager was lost; and being a fine roomy ship, might easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, Mr. Walter suspects that she was much nearer than what is here estimated: for several persons belonging to the Wager, at different times heard the report of a cannon, which he imagines could be no other than the evening gun fired by the Anne Pink, especially as that heard at Wager's island was about the same time of the day.



On the fourteenth of December, the captain and his people embarked on board the barge and yawl, in order to proceed to the northward; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow so hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw overboard the greater part of the provisions they had saved from the wreck, to avoid immediate destruction. They persisted, however, in their design, and put to shore as often as they could in search of subsistence. But unhappily, about a fortnight after, the yawl sunk as she lay at anchor, with one of the men on board, who was drowned. This misfortune greatly affected them, for they had now only the barge left, and that boat not having room sufficient for the whole company, they were reduced to the melancholy necessity of leaving four mariners behind them on a desolate shore. Notwithstanding these disasters, they still continued to push to the northward, though delayed by the winds and their search after provisions; till having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a head-land, which they supposed to be Cape Tres Montes, they thought the difficulties of the passage insurmountable, and unanimously resolved to return to Wager's island, where they arrived about the middle of February, almost perished with fatigue and hunger. On their return to the island, they unexpectedly met with a seasonable relief, by finding several pieces of beef, which had been washed out of the wreck, and still swam upon the water; and soon after two canoes of Indians landed; on board one of them was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish, and was induced by Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, who understood that language, to carry captain Cheap and his people to Chiloe, in consideration of which he was to have the barge, and all that belonged to her.

Accordingly on the sixth of March, eleven persons, to which the company were now reduced, embarked on board the barge; but after a few days voyage, six of them, together with an Indian, went off in this

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little vessel, while the captain was on shore with Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of the marines, Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, and the honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, midshipmen. Thus were these five gentlemen left on a desolate coast, without provisions, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every little convenience, of which they were masters, were carried off in the barge.

They were now in the most dreadful distress, and according to their own opinion, in a more miserable situation than any they had yet known; but when they had revolved in their minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had not the least prospect of relief, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe. This honest native of America had a little before left captain Cheap and his people to go a fishing, and committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. When he first missed the barge and his companion, he was with difficulty persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; but being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and to supply them with provisions all the way; for which purpose, he got together many of his neighbours in other canoes, with whom the captain embarked, with his four companions, about the middle of March, and arrived in the beginning of June at the island of Chiloe; but Mr. Elliot died in the passage, and the rest were in such an ill state of health from their distresses and fatigues, that they were with difficulty recovered by the Spaniards, who treated them with great humanity. After some stay at Chiloe, they were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where having continued above a year, captain Cheap and lieutenant Hamilton were, upon the news of a cartel being settled with Spain, permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship; but Mr. Campbell,

who

who had changed his religion, while at St. Jago, chose to go to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro, and his officers, with whom he afterwards went to Spain, and from thence returned to England.

Having thus given a succinct account of the misfortunes that attended the crew of the *Wager*, we shall resume the thread of the proceedings of Mr. Anson, whom we left at the island of Juan Fernandes. The *Tryal* sloop that had been sent to the island of *Mafafuero*, returned to Juan Fernandes, about a week after the arrival of the *Anne Pink*, having sailed round the island, without seeing any of the ships that were missing. This island, which the Spaniards stile the lesser Juan Fernandes, is a much larger and better spot than has been generally represented, former writers having described it as a small barren rock, destitute of wood and water and intirely inaccessible; but it was found covered with trees, and having several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea. It had also on the north side, a place where a ship might come to an anchor; but she would have been exposed to all the winds, except the south. It abounds with sea-lions and seals, and particularly with goats, who not being used to be disturbed, were unapprehensive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at; and as the Spaniards have not thought the island considerable enough to be frequented by their enemies, they have not destroyed the provisions upon it by setting dogs ashore.

Upon unloading the *Anne Pink*, which took up the latter part of the month of August, the commodore had the mortification to find, that great part of the provisions were spoiled by the sea-water; and that vessel being surveyed by the carpenters, was judged unfit for service; therefore, upon a petition from Mr. Gerard, her master, to Mr. Anson, in behalf of her owners, he purchased her with all her furniture for three hundred pounds, and her crew together with the master, were sent on board the *Gloucester*. But the whole complement now to be distributed among the three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred thirty-five

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men and boys, a number far from being sufficient for manning the Centurion alone.

As the season for navigating these seas drew near, they exerted themselves in getting the ships ready. On the eighth of September, about eleven in the morning, they discovered a sail, which approached towards the island, and gave the commodore hopes that she was one of his squadron; but upon her steering afterwards to the eastward, it was concluded that she must be a Spaniard, when the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, made after her as fast as possible; but the night coming on, they lost sight of her, and the next morning, though the weather was extremely clear, had the mortification to find, that she could not be discovered from the mast head. However, they resolved not to give up the search, but having continued cruizing all that day and the next, they resolved to return to Juan Fernandes. But on the tenth, about three in the morning, a brisk gale springing up at south-west, obliged them to lie upon a north-west tack, which brought them at break of day within sight of a sail, at about five leagues distance, but not the same they had seen some days before. The crew of the Centurion immediately crowded all their sails. She at first bore down upon them, shewed Spanish colours, and made a signal as to her consort; but observing that her signal was not answered, instantly stood to the southward. As she appeared to be a large ship, that had mistaken the Centurion for her consort, she was supposed to be a man of war of Pizarro's squadron, which induced the commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down, and thrown overboard, with several casks of water, and provisions that stood between the guns; but upon a nearer approach, she appeared to be a merchant-man, without a single tier of guns, and surrendered at the fire of only four shot. Mr. Saumarez the commodore's first lieutenant, was ordered to take possession of the prize, and to send the officers and passengers, and afterwards all the other prisoners on board the Centurion: This ship was called Nuestra Senora del

del Monte Carmelo, and commanded by Manuel Zamorra. When Mr. Saumarez first came on board the prize, the Spaniards received him with the most abject submission; being all extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage; but the lieutenant endeavoured with great courtesy to dissipate their fears, assuring them they were wholly groundless, and that they would find a very generous enemy. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, great quantities of cloth, some cotton and tobacco; but what was more valuable than all the rest, was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three serons of dollars, each weighing upwards of two hundred pounds averdupois; she was four hundred and fifty ton burden, and was bound to the port of Valparaiso, in the kingdom of Chili.

From the information of the prisoners on board, and the letters and papers which fell into the commodore's hands, on taking this ship, they learned with certainty the force and destination of admiral Pizarro's Squadron, which cruised off the Madeiras at their arrival there, and afterwards chased the Pearl, in her passage to St. Julian, with the fate of that Squadron, as we have already related.

It must here be observed, that Pizarro in the express he dispatched to the viceroy of Peru, to obtain the two hundred thousand dollars, had intimated it was possible, that at least a part of the English Squadron might get into the South-Seas; but that as he was certain, from his own experience, that it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised his excellency to send what ships of war he could get together to the southward, where they would probably intercept the English ships singly, before they could reach any port to obtain refreshment, in which case he did not doubt but his ships of war would obtain an easy conquest. This advice was readily approved by the viceroy of Peru, who having already fitted out four ships of force from Callao, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-

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four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro at his arrival on the coast of Chili, now stationed three of them off the port of Conception, and one of them at the island of Juan Fernandes, where they continued cruizing for Mr Anson's squadron, till the sixth of June, when not seeing any thing of them, and thinking it impossible for them to keep the sea so long, they quitted their cruise, and returned to Callao; a very remarkable circumstance, whence it appears, that what the Commodore, and the whole crew of the Centurion, considered as the most dreadful misfortune, and which actually cost the lives of a great number of men, was the means of their preservation; for had the English made the island when Mr. Anson was persuaded that he saw it, on the twenty-eighth of May, and when they were in reality very near it, they would doubtless have fallen into the hands of the enemy; for in the distressed condition they were then in, it would have been impossible for them to have made any considerable effort in their own defence; and both the Tryal, the Gloucester, and the Anne Pink, who separately reached the island, might have shared the same fate, and the commodore with all the surviving men, have been carried prisoners to Callao. At this intelligence, the people on board the Centurion were no longer at a loss, as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish bones, which they had observed at their first landing at Juan Fernandes, since these were doubtless left by the cruiser stationed off that port.

Besides the intelligence relating to Pizarro, the commodore learnt from the people and papers on board the Carmelo; he was informed, that though the viceroy of Peru had laid an embargo on all the shipping in those seas, in the month of May preceding, it was now taken off, which made them flatter themselves with the hopes of obtaining other valuable captures, that might indemnify them for the incapacity they were under in attempting any considerable Spanish settlements on shore; and the commodore hav-

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ing thus satisfied himself about the material articles of his inquiry, and taken on board the Centurion most of the prisoners, and all the silver; he set sail for Juan Fernandes, where both he and the prize came to anchor the following day.

Upon a farther examination of the prisoners and papers, it appearing that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, the commodore dispatched the Tryal sloop the very next morning, to cruize off the last mentioned port, and also resolved to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruizes, by which means he would increase the chance of obtaining prizes, and run less hazard of alarming the coast. The sailors now forgot all their past distresses, and resuming their wonted alacrity, laboured indefatigably in preparing to take their last leave of the island; but as these preparations, notwithstanding all their industry, took up four or five days, Mr. Anson in that interval gave orders, that the guns belonging to the Anne Pink, which were four six-pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the prize Carmelo; and having sent six passengers and twenty three seamen on board the Gloucester, to assist in navigating that ship, he directed captain Mitchell to leave Fernandes, and cruize off the island of Payta, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered; and on this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the commodore. These orders being delivered, the commodore weighed anchor on the nineteenth of September, in company with the prize, and getting out of the bay, took his leave of the island of Juan Fernandes, steering to the eastward in order to join the Tryal sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

The Centurion, upon her leaving Juan Fernandes, was detained three days by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds, within sight of that island; but on the twenty-fifth of September, just before sun-set, saw two sail to the eastward, on which the prize stood directly

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directly from the Centurion, to avoid giving any suspicion of their being cruizers; while the commodore made ready for an engagement, and steered with all his canvas towards the ships he had discovered. It was soon perceived that one of these, which appeared to be a very stout ship, made directly towards him, while the other kept at a distance. By seven o'clock the Centurion was within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners with their matches in their hands, waiting only for the orders to fire; but as Mr. Anson knew it impossible for her to escape, he, before he suffered them to fire, ordered the master to hale them in Spanish, when the commanding officer on board, who proved to be Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, answered in English, and let him know that she was a prize, taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other ship at a distance was the Tryal herself, who was disabled in her masts. The Tryal soon after joined the Centurion, and captain Saunders her commander, coming on board, informed the commodore that his prize was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours chase; that for some time he began to despair of taking her, and the Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them; (for the Tryal's hull was so low in the water, that no part of it appeared;) yet finding how little the Tryal gained upon them, they at length laid aside their fears, and altered their course in the night, shut up their windows, to prevent any of their lights being seen; but a small crevice, in one of the shutters, rendered all their precautions ineffectual; for the Tryal's people perceiving a light thro' it, chased it till they arrived within gun shot, when captain Saunders unexpectedly alarmed them with a broadside; and before he could fire another, they lowered their sails, and submitted without opposition. She was called the Arranzazu, and was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burden. Her cargo was much  
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the same as that of the Carmelo, but her silver amounted only to about 5000 l. sterling.

This success was, however, ballanced by the Tryal's having had the misfortune to spring her main-mast; her main-top-mast had also come by the board; and the next morning, as they were all standing to the eastward, she sprung her fore mast. These incidents were rendered more unhappy by the impossibility of assisting her; for the wind then blew so hard, that the commodore could not venture to hoist out his boat; so that as he could not think of leaving her in this unhappy situation, he was obliged to lay to, in order to attend her for the greatest part of forty-eight hours; and as they were all the while driving from their station, there was reason to fear that this deprived them of several considerable captures.

However, on the twenty-seventh, the weather proving more moderate, Mr. Anson sent his boat for the captain of the Tryal, who, on his coming on board, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that it was necessary to ply the pumps even in moderate weather; and that if the weather should prove bad, they must all inevitably perish; when the commodore considering, that he had not the necessary stores proper for repairing her, gave orders for her being destroyed; but conceiving it expedient to keep up the appearance of the same force, appointed the Tryal's prize, which the viceroy of Peru had often employed as a man of war, to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, and to be manned by the Tryal's crew, under the same captain and officers. When in the Spanish service she had mounted thirty-two guns, but was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve on board the Tryal, and eight that had belonged to the Anne Pink. This being determined, captain Saunders was directed to take out of the sloop the arms, ammunition, stores, and every thing that could be of use to the other ships, and then to scuttle and sink her; after which

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he was to proceed with his new frigate, which was to be called the Tryal's Prize, and to cruize off the island of Valparaiso, where he was to continue twenty-four days; and if not joined by the commodore in that time, he was to proceed down the coast to Pisco, or Nasca, where he would be certain of meeting with Mr. Anson. These orders being given, the Centurion left the other vessels on the twenty-seventh of September, in order to cruize for some days off Valparaiso.

Notwithstanding this disposition was the most prudent that could be imagined, considering the smallness of the commodore's force, yet he had not the happiness to see any ships at any of these stations; and being joined by the Tryal's and Centurion's prizes, the latter of which had assisted in clearing and scuttling the Tryal, it was resolved to join captain Mitchel, who was stationed off Payta, that if a Spanish Squadron should be fitted out at Callao, they might, by uniting their strength, be prepared to give it a warm reception. With this view they stood to the northward, and on the fifth of November, came in sight of the high land of Barranca, and an hour afterwards, had the satisfaction they had so long wished for, of seeing a sail, upon which they immediately gave chase; but the Centurion outstriking the two prizes, run them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase. However, as the night came on, she, about seven o'clock, lost sight of her, and the officers were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last the commodore resolved, as they were then before the wind, not to change his course. The chase was thus continued about an hour and a half in the dark, some or other constantly imagining they discerned her sails right ahead; but, at length, Mr. Brett, the second lieutenant, really discovered her, about four points to the larboard, steering off to the seaward; and immediately standing for her, they, in less than an hour, came up with her, and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Mr. Dennis, the Centurion's third lieutenant,

lieutenant, was sent in the boat with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, when he found that she was about three hundred tons burden, was named the Santa Teresa de Jesus; was bound from Guaiacuil to Callao, and that her lading consisted of hides, timber, tobacco, cocoa, cocoa nuts, Quito thread, which is very strong, and made of a species of grass, wax, Quito cloth, &c. But the specie on board amounted to no more than one hundred seventy pounds. Though the cargo was of great value to the Spaniards, yet as they had strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods taken in those seas, except what the English themselves had occasion for, were of no other advantage, than as it was a loss to the enemy.

Besides the crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were ten passengers on board, four men and three women, who were natives of the country, but born of Spanish parents, together with three black slaves that attended them; the women were, the mother and her two daughters, the eldest of whom was about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. These women were extremely terrified, and in the greatest distress, at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most brutal and terrible of all mankind. These dreadful apprehensions were greatly heightened by the remarkable beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition they might reasonably expect to find in a set of sailors, who had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Filled with these terrors, the women hid themselves as soon as the officer came on board; and when they were discovered, he found much difficulty in persuading them to approach the light. However, he soon convinced them, by his humane behaviour, and his assurances of their future safety, and honourable treatment, that all their apprehensions were groundless. The commodore being informed of the terror they had discovered, immediately sent word that

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that they should be continued on board their own ship; have the use of the same apartments, and all the other conveniences they had before enjoyed; he gave strict orders, that they should receive no molestation or disturbance whatsoever. To give them the greater certainty that these orders would be complied with, as well as to afford them the means of complaining if they were not, he allowed the pilot, who is generally the second person on board the Spanish ships, to stay with them, as their guardian and protector, an office to which this pilot was chosen by Mr. Anson, from his seeming extremely interested in every thing relating to the women, and his at first declaring he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, that he had asserted this, with no other view but to secure them the better from the treatment they expected to find on their falling into their hands of the English. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour, their consternation entirely subsided, and they continued easy and chearful during the whole time they remained prisoners.

The next morning the Centurion was joined by her two consorts, when they proceeded to the northward, they being now four sail in company. They here found the sea for many miles round them, of a beautiful red colour, which, upon examination, was imputed to an immense quantity of spawn swimming upon its surface; for some of the water being taken up in a wine glass, it had there a dirty appearance, but soon changed to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. As they had a supply of timber on board their new prizes, the commodore gave orders for repairing their boats, and for fixing a swivel gun stock in the bow, both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increase their force, in case he should be obliged to make use of them in boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

Though they continued standing to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days,

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notwithstanding the ships were spread in such a manner, that it was scarcely possible for any of the enemies vessels to escape them. In their run along this coast, it was observed, that there was a current which set them to the northward, at the rate of ten miles a day. Being now in about eight degrees of south latitude, they began to be attended with vast numbers of flying-fish and bonitos, which were the first they saw after their departure from the coast of Brasil. But it is observable, that on the east side of South America, they extended to a much higher latitude than they did on the west side; for the sailors did not lose sight of them on the coast of Brasil, till they approached the southern tropic; the reason of which is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of the continent: for it is evident, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances than its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial. Thus it was found by this Squadron, that though the coast of Brasil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Seas, in the same latitude, is, perhaps, as temperate as any part of the globe, since in ranging along it, they did not once meet with such warm weather as is frequent in a summer's day in England, which was the more extraordinary, as there never falls any rains to refresh and cool the air. On the coast of Peru, and even under the equinoctial itself, every circumstance concurred to make the open air and day-light desirable; for in other countries, the scorching heat of the sun in summer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement, and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this delightful climate the sun rarely appears, for there is constantly a chearful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleasant or melancholy appearance. Thus all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad,

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abroad, while the refreshing and agreeable coolness of the air in other climates produced by rains, is here brought about by fresh breezes, from the cooler regions to the southward.

It is not to be doubted, that this happy complexion of the heavens is chiefly owing to the neighbourhood of those vast mountains called the Andes, which running nearly parallel with the shore, from which they are but a small distance, and extending themselves immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where according to the different approaches to their summit, all kinds of climates may at all seasons be found. These mountains intercept great part of the eastern winds which generally blow upon the continent of South-America, cool that part of the air which forces its way over the tops, and keep a large part of the atmosphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the snows, with which they are constantly covered. Thus these mountains, by spreading the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru; are doubtless the cause of the temperature and equability which constantly prevail there. But when this squadron had advanced beyond the equinoctial, and left these mountains, the people had nothing to screen them to the eastward, but the high lands on the isthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes; they then experienced, in a short time, an entire change of climate, and in two or three days passed from the temperate air of Peru to the sultry burning atmosphere of the West-Indies.

On the tenth of November, the commodore was within three leagues of the southernmost island of Lobos, lying in six degrees, twenty-seven minutes south latitude; and now drawing near the station appointed for the Gloucester, made an easy sail all night; but the next morning, at day-break, saw a ship on shore, and to windward, which had passed the squadron by favour of the night, and was plying up the coast. As

she was soon perceived not to be the Gloucester, they got their tacks on board, and gave her chase; but there being very little wind, which prevented any of the ships making much way, the commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, to pursue the chase, and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her about nine o'clock, and running along-side of her, fired a volley of small shot between her masts, over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with most of his men, the enemy making no resistance, they being sufficiently frightened by the volley they had just received, and the dazzling of the cutlasses. Lieutenant Brett immediately ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces; but when he came within four miles of the Centurion, he put off in the barge with a number of prisoners, from whom he had learned some material intelligence, which he was desirous of communicating to the commodore as soon as possible. The prize was named the *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*; it was of about two hundred seventy tons burden, and had on board forty-three mariners, and was deeply laden with steel, iron, plank, cedar, pepper, cinnamon, powder, blue, European bale goods, snuff, rosaries, Roman indulgencies, and other species of merchandize. Though this cargo, in their present circumstances, was but of little value, yet it was a greater loss to the Spaniards than any capture they had made in that part of the world; for it amounted to above four hundred thousand dollars prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopt at Payta in her passage, to take a fresh supply of water and provisions, having left that place but about twenty-four hours, before she fell into the hands of the English; and from the passengers on board this ship, lieutenant Brett had been informed, that a few days before, a vessel had entered Payta, the master of which had told the governor that he had been chased by a very large ship, which

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from her size, and the colour of her sails, he imagined to be one of the English squadron, and that the governor being fully satisfied with this relation, had immediately sent an express to Lima, to carry the news to the viceroy, while the royal officer residing at Payta, being apprehensive of a visit from the English, had, from his first learning this intelligence, been busily employed in removing both the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town within land, at about fourteen leagues distance; but that there was a considerable sum of money belonging to some merchants of Lima, lodged in the custom-house of Payta, which was intended to be sent on board a vessel then in the port, and that was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition; it being bound for the bay of Sonsonate on the coast of Mexico, to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manila ship.

It was immediately conjectured, that the large ship which had chased the vessel into Payta was the Gloucester, as indeed it was, and it being found that the vessel in which the money was to be shipped, was esteemed a prime sailor, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; it was concluded that they had no chance of coming up with her, if they suffered her to escape out of the port. Therefore, as they were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, so as to prevent their cruising being of any advantage, the commodore, after minutely inquiring into the strength and condition of the place, resolved to endeavour to surprize it that very night.

Payta is situated in a barren soil, only composed of sand and slate; it is in 5 deg. 12 min. south latitude, and does not furnish a drop of fresh water, or any kind of greens or provisions, except fish, and a few goats; but about two or three leagues distant, there is a town called Colan, whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c. are conveyed to Payta on floats, for the convenience of the ships that touch there; and cattle are brought from Piura, a town which lies almost fourteen degrees up in the country. The water fetch-



ed from Colan is whitish, and has a disagreeable look; but it is said to be very wholesome, the inhabitants pretending, that it runs thro' large woods of sarsaparilla, and that it is sensibly impregnated with it. The port of Payta, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteemed the best in that part of the coast; and, indeed, it affords a very secure and commodious anchorage; it is therefore much frequented by all vessels coming from the north, since there is no other place for the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonate, Realejo, and Panama, to take in refreshments in the passage to Callao; and the wind being for the greatest part of the year full against them, renders it impossible for them to perform these long voyages, without stopping upon the coast for a recruit of fresh water. The town was but of small extent, as it contained less than two hundred families. The houses were only ground floors, the walls of which were built of split cane and mud, and the roofs were thatched with leaves; but though these edifices were extremely slight, they were sufficient for a climate, where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years.

Mr. Anson, on inquiring into the strength of the place, was told, that it had no other protection than the fort, in which was mounted eight pieces of cannon; but that it had neither ditch nor out-work, it being surrounded by a plain brick wall, and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, though the town might possibly arm three hundred men more.

The commodore, considering that the strength of the place did not require his whole force, and that his ships might be easily seen at a distance, even in the night, which would alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects, resolved to attempt it with the boats only, and ordered the eighteen oared barge, with his own and the Tryal's pinnaces on that service. Having picked out fifty-eight men, well furnished with arms and

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ammunition, and intrusted the command of the expedition to lieutenant Brett, to prevent the confusion which possibly might arise from their ignorance of the streets, and the darkness of the night, he ordered two of the Spanish pilots to conduct the lieutenant to the most convenient landing place, and to be his guides on shore; to secure their fidelity, the prisoners were informed, that they should all of them be released, and landed at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully. At the same time he threatened the pilots, that if they were guilty of treachery, or misconduct, they should be instantly shot, and he would carry the rest of the Spaniards on board, prisoners to England.

About ten o'clock at night, at which time the ships were within five leagues of the place, lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived, without being discovered, at the mouth of the bay; but he had no sooner entered it, than he was perceived by some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor, who immediately getting into their boat, rowed toward the shore, shouting and crying, "The English, the English dogs, &c." by which the whole town was instantly alarmed, and the men in the boats soon perceived several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in motion. Upon this lieutenant Brett encouraged his men to pull up briskly, that they might allow the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. But before the boats could reach the shore, the soldiers in the fort had got some of the cannon ready, which they pointed toward the landing-place, and the first shot passed very near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. Upon this the men redoubled their efforts, so that they had reached the shore, and part of them were landed by the time the second gun was fired. The men were no sooner on shore, than one of the Spanish pilots conducted them to the entrance of a narrow street, where they were covered

from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would permit, they instantly marched to the parade, a large square at the end of this street, the fort being on one side, and the governor's house on the other. In this march, which was performed with tolerable regularity, the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors, who had been so long confined on ship-board, and were now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are, when they land, and besides, animated with the hopes of immense plunder; the huzzas, I say, of this spirited detachment, added to the noise of their drums, had so augmented their numbers in the opinion of the enemy, that their fear made them more solicitous about the means of flight, than of resistance. However, the merchants, who owned the treasure then in the town, had, with a few others, ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the governor's house, and thence discharged a volley upon the English sailors; but upon their returning the fire, they abandoned the post, and left the English in possession of the parade.

Lieutenant Brett, upon this success, divided his men into two parties, one of which he ordered to surround the governor's house, and if possible, to secure the governor, while he himself, at the head of the other, marched to the fort, with a design to force it; but to his great surprize, he entered it without opposition, for the enemy abandoned it on his approach, and made their escape over the walls. Thus the whole place was taken in less than a quarter of an hour's time from their first landing, with no other loss, than one man killed on the spot and two wounded.

Lieutenant Brett now placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, and then appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent being surprized by the enemy, and to secure the effects from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to seize upon the custom-house, where the treasure was deposited, and to examine

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mine whether any of the inhabitants remained in the town, in order to know what farther precautions it was necessary for him to take ; but he soon found that he was in no danger from the numbers left behind ; for most of the people being in bed when the place was surprized, had fled with such precipitation, that they had not allowed themselves time to put on their cloaths ; and the governor himself was not the last in providing for his own safety ; for he fled before most of the rest half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days ; but she too was afterwards carried off in her shift, by a couple of centinels, just as the detachment arrived before the house. The few inhabitants who remained were confined under a guard in one of the churches ; except some stout negroes, who were employed the remaining part of the night, to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort ; but these were always attended by a file of musqueteers.

The conveyance of the treasure from the custom-house, was the principal employment of Mr. Brett's people ; but while the sailors were thus busied, they could not be prevented from entering the houses in their way, in search of private pillage, where the first thing they observed being the cloaths left by the Spaniards in their flight, which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced, they eagerly seized these glittering habits, and slipped them on over their own dirty trousers and jackets ; at the same time, not forgetting the tye or bag-wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the cloaths ; and this practice being once begun, there was no preventing its being imitated by the whole detachment. But those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's cloaths sufficient to equip themselves, took up with women's gowns and petticoats, which, provided they were rich enough, they made no scruple of putting on, and blending

with their own greasy dress, so that Mr. Brett was extremely surprized at their grotesque figure, when a party thus ridiculously metamorphosed first came before him, and could scarcely know them.

Mean while the Centurion and the other ships made an easy sail towards Payta, and about seven in the morning, began to open the bay. Though those on board had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprize, yet it was with great joy they discovered, by means of their perspectives, an English flag hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort. Then they plied into the bay with as much expedition as possible, and at eleven the Tryal's boat came on board the Centurion, laden with dollars and church plate, when the officers who commanded it, informed the commodore of the transactions of the preceding night.

Mr. Brett hitherto went on collecting and removing the treasure without interruption, while the enemy assembled from all parts of the country, on a hill at the back of the town, where they made a considerable appearance, having amongst the rest of their force two hundred horse, that seemed well armed, mounted, and furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. They paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate the few who were on shore, whose numbers were now known, to induce them to abandon the place before the pillage was compleated. Mr. Brett, however, proceeded in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, &c. as long as it was light. To prevent any surprize in the night, the commodore sent a reinforcement on shore, which was posted in all the passages leading to the parade, and for their further security, the streets were fortified with barricadoes six feet high. But as the enemy remained quiet all night, they resumed at day-break, the employment of loading the boats, and sending them off.

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It now appeared of what importance it would have been, had it been possible, to have secured the governor ; for had he been in their power, he would probably have been induced to treat for the ransom of many store-houses full of valuable effects, for which the commodore had no room on board, but which would have been of extraordinary advantage to him. Having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, he was so elated with his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he seemed to have lost all concern for the fate of his government ; and though the commodore sent several messages to him, by some who had been taken prisoners, offering to ransom the town upon easy terms, he was so arrogant and impudent, that he would not even return an answer.

On the second day of the English being in possession of the place, the Spaniards were in such want of water, that many of their slaves crept into the town by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill ; and Mr. Brett was informed both by the deserters, and some prisoners he took, as they were carrying away the water, that the Spaniards on the hill being increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night, when one Gordon a Scotch papist, was to have the command of that enterprize. He, however, continued sending off the boats, without the least hurry or precipitation till the evening, when a reinforcement was again ordered on shore by Mr. Anson, and Mr. Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricades. The different posts were connected by means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole visited by frequent rounds attended with a drum. These marks of the vigilance and readiness of the English to receive them, damped their resolution ; so that they passed that night with as little molestation as they had done the former.

As Mr. Brett had the evening before sent all the treasure on board the Centurion, the boats were em-

ployed on the third morning, which was the 15th of November, in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town; and the commodore intending to sail in the afternoon, he about ten o'clock sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to lieutenant Brett, to secure them in one of the churches, till the men were ready to embark. Mr. Brett was at the same time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches, which stood at some distance from the houses, after which he was to abandon the place and return on board. That gentleman punctually complied with these orders, for setting his men to work, he distributed pitch, tar, and other combustibles, of which there were great quantities in the town, into houses situated into different streets; that the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be the more violent and sudden, and the enemy after his departure, might not be able to extinguish it. This being done, he caused the cannon of the fort to be nailed up, and then setting fire to such houses as were to the windward, he collected his men and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. That part of the beach, whence he intended to embark, being an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceived he was retreating, and resolved, in order to lay some foundation for future boasting, to try if they could precipitate their departure; for this purpose, a small squadron of about sixty horses marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; but notwithstanding the pomp and parade with which they at first came on, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than they put a stop to their career, and did not dare to advance a step farther while he continued on the beach.

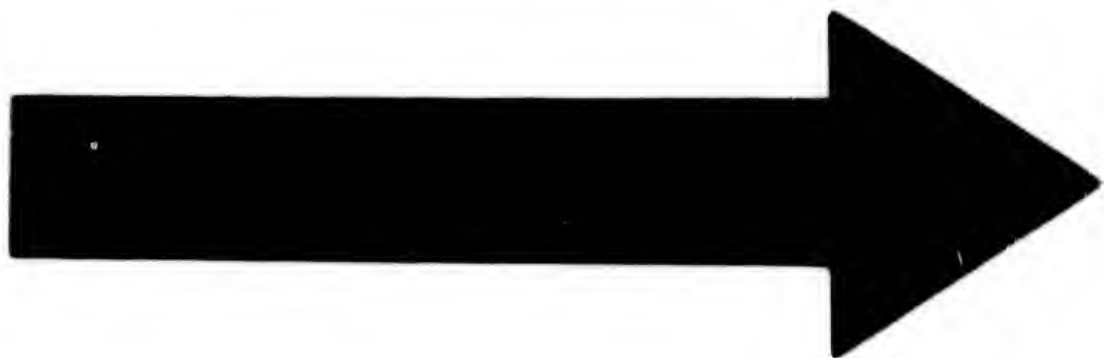
On their arrival at the boats in order to go on board, the men were some time retarded by missing one of their number, and being unable, by their enquiries amongst each other, to learn where he was left,

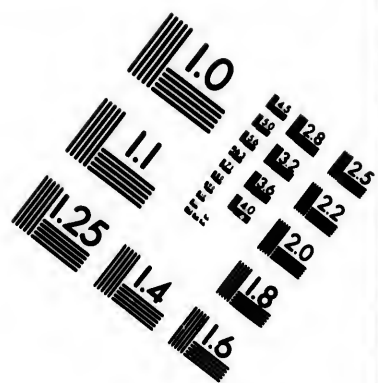
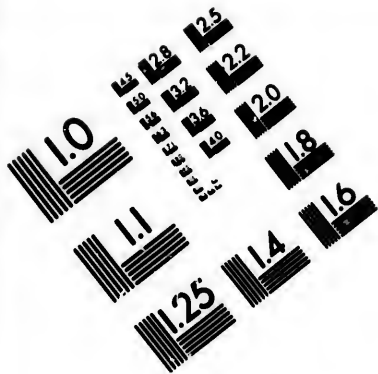
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left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, got into the boats, in order to depart without him; but when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time so completely on fire, and the smoke covered the beach with such a cloud, that they could scarcely discern him, though they heard his voice; the lieutenant however immediately ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely terrified at the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enemy, who were doubtless enraged at the plunder and destruction of their town. Inquiry being made into the cause of his staying behind the rest, it was found that he had that morning taken too large a quantity 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. At first opening his eyes, he was strangely amazed at seeing on the one hand all the houses in a blaze, and on the other, several Spaniards and Indians near him. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him to a state of sobriety, and gave him the presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, the likeliest means of escaping the enemy, and then making the best of his way to the beach, he, though he could not swim, ran as far into the water as he durst, before he ventured to look back; but to the honour of all the other brave fellows who were on shore, though there were great quantities of wine and spirituous liquors, ready at their hands, at almost every warehouse, this was the only man who was known to have so far neglected his duty as to get drunk.

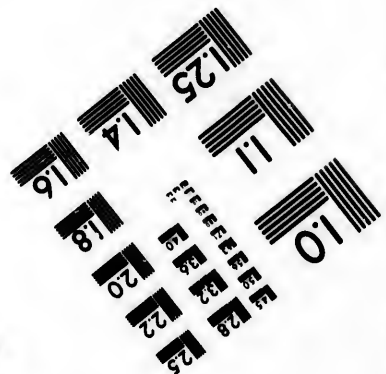
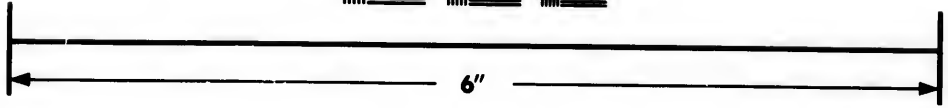
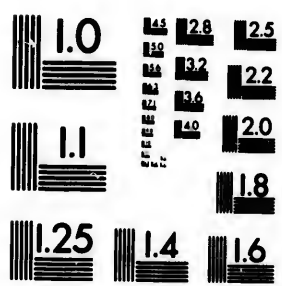
By the time the sailors had helped their comrade out of the water, and were rowing to the squadron, the flames had seized every part of the town, and by means of the combustibles, the slightness of the materials of which the houses were built, and their apt-







**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
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ness to take fire, had taken such hold, that it was visible no endeavours of the enemy, though they flocked down in great numbers, could possibly prevent the entire destruction of the town and all the merchandize contained in it.

Lieutenant Brett's detachment having joined the Squadron, the commodore prepared to sail that evening. At his first coming into the bay, he found six of the enemy's vessels at anchor, one of which was the ship that was to have conveyed the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and being informed she was a good sailer, he resolved to take her with him. There were also two snows, a bark, and two row-galleys of thirty-six oars each, which the commodore having no occasion for, had ordered the masts of all five to be cut away at his arrival, and on his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, scuttled, and sunk; the command of the other ship was given to Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the *Tryal*, who was allowed ten men to navigate her; and the Squadron, which was now augmented to six sail, that is, the *Centurion*, the *Tryal's Prize*, the *Camelo*, the *Carmin*, the *Teresa*, and the *Solidad*, the last acquired vessel, weighed anchor about midnight, and sailed out of the bay.

The loss of the Spaniards by the destruction of *Payta* was very considerable, since a very great part of the goods that were burnt, consisted of velvets, cambricks, silks, broad cloths, &c. and though the acquisition made by the English was very inconsiderable in comparison with what was destroyed, yet it was far from being despicable, for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin which fell into their hands, amounted to above thirty thousand pounds sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose value could not then be determined; the plunder, that became the property of the immediate captors, was also very considerable, so that this was the most important booty they had hitherto met with.

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It has been already observed, that all the prisoners taken in the preceding prizes, were set on shore and discharged at Payta, and as the honour done to our national character in those parts, was very great, from the humanity and generosity with which Mr. Anson behaved to those who fell into his hands, this circumstance deserves to be more particularly related. Amongst these prisoners were some persons of considerable distinction, and in particular a youth of about seventeen years of age, the son of the vice-president of the council of Chili. As the natives of those countries had the most terrible ideas of the cruelties of the English, all the prisoners at their being first taken on board the English squadron, were under great horror and anxiety of mind; but the young gentleman just mentioned, who had never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving expressions, regretting in very plaintive terms, the loss of his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country, being fully persuaded, that he had taken his last farewell of them, and that he was devoted for the remainder of his life to an abject and cruel servitude; indeed, all the Spanish prisoners had the same desponding opinion of their situation; but Mr. Anson constantly exerted all his endeavours to efface these terrifying impressions, by taking care, that as many of the principal persons amongst them as there were room for, should by turns dine at his table, and by giving the strictest orders, that they should at all times be treated with the utmost humanity and decency; but notwithstanding this, it was observed, that the first two or three days, they retained their fears, and suspected that the gentleness of their usage was preparatory to some unknown calamity: but at length being convinced of the commodore's sincerity, they grew remarkably chearful, and the youth above-mentioned, not only conquered his fears, but entertained a great affection for Mr. Anson, and seemed so delighted with a manner of life, different from every thing he had known before, that it was doubted whether

ther he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the *Centurion*, to his being immediately set on shore at Payta.

As the commodore's humanity was constant and uniform, it gave the prisoners favourable sentiments of the whole English nation; and their good opinion was greatly increased by the commodore's leaving the ladies taken in the *Teresa* the possession of their apartments, in preventing all his people on board from approaching them, and allowing the pilot to stay with them as their guardian: at which the Spaniards on board were the more surprized, as it was done without his ever seeing the women, though the two daughters were both esteemed handsome, and the youngest was a celebrated beauty. The women themselves were so sensible of the obligations they owed him on this account, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Payta, till they were allowed to wait on the commodore, on board the *Centurion*, to return him thanks in person; and indeed all the prisoners left the English with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of the generous treatment they had met with. In particular, a jesuit who had been taken by the commodore, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, returned his thanks for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he should always consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice, and added that his treatment of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgot; that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, that he doubted whether the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character, would be sufficient to render it credible. Mr. Walter observes, " That he was afterwards informed, that both he and the rest of the prisoners had not been silent on this head; but had both at Lima and other places, given the greatest encomiums on the commodore; the jesuit in particular, having on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense, that article of his

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“ church, which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.”

The Squadron having set sail from Payta on the sixteenth of November, at about midnight, the commodore in the morning gave orders for the ships to disperse, in order to look out for the Gloucester. A jealousy now arose between those who had been commanded on shore, and those who had continued on board, occasioned by the private plunder got at Payta, which the former considered as a reward for the risks they had run, and the resolution they had shewn, while those who remained on board urged, that had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred acting on shore to continuing on board, and that while their comrades were on land, their duty was extremely fatiguing, since they were constantly under arms to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, to prevent any attempts that might be formed at that critical juncture, and that a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprize, as the action of the others on shore; and this dispute arose to such a height, that the commodore thought it necessary to interpose his authority, before it was attended with any mischievous consequences. Accordingly on the morning after their leaving Payta, he ordered all hands upon quarter-deck, and addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, highly commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion. He then represented the reasons urged by those who had continued on board for an equal division of the plunder; observed, that he thought their reasons very conclusive, and the expectations of their comrades extremely just; he therefore insisted, that not only the private men, but all the officers who had assisted in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, in order to be impartially divided amongst the whole crew in proportion to their rank; but to prevent those who had it in their possession from murmuring at this diminu-

diminution of their share, the commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might hereafter be employed in like services, he would give his intire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place.

Thus was this troublesome affair determined to the general satisfaction of the ship's company, except a few who were incapable of discerning the force of equity, or were too avaricious to be willing to part with any share of what they had once got into their possession. The next morning they observed the Gloucester with a small vessel in tow, and learned from captain Mitchel, that in the whole time of his cruize, he had taken only two prizes, one of which was a small snow, whose cargo consisted of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000 l. in specie; and the other a launch, or large boat, which the Gloucester's barge came up with near shore, the prisoners on board of which had alleged, that they were very poor, and that their lading only consisted of cotton; but the circumstance in which the barge surprized them, seemed to prove their being more wealthy than they pretended; for the Gloucester's people found them at dinner upon pigeon pye, served up in silver dishes. However, the officer who commanded the barge, on his opening several of the jars on board, and finding nothing in them but cotton, was ready to believe the account given him by the prisoners; but the cargo being taken on board the Gloucester, all were agreeably surprized to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of package, and that in every jar there was concealed amongst the cotton, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount in the whole of near 12,000l. This treasure was going to Payta, and belonged to the merchants, who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money taken at that town. Captain Mitchel had also been in sight of two or three other of the enemy's ships which had escaped him; one of which,

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which, there was reason to believe, was of immense value.

The Squadron being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved to steer as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, in order to cruize for the Manila galleon, which was known to be at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco; and as they were now in the middle of November, and that ship did not usually arrive till the middle of January, they did not doubt of getting on that station time enough to intercept her, notwithstanding they found it necessary to take in a fresh supply of water at the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama; and being now eight sail in company, continued sailing to the northward; but on their arriving at Cape Blanco in four degrees fifteen minutes south latitude, it was found that the Solidad was far from answering the character given her of being a prime sailer; and she and the Santa Teresa delaying the Squadron, the commodore ordered them both to be cleared of every thing that might be of use to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt; and having given proper instructions to the Gloucester and the other prizes, the Centurion proceeded in her course for Quibo.

On the 22d in the morning, they came in sight of the island of Plata; at three in the afternoon they were within three miles of Point Manta, and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, captain Mitchel took that opportunity of sending away several of his prisoners from the Gloucester in the Spanish launch. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the prizes, to compleat their stock for six months. One of the Manila ships being said to be of an immense size, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and foretops of the Centurion, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns, in order that she might be the better prepared to give her a warm reception.

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On the 23d they passed the equinoctial, when standing towards the isthmus, they had not only an extraordinary alteration of the climate ; but frequent calms and heavy rains, which soon made it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain from running into her.

On the 3d of December in the evening, they cast anchor at the island of Quibo, which they found to be extremely convenient for wooding and watering, since the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea, so that they were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water they wanted.

The whole island, excepting one part of it, is of a very moderate height, and its surface is covered with a continual wood, which preserves its verdure all the year. Among the other trees they found abundance of cassia ; but notwithstanding the climate, and shelter afforded for birds, they saw no other but mackaws, parrots, and parroquets, but of the former there were prodigious flights. The animals of which there were most plenty, were monkeys and guanoes, which they frequently killed for food ; but though they discovered many herds of deer, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods, prevented their coming near them, so that they killed but two during their stay. Their prisoners informed them, that the island abounded with tygers, but they never saw any of them ; and also that there was frequently found in the woods a most mischievous serpent, called the flying snake, which darted itself from the boughs of trees on either man or beast that came within its reach, and its sting was believed to produce inevitable death. The sea about the island is infested with a great number of alligators of an extraordinary size, and the people often observed a large kind of flat fish, jumping a considerable height out of the water, which they supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl divers, by clasping them in its fins, as they arise from the bottom ; and they

they were told, that the divers now always armed themselves with a sharp knife, with which, when they are entangled, they disengage themselves from the fish's embraces, by sticking it in its belly.

While the ship lay at anchor, the commodore went in a boat, attended by some of his officers, to examine a bay which lay to the northward, and afterwards ranged along the eastern side of the island. Whenever they landed in the course of this expedition, they generally found great plenty of excellent water, and a very rich soil. On the north east point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which seemed to surpass every thing of this kind that had ever been produced by human art or industry. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near one hundred and fifty in length; the channel down which it flowed was entirely composed of rock, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks, by which the course of the water was frequently interrupted; for in some parts it run sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it rolled over the ledges of rocks, and fell with a perpendicular descent. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood, and even the huge masses of rock which over-hung the water and by their various projections formed the inequalities of the channel, was covered with lofty forest trees. While the commodore with those who accompanied him were attentively remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks and the woods, there appeared, as if to heighten the beauty of the prospect, a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a most brilliant appearance by the glittering of the sun on their variegated plumage.

In this expedition they discovered no inhabitants, but saw many huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells, of fine mother-of-pearl, in different places, that were left by the pearl-fishers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the  
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pearl oysters, which are every way to be found in the bay of Panama, are so numerous at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the sea, a person may stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large, and some of the officers opened them out of curiosity, in order to taste, but found them very tough and unpalatable. These oysters are found at a considerable depth; for though what are taken by wading near the shore are of the same species, yet the pearls contained in them are few in number and very small. It is also said, that the pearl partakes in some degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyster is lodged, so that if there be a muddy bottom, it renders the pearl dark and discoloured.

The business of taking up oysters from great depths for the sake of their pearls, is performed by negro slaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coast formerly kept great numbers. These are said not to be esteemed compleat divers, till they have learned to protract their stay so long under water, that the blood gushes out of their mouth, nose, and ears; but when this has once happened, it is said, they dive for the future with much greater ease than before. They have no apprehensions that any ill consequence can attend this violence offered to nature, since the bleeding generally stops of itself, and there is no danger of their ever being subject to it a second time.

Though the pearl oyster was unfit for food, yet that disappointment was sufficiently recompenced by the turtle, which the sea furnishes at this island in the greatest plenty and perfection. There are usually reckoned four species of turtle; the loggerhead, the trunk turtle, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill, which produces the tortoiseshell, is better than the other two, though but indifferent food; but the green turtle was generally esteemed by the officers and sailors, as affording the most delicious repast, and they had the most convincing proof of its being wholesome, from their feeding upon it near four months, without feeling any

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any ill effects from this new food. At this island they caught as many as they pleased, without the least difficulty; for as they are an amphibious animal, they go on shore to lay their eggs, which they usually deposit in a large hole in the sand, just above high water mark, and after having covered them, leave them to be hatched by the heat of the sun; they therefore ordered several men to go upon the beach, who had nothing more to do, than to turn them upon their backs, which prevented the turtle from getting away, after which they brought them off at leisure; by this means they were plentifully supplied, while they staid on the island, and carried a number of them to sea, which was almost a constant supply for the whole crew, of fresh and palatable provisions; for they generally weighing about two hundred pounds weight each, those they took with them lasted till they had a fresh supply on the coast of Mexico, where they often saw great numbers of them in the heat of the day fast asleep, and floating on the surface of the water. Upon discovering them they generally sent out a boat, in which was an expert diver, who, when the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, plunged into the water, and arising close by the tail, seized the shell, and pressing down the hinder parts, awakened the turtle, who striking with its feet, supported by that motion both itself and the diver, till the boat came and took them both in. By which management they never wanted turtle for the succeeding four months in which they continued at sea; yet in seven months from their leaving Juan Fernandes to their anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, they buried no more in the whole squadron than two men, which is an undoubted proof that the turtle on which they fed for the last four months of that time, is at least an innocent, if not a salutary food.

It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the scarcity of other provisions, on some part of the coast of the South Seas, a kind of food so very palatable, salubrious, and plentiful as turtle, should be esteemed by the

the Spaniards as very unwholesome, and to be little less than poisonous. They had some Indian and negro slaves on board, whom they kept to assist in navigating the ships, and these being possessed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were astonished at seeing them feed on turtle, being fully persuaded that it would prove mortal; but finding that none of them died, nor were in the least disordered by continuing the diet, they ventured to taste it, and at last with great reluctance to eat it, though very sparingly; but the relish growing upon them by degrees, they at last grew so fond of it, as to prefer it to every other kind of food, and often congratulated each other on the luxurious and plentiful repasts it would always be in their power to procure, when they should return back to their country.

Having left the island on the ninth of December in the morning, after having staid there only three days, they again put to sea in order to look for the Gloucester, who had separated from them on their first arrival, and the next day discovered a small sail, to which they gave chase, and coming up with her took her. She was a bark from Panama, named the Jesu Nazareno, and had nothing on board but a ton of rock salt, some oakum, and between thirty and forty pounds in specie. On the twelfth of December they came up with the Gloucester, who had sprung her main-top-mast, and having scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno, the commodore delivered fresh instructions to the captains of the men of war and commanders of the prizes, appointing the rendezvous they were to make, and the courses they were to steer in case of a separation, in which they were directed to use all possible dispatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco. These orders being distributed to the ships, they had little doubt of soon arriving at their intended station, as they expected to fall in with the regular trade wind; but to their great vexation they were baffled for near a month by tempestuous weather, dead calms, and heavy rains, and at length began to despair of succeeding in  
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the great purpose they had in view, that of intercepting the Manila galleon, which produced a general dejection; but at length their despondency was somewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; upon which the Centurion took the Carmelo in tow, as the Gloucester did the Carmin; and this wind which blew from the north-east, the next day continued so brisk and steady, that they had no doubt of its being the true trade wind. This revived their hopes, for though the usual time of the galleon's arrival at Acapulco was already elapsed, they were so unreasonable as to flatter themselves, that some accidental delay might have lengthened her passage.

On the 26th of January, being to the northward of Acapulco, they tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land, which they expected to fall in with on the 28th; but though the weather was then perfectly clear, they could not discern it. About ten at night the Centurion discovered a light on the larboard bow, and the Tryal's Prize, who was about a mile a-head, made a signal for seeing a sail. As nobody on board doubted but what they saw was a ship's light, they were all animated with a firm persuasion, that it was the Manila galleon; and what added to their alacrity, was their expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one; for they took it for granted, that the light in view was carried on the top of one ship, for a direction to her consort. The Centurion therefore cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forward with all her canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same; and thus they chased the light, under the expectation of engaging within half an hour, sometimes imagining the chace to be about a mile distant, and at others, within reach of their guns; for some on board positively asserted, that they could plainly discern her sails. The commodore himself was so fully persuaded, that he should soon come up with her, that he sent for his first lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and ordered him to see all the great guns loaded with two round of shot for the first broadside,

side, and after that, with one round shot and one grape; and strictly charged him not to suffer a gun to be fired till he should give orders, which he told the lieutenant would not be till they arrived within pistol-shot of the enemy. In this constant and eager expectation they continued all night, constantly presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring them up with the Manila ship, whose wealth and that of her supposed consort, they now estimated by round millions; but alas! at day-break, they discovered to their great disappointment, that all this bustle and expectation was occasioned by a fire upon a mountain, which continued burning for several days afterwards, and was probably no more than a tract of stubble or heath set on fire for the purpose of agriculture.

They now began to doubt whether the Manila galleon was or was not arrived; but on examining their prisoners about it, they were assured, that she was sometimes known to reach Acapulco after the middle of February; adding, that the fire on shore was a proof of her being yet at sea, as it was customary to make use of those fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer than ordinary at sea. This information was so agreeable to their wishes, they resolved to continue cruising for her some days longer, and accordingly spread their ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner as rendered it impossible for her to pass unobserved. In this manner they continued cruising for some time without seeing any appearance of the Manila galleon, and therefore suspected she had already gained her port. They were therefore very solicitous of gaining some positive intelligence, that they might either seek a harbour for refreshing themselves, or continue longer in their present station.

Accordingly on the 12th of February the commodore dispatched the barge in search of the harbour of Acapulco, and to discover whether the galleon was arrived. She returned on the 19th, when the officers informed the commodore, that they had discovered the  
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harbour, and that having got within the island that lies at the mouth of it, they were in great suspense what to do; but while they were ignorant of their being in the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light near the surface of the water, on which plying their paddles, and moving towards it as silently as possible, they found it to be a fishing canoe, which they surprized with three negroes who belonged to it, and who, at first, attempted to jump overboard, but they were prevented by presenting a piece at them, on which they submitted, and were taken into the barge; the canoe was turned adrift against the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea; which was done to deceive those who might perhaps be sent in search of the canoe, who seeing only its remains, would immediately conclude that the people on board were drowned.

The commodore having now these three negroes in his possession, was soon satisfied about the most material points on which he had been long in suspense. They told him, that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on the ninth of January, old stile; but revived his hopes, by adding, that she had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and provisions in order to return, and that the vice-roy of Mexico had by proclamation fixed her departure from Acapulco on the fourteenth of March new stile. This intelligence gave great joy to the whole crew, who made no doubt of her falling into their hands, and it would be of much greater advantage to seize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be much more valuable to them than the cargo itself, the greater part of which must have perished in their hands; nor could they have disposed of any part at so advantageous a market as that of Acapulco.

They were therefore now a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with the Manila ship,

whose wealthy cargo had entirely engrossed the attention of the whole crew; and to possess this famous ship all their future proceedings were regulated. It will therefore be necessary to give a succinct account of every particular relating to the commerce carried on by means of these ships, between the city of Manila, and the port of Acapulco.

About the end of the fifteenth century, the discovery of new countries, and of new branches of commerce, was the reigning passion of several of the European princes. But those who engaged most deeply and fortunately in these pursuits were the kings of Spain and Portugal; the former having discovered the immense and opulent continent of America, while the latter by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had opened to his fleets a passage to the southern parts of Asia, usually called the East Indies, and by his settlements in that part of the globe, became possessed of many of the manufactures, and natural productions with which it abounded, and which had, for some ages, been at once the delight and wonder of the most polished and luxurious part of the human species.

But though the views of these two powers were prosecuted in different parts of the globe, they became extremely jealous of each other, from an apprehension of mutual encroachments. In order therefore to quiet their jealousies, and enable them to propagate with more tranquility, the catholic faith in these distant parts of the globe, pope Alexander VI. granted to the Spanish crown, the property and dominion of all places, either already discovered, or that should be discovered hereafter an hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, leaving all the unknown countries to the eastward of this limit, which was called the line of demarcation, to the industry and future disquisition of the Portuguese. This boundary was, however, afterwards, by the mutual consent of both nations, removed two hundred and fifty leagues further to the westward; and it was imagined that by this regulation

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regulation all the seeds of future contests were destroyed.

But in this they were deceived. They never considered that the Spaniards, by pushing their discoveries to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, might at last meet with each other, and be again embroiled in disputes. This really happened a few years after; for Frederick Magellan, an officer in the king of Portugal's service, being disgusted with the behaviour of that court, entered into the service of the king of Spain; and being a person of ability, was very desirous of signalizing his talents by some enterprize of importance, in order to teach his former masters the value they ought to place on men of ability. In order to this, he persuaded the court of Spain to push their discoveries to the westward, by which they would undoubtedly acquire a right to interfere both in the property and commerce of the Spice Islands. This project being approved by the king of Spain, Magellan sailed from the port of Seville in the year 1519. His force consisted of five ships, and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he stood for the coast of South America, and ranging along the shore, had at last, towards the latter end of October, 1520, the good fortune to discover those streights, which still bear his name, and which opened him a passage into the Pacific Ocean.

The first part of his scheme being thus happily accomplished, he, after some stay on the coast of Peru, set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the Spice Islands. In this extensive run he first discovered the Ladrões, or Marian Islands; and continuing his course, he at length reached the Philippine islands, which form the eastern limit of Asia, where venturing ashore in a hostile manner, he was slain in a skirmish with the Indians.

Magellan's death defeated the original project of securing some of the spice islands; for those who were left in the command, contented themselves with ranging through them, and purchasing a few spices

from the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope, being the first ship that had ever surrounded the terraqueous globe; and thence demonstrated by an undeniable experiment, the reality of the long disputed spherical figure of the earth.

But though the Spaniards did not by this voyage acquire the property of any of the Spice islands, yet the discovery of the Philippine islands was thought too considerable to be neglected; for being near the Spice islands, and very well situated for carrying on a trade to China and India, a communication was soon established, and carefully supported between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru. So that the city of Manila, erected in the island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines, soon became the mart for all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and sent annually to the South Seas, to be there vended on their account. As the returns of this commerce to Manila were principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent and considerable, and its trade so far increased, as to engage the attention of the court of Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

During the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in which voyage the trade wind continually favoured them; so that notwithstanding these places were between three and four thousand leagues distant, the voyage was often made in little more than two months: but then the return from Manila was extremely troublesome and tedious, and is said to have sometimes taken them up above a twelvemonth, by attempting to ply up within the limits of the trade winds. That route was however soon laid aside, by the advice of a jesuit, who persuaded them to steer to the northward till they got clear of the trade winds, and then by the help of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of

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California. This has been the practice for at least one hundred and eighty years past: and it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to shorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the staple of this commerce to and from Manila, was removed from Callao, on the coast of Peru, to the port of Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico.

Such was the beginning, and such were the early regulations of this commerce; but its present condition being a much more interesting subject, it will be necessary to give a more particular narration, beginning with a description of the island of Luconia, and of the port and bay of Manila.

The island of Luconia, though situated in the latitude of 15 deg. north, is esteemed extremely healthy, and the water said to be the best in the world. It produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a most excellent breed of horses, supposed to have been carried thither originally from Spain: it is very well situated for the Indian and Chinese trade; and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its western side, is perhaps the most remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular basin, near ten leagues in diameter, and great part of it entirely land-locked. On the east side of this bay stands the city of Manila, which is very large and populous, and strongly fortified. The port peculiar to the city is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the southward; and in this port all the ships usually employed in the Acapulco trade are usually stationed.

The city of Manila is built in a very healthful situation, is well watered, and in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; but as the principal business of the place consists in its trade to Acapulco, it lies under some disadvantages from the difficulty of getting to sea to the eastward.

The trade carried on to this place from China, and different parts of India, is principally for such commodities as are intended to supply the kingdoms of

Mexico and Peru. These are spices, all sorts of Chinese silks and manufactures; particularly silk stockings, of which no less than fifty thousand pair are said to be the usual number shipped on board the annual galleon; vast quantities of Indian stuffs, as calicoes and chintz, which are much worn in America, together with other smaller articles, as goldsmiths work, &c. which is usually done in the city of Manila by the Chinese. All these different commodities are collected at Manila, to be thence transported annually in one or more ships to the port of Acapulco in the kingdom of Mexico.

It must however be observed that this trade is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations. The ships employed herein are found by the king of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonnage is divided into a certain number of bales all of the same size: these are distributed among the convents of Manila, but chiefly to the jesuits, as a donation for the support of their mission; and these convents have hereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manila ship, as the tonnage of their bales amounts to; or, if they chuse not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others; and as the merchants to whom they grant their shares are often unprovided with a stock, it is usual for the convents to lend them considerable sums of money on bottomry.

The cargo ought not to exceed a certain value, limited by the royal edicts; some say 600,000 dollars, but the annual cargo certainly surpasses that sum, and is not perhaps greatly short of three millions of dollars.

From what has been said, it is evident that the greatest part of the treasure returned from Acapulco to Manila, does not remain in that place, but is again dispersed into different parts of India. And as all European nations have always esteemed it good policy

policy to keep their American settlements in an immediate dependence on the mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful trade with other powers; these considerations have occasioned many remonstrances to be presented to the court of Spain against the Indian trade, opened by this channel to the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico; it having been urged, that the silk manufactures of Valencia and other parts of Spain are hereby greatly injured, and the linens carried from Cadiz less valuable; as the Chinese silks coming almost directly to Acapulco, can be afforded much cheaper there than any European manufactures of equal goodness; and the cottons from the coast of Coromandel, render the European linens almost useless. So that the Manila trade renders both Mexico and Peru less dependent upon Spain for a supply of their necessities than they ought to be; and at the same time drains those countries of a considerable quantity of silver, the greatest part of which would otherwise center in Spain, either in payment for Spanish commodities, or in gains to the Spanish merchants; whereas now the only advantage which arises from it is, the enriching the jesuits, and a few particular persons who reside at the other extremity of the world. These arguments so far influenced Don Joseph Patinho, then prime minister, and an enemy to the jesuits, that about the year 1725, he had resolved to abolish this trade, and permit no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spanish ports of America, but what were carried thither in the register ships from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the jesuits rendered this regulation abortive.

The above trade from Manila to Acapulco, and back again, is carried on by means of one or two annual ships, which sail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following; and after disposing of their effects, return for Manila sometime in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the entire voyage

takes up nearly a whole year. For this reason, tho' there is often no more than one ship employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and therefore the merchants of Manila are provided with three or four stout ships, that, in case of any accident the trade may not be suspended. The largest of these ships is said to be little less than one of our first rate men of war; she must indeed be of an enormous size; for when employed to cruise against the English in the Chinese trade, she carried no less than twelve hundred men. The other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout vessels, carrying about twelve hundred tons, and four to six hundred men, passengers included, and fifty odd guns. As these are all king's ships, commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one of the captains, who is stiled the general, and who carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-top-gallant mast-head.

Having thus described the port of Manila and the shipping they employ, it is necessary to give a more circumstantial detail of their navigation. The ship having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. But the getting through the Boccardero to the eastward, is so troublesome a navigation, that it is sometimes the end of August before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this passage, and are clear of the islands, they stand to the northward of the east, in order to get into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California.

It is remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the Philippine islands and the coast of California, and Mexico; so that from the time the Manila ship first  
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loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southermost extremity: and therefore as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandize and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it is extremely singular, and deserves a particular recital.

It is well known to those who are acquainted with the Spanish customs in the South Seas, that their water is preserved on ship-board, not in casks, but in earthen jars, which in some sort resemble the large oil jars we often see in Europe. When the Manila ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the shrouds and stays, so as to exhibit at a distance a very odd appearance. And though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken; yet it is sufficiently obvious, that a sixth, or even a three months store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatsoever; and therefore, without some other supply this navigation could not be performed: a supply indeed they have, but the reliance upon it seems at first sight so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risque the perishing, by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40 deg. north, and which they are always prepared to catch: for this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale, whenever the rain descends; these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboe, so that all

the water which falls on the mats drain into the bamboo, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail them, so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all their water jars several times over.

However, though their distresses for fresh water are much short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their passage to Acapulco is performed with little loss.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution and concern for so rich a vessel; for it is said, that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. And indeed the instructions given to their captains seem to have been drawn up by such as was more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of 30 degrees, if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is absolutely necessary for the getting a westerly wind. This appears to be a very absurd restriction, since it can scarcely be doubted, but that in higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than the latitude of 30 degrees: so that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure. For if instead of E. N. E. into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood N. E. or even still

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more northerly into the latitude of 40, or 45 degrees, in part of which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them; doubtless by this management they might considerably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it; for it appears by journals, that they are often a month, or six weeks after their leaving the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly course, it might easily be done in a fourth part of the time; and when they were once well advanced to the northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them over to the coast of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarrassments, to which they are now subjected, only at the expence of a rough sea and a stiff gale. And this is not merely matter of speculation; for about the year 1721, a French ship, by pursuing this course, ran from the coast of China to the valley of Vanderas on the coast of Mexico, in less than fifty days: but it was said that this ship, notwithstanding the shortness of her passage, suffered prodigiously by the scurvy, so that she had only four or five of her crew left when she arrived in America.

The Manila ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California; and when she has run into the longitude of 96 degrees from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the surface of the sea, called Porra by the Spaniards. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; and they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant, the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn Te Deum, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude, without ever coming within sight of land. After falling in with these signs, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, without endeavour-

ing to fall in with the coast, till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many islands, and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish navigators makes them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the sake of making Cape St. Lucas, to ascertain their reckoning, and also to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance, which is a particular article in the captain's instructions, makes it necessary to mention the late proceedings of the jesuits amongst the Californian Indians.

Since the first discovery of California, there have been various wandering missionaries who have visited it at different times, though to little purpose; but of late years the jesuits, encouraged and supported by a large donation from the Marquis de Valero, fixed themselves upon the place, and have established a very considerable mission. Their principal settlement lies just within Cape St. Lucas, where they have collected a great number of savages, and endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts; and their efforts have not been altogether ineffectual, for they have planted vines at their settlements with very good success, so that they already make a considerable quantity of wine, resembling in flavour the inferior sort of Madeira, and begins to be esteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of Mexico.

The jesuits being thus firmly rooted on California, they have already extended their jurisdiction quite across the country from sea to sea, and are endeavouring to spread their influence farther to the northward; with which view they have made several expeditions up the gulf, between California and Mexico, in order to discover the nature of the adjacent countries; all which they endeavour to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing the interests of their society, it is no wonder if some share of atten-

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tion is engaged about the security of the Manila ship, in which their convents at Manila are so deeply concerned. For this purpose there are refreshments, as fruits, wine, water, &c. constantly kept in readiness for her; and there is besides care taken at Cape St. Lucas, to look out for any ship of the enemy, which might be cruising there to intercept her; this being a station where she is constantly expected, and where she has been often waited for and fought with, tho' generally with little success. In consequence therefore of the measures mutually settled between the je-suits of Manila and their brethren at California, the captain of the galeon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and on discovering these fires, the captain is to send his launch on shore with twenty men well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at Manila to the Californian missionaries, and are to bring back the refreshments which will be prepared for them, together with intelligence, whether or no there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which he is to coast it along for the port of Acapulco.

The most usual time of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco, is towards the middle of January: but this navigation is so uncertain, that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean; being, as it were, a basin surrounded by very high mountains; but the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy; for the air about it is so pent up by the hills, that it has scarcely any circulation. The place is besides destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from a considerable distance; and is in all respects

respects so inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilst the Manila galeon is in the port, it is almost deserted.

When the galeon arrives in this port, she is generally moored on its western side, and her cargo delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manila are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is indeed no time to be lost; for it is an express order to the captain, to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return, before the first day of April, N. S.

It is necessary here to observe, that the principal return is always made in silver, and consequently the rest of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal and a few sweet-meats, the produce of the American settlements, together with European millinery ware for the women at Manila, and some Spanish wines, such as tent and sherry, which are intended for the use of their priests in the administration of the sacrament.

And this difference in the cargo of the ship to and from Manila, occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages; for the galeon, when she sets sail from Manila, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, she has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tier of guns, but carries them in her hold, till she draws near Cape St. Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But on her return from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tier is always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew augmented with a supply

ply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manila. And there being besides many merchants who take their passage to Manila on board the galeon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for, by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galeon being thus fitted for her return, the captain on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13 or 14 deg. and runs on that parallel, till he gets sight of the island of Guam, one of the Ladrões. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the island of Gasparico. He is also told in his instructions, that to prevent his passing the Ladrões in the dark, there are orders given, that thro' all the month of June, fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galeon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two; but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that centinels will be posted, not only on that cape, but likewise in Catanduanas, Butusan, Biriboronga, and on the island of Batan. These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship, which the captain is carefully to observe; for if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence

ligence of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack; he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manila of all that passes. But if, after the first fire on shore, the captain observes, that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to fear, and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila, and the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

Having thus given a succinct account of the commerce carried on by the Manila galleons, we shall return to commodore Anson, whom we left cruising off the west of Mexico, in hopes of taking one of those rich ships then in the port of Acapulco. Being now satisfied that the day was fixed for the departure of the galleon from Acapulco, the squadron waited with the utmost impatience for the important moment. As they received the intelligence by the return of the barge on the 19th of February, and as the galleon was not to sail till the 3d of March, the commodore, in order to prevent his being seen from the shore, resolved to continue the greatest part of the intermediate time on his present station to the westward of Acapulco; and during this interval, the sailors were employed in scrubbing and cleansing the ships bottoms, and in bringing them into the most advantageous trim.

On the first of March, the time for the departure of the galleon drawing nigh, the commodore had all the ships ranged in a regular line, each ship being three leagues distant from the next, so that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes,

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were 12 leagues removed from each other; and as the galleon might doubtless be discerned at six leagues distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of the squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was 24 leagues in extent; and yet they were so connected by signals, as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line. To prevent even the possibility of the galleon's escaping in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Gloucester were both manned and sent in shore, and commanded to lie at four or five leagues distance from the entrance of the port, where, upon account of their smallness, it would be impossible to discover them; but in the night they were to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and as the morning approached, to return back to their station for the day. When the cutters should discern the Manila ship, one of them was to return to the squadron to make a signal, whether the galleon stood to the eastward or the westward, while the other was to follow the galleon at a distance; and if it grew dark to direct the squadron in their chase by shewing false fires.

In short, having taken all possible methods to prevent the Manila ship from escaping, they waited with the utmost impatience for the third of March; and that day no sooner began to dawn, than every person on board had his eyes fixed towards Acapulco, and neither the duties of the men on board, nor the calls of hunger could easily divert them from it; but to their extreme vexation, both that day and the succeeding night passed over without any news of the galleon. They however flattered themselves that some unforeseen accident had occasioned her departure to be deferred for a few days, which was not improbable; as it was usual for the vice-roy to defer the time of her sailing on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus they kept up their hopes and vigilance, and as the 7th of March was the beginning of passion-week, which is so strictly observed by the Spaniards,

niards, that no ship is permitted to stir out of port, they deferred their expectations till the week following; but in a week's time their eagerness greatly abated, a general dejection and despondency took place in its room, and the people began to be persuaded, that the enemy had discovered their being on the coast. Indeed this opinion was but too just; for they afterwards learnt, that the barge had been seen from the shore, when she had been sent upon the discovery of the port of Acapulco; and as no embarkations but canoes ever frequented that coast, the Spaniards considered it as a sufficient proof that the English Squadron was not far distant, and therefore stopt the galleons till the succeeding year.

The commodore now formed a plan for the taking of Acapulco; but the town was too well defended to be carried by an open attack, and therefore he proposed to set sail in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; and having boldly entered the harbour's mouth, he intended to have put two hundred men on shore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort, while he with his ships were employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. But when he began to enquire into such circumstances as were necessary to be considered, in order to conduct the execution of this plan, he found it was attended with an insuperable difficulty; for nearer in-shore, there was always a dead calm for the greatest part of the night, and towards morning, when the gales sprung up, it constantly blew off the land, which rendered his arrival at Acapulco before day-light absolutely impossible.

However, as there was yet no certain intelligence of their departure being deferred till the next year, the commodore thought it prudent to continue cruising on his present station, as long as the necessary attention to his stores of wood and water, and to the proper season for his passage to China would give him leave. The cutters returning on the 24th of March, from off their station, and all the ships being now joined,

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joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders; when enquiry being made into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the Squadron, it was found necessary to quit the station, in order to procure a fresh supply; and the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan, being the nearest, it was resolved to sail thither; but lest the galleon, on having certain intelligence of their being at Chequetan, should slip out to sea, the Centurion's cutter, under the command of Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal's-Prize, was ordered to cruize twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, that if the galleon should sail in that interval, they might be speedily informed of it.

The Squadron now plied to the west to gain their intended port; but being often interrupted by storms and adverse currents, the men were employed in these intervals in taking the most valuable part of the cargoes out of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which the commodore resolved to destroy as soon as they were cleared. On the first of April they were advanced so far towards Seguataneio, that the commodore thought proper to send out two boats to discover the watering place; when they being gone some days, their water was so short, that had they not met with a daily supply of turtle, which prevented their being confined to salt provisions, they must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate; but their uneasiness was happily ended, by the boats returning on the fifth of April, when they had not ten days water on board the whole Squadron; having about seven miles to the west of the rocks of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for their purpose, which appeared to be the port of Chequetan; and these boats being sent out again the next day, to sound the harbour and its entrance, returned with the report that it was free from danger, on which the Squadron immediately stood for it, and the Centurion and Gloucester cast anchor there the same evening.

The port of Chequetan is a place of considerable consequence, since it is the only secure harbour except Acapulco

Acapulco in a vast extent of coast. It lies in seventeen degrees thirty-six minutes north latitude, and is about 30 leagues to the westward of Acapulco, from which last town there is a bank of sand extends eighteen leagues to the westward, against which the sea breaks so violently, that it is impossible to land in any part of it with boats; yet the ground is so clean, that in the fair season ships may anchor at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land which joins to this beach is generally low, planted with a great number of trees, and full of villages, and on the tops of several small eminences there are several watch-towers. The part which is cultivated extends some leagues back into the country, where it seems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which on either side of Acapulco stretch to a considerable distance; and indeed the whole face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect; but it is remarkable, that in all this extent, which appears the most populous and best planted of the whole coast, there are to be seen neither boats nor canoes either for coasting, fishing, or for pleasure; which is probably occasioned by all kinds of small craft being prohibited by the government to prevent smuggling. There is no other method of finding this harbour at a considerable distance from the coast, than that of making it by the latitude; for there are so many ranges of mountains within land, rising one upon the back of the other, that no drawings of the appearance of the coast can be in the least depended upon when off at sea, for every trifling change of distance, or variation of position, brings new mountains in view, and produces different prospects.

As the country appeared to be so well peopled and cultivated, the commodore was in hopes of easily procuring some fresh provisions and other refreshments, and therefore the morning after he came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men well armed, to march into the country to discover some town or village, and to settle a correspondence with the inhabitants; for it was not doubted, that if this intercourse was  
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but once begun, he should allure them to bring whatever fruits or fresh provisions were in their power. These men were directed to behave with the greatest circumspection, and to shew as little appearance of any thing like hostility as possible. But this attempt to open an amicable traffic with the inhabitants proved ineffectual; for towards the evening, this party returned greatly fatigued by their unusual exercise, and some of them so far spent, that they had fainted by the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions. When they had proceeded near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one of which turned to the east, and the other to the west; when agreeing to continue their march along the eastern road, it led them into a large plain, on one side of which they discovered a centinel on horseback with a pistol in his hand. When they first saw him they supposed he was asleep, for his horse started at the glittering of their arms, and suddenly turning round, run off with his master, who though he was very near being unhorsed, recovered his seat, and escaped with only the loss of his hat and his pistol, which he dropped on the ground. The party pursued him in hopes of discovering the village, or habitation to which he should retreat; but after fatiguing themselves in vain, soon lost sight of him.

Being unwilling to return without making some discovery, they followed the track they were in, till the heat of the day increasing, and finding no water to quench their thirst, they resolved to return back; however, that no means might be left untried of procuring some intercourse with the people, the officers stuck up several poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations written in Spanish, in order to encourage the inhabitants to come to the harbour to traffic with the squadron, and filled with the strongest assurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for all the provisions they brought. But this measure, however prudent, was ineffectual, for none

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of the people came down to the ships during their continuance at the port of Chequetan.

Upon this occasion, it is proper to observe, in order to give some idea of the timidity of the inhabitants of this country, that some time after the commodore's arrival at Chequetan, he sent lieutenant Brett, with two boats under his command, to examine the coast to the eastward; and particularly to make observations on the bay and watering-place of Pataplan. Mr. Brett was preparing to land with one of the boats towards the hill of Pataplan, when accidentally casting his eyes across the bay, he observed on the opposite strand, three small squadrons of horse, which seemed to advance towards the place where he proposed to land. Upon which, though he had but sixteen men with him, he boldly put off the boat, and stood over the bay, in order to face them, and was soon near enough to perceive that they were mounted on good horses, and armed with carbines and lances. On seeing him thus advance, they formed upon the beach, fired several distant shot at him as he drew near, and seemed determined to dispute his landing, till at last the boat coming within a reasonable distance from the most advanced squadron, Mr. Brett ordered his men to fire, when this resolute cavalry immediately fled with great confusion, through a small opening into the wood. In this hasty flight, one of their horses falling down, threw his rider, but both the man and horse were soon up again, and followed the rest. The two other squadrons were in the mean time calm spectators of the rout of their comrades; for having halted on Mr. Brett's first approach, they continued drawn up at a great distance behind, out of the reach of the shot. Had these men concealed themselves till the boat's crew were landed, it is scarcely possible but they must all have fallen into their hands, as the Spaniards amounted to near two hundred, and the whole number with Mr. Brett was only sixteen.

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The commodore finding his attempts to prevail on the people to furnish the squadron with necessaries unsuccessful, desisted from any other endeavours of that kind, and the people were contented with what they could procure for themselves in the neighbourhood of the port, where they caught breams, cavallies, soals, mullets, fiddle-fish, sea eggs, and lobsters; and in this place alone they met with that remarkable fish called the torpedo, which is a flat fish, like a thorn-back, and so nearly resembles the fiddle-fish, that it can be only distinguished from it by a brown circular spot, of the size of a crown piece near the center of its back. The torpedo produces very surprizing effects on the human frame, for whoever handles, or even sets his foot upon it, is immediately seized with a numbness over his whole body, but more particularly in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. Mr. Walter observes, that he himself had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to his right arm, by touching it for a short time with a walking cane; and he makes no doubt but that he should have been more sensibly affected, had not the fish been almost at the point of death when he made the experiment; since it is observable, that this influence acts with most vigour upon the fish's being first taken out of the water, and entirely ceases as soon as it is dead, when it may be handled, or even eaten without the least inconvenience. The numbness of Mr. Walter's arm, upon this occasion, diminished gradually, so that he had some remains of it till the next day.

The principal animals they met with on shore were guances, with which the country abounds, and by some are reckoned delicious food. They saw no other beasts of prey but alligators, none of which were very large. They were however convinced that there were many tygers in the woods, though none of them came in sight; for every morning the prints of their feet were very visible on the beach near the watering-place, but they apprehended no danger from them, since they are not near so fierce as the African or Asiatic tygers,

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and are seldom, if ever known, to attack mankind. They had plenty of birds, and particularly pheasants of various kinds, some of which were remarkably large, but they were all dry and tasteless food. They frequently killed parrots for food, and saw a great variety of small birds.

They found great scarcity of fruits and vegetable refreshments, and these were not of the best kinds. It is true there were a few bushes scattered about the woods, which supplied the squadron with limes, but the men could scarcely procure enough for their present use. There was also a small plum of an agreeable acid, which in Jamaica is called the hog-plum, and another fruit called the papah, and these were the only fruits to be found in the woods; nor was there any other vegetable worth notice, except brook-limes, which grows near the fresh water banks in great quantities, and tho' it was extremely bitter, and unpalatable, yet as it was esteemed an antiscorbutic, they frequently fed upon it.

During their stay at this place, an incident happened, which proved the means of convincing their friends in England of their safety. From the harbour of Chequetan, there was but one narrow path which led through the woods into the country, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach them, and therefore to prevent their being disturbed by any sudden attack of the enemy's horse, and to hinder the people from straggling singly into the country, where they might be surprized by the Spaniards, the commodore caused several large trees to be felled, and laid upon one another across the path, at some distance beyond the spring-head; and at this barricadoe they constantly kept a guard, which had orders to let no person whatsoever pass beyond their post. But notwithstanding the precaution, Lewis Leger, the commodore's cook, was missing; and he being a Frenchman, and under the suspicion of being a Papist, it was at first concluded that he had deserted, with a view of betraying all he knew to the enemy, though by the event

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this was found to be an ill-grounded surmise ; for he had been taken by some Indians, who had carried him prisoner to Acapulco, whence he was sent to Mexico, and thence to Vera Cruz, where he was put on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But this vessel being by some accident obliged to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was sent from thence by the British consul to England, where he brought the first authentic account of the commodore's safety, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas.

The account he gave of his seizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricadoe, where he had at first attempted to pass, but had been stopt, and threatened to be punished : That his principal view was to gather a quantity of limes for his master's store ; but while he was thus employed, he was suddenly surprized by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and in that condition conducted him to Acapulco, where he was exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which then shone with its greatest violence : That his treatment in prison at Mexico was very severe, and that all the time of his captivity, the Spaniards gave him a continual proof of the hatred they bare to all who endeavour to disturb them on the coasts of the South Seas.

It must here be observed, that though the enemy never appeared in view, while the squadron lay at anchor in the harbour, yet those on board could easily perceive, that large parties of them were encamped in the woods, for they could see their smokes ; and just before they left the place, they seemed by the increase of their fires to have had a large reinforcement.

They here compleated the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmin, out of which they only took the indico, cocoa, and cochineal, with some iron for ballast, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes ; and the unloading these prizes, together with the wooding and watering being compleated, the Tryal's Prize, with the Carmelo and Carmin, were

towed on shore, and scuttled on the 27th of April, and a quantity of combustible materials were distributed in their upper works; the next morning the Centurion and Gloucester weighed anchor, when having reached the offing, one of the boats was dispatched back to set fire to the prizes, which was accordingly executed.

This being done, a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the midst of the harbour, in which was a bottle well corked, containing a letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruize before the port of Acapulco, when the squadron quitted that station. This letter directed Mr. Hughes to return to his former station, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruize for him there a certain number of days, after which it was added, that the commodore would return to the southward to join the rest of the squadron. These last words were inserted to deceive the Spaniards, in case they got the canoe in their possession, as they afterwards learned that they did, but could not impose on Mr. Hughes, who was sensible that the commodore had no other squadron to join, nor the least intention of steering back to Peru.

As they had no farther views in the American seas, it was no small mortification to them to be detained by the absence of the cutter, the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed, and this made it necessary for them to sail towards Acapulco in search of her, and indeed it was suspected that she had been discovered from the shore, and that the governor of Acapulco had sent out a sufficient force to seize her, which was no very difficult enterprize, as she carried but six hands. This however being only conjecture, the commodore stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her, and to prevent her passing by in the dark, brought to every night. The Gloucester who was stationed a league nearer the shore than the Centurion carried a light, which if the cutter kept along shore, she would not fail of perceiving it, and as a farther

further security, both the Centurion and Gloucester alternately shewed two false fires every half hour.

Being at length advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, without seeing the cutter, they gave her over for lost; which, besides their compassion for their ship-mates, on account of what they might have suffered, was a misfortune which greatly concerned them, account of their scarcity of hands, since the cutter's crew consisted of six men and the lieutenant, who were picked out for the service, and were skilful seamen, and every one of them of tried resolution. However, as it was generally believed that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore, as he had many Spanish and Indian prisoners and sick negroes in his possession, wrote a letter the same day to the governor of that town, to inform him that he would release them all, provided the governor would only return the cutter's crew. This letter was carried by a Spanish officer, who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of the prizes, and a crew of six other prisoners, who gave their parole for their return. The Spanish officer also carried with him a petition signed by all the other prisoners, beseeching the governor to comply with the terms proposed for their liberty.

From the number of the prisoners, and the quality of some of them, it was not doubted but the governor would readily agree to Mr. Anson's proposal; and therefore they kept near the land, in order to receive an answer at the limited time; but both that day and the day following, they were driven so far out to sea, that they could not expect any answer to reach them, and the fourth day after the proposal was sent, they were fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco; but the wind being favourable, they pressed forwards with all their sail, and hoped to get within the land that afternoon.

While they were thus standing, the centinel from the mast-head, called out, that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-east. This they did not doubt contained the governor's answer to the commodore's message, and instantly edged towards her; but on their nearer approach, they found to their unspeakable joy, that it was their own cutter. While at a distance, they imagined that she had been discharged by the governor out of the port of Acapulco; but when she drew nearer, the pale and meager countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble tone of their voices, convinced every one that they had endured much greater hardships than they could have suffered, even from the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and be instantly put to bed; but by rest, and the nourishing diet with which they were plentifully supplied from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour.

These poor men had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was about six weeks. When they had finished their cruize before Acapulco, they began to ply to the westward in order to join the squadron; but a strong adverse current forced them down the coast to the eastward, and at length their water being all expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther to the eastward in quest of a convenient landing-place, in order to get a fresh supply. But in this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues to the leeward, but every where found so large a surf, that there was not the least possibility of their landing. Some days they passed in this dreadful situation, during which they had no other means of allaying their thirst, than catching turtle and sucking their blood, till at last the heat of the climate rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, from the firm belief, that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths; but in this dreadful exigence, providence sent them a most unexpected relief, for there fell so heavy a rain, that on spreading  
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their sails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centers of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their casks, and immediately upon this happy supply, being favoured by a strong current, they stood to the westward in quest of the commodore, and joined the Centurion in less than fifty hours, after an absence of forty-three days.

Mr. Anson now resolved not to disappoint the hopes of the prisoners, but to restore them to the liberty he had promised them, and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches which had belonged to the prizes; and lest the wind should prove unfavourable, they were allowed a stock of water and provisions. Those released were fifty-seven in number, the greatest part of them being Spaniards, and the rest Indians and sick negroes; but as the crews were very weak, Mr. Anson kept the stoutest of the negroes, a few Indians, and Mulattoes. They afterwards learnt, that the two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where all the prisoners extolled the humanity with which they had been treated. But before their arrival, the governor it seems had returned an obliging answer to the commodore's letter, and at the same time sent out two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions that could be procured at Acapulco: but the boats, not finding the English ships, were at length obliged to return, after meeting with a storm, in which they were forced to throw all their provisions overboard.

Their sending away the prisoners was the last transaction on the American coast; for immediately on their parting with them, the Centurion and Gloucester made sail to the south-west, with a view of meeting with a north-east trade wind, which the accounts of former writers had taught them to expect at the distance of seventy or eighty leagues from the land; and on the sixth of May, they for the last time lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, with the hopes of reaching the eastermost isles of Asia in two months. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to come in with

the trade winds by getting into the latitude of thirteen or fourteen degrees north, where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, all their efforts proved unsuccessful, so that it was seven weeks from their leaving the coast, till they got into the true trade wind. By this time both ships became extremely crazy, and soon after a spring was discovered in the fore-mast of the Centurion; and no sooner was it secured by the carpenter's fishing it, than the Gloucester made a signal of distress, and informed the commodore that she had so dangerous a spring in the main-mast, that she could not carry any sail upon it, and that being excessively rotten, it was found necessary to cut part of it away. These accidents occasioning delay, and the scurvy beginning to make fresh havock amongst the people, they began to be in the greatest anxiety about their future safety, and to present before their eyes the melancholy prospect of either dying with the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her. They had indeed been willing to believe, that in this warm climate, so different from that they had felt in passing round Cape Horn, the violence of this disease and its fatality might be mitigated. It has been generally presumed that supplies of water and fresh provisions effectually prevented this distemper, and that keeping the ships clean and airy between decks, were even alone sufficient to prevent the scurvy, or to mitigate its virulence. But though they had a considerable stock of fresh provisions aboard, which were the hogs and fowls taken at Payta, though they almost daily caught abundance of dolphins, albigores, and bonitos, and the unsettled season that deprived them of the benefit of the trade wind proved so rainy, that they were enabled to fill their water-casks as fast as they were emptied, and each man had five pints of water constantly allowed him every day; though fresh provisions were distributed amongst the sick, and the whole crew often fed upon fish, and though during the latter part of the run they kept all their ports open, and took

took uncommon pains in sweetening the ships, yet nothing could stop the progress, or abate the malignity of the disease.

At length upon their reaching the trade-wind, which settled between the north and east, it seldom blew with such strength, but that the Centurion might have carried all her small sails abroad without the least danger, so that she might have run down the latitude apace, but the Gloucester, by losing the best part of her main-mast, failed so heavily, that the Centurion lost little less than a month by attending upon her; and at length, being entirely disabled by a storm, the commodore, after having her examined, sent an order to captain Mitchel to put his people on board the Centurion, as expeditiously as possible, which was immediately performed; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that the prize-money, which the Gloucester had taken in the South Seas, was secured and sent on board the Centurion; but the prize goods in the Gloucester, which amounted to several thousand pounds value, were entirely lost, nor could any more provisions be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt water. When this was performed, her crew were so greatly reduced by the scurvy, that she had only 77 men, 18 boys, and two prisoners alive, out of which number, there were no more than 16 men and 11 boys able to keep the deck, and several of these were very ill. The Gloucester was cleared of every thing that was proposed to be removed on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, and then set on fire; but she continued burning the whole night, so that though her guns fired successively as the flames reached them, yet she did not blow up till six in the morning, when the Centurion was about four leagues distant. The report she made was but small, though the blast produced a very black pillar of smoke, which shot up a very considerable height in the air.

The Centurion being now freed from the delays occasioned by the frequent disasters which happened to the Gloucester, might have been expected to have pro-

ceeded much brisker than she had hitherto done ; but the people on board that ship had still greater distresses to struggle with ; for the storm, which had proved so fatal to that vessel, had driven them to the northward of their intended course, and the current setting the same way after the weather had abated, had forced them a degree or two farther, so that they were near four degrees of the north of the parallel they had proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam ; and as they were ignorant how near they were to the meridian of the Ladrones, they apprehended that they might be driven to the leeward of them by the current without perceiving them. In which case, the only land they could make would be some of the eastern parts of *the Philippines*, where the western monsoon, being in its full force, it would be impossible for them to get in ; and indeed, they were in such a languishing condition, that they could expect nothing but their being destroyed by the scurvy, long before they could compleat so extensive a navigation ; for now no day passed in which they did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of their men, and those who had still continued healthy begun to sicken apace. To add to their distress, they had a considerable leak, which, however, was at last discovered, and though it was found impossible to stop it, it was at length reduced.

They had considered the calm during which the currents had driven them to the north, as a dreadful misfortune ; but a gale springing up from the south-west, rendered their condition still worse, as it was directly opposite to the course they desired to steer. However, on the 22d of August, they had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted, and set them to the southward, and the next morning at day-break, they were cheered with the sight of two islands to the west. As they had till then been seized with an universal dejection, from their almost despairing of ever again seeing land ; this discovery raised their drooping spirits, and gave them inexpressible joy. The nearest of these islands was Anatacan, which appeared to be full 15 leagues



leagues distance, and seemed to be high land, the other was the island of Serigan, which had the appearance of a rock. They were very impatient to get in with the nearest island, where they hoped to find anchoring ground, and refreshment for the sick; but the wind proving variable, they advanced but slowly. However, the next day at noon, they were within four miles of Anatacan, when the boat was sent out to examine the anchoring ground, and the produce of the place, but in the evening when the boat returned, they were informed, that there was no road for a ship to anchor in; that some of the crew had with difficulty landed, and found that the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane or rush; that they had seen groves of cocoa-nut trees, but had met with no water. This account occasioned a general melancholy, and their despondency was increased, when as they were plying under their top-sails, in order to get nearer to the island, with an intention of sending the boat on shore to get cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of the sick, the wind blew so hard off shore, that they were driven too far to the southward to venture to send off their boat; and now the only means of preserving them from perishing, were their falling in with some other of the Ladrone islands. But as their knowledge of them was extremely imperfect, they were to trust intirely to chance for their guidance.

On the 26th of August in the morning, they lost sight of the island of Anatacan, dreading that it was the last island they should ever see; but the next morning they discovered to the eastward, three other islands, at between ten and fourteen leagues distance, which were the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Agui-gan, upon which they immediately steered towards Tinian, the middlemost of the three; but had such a calm, that though they were assisted by the currents, they were the next morning advanced no nearer than within five leagues of it. They however kept on their course, and about ten o'clock perceived a proa

under sail between Tinian and Aguigan. As this gave them reason to believe that these islands were inhabited, and they well knew that the Spaniards had always an armed force at Guam, they mustered all their hands that were capable of standing to their arms; in order to disguise their wretched circumstances, and the more easily to procure intelligence, shewed Spanish colours, and hoisting a red flag at the fore-top-mast-head, hoping by this means to make the Centurion pass for the Manila galleon, and to decoy some of the inhabitants on board. At three in the afternoon, the commodore sent the cutter to find out a proper birth for the ship, and it was soon perceived, that a proa taking the Centurion for the Manila ship, put off from the island to meet the cutter, and the cutter returning with the proa in tow, the pinnace was instantly sent to bring the prisoners on board. Those taken were a Spaniard and two Indians, and the Spaniard being immediately examined, his account of the island surpassed the most sanguine hopes. He informed them that it was uninhabited, which, considering their defenceless condition, was of great consequence to them; and yet, that they were wanting but few of the accommodations that might be procured in the most cultivated country. That there was plenty of good water, and an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild, and all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded great plenty of lemons, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and cocoa-nuts, besides a fruit peculiar to those islands, which served instead of bread, and that the Spaniards at Guam made use of the island as a store for supplying the garrison; on which account, he was sent thither with two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to carry to Guam in a small bark that lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received with inexpressible joy, and they were now near enough to perceive large herds of cattle feeding in different parts of the island, and the appearance of the shore would not suffer them

to doubt of the rest of his narration. The prospect of the country, instead of resembling a place uninhabited, and without cultivation, seemed to be laid out with great skill in spacious lawns, and stately woods, and the whole so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a more striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus were they providentially brought to this delightful island, by means which they at first sight had considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had they not been driven by those contrary winds and currents which had filled them with the most terrible apprehensions, to the northward of their course, they would in all probability have missed of this spot, where alone all their wants could be fully relieved, the sick recovered, and their enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to pursue their voyage.

The commodore, being now solicitous to hinder the governor of Guam from obtaining intelligence of his arrival, resolved to endeavour, if possible, to prevent the escape of the Indians, and therefore dispatched the pinnace to secure the bark, which he was told was the only vessel at the island, and at about eight in the evening, they cast anchor in 22 fathom; but though the weather was almost calm, and all the vigour and spirit possessed by the crew were exerted on their going to take possession of this little terrestrial paradise, they were so weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace being sent on shore, that they were full five hours in furling the sails; and even including those who were absent with the boats, and some Indians and negroes, all the hands they could muster, capable of standing at a gun, were only 71, most of whom were incapable of duty, except on extraordinary occasions, and these were all that could be collected from the united crews of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Tryal, and Anne Pink, which consisted of about 1000 hands on their departure from England.

As the commodore was not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island, he sent a party well armed on shore the next morning to secure the landing place, which was done without the least difficulty : for the Indians having the night before perceived by the seizure of the bark, that they were enemies, immediately fled into the woods. This party found on shore many huts, which saved the sailors the trouble of erecting tents ; and one of these which was used for a store-house, being 20 yards long and 15 broad, was instantly cleared of some jerked beef, converted into an hospital, and as soon as it was ready, the sick, who amounted to 128, were brought on shore. Numbers of these were so helpless, that the men were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon their shoulders, in which humane employment, the commodore again, and every one of his officers without distinction, were engaged ; but notwithstanding the extreme debility of the greatest part of the sick, they in a surprizing manner soon felt the salutary influence of the land ; for though 21 men were buried on that and the following day, yet during the whole two months in which they staid there, they did not lose above ten men. For the sick reaped such benefit from the fruits of the island, and in particular those of the acid kind, that within a week, most of them were so recovered, as to be able to move about without assistance.

The island of Tinian lies in the latitude of 15 deg. 8 min. north, and in 114 deg. 50 min. west longitude from Acapulco. It is about 12 miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The land rises in gentle slopes from the beach to the middle of the island ; but its ascent is frequently interrupted by valleys of an easy descent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. These vallies, and the gradual swellings of the ground, to which their different combinations gave rise, are beautifully diversified by the mutual approach of woods and lawns, which border  
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upon each other, and in large tracts traverse the island. The woods are composed of tall and spreading trees, most of which are worthy of being admired, either for their fruit or for their beauty. While the lawns are generally of a considerable breadth, and covered with a clean and uniform turf, composed of a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers. In many places the woods are open, and free from all bushes and underwood; so that on the borders of the lawns, neither shrubs nor weeds are to be seen, and the neatness of the adjacent turf is frequently extended to a considerable distance under the hollow shade formed by the trees. Hence arose a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, according to the different blendings of these woods and lawns as they spread themselves through the valleys, and along the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds. The animals that enliven the landscapes, in some measure, partake of the romantic cast of the island, and are a great addition to the beauty of the prospects; for the cattle are all of them milk white, except their ears, which are generally black or brown, and it is not uncommon to see some hundreds of these feeding together in a large meadow; and though there are no inhabitants, yet the noise, and frequent appearance of domestic poultry, which in great numbers range the woods, greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place, by perpetually exciting the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages.

The cattle at Tinian were computed to amount to at least 10,000, and as they were not at all shy, the crew of the Centurion found no difficulty in getting near them. They at first brought them down by shooting them; but afterwards, when by accidents that will be hereafter mentioned, they were obliged to husband their ammunition, the sailors easily ran them down. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was thought to be more easily digested than any they had yet met with. The fowls too, which were  
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extremely good; were also run down with little trouble; as they could scarce fly above an hundred yards at a flight, and were then so fatigued, that they could not readily rise again; so that being assisted by the openness of the woods, they were always able to take what number they pleased. And that no delicacies might be wanting, they were furnished with great plenty of wild fowl; for near the center of the island, there were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlews; and the whistling plover was also found there in prodigious plenty. They here likewise found abundance of wild hogs, which were most excellent food, but being extremely fierce, the sailors were obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with some large dogs they found upon the island, and which belonged to the detachment sent to provide provisions for the garrison of Guam; and as these dogs had been trained to the killing of wild hogs, they readily followed the sailors, and hunted for them; but notwithstanding their being of a large and bold breed, the hogs fought with such fury, that they at length destroyed the greatest part of them.

This island was also of extreme advantage, on account of its fruits and vegetables, which were most happily adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy; for the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, guavaes, vast quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree, and a peculiar kind of fruit, to be found only in these islands, called by the Indians *tyma*, but by the Centurion's people the bread fruit; for it was constantly eaten by them instead of bread, and so universally preferred to it, that none of the ships bread was expended during their stay on the island. It grows upon a pretty lofty tree, which near the top divides into large and spreading branches; the leaves, which are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length, are of a remarkable deep green, and notched about the edges. The fruit, which is found indifferently on all parts of the branches,

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branches, is rather of an oval form than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long, and each of them grows singly, and not in clusters. It is fittest to be used when green; but full grown, and being roasted in the embers, has some distant resemblance to the taste of an artichoke's bottom, and is, like that, of a soft and spongy nature: but as it ripens it becomes softer, turns yellow, and has a luscious taste, and agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; however, it is then esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes. Mr. Dampier, to whom our author refers for a more particular description, says, it is as large as a good sized two-penny loaf, and that the inside is soft, tender, white, and crummy like bread, and if eaten in 24 hours after it is plucked, has a sweet and pleasant taste; and that this excellent fruit is in season eight months in the year. This island also affords many other vegetables, proper for the cure of that dreadful disease they had so long laboured under, as scurvy-grass, sorrel, mint, dandelion, creeping-purslain, and water-melons, of all which, together with the fresh provisions, they fed with great eagerness, being prompted to it by the strong inclination which the sea-scurvy never fails to excite for those powerful remedies.

It may seem surprizing, that this beautiful island, so elegantly furnished with the necessaries and luxuries of life, should be entirely void of inhabitants. To remove this difficulty, it must be observed, that in something less than fifty years before Mr. Anson's arrival, it was a populous country, and is said to have contained 30,000 souls, but a sickness raging at Tinian, Rota, and Guam, all of which were full of inhabitants; the Spaniards to recruit the people at Guam, who were greatly diminished by the mortality, forced all the inhabitants of Tinian to remove thither, where they languished after their native island, till in a few years the greatest part of them died of grief. These poor Indians might reasonably have

have expected, from their being placed at such an immense distance from Spain, to have escaped the cruelty which had occasioned the destruction of great part of the western world; but the only advantage they received from this distance, was their perishing an age or two later.

The island still affords remains, which show it to have been once extremely populous, for in all parts of it, there are many ruins of a very remarkable kind, which generally consist of two rows of pyramidal pillars, at about twelve feet distance, each pillar in the row standing about six feet from the next. These pillars are almost five feet square at the base; they are about thirteen feet high, and on the top of each is a semi-globe, with a flat surface upwards; both the pillars and semi-globe are solid, and composed of sand and stone cemented together, and plastered over. The prisoners informed the English, that these were the foundations of buildings set apart only for those Indians who had engaged in the religious vow; and indeed monastic institution is often to be met with in Pagan nations; but if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling houses of the natives, even in this case, their numbers must be considerable, since in many parts of the island they are extremely thick planted, and are a sufficient proof of the multitude of its former inhabitants.

It must not be omitted, that all the advantages enjoyed by this island were much enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the breezes that almost constantly prevailed, and the frequent showers with which it was sprinkled, which were usually of a very short and almost momentary duration. The salubrity of the air had a surprizing effect in strengthening both the appetite and digestion. It was here very remarkable, that even those of the officers, who every where else had been very temperate eaters, and who, besides a slight breakfast, used to make only one moderate meal a day, seemed here transformed into gluttons;



toms; for instead of one reasonable meal upon flesh, they were now hardly satisfied with three, each of which was so prodigious, that at another place it would have produced a fever, or a surfeit; and yet their digestion was so agreeable to the keenness of their appetites, that they were neither disordered nor overloaded by this uncommon repletion.

The principal inconvenience attending those who reside in the island, arises from the great number of muscatoes, and many other species of flies, together with a kind of tick, which though it principally fixes on the cattle, would frequently fall upon the limbs and bodies of the men, and if not removed in time, would bury its head under the skin, and raise a painful inflammation. The Centurion's people also found there scorpions and centipedes, which they supposed to be venomous, though they received no injury from them.

However, the most considerable exception to this place is the inconvenience of the road, which, in some seasons of the year, affords but little security for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burden is at the south-west end of the island, where the Centurion anchored in 20 and 22 fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, about a mile and a half distant from the shore; but the bottom of this road being full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, it has a very unsafe anchorage from the middle of June, to the middle of October, which is the season of the western monsoons; and what adds to this danger, is the extraordinary rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south-east between this island and Agui-gan. But in the remaining eight months of the year, there is such a constant season of settled weather, that if the cables are well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being ever rubbed. But to return to the employment of the Centurion's people on shore.

While they were landing the sick, four of the Indians on the island surrendered themselves to the commodore, so that he had eight now in his custody. One of

of these four offered to shew the most convenient place for killing cattle ; and two of the English were ordered to attend him on that service ; but on one of them trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods, when his countrymen, being apprehensive of suffering for this instance of perfidy, desired, however, to send one of their party into the country to bring back the arms, and to persuade the remainder of the detachment from Guam to submit. The commodore granted their request, and one of them was dispatched, who returned the next day with the pistol and firelock, which he pretended to have found in a path-way, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any of his countrymen ; but this report appeared so improbable, that it occasioned a suspicion, that some treachery was carrying on, upon which the commodore ordered all the Indians in his power to be sent on board the ship, and not allowed to return on shore.

All the hands that could be spared from attending the sick, were now employed in arming the cables with a good rounding to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks ; which being completed, many attempts were made to stop the Centurion's leak ; but after several efforts they were obliged to desist, till they could have an opportunity of heaving down.

On the 12th of September, those who were so well recovered as to be capable of doing duty were sent on board the ship, and then the commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, and had caused a tent to be erected for him on shore, went thither with a view of staying a few days to recover his health ; being convinced by experience, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted for the removal of that dreadful disease. The place where his tent was pitched, was an elegant spot near the well, whence they got all their water.

The casks were next sent on shore to be filled by the coopers, and as the new moon was approaching, when it was apprehended there would be violent gales, every method was taken that prudence could suggest, to arm the anchors, and secure the ship from the effects of windy weather. But when they had for some days flattered themselves, that the prudence of their measures had secured them from all accidents, the wind, on the 22d of September, blew from the eastward with such fury, that those on board soon despaired of riding out the storm. The commodore and most of the hands were on shore, and all their hopes of safety seemed to depend on their putting immediately to sea. But all communication with the ship was cut off, for it was impossible that a boat could live. As the night approached, the violence of the storm increased, while the tide, which at the beginning of the hurricane set to the northward, turned suddenly to the southward, and in spite of the storm forced the ship before it. The sea now broke surprizingly all round the ship, with a large tumbling swell, by which the long-boat, which was moored a-stern, was suddenly canted so high, that it broke the transoms of the commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and the storm was so violent, that it stove the boat all to pieces, yet the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved. At length the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate, and their cables breaking, all on board were in the greatest danger, and accordingly fired guns, and shewed lights to the commodore, as signals of distress. About one o'clock, the night being extremely dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, forced them out to sea, utterly unprepared to struggle with the united fury of the waves and winds, and every moment expecting to be lost.

The dreadful storm by which the Centurion was driven to sea, was too violent to permit any of the people on shore to hear the guns, which she fired as signals of distress, while the flashes of lightning had hindered

hindered the explosions from being observed, and therefore at day-break, when it was perceived on shore, that the ship was missing, they were all in the utmost consternation. Much the greatest part of them instantly concluded that she was lost, and entreated the commodore to send the boat round the island in search of the wreck. While those who believed her safe had scarcely any expectation of her ever being able to return, as the wind still continued, and as she was ill manned, and so poorly provided for struggling with with so tempestuous a gale. In either of which cases, they considered their situation as very deplorable, since it would be impossible for them ever to leave the island, and that therefore they must bid an everlasting adieu to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments. They had also reason to apprehend, that the governor of Guam, on being informed of their situation on shore, would send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island, and that on having them in his power, he would make their want of commissions, all of which were on board the Centurion, a pretence for treating them as pirates, and for putting them to an infamous death.

However, Mr. Anson soon formed a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, and having consulted some of the most intelligent persons about him, and satisfied himself that it was practicable, endeavoured to animate his people to put it speedily in execution. He told them that he was not without hope that the Centurion would return in a few days, since there was no reason to apprehend her being lost, and that the worst that could be imagined, was her being driven too far to the leeward of the island to return, which would oblige her to bear away for Macao on the coast of China; that in this case he had considered of a method of following her, which was to haul the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burden, and enable her to carry them all to China; that the carpenters,

whom.

whom he had consulted, had agreed that this was practicable, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, but their united resolution and industry, and then added, that for his own part he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than he himself was ready to submit to.

The people now began to flatter themselves, that the Centurion would be able to regain the island, and from this hope they did not so heartily engage in the project as the commodore could have wished; but at last being satisfied that it was impossible the ship should return, they resolutely applied themselves to the different tasks allotted them, with as much eagerness and industry as the commodore could desire, punctually assembling by day-break at the rendezvous, where they were set to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night.

But before they entered upon this arduous task, an incident happened that gave Mr. Anson the deepest concern; for a few days after the ship was driven off, some men on shore cried out a sail, which spread a general joy, every body supposing that the ship was returning; but soon after a second sail being observed, destroyed their hopes, and made it difficult to guess what they were. Mr. Anson eagerly turned his glass towards them, and seeing they were two boats, it immediately occurred to him, that the Centurion was sunk, and that these were the two boats coming back with the remains of her people; an idea which so deeply affected him, that he was obliged immediately to retire, without speaking, to his tent, in order to conceal his emotion, where he passed some bitter moments, under the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that all his views of still signalizing his expedition by some important exploit were at an end. He was however soon relieved from these distressing thoughts, by discovering that the two boats were Indian proas, when observing that they made towards shore, he ordered that every thing that could give them any suspicion

cion should be removed, and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, to secure the Indians upon their landing; but the proas, after coming within a quarter of a mile of the beach, stopped short, and having remained motionless two hours, steered to the southward.

About the same time another incident happened of a very extraordinary nature. The commodore, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island, and being on a rising ground, observed a small thicket in the valley beneath, that had a progressive motion. They were at first surprized, but soon perceived it was some large cocoa bushes dragged along by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the party they had found there at their arrival, and therefore Mr. Anson, and those that were with him, hastened after them in hopes of discovering their retreat, when the Indians perceiving that they were discovered, ran away with precipitation; but the commodore was so near them, as not to lose sight of them till they reached their cell, which he and his officers entering, found there was a passage through it, which led down a precipice, at which they had made their escape. They here found an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a large quantity of provisions, and in particular salted pork, which was excellent; and from what these gentlemen saw, they concluded, that their own extraordinary appetite was not confined to the English; for it being about noon, the Indians, considering their number, had laid out a very plentiful repast, and had their cocoa-nuts and bread fruit ready prepared for eating, and in such a manner as shewed, that a good meal was neither an uncommon nor a disregarded article. Mr. Anson having searched to no purpose after the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers sat down to dinner so luckily provided them, after which they returned back somewhat displeas'd at missing the Indians, as they hoped, that if they could have had any conference with

with them, they should have engaged them in their service.

The lengthening the bark was attended with great difficulty; some of the tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; when the whole should be compleated, they were to rigg, victual, and navigate her, for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, which had not been passed by any one of the company. However, their hopes were kept up by the intervention of several extraordinary and unexpected accidents. The carpenters both of the Gloucester and Tryal were on shore with their chests of tools; the smith too was on shore with his forge and several of his tools; but his bellows were on board the ship, so that he was incapable of working, and they could have no hopes of proceeding without his assistance. They resolved therefore first of all to make him a pair of bellows, but were for some time puzzled for want of leather, but having plenty of hides, and finding a hoghead of lime, which belonged to the Spaniards or Indians, they tanned a few of the hides with it, so that the leather answered the intention, and compleated the bellows by making a gun barrel serve for a pipe.

While the smith was preparing the iron work, others were employed in felling trees, and sawing them into planks; which being the most laborious task, the commodore for the encouragement of the people worked at it himself. A new difficulty was occasioned by there being neither blocks nor cordage for hauling the bark on shore; but this was removed by making rollers of the body of the cocoa-nut-tree, which from its smoothness and circular turn, was adapted to the purpose with very little labour. A dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and a way found from thence into the sea; a party was ordered constantly to kill and provide provisions for the rest, and good order being established, and all hands employed, the preparations advanced apace; the men being perhaps the more tractable and industrious from there being neither wine nor brandy on shore; for the juice of the cocoa-nut,

which, though pleasant, was not intoxicating, was their constant drink.

As the work advanced apace, the officers began to consider of the rigging necessary to fit the bark for sea, when it was found that the tents on shore, with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, and the spare cordage, which had been accidentally landed from the Centurion, would answer this purpose. They proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime; but there was one inconvenience that could not be removed, which was, that as she was not quite forty tons burden, she would be incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and would be so top-heavy, that if all were upon deck at the same time, she would be in danger of oversetting. The article of procuring a stock of provisions for the voyage gave them great perplexity, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, and the bread-fruit would not keep at sea; and though they had live cattle, they had scarcely any salt. However, they preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they had found in the island at their landing, but this was greatly insufficient. However, it was at last resolved to carry as many cocoa-nuts as they could, to prolong the jerked beef, by using it very sparingly, and to supply the want of bread by rice, to obtain which, they should land in the island of Rota, where the Spaniards had large plantations of that grain, and carry off a sufficient quantity by force; but this scheme making it necessary for them to examine the ammunition they had on shore, they had the mortification to find, that all the powder did not amount to one charge a piece to each of the company.

One of the most alarming circumstances was, the discouraging discovery, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island; but, at last, on rummaging the chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they discovered a small compass, which though little better than such as were made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an invaluable treasure, and afterwards a quadrant was found on the sea-shore, which had



had been thrown overboard among other lumber belonging to the dead. This was eagerly seized, but on examination it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore was entirely useless. However, a person sometime after pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on shore, found some vanes in it, which fitted the quadrant very well; when it being examined by the known latitude of the place, it was found to be sufficiently exact.

All things now being in great forwardness, and some of the principal obstacles removed, they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the fifth of November for the day of their putting to sea; but on the 11th of October in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men being upon a hill in the middle of the island, saw the Centurion at a distance, and running with the utmost speed towards the landing place, saw in his way some of his comrades, to whom he called with great extacy, "The ship! the ship!" which being heard by Mr. Gordon a lieutenant of the marines, he ran to the place where the commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath, easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and told the commodore, who, on hearing this joyful and unexpected news, threw down his ax with which he was then at work, while the others ran down to the sea side, to feast themselves with the sight, for which they had so eagerly longed. By five in the evening the Centurion was visible to them all, when a boat was sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of the crew, and the next afternoon she happily cast anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately went on board her, and was received with joyful acclamations.

To proceed to what happened on board the Centurion while at sea. It has already been observed, that she was driven from the island in a very dark night, by a prodigious storm. The condition of those on board was very dreadful, they were in a leaky ship,

with three cables in their hawses; to one of which hung their only remaining anchor, not a gun on board was lashed, nor a port barred in, and they were able to set no sail except the mizen. They could muster no more strength to navigate the ship than 108 hands, which were scarcely the fourth part of her complement, and most of these were either boys, or such as were still feeble from their being but lately recovered of the scurvy. By the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, they made a great quantity of water through the ports, hawse-holes and scuppers, which added to the leak, rendered their pumps a sufficient employment for all on board. But they had other dangers which appeared still more immediate. They all imagined they were driven on the island of Agui-guan, which was about two leagues distant, and as they had no sail set but the mizen, that was insufficient to clear them of this imminent danger. They therefore left the pumps, to use their utmost efforts to heave up the main and fore-yards, in order to save themselves, if possible, from being wrecked. But after three hours ineffectual labour, the jears broke, and the men were obliged from meer debility, to desist, and quietly expect their fate, which appeared inevitable; for they esteemed themselves driven upon the shore, and the darkness of the night made them expect to discover it no otherwise than by striking upon it, so that they were several hours under the serious apprehensions, that each succeeding moment would send them to the bottom; nor did these continued terrors of instantly striking and sinking cease till day-break, when in a transport of joy they perceived that the dreaded island was at a considerable distance, and that they had been preserved by a strong northern current.

The boisterous waves which had forced them from Tinian, did not abate till three days after, and while they continued on at sea, both the chaplain and every other officer were obliged to submit to the same bodily labour as the common sailors. The heaving-up of the sheet

sheet anchor, which they had hitherto dragged at their bows with two cables, cost them the severest application for twelve hours before they brought it in sight; when, it growing dark, their fatigue obliged them to desist till the next day, and then that arduous task was completed. They afterwards conquered some of the other difficulties they laboured under, and being enabled to make use of their canvas, stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, they being according to their own reckonings, but 47 leagues distant from it. But on the first of October, when they had run the distance necessary for making the island according to their own reckoning, and were in full expectation of seeing it, they were unhappily disappointed, and convinced that a current had driven them considerably to the westward. They were now in great perplexity from the apprehensions of wanting water, but the next day had a sight of the island of Guam, and thence computed that the current had driven them 40 leagues to the westward of their accounts. The sight of land let them know their situation, and therefore, plying to the eastward, they continued that course with excessive labour, and with a contrary wind till the 11th of October, which was the 10th day from their departure, when arriving in the offing of Tinian, they were reinforced from the shore, and to their inexpressible joy, on the evening of the same day, came to an anchor in the road.

The commodore on his going on board the Centurion, after her return from Tinian, resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to compleat his stock of water; and the long-boat being flaved, as has been already mentioned, they were obliged to make use of rafts, which, as the tide ran extremely strong, occasioned frequent delays, and more than once the loss of the whole raft; but this was not their only misfortune; for on the third day after the Centurion's return, a sudden gust of wind brought home the anchor, and drove her a second time to sea. However, the commodore and the principal

cipal officers were now on board ; but there were near seventy of the men on shore, who had been employed in filling water and procuring provisions. They had the two cutters with them ; but they being too many for the cutters to bring off at once, the commodore sent the eighteen oared barge to their assistance. The two cutters soon returned filled with men, but forty of the company remained behind, who were employed in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them to the landing-place. Yet as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join her, though the eighteen oared barge was left to convey them on board. The weather, however, being favourable, the Centurion within about five days returned again to an anchor at Tinian.

On the Centurion's arrival, it appeared that the Spanish bark had undergone a new change ; for the people on shore, despairing of her return, had resolved to restore the bark to her first state, and had made such progress, that they would soon have completed her.

The people at their second return to the island laboured with indefatigable industry in getting in their water ; and having by the 20th of October completed it to 50 ton, which was thought sufficient for their passage to Macao, the commodore sent the next day one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits as they pleased, for the use of themselves and their mess-mates at sea ; and they returning in the evening, fire was set to the bark and proa, the Centurion hoisted in her boats, got under sail, and steered towards the south end of the island of Formosa.

It cannot here be improper to interrupt the narration, with a description of that range of islands, generally called the Ladrones or Marian islands, which were discovered by Magellan in the year 1521, and from the account given of the two first he fell in with, it seems as if they were those of Saypan and Tinian ; for they are represented as extremely beautiful, and as lying in between fifteen and sixteen degrees of north latitude.

latitude. From the pleasing appearance of Tinian, the Spaniards have given it the name of Buenavista; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of fifteen degrees twenty-two minutes north, affords an agreeable prospect when seen at sea.

These islands are generally reckoned twelve in number; but if the small islets and rocks are counted, they will in all amount to above twenty. Formerly most of them were inhabited; but of the three principal islands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian, which sixty years ago are said to have been extremely populous, Tinian hath been intirely depopulated, and not above two or three hundred Indians left at Rota to cultivate rice for the island of Guam; so that at present the last mentioned island is the only one that can properly be said to be inhabited by the Spaniards; for there they keep a governor and a garrison, and there the Manila ship generally touches for refreshment, in her passage from Acapulco to the Philippines. That island is computed to be about 30 leagues in circumference, and contains 4000 inhabitants, 1000 of which are supposed to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agaña, which is the governor's usual residence. The houses are built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles, which is a very unusual method of building in these warm climates. This island has also thirteen or fourteen villages. As Guam is esteemed a place of consequence, on account of its affording refreshment to the Manila ship, there are two castles on the sea shore, which mount only five guns each, and a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the sea. The Spaniards have here three companies of foot of between forty and fifty men each; this is the principal strength on which the governor depends, for he is generally upon ill terms with the inhabitants, who are debarred the use of lances and fire-arms.

Though the rest of these islands are uninhabited, they afford plenty of all kinds of refreshment, but there is not a good harbour or road among them all;

and though the Manila ship is to stay twenty-four hours at Guam, it is not uncommon for her to be forced out to sea, and to leave her boat behind her.

The Indians of these islands are a strong, well limbed, and bold people, and from some of their practices, seem to be no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas, which for ages past, have been the only vessels they have employed, are a very singular and extraordinary invention, and are said to be capable of running with a brisk trade-wind near twenty miles in an hour. The head and stern of the proa are exactly alike, but her two sides are very different. That intended to be always the lee-side being flat, whilst the windward-side is built rounding in the manner of other vessels; but as her small breadth, and the straight run of her leeward side, would infallibly make her overset, a frame is laid out from her to windward to the end of which is fastened a hollow log, formed like a small boat. The weight of the frame is designed to ballance the proa, and the small boat, which is always in the water, to prevent her oversetting to windward. In short, the body of the proa is formed of two pieces joined end ways, and sewed together with bark; for no iron is used in her construction. She is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one. The proa generally carries six or seven Indians, two of whom are placed in the head and stern, who steer the vessel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman. The other Indians are employed either in baling out the water, which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail. These vessels sail most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, run from one of these islands to the other, and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about; and by their small breadth, and the flatness of their lee-side, are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known.

The

The Centurion departed from Tinian on the 21st of October, in the evening, when the eastern moonsoon being settled, she generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. On the third of November they saw an islet or rock, and about an hour after, the island called Botel Tobago Xima. Having doubled the southern extremity of Formosa, which is in the latitude of 21 deg. 15 min. north, they passed by the rocks Vele Rete; but at this instant, the people in the Centurion were alarmed by an out-cry of fire in the fore-castle; upon which the whole crew immediately flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that for some time the officers found it difficult to appease the uproar; but the people being at length reduced to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the bricks in the furnace being overheated, which had occasioned their communicating the fire to the adjacent wood-work, but by pulling down the brick-work it was easily extinguished. In the evening, they were surprized with the sight of what they at first took to be breakers, but on a stricter examination, they were found to be only a great number of fires on the island of Formosa, which they imagined were intended by the inhabitants as signals to invite them to touch there. But they were too impatient to reach the port of Macao to consent to this delay. At about midnight they got sight of the main land of China, at four leagues distance, upon which they brought the ship to, proposing to wait for the morning; but before sun-rise they were surprized to find themselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the face of the sea, as far as the eye could reach, most of them were manned with five hands, and none with less than three; and as they ran to the westward, they found them as numerous on every part of the coast. The commodore was at first in hopes of procuring a pilot from them, to conduct the ship to Macao; but the people on board could not make them understand their meaning. What appeared most surprizing, was the inat-

tention and want of curiosity observed in this head of fishermen, who had doubtless never seen any ship like the Centurion, and perhaps there was not one in all that fishery, who had ever beheld an European vessel: but though many of the boats came close to the ship, they did not in the least deviate from their course to regard it.

On the 5th of November at midnight, they first made the coast of China, and about two the next day, while they were steering to the westward within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded by fishing vessels in as great numbers as at first, they perceived that a boat a-head of them waved a red flag and blew a horn, which was considered by the people of the Centurion as a signal made to them, either to warn them of some shoal, or to inform them that they would supply them with a pilot. Mr. Anson therefore immediately sent out the cutter to the boat to know their intentions, when it was found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal was to order them all to leave off fishing, and to return on shore, which they instantly obeyed.

Being thus disappointed, they kept on their course, and the next day were a-breast of a chain of islands that stretch from east to west, called the islands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are fifteen or sixteen in number, besides many more between them and the main land of China. Being still surrounded by fishing boats, the commodore once more sent the cutter on board some of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, without effect. However, one of the Chinese directed them by signs to sail round the westernmost of the islands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up, which direction they followed, and in the evening they came to an anchor.

The next morning a Chinese pilot came on board the Centurion, and offered, in broken Portuguese, to carry the ship to Macao for thirty dollars. These were immediately paid him, and they then weighed and made sail, but soon after several other pilots came on board,



board, who endeavoured to recommend themselves by producing certificates from many European ships they had piloted in; but they still continued under the management of the Chinese whom they had first engaged. They now passed by a number of other islands; but the tides frequently setting strongly against them, they were often obliged to come to an anchor, and on the 12th of November anchored in Macao road, and once more arrived at an amicable port, where they expected the satisfaction of receiving letters from their relations and friends, and where their countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be able to answer the numerous inquiries they were prepared to make.

The city of Macao is situated in an island at the entrance of the river of Canton, and was formerly rich, populous, and able to defend itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese governors; but is at present so reduced, that the governor, who is nominated by the king of Portugal, subsists merely by the courtesy of the Chinese, who can starve the place, and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please, which obliges the governor carefully to avoid giving them offence. The river of Canton, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chinese port, to which European ships resort, and is a far more commodious harbour than Macao. But the commodore's apprehensions, that if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, he would embroil the East-India company with the regency of Canton, made him chuse rather to go to Macao, than to enter the port of Canton.

Mr. Anson no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he dispatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese governor, to desire his excellency's advice, in what manner it would be proper for him to act, to avoid giving offence to the Chinese, which was a matter worthy of attention, as there were then four of our East-India ships in their power at Canton; particularly with respect to the duty usually

paid by ships in that river, according to their tonnage; for as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from paying any manner of port charges, Mr. Anson thought it would derogate from the honour of his country to submit to this duty. In the evening the boat returned with two officers sent by the governor, who told Mr. Anson, it was the governor's opinion, that if the *Centurion* entered the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected, and therefore, if he approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct her into another safe harbour in the *Typa*, where the ship might be careened, and where the above-mentioned duty would probably never be demanded. To this proposal the commodore agreed, and the next morning steered under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, and after some difficulties, on account of the shallowness of the water, entered the harbour, which is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao. He here saluted the castle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

As Mr. Anson wanted both a supply of provisions, and of naval stores for refitting the ship, he the next day paid a visit in person to the governor, and at his landing, was saluted by eleven guns, which were returned by the *Centurion*. But though the governor seemed inclined to do him all the service in his power, and told him, that he would do this privately, yet he frankly owned, that he could not furnish him with what he demanded, without an order from the viceroy of Canton, since all the provisions and other necessaries he received for himself and his garrison, were by permission of the Chinese government, who took care to victual him only from day to day, and were always able to oblige him to submit to their terms, by laying an embargo on his provisions.

Upon this declaration, Mr. Anson resolved to go to Canton, to seek redress from the viceroy, and for that purpose hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just when he was ready to embark, the

Hoppo,

Hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer of Macao, refused to grant a permit, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril; and though the governor of Macao joined his interest to persuade him, the Hoppo continued inflexible. The next day Mr. Anson told him, that if the permit was any longer refused, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats, and asked the Hoppo, who he imagined would dare to oppose their passage? Upon this threat the permit was granted, and Mr. Anson arriving at Canton, consulted the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the necessaries he wanted; upon which they referred him to some Chinese merchants, who having cajoled him from day to day, by promising to lay the state of his affairs before the viceroy, and obtaining for him whatever he desired, after reiterated excuses, and a month's delay, threw off the mask, and being closely pressed, declared, that they neither had, nor could make application to the viceroy, as he was too great a man for them to approach on any occasion. The commodore now perceived, when too late, that he had been wrong in consulting so much the interest of the East-India company, and therefore, after his return to the Centurion, wrote a letter to the viceroy, to inform him, that he was commander in chief of a squadron of British ships of war, which had been cruising for years past against the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his master, and that he was obliged to enter the port of Macao to stop a considerable leak in his ship, and to supply himself with provisions and necessaries, in order to pursue his voyage.

The letter being translated into the Chinese language, the commodore delivered it himself to the Hoppo, or chief officer of the customs at Macao, and desired him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could; but that officer seeming unwilling to take charge of it, the commodore took it again, and told him, that he would immedi-

ately send it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer positive orders, not to return without an answer from the viceroy. The Hoppo now perceiving that the commodore was in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be entrusted with it, and promised to procure an answer as soon as possible. Two days after, in the morning, a mandarin of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janson, together with two mandarines of an inferior class, and a considerable retinue of officers and servants, came in eighteen half galleys, decorated with a great number of streamers, and attended with a band of music. The Centurion's boat was immediately dispatched to bring the principal mandarin on board; and one hundred of the most likely people of the crew were uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, and drawn up under arms on the main deck against his arrival. On his entering the ship, he was saluted by the drums and trumpets, and passing by the new formed guard, was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck; who conducted him to the great cabin. The mandarin there explained his commission, and told the commodore, that he had brought with him two Chinese carpenters, to examine the state of the ship; and the necessary inspection being made, they declared, that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted. Upon which the mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. This mandarin appeared to be a person of considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty than is generally to be found among the Chinese. He was also very curious and inquisitive, viewed every part of the ship with extraordinary attention, and appeared greatly surprized at the largeness of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore observing his astonishment, seized this opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting all his demands in the most ample and speedy manner. He therefore

therefore complained of the proceedings of the officers of the custom-house of Macao, who had prevented his being supplied with fresh provisions, and then telling the mandarins, that as they had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of his force, they must be satisfied that his desire of having the government's permission to purchase what he wanted, was not because he had no power to supply himself, since he presumed, they were convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or any other port in China. That this, it was true, was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other; but it was also true, that it was not customary for any nation to suffer the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends only desired liberty to lay out their money. That they must confess, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve; but as his distresses were every day increasing, famine would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity in all countries was acknowledged to be superior to every other law. That therefore, if by the delay of supplying him with provisions, his men should, from the impulse of hunger, be obliged to turn cannibals, and to prey upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen, that independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well fed Chinese, to their own emaciated shipmates. The first mandarin acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and promised on his arrival at Canton, to call a council of mandarins, and said, that he did not doubt but on the representation he should make on what he had seen, they would all be of the same opinion as himself, and that every thing he demanded would be speedily granted. That with regard to the complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he would rectify it immediately by his own authority; and then desiring a list to be given him of the provisions necessary for the ship for one day, wrote a permit

mit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, with orders to see that quantity sent on board every morning early, and this order was punctually complied with.

This affair being regulated, the commodore invited him and the two other mandarins to dinner, but they were much embarrassed with their knives and forks. After some fruitless attempts to make use of them, in which they appeared extremely awkward, one of the attendants cut their meat for them in small pieces; however, notwithstanding the difficulty they found in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed to be no novices at drinking. The commodore excused himself, under the pretence of illness, but there being another gentleman present, of a florid complexion, the mandarin clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that he was sure he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had dispatched four or five bottles of Frontinac, the mandarin was still unruffled, ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought, which the Chinese seemed much to relish, and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance, cool and undisturbed, and Mr. Anson having according to custom, made the mandarin a present, they all departed in the same vessels in which they came.

Mr. Anson waited with great impatience for the resolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to re-fit the ship; but notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the mandarin governor, several days elapsed before he had any advice from him, and Mr. Anson was privately informed, that there were great debates in council upon this affair. However, on the sixth of January, the mandarin, who was the commodore's advocate, sent the viceroy of Canton's warrant for re-fitting the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and having now the necessary licences, a number of Chinese carpenters and smiths went on board the next day, to

treat

treat about the work they were to perform. They at first asked the value of 1000 l. sterling for repairing the ship, the masts and boats; which the commodore thinking unreasonable, strove to persuade them to work by the day; but this they would not hearken to; but it was at last agreed, that the carpenters should receive the value of about 600 l. for their work, and that the smiths should be paid for their iron work by weight, at the rate of near 3 l. per hundred, for the small work, and 2 l. 6 s. for the large.

The commodore now exerted himself in order to get this important work completed, and dispatched his first lieutenant to Canton to hire two junks, one of which was intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the ammunition: at the same time the ground was levelled on one of the neighbouring islands; a large tent pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near 100 Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship; but though they worked very well, they were far from being expeditious. However, on the 3d of March, the paying and sheathing the bottom was completed, to their great joy, since not only the fatigue of careening had been considerable, but the crew had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards, while the ship was thus incapable of defence. Indeed their fears were not groundless, for they were afterwards informed by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards at Manila had learned that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there, upon which the governor had summoned his council, and made a proposal to burn her while she was careening, which, if properly conducted, might have been accomplished. It was also reported that the scheme was approved, and that the captain of a vessel had actually undertaken it for 40,000 dollars, which he was not to receive unless he succeeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, insisted that the money should be advanced by the merchants, and they refusing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped.

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The Centurion was no sooner righted, than the crew took on board her powder and ammunition, and set about repairing the fore-mast; but while they were thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of March, by a Chinese fisherman, who pretended, that he had been on board a large Spanish ship off the Grand Ladron, and that there were two more in company; and added, that he had brought one of their officers to Macao, and that boats went off early in the morning from Macao to him. The better to gain credit to this story, he desired no money if his information should not prove true. It was presently believed that this person was come with a view of burning the ship. Upon which the commodore immediately prepared his cannon and fire-arms for her defence; and his pinnace and cutter being now in the offing, he let them know the advice he had received, and ordered them to keep a strict look out; but no Spanish ship ever appeared, and the commodore was soon convinced that the whole story was a fiction.

In the beginning of April, the ship was new rigged, her provisions and water were stowed on board, and she fitted for the sea, before which time the Chinese had been very uneasy at her stay. At length two mandarin boats came on board from Macao, to press the commodore to leave their port, and this having been often urged before, though there had been no reason to suspect Mr. Anson of delay, he, at this last message, desired them to give him no farther trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and no sooner. Upon this they prohibited all provisions being carried on board, and took such care to enforce this order, that nothing could be purchased at any price whatsoever. The Centurion however weighed from the Typa on the 6th of April, and having got into Macao road, completed her water as she passed along, and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she weighed and stood to sea.

It ought to be observed, that soon after their first arrival at Macao, captain Saunders being charged with dispatches from the commodore, took his passage to  
Eng.



England on board a Swedish ship, and that several other officers had obtained the commodore's leave to return home, and had embarked on board some of the East-India company's ships.

The commodore before his departure had entered twenty-three men, most of whom were Lascars or Indian sailors, and the rest Dutch. While he was at Macao, he gave out that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England, and though the westerly monsoon was set in, and rendered that passage in a manner impracticable, yet he expressed such confidence in the strength of his ship, and the skill of his men, that he raised a belief, not only among his own crew, but among the people at Macao, that he intended to try that unusual experiment. But his real design was to return to the Pacific Ocean, and to cruize off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, for the Manila ships, for he supposed that there would that year be two, on account of his having prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding year. Therefore being clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution; told them that he would chuse a station where he could not fail of meeting with the two Manila ships, and notwithstanding their being stout vessels and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their usual spirit, he was sure that he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least would not fail of becoming his prize. The men received the commodore's speech with great joy, expressed their approbation by their hearty cheers, and declared their resolution to succeed or perish whenever the opportunity offered. Their hopes, which on their departure from the coast of Mexico had entirely subsided, were again revived, and they were all firmly persuaded, that they should take the galleons, and return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy.

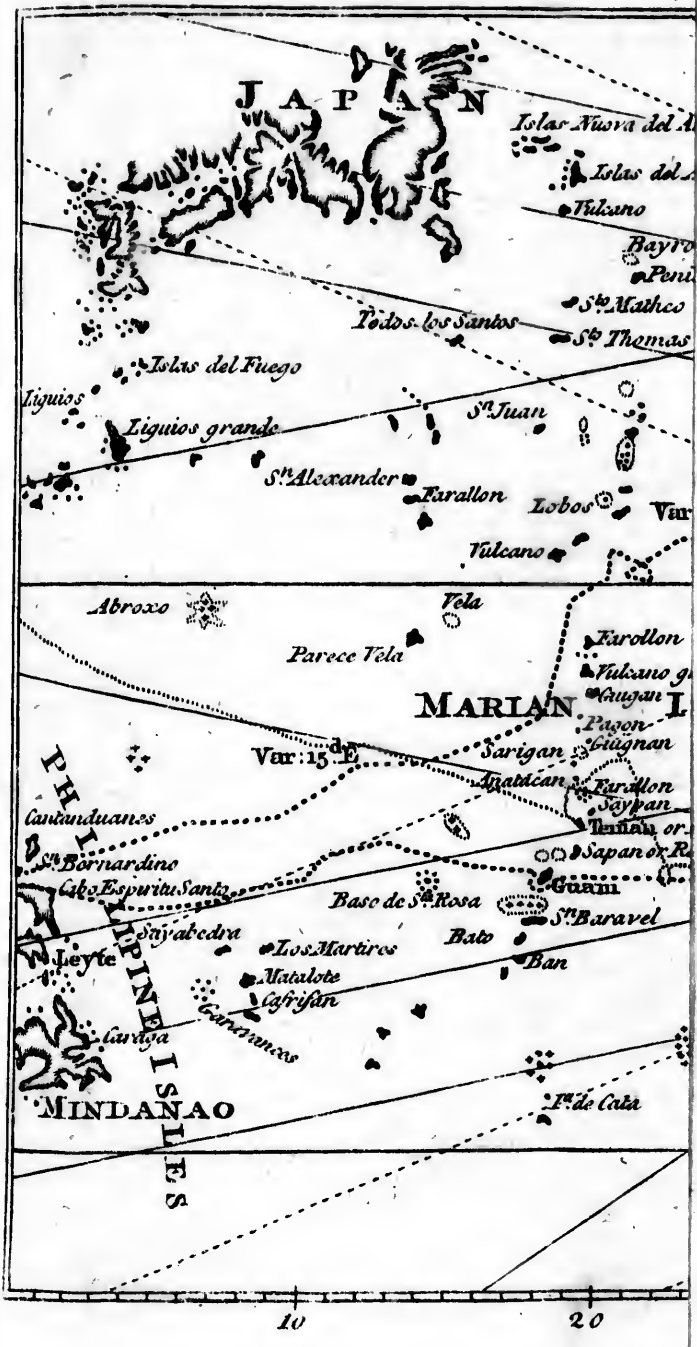
On the first of May they saw part of the island of Formosa, and on the fourth discovered the Bashee islands, which have hitherto been laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the eastward; for, by their observations,

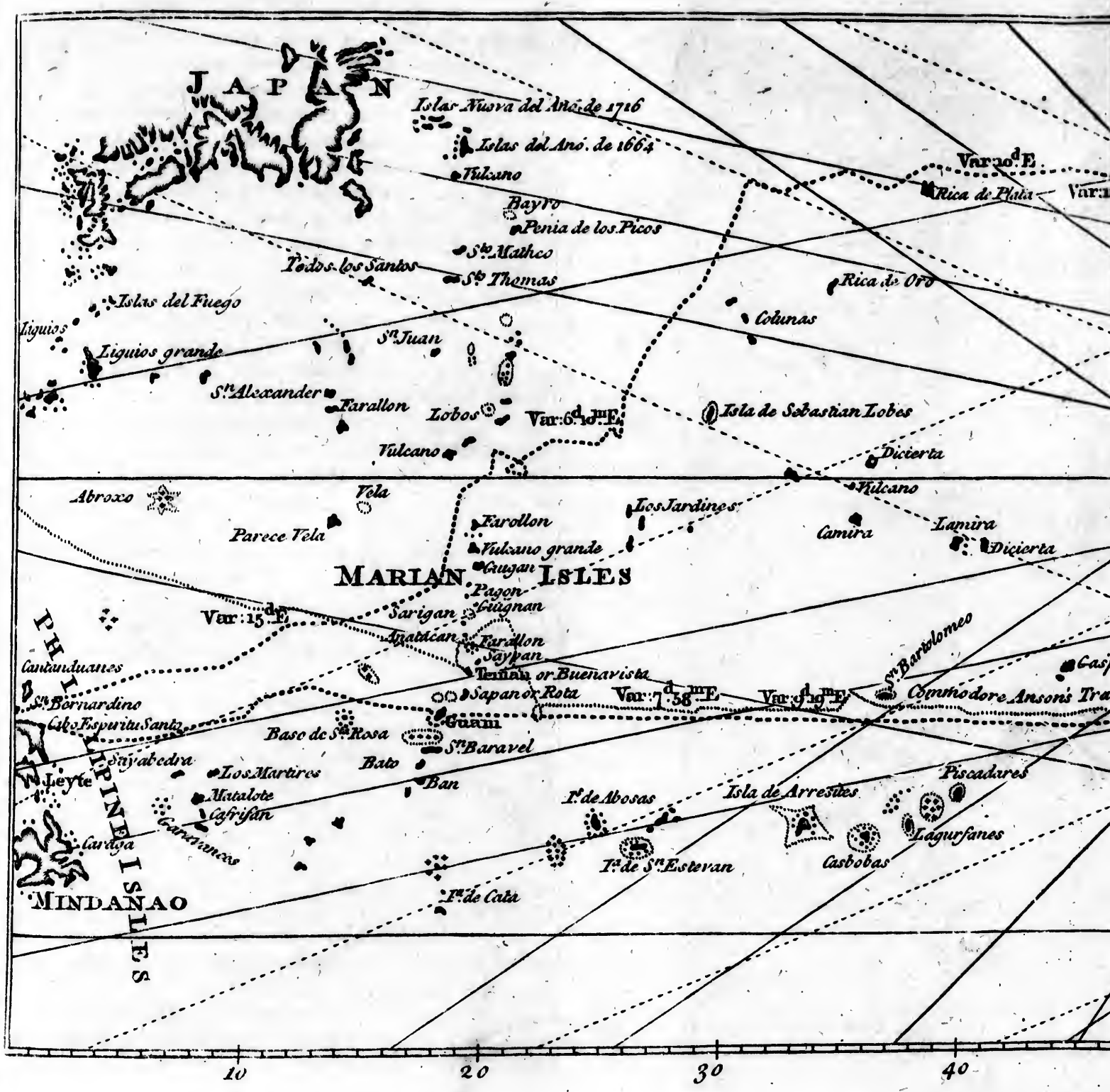
servations, they found the middle of these islands to be in 21 deg. 4 min. north latitude.

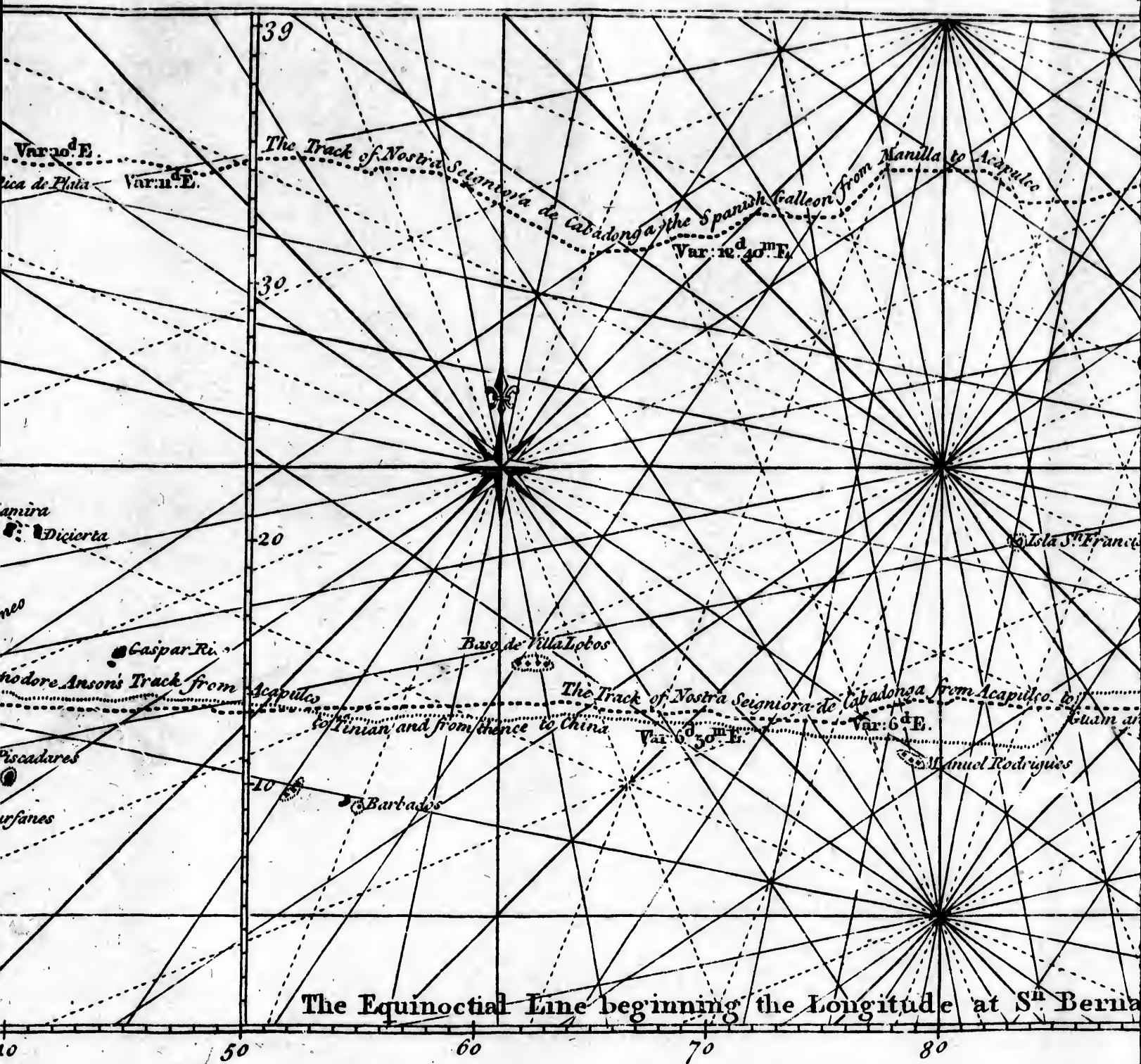
On the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered Cape Espiritu Santo, which appeared of a moderate height, with several round hummocs upon it. But as they knew that there were centinels placed upon this cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when the first falls in with the land, the commodore, when at eleven leagues distance, tacked, ordered the top-galant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered, resolving to cruize for the galleons, between the latitude of 12 deg. 50 min. and 13 deg. 5 min. the cape itself, according to their observations, lying in 12 deg. 40 min. north latitude. As there was now but small employment for the crew, they were ordered by the commodore to be exercised almost every day, in working the great guns, and in the use of their small arms, which had, more or less, been his practice at every convenient opportunity, during the whole voyage. They were, indeed, taught no more of the manual exercise, than the shortest way of loading with cartridges, but were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was generally hung at the yard-arm, and as some little reward was given to the most expert, the whole crew were become extremely skilful; for besides an uncommon readines in loading, they were all of them good marksmen.

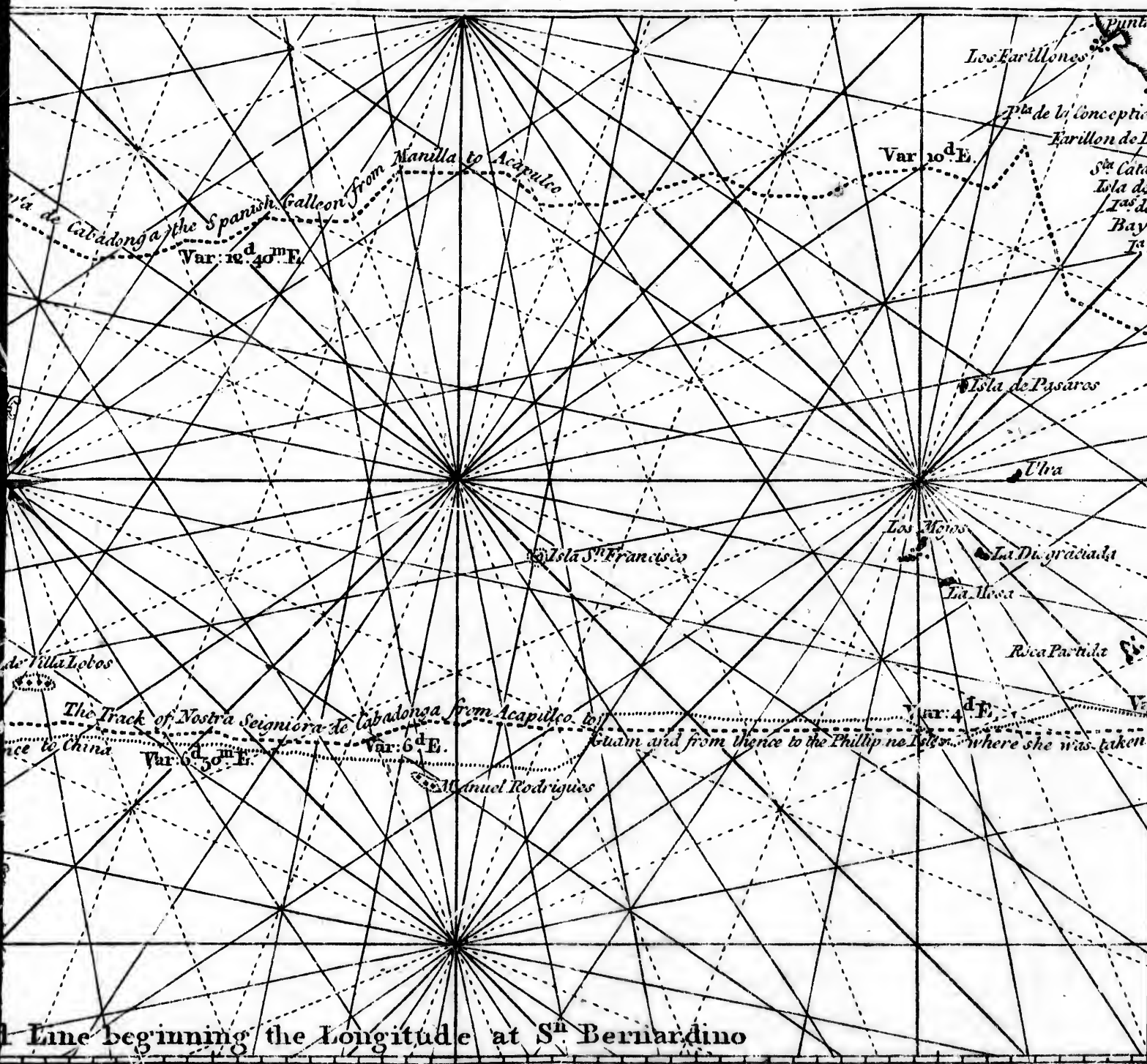
The Centurion having arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo, and the galleons being expected, the commodore made all the necessary preparations for receiving them, and was at the same time solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape as not to be discovered. But it has since appeared, that in spite of all his care, he was seen from the land, and advice of this was sent to Manila, where it was at first disbelieved, but upon repeated intelligence of his being again seen, the merchants were alarmed, and application being made to the governor, he undertook to fit out a force, consisting of two ships of 32 guns, one of 20, and two sloops of 10 guns each, to attack the Centurion in her station, the merchants being to supply the necessary fums. Some  
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*Manilla to Acapulco*  
 Var: 10<sup>d</sup> E.

*the Spanish Galeon from Manilla to Acapulco*  
 Var: 12<sup>d</sup> 40<sup>m</sup> E.

*the Track of Nostra Señora de Cabadonga from Acapulco to*  
*Guam and from Vience to the Phillipine Is. where she was taken*  
 Var: 6<sup>d</sup> 50<sup>m</sup> E.

*Manuel Rodrigues*

*Var: 4<sup>d</sup> E.*

*Var: 6<sup>d</sup> E.*

*Var: 10<sup>d</sup> E.*

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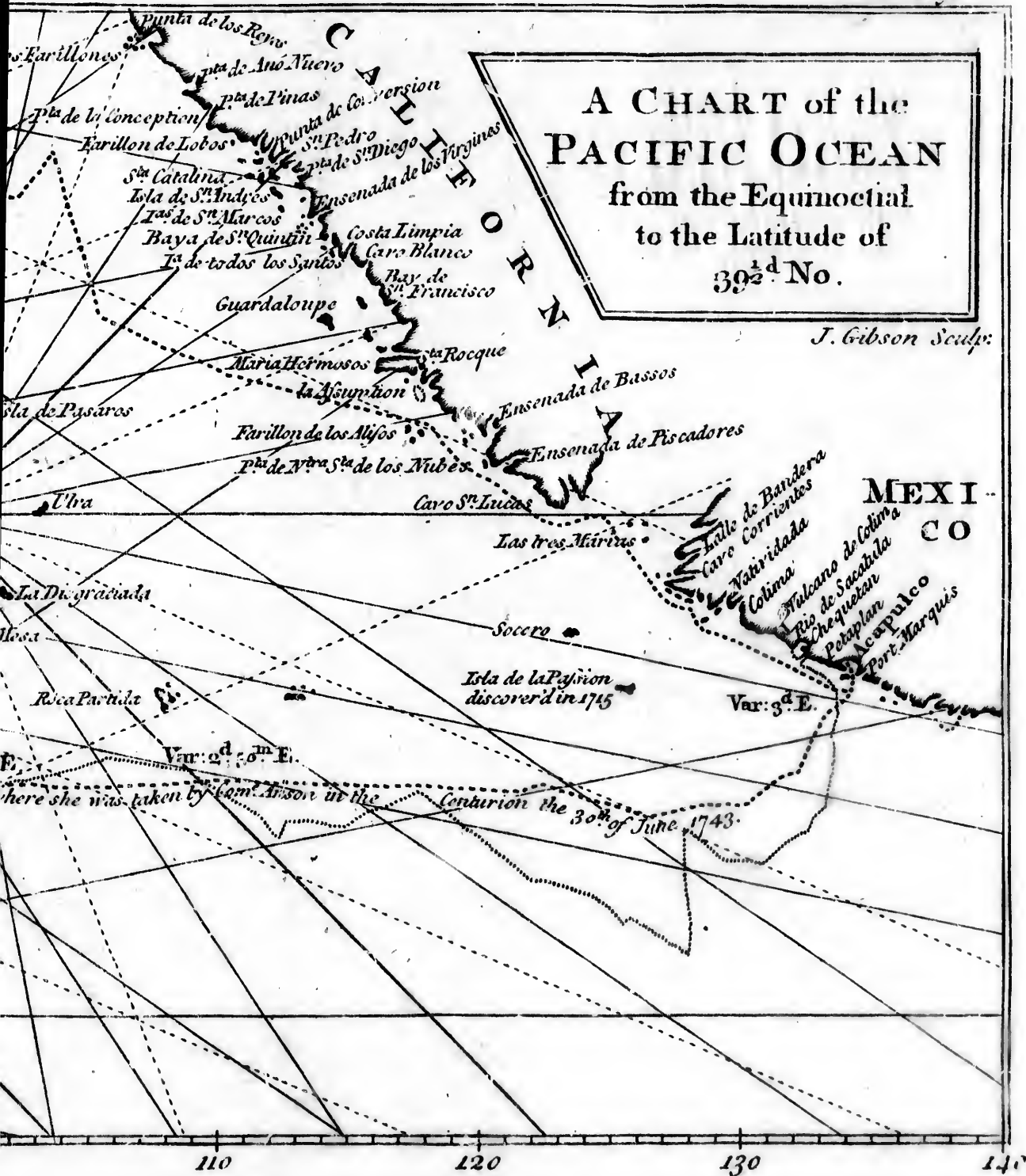
*Isla de la Graciada*

*Isla de los Lobos*

*Roca Partida*

# A CHART of the PACIFIC OCEAN from the Equinoctial to the Latitude of 39<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>d</sup> No.

J. Gibson Sculp.



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of these vessels actually weighed, but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the governor and the merchants disagreed, which occasioned the enterprize to be laid aside.

The impatience of the commodore's people daily increased, in proportion as the month of June advanced. But at length the last day of June new stile arrived, when the certainty of their seeing these vessels dwindled down to a mere possibility. But the next day they were relieved from their uncertainty; for at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head. A general joy instantly spread through the whole ship, for they did not at all doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to descry the other. The commodore immediately stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven, she was visible from the Centurion's deck, at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort to hasten up, and therefore the Centurion to amuse her, fired a gun to leeward. During all this time the galleon did not change her course, but to the commodore's surprize, bore down upon him; for he could hardly believe, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought to on her top-sails, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the main-top-gallant-mast head. Mean while Mr. Anson picked out about thirty of the best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and as he had not hands enough left to quarter a sufficient number in the customary manner to each gun, he on his lower tire fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, while the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were to be continually moving about the decks, to run and fire such guns as were loaded, by which management he was able to make use of all his

his guns, and instead of whole broad-sides with intervals between them, to keep up a constant fire without intermission, from which he hoped to procure great advantages: for it is usual with the Spaniards, when they see a broad-side preparing, to fall down upon the decks, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and thinking the danger to be for some time over, fire with great briskness till another broad-side is ready; and therefore firing gun by gun rendered this impossible. The Centurion now approached the galleon apace, but several squalls of wind and rain often obscured her from their sight. However, when it cleared up, they perceived her resolutely lying to. About one o'clock the Centurion being within gun-shot of the enemy, hoisted her broad pendant and colours, and the commodore perceiving that the Spaniards had till then neglected clearing their ship, and were throwing their cattle and lumber overboard, he gave orders to fire upon them with their chace guns to disturb them in their work, and prevent their compleating it, though he had before given general directions not to engage before they were within pistol-shot. The galleon instantly returned the fire with two of her stern chace; and the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary, she might be ready for boarding; the Spaniards in a bravado, also rigged their sprit-sail fore and aft. The Centurion soon after came a-breast of the enemy within pistol-shot, when the engagement began in earnest, and for the first half hour Mr. Anson over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, where, from the wideness of his ports, he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, while the galleon's could bring only a part of her's to bear. At the beginning of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed their netting, took fire, and burning violently, blazed up near half as high as the mizen-top. This accident, which was supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads, filled the enemy with the utmost terror, and also alarmed the commodore,

modore, who was in pain, from the apprehension of the galleon's being burned, and from the possibility of his suffering by her driving on board him. The Spaniards however, at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole heap which was in flames into the sea. Mean while the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her guns with great briskness and regularity, while the galleon's decks lay open to their topmen, 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 appeared on the quarter-deck, and in particular the general of the galleon himself. But when the Centurion had continued in this advantageous situation about half an hour, she lost the superiority she had gained by it, and was close along-side of the galleon, who continued firing briskly for near one hour longer; yet in this posture, the commodore's grape-shot so effectually swept their decks, and the number of their slain and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, and the ships were so near, that the Spanish officers were seen running about with much assiduity to prevent the men from deserting their quarters. But their endeavours were vain, for after they had, as a last effort, fired five or six guns, with more judgment than usual, they submitted; and as the galleon's colours were in the beginning of the action singed off the ensign staff, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head.

This valuable prize, which amounted to near a million and a half of dollars, was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguesse, who was an officer distinguished by his skill and courage. The galleon was considerably larger than the Centurion, and had 550 men, and 36 guns mounted for action, besides 28 pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She had 67  
men

men killed in the action, and 84 wounded, while the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and 16 wounded, all of whom recovered, except one. It is impossible to describe the transport on board, when after numerous disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But this sudden joy was on the point of being as suddenly damped by a most dreadful accident, for the galleon had no sooner struck, than one of the lieutenants coming to congratulate the commodore on his prize, whispered him, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. Mr. Anson received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing the fire, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. Some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, and the blast had communicated its flame to a quantity of oakum in the after-hatchway, near the powder-room, where the smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and dreadful conflagration, and even the hopes of avoiding its fury, by escaping on board the prize had vanished; for, at the same instant, the galleon fell on the starboard quarter of the Centurion; though she was happily cleared, without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

Before night Mr. Saumarez, the commodore's first lieutenant, sent all the Spanish prisoners on board the Centurion, except such as were thought most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galleon, when Mr. Anson learned from some of the prisoners, that the other Manila ship, which he had the year before kept in the harbour of Acapulco, had set sail much earlier than usual, and had probably reached the port of Manila some time before the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo, so that notwithstanding Mr. Anson's present success, he had reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which had prevented his taking both these rich prizes.

The

The commodore ordered the treasure to be immediately removed into the Centurion, and was under much concern about securing the prisoners, their numbers amounting to double the number of his own men, which being done, the commodore resolved to return to the river of Canton, and on the 11th of July came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

The particulars of the cargo of the galleon were by this time ascertained, and she was found to have on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities; whence it appears that the whole treasure taken from the Spaniards by the Centurion, was not much short of 400,000*l.* independent of the ships and merchandize which she had either burned or destroyed, which amounted to 600,000*l.* more, so that the whole damage done the enemy by Mr. Anson's squadron exceeded a million sterling, besides the great expence of the court of Spain of fitting out Pizarro, and the loss of the men of war employed in that expedition.

On the 14th of July the Centurion cast anchor short of Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage that forms the mouth of that river, and proposed to run through it the next day as far as Tiger island, where there is a very safe road; but while the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat was sent by the mandarin, who commands the fort at Bocca Tigris, to enquire what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson told the officer, that his own ship was a man of war belonging to the king of Great-Britain, and the other a prize he had taken. That he was going into Canton river to shelter himself against the approaching hurricanes, and that he should sail to England as soon as the monsoon shifted. The officer then desired an account of his force, which he was to send to the governor of Canton; but being told that there were in the Centurion between three and four hundred barrels of powder, and four hundred firelocks, he thrugged up his shoulders, and appeared terrified at

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the bare recital, saying, That no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner, and seemed amazed at Mr. Anson's expecting to be exempted from all the duties paid to the emperor by the ships that enter his ports, and it is supposed that he gave private directions to the Chinese pilot not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris.

The narrow passage called the Bocca Tigris, is little more than musket-shot over, and formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort: that on the starboard side being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embrasures, but no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, which seemed to be four or six pounders. The fort on the larboard side is a large castle, situated on an high rock, and did not seem to exceed six pounders. These defences the Chinese had imagined sufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing his way through, but would have been incapable of giving any obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage. However, the pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship, without leave from the forts; but it being necessary to get through without delay, for fear of the bad weather, which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, and threatened him, that if the ship run a-ground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. Upon which the pilot, terrified by these threats, carried the ship safely through, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. The poor pilot, however, did not escape the resentment of his countrymen, for on his going on shore, he was sent to prison, and rigorously disciplined with a bamboa. He however afterwards went to Mr. Anson, to desire some reward for the the chastisement he had suffered, of which he bore very evident marks, when Mr. Anson pitying his sufferings, gave him an handsome recompence. The mandarin who commanded the forts, was instantly turned out of his place, and carried to Canton, where it was expected that he would be severely

verely punished for suffering the ships to pass by.

On the 16th of July, Mr. Anson sent his second lieutenant to Canton with a letter to the viceroy, to inform him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port, and that the commodore proposed to pay his excellency a visit. The lieutenant had a very civil reception, and was promised that the next day an answer should be sent to the commodore. Mean while, Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galleon to go to Canton, on a promise of their returning in two days. When these prisoners got thither, they were sent for and examined by the regency, upon which they had the honesty to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and Spain were at war, they had proposed to take the Centurion, and with that view had bore down upon her; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And being afterwards questioned as to their usage on board, they frankly acknowledged, that the commodore had treated them much better than they believed they should have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who had hitherto considered Mr. Anson rather as a lawless freebooter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries. But now changing their opinion, they considered him as a very important person. In the examination there were two circumstances, which, in the opinion of the Chinese, appeared extremely singular; the mandarins therefore asked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force, and how it appeared, since the two nations were at war, they were not put to death when they fell into the hands of the English? To the first of these questions, the Spaniards answered, that though they had more men than the Centurion, yet she being solely intended for war, was greatly superior in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, to the galleon, which was a vessel fitted out principally for trade; and as to the second en-

quiry, they observed, that amongst the nations of Europe, it was not customary to put those to death who submitted; though they readily acknowledged, that the commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and those of his countrymen, who had been formerly in his power, with unusual courtesy, much beyond what was expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war. With these replies the Chinese were satisfied, and from them entertained very favourable sentiments of the commodore.

In the morning of the 20th of July, three mandarins, with a vast retinue in a great number of boats, came on board the *Centurion*, and delivered to the commodore an order from the viceroy of Canton, for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to convey the ships up the river as far as the second bar. They also delivered him a message from the viceroy, in answer to his letter; in which he desired to be excused from receiving the commodore's visit, during the excessive heat of the weather, but that he should be glad to see him in September.

The mandarins having delivered their message, began to talk to the commodore on the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately let them know, he would never submit to any demand of that kind, and that as he did not come to trade with them, he could not be deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders; and added, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war by nations accustomed to receive them; and that he was expressly forbid, in the orders he had received from his master, to pay any acknowledgment for his ship's anchoring in any port whatever.

The mandarins then observed, that they had another affair to mention, and solicited him to release the prisoners he had on board the galleon, observing, that the viceroy of Canton apprehended, that the emperor his master would be displeas'd, if he should be inform'd, that persons who were his allies, and  
carried



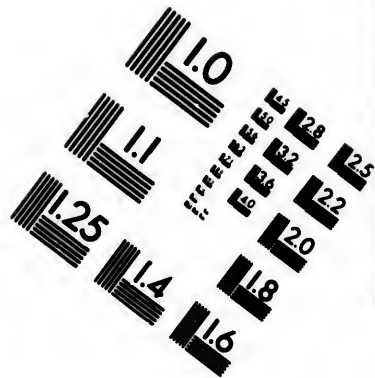
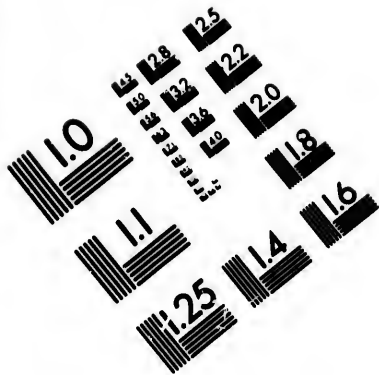
carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. But though Mr. Anson was extremely desirous of getting rid of the Spaniards, he at first, to enhance the favour, raised some difficulties, but at last suffering himself to be prevailed on, he told the mandarins, that, to shew his readiness to oblige the viceroy, he would release the prisoners whenever they would order boats to fetch them off. This affair being thus adjusted, the mandarins departed. A few days after, two Chinese junks were sent for them, when the commodore dismissed them all, and as they were to be carried to Macao, allowed them eight days provisions for their subsistence while they fell down the river.

Though the commodore found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for the daily consumption of his men, yet he was under much perplexity about laying in such a large quantity, both of provisions and naval stores, as would be necessary to carry him to England. There were indeed people at Canton, who had engaged to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted; but after being assured from day to day that all was ready, and would be immediately sent on board, he had the vexation to be informed, that no order had been procured from the viceroy to furnish him with naval stores; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any of the articles which had been promised him in readiness.

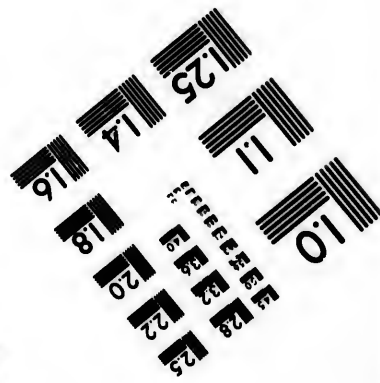
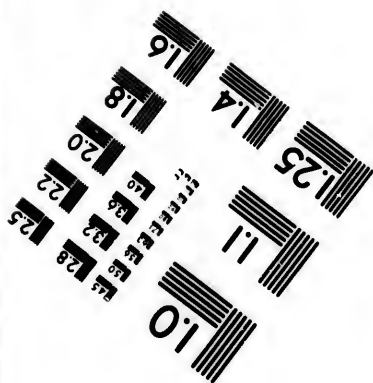
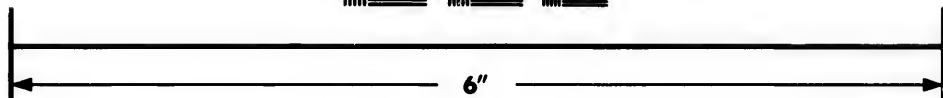
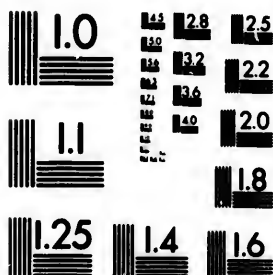
It is, perhaps, impossible to account for the insincerity of the Chinese in this particular. However, Mr. Anson found by experience, that in artifice, falsehood, and avarice, many of the Chinese are scarcely to be paralleled by any other people upon earth, which will be sufficiently evident, from the following shameful instances of the fraudulent and selfish turn of temper peculiar to that nation.

While the commodore first lay at Macao, one of his officers who had just recovered from a fit of illness, desired leave to take a walk every day upon a neighbouring island, which he imagined would great-





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ly contribute to the recovery of his strength. Though the commodore would have persuaded him from it, yet the importunity of the officer prevailed, and the boat was ordered to carry him thither; but the second day of his taking this exercise, he was assaulted by a number of Chinese, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, who struck him with the handles of their hoes, till they had laid him on the ground incapable of resistance, and then robbed him of his sword, his money, watch, gold-headed cane, hat, snuff-box, sleeve-buttons, and several other trinkets. Mean while, the boat's crew being without arms at a small distance, one of them flew on the fellow who had the sword, and wrestling it out of his hands, drew it, and was preparing to run some of the Chinese through the body; the officer immediately ordered him to desist, thinking it more prudent to submit, than to involve his commander in a quarrel with the Chinese governor; which was the more admired, as this gentleman was known to have an uncommon spirit, and to be of an hasty temper. By this means the Chinese recovered the sword, and carried off their whole booty unmolested. No sooner were they gone, than a Chinese, who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, rode an horseback to the sea-side, and by his signs seemed to commiserate the officer; but though he was wonderfully officious in getting him into the boat, he was shrewdly suspected of being an accomplice in the robbery.

The officer at his return reported what had passed to Mr. Anson, and he immediately complained of it to a mandarin who attended to see the ship supplied with provisions. The mandarin found fault with the boat's going on shore, but promised, that if the robbers could be found, they should be punished; it however plainly appeared, that he would give himself no trouble about them. A considerable time afterwards, one of the principal thieves was seen in a provision-boat along-side the ship, and orders being immediately given to seize him, he was taken on board. The  
robber

robber on his being first apprehended, expressed such fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the spot, and the commodore declaring to the mandarin who attended the ship, that he would not deliver up the robber, but would himself order him to be shot; the mandarin instantly put off the magisterial air, with which he had at first demanded him, and begged his release in the most abject terms; when the commodore appearing inflexible, in less than two hours there came on board five or six of the neighbouring mandarins, who joined in the same intreaties, and offered a large sum of money for the fellow's liberty. While they were thus soliciting, it was discovered, that the most assiduous mandarin was the very gentleman who rode up to the officer after the robbery, and who pretended to be so highly displeased with the villainy of his countrymen. It was also found on further inquiry, that he was the mandarin of the island, and had, by the authority of his office, ordered the peasants to commit that act of violence. Hence arose his extraordinary vigilance, and from some casual hints it appeared, that he and his brethren, every one of whom had been privy to the action, were terrified with the apprehension of being called before the tribunal of Canton, where they would be immediately stripped of all they were worth. Mr. Anson entertained himself for some time with their perplexity, rejected their money with scorn, appeared inexorable to their prayers, and gave out that the thief should be shot; but at last suffered himself to be persuaded, and as a favour released his prisoner, though not till the mandarin had collected and returned all that had been taken from the officer, even to the minutest trifle.

But the avarice of the Chinese, notwithstanding the good intelligence which subsists between the magistrates and criminals, frequently prompts them to defraud the persons by whom they are protected of the share of the pillage. A short time after the above transaction, the mandarin attendant on the ship being relieved by

another, the commodore lost a top-mast from his stern, which he had borrowed at Macao, and being extremely desirous to recover it, offered a considerable reward to any who would bring it again. Soon after he was informed by the mandarin, that some of his attendants had found it, and desired the commodore to send his boats for it, which being done, the mandarin's people received the reward. But besides this, the commodore had told the mandarin, that he would make him a present for his care in directing it to be searched for, and accordingly gave his linguist some money, with orders to deliver it to the mandarin; but the linguist being ignorant that a future present had been promised kept the money himself. However, the mandarin confiding in Mr. Anson's promise, took occasion one morning to admire the size of the Centurion's masts, and from thence made a digression to the top-mast, which had been lost, and asked Mr. Anson, if he had not got it again. Mr. Anson soon perceived what he aimed at, and inquired, if he had not received the money from the linguist, and finding he had not, offered to pay him immediately; but this the mandarin refused, having some more important affair in view. For the next day the linguist being seized, was fined all he had got in the commodore's service, which was supposed to be little less than 2000 dollars, and was besides so severely bastinadoed, that it was a wonder he escaped with his life. But when the commodore, to whom he afterwards came a begging, upbraided him with his folly in risking the severe chastisement, and the loss of all he was worth, for the sake of fifty dollars, of which he had defrauded the mandarin, he had no other excuse to make, but crying in his broken jargon, "Chinese man very great rogue truly; but have fashion no can help."

There would be no end of recounting all the frauds, extortions, and artifices practised by these selfish people on the commodore. As the method of buying provisions in China is by weight, they used the most incredible methods to augment the weight of what they

they sold to Mr. Anson. Thus a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ship's store, the greatest part of them presently died, which alarmed all on board from the apprehension of their being poisoned; but on examination it was found to be owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight; the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks amounting to ten ounces in each. The hogs bought ready killed, had water injected into them for the same purpose, so that a carcase, hung up all night for the water to drain out of it, lost above a stone of its weight. To avoid this cheat, the commodore bought the hogs alive, when it was discovered, that the Chinese gave them salt to increase their thirst, and having made them drink great quantities of water, took measures to prevent their discharging it. As the Chinese never scruple eating any food that dies of itself, they practised another artifice; when the commodore first put to sea from Macao, they by some secret practices contrived that great part of his live store should die in a short time after it was put on board, and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, she was followed by many of the Chinese boats, with no other view but to pick up the carcasses.

Towards the end of September, the commodore finding that he was deceived by those who had contracted to supply him with sea provisions; and that the viceroy had not, according to his promise, invited him to an interview, found it impossible to surmount the difficulty he was under, without going to Canton and visiting the viceroy. He therefore prepared for this expedition: the boat's crew were clothed, in an uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames. They were in number eighteen, and acoxswain; they had scarlet jackets, and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, and had also silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, that the customary duties would be demanded by the regency of Canton for the



Centurion and her prize, and would be insisted on previous to their granting a permission to victual the ship; the commodore who had resolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, appointed Mr. Brett to be captain of the Centurion under him, directing him, in case he should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to destroy the Centurion's prize, and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, and to remain without that entrance, till he received farther orders. On the 13th of October the commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the Centurion to accompany him to Canton, for which city he the same day set out in his barge, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships which 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 the same evening arrived safe at Canton.

The commodore on his arrival at that city, was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who promised to inform the viceroy of his being at Canton; but the next day pretended that his excellency was so busy, that there was no getting admittance to him. They then prepossessed the supercargoes of the English ships, with a fear of being embroiled with the government, and of suffering in their interests; when to quiet the uneasiness of these supercargoes, Mr. Anson consented not to take any immediate step for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chinese, who contracted to furnish his provisions, would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch; but notwithstanding the equity of these conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chinese agree to the proposal, till the commodore had consented to pay for every article before it was put in hand. While the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr. Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to procure

cure a licence from the viceroy, and their frequent disappointments. But at length every thing being compleated and ready to be shipped, he resolved to demand an audience of the viceroy, as he found that without this ceremony, it would be difficult to obtain permission to take his stores on board. Mr. Anson therefore sent one of his officers to the mandarin, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. This mandarin received the officer very civilly, took down the contents of the letter in Chinese, promising that the viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it, and that a message should be sent to the commodore. Mr. Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, but he happily prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese well, to accompany his officer. He had been left at Canton when a youth, and was upon that, and many other occasions, of signal service to the commodore.

Two days after the above letter was sent, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. Mr. Anson on the first alarm went thither to assist the Chinese, attended by his officers and boat's crew: when he found that it began in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings, and the timorous awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting a-head. But observing that it was running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would soon spread the flame to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with pulling the cornice down, which would soon have been executed; but being told, that as there was no mandarin there, who alone has a power to direct on those occasions, the Chinese would make him pay for whatever was pulled down by his orders, he directed his attendants to desist, and sent them to the English factory, to assist in securing the company's treasure and effects, it being easy to foresee, that no distance could be a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put stop to it. All

this while the Chinese were contented with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress. At last, however, a mandarin came from the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen, who made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had spread prodigiously, and was got amongst the merchants warehouses, and the Chinese firemen wanting both skill and spirit, were unable to check its fury, so that it increased so fast, that it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the viceroy himself went thither, and a message was sent to the commodore to entreat him to afford his assistance, and to let him know that he might take such measures as he thought prudent for extinguishing the conflagration. Upon this the commodore went thither a second time, with about forty of his people, who in the sight of the whole city exerted themselves in so extraordinary a manner, as in that country was altogether without example. They behaved with a boldness and agility peculiar to sailors, and seemed rather animated than deterred by the flames and buildings, among which they exerted themselves; whence by their resolution and activity, the fire, to the amazement of the Chinese, was soon extinguished, and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, escaped with a few inconsiderable burns and bruises.

This fire, though it was at last happily extinguished, consumed 100 shops and 11 streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum, and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, was supposed to lose, for his own share, near 200,000 l. sterling. The principal reason of its raging with such violence was, there being large quantities of camphire in many of the warehouses, which produced a column of white flame, and blazed up into the air to such a prodigious height,

that

that it was plainly seen on board the Centurion, notwithstanding her being at least thirty miles distant:

While Mr. Anson and his people were endeavouring to extinguish the fire, and the whole city were possessed with the terror of its becoming general, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants applied to Mr. Anson, to beseech him to let each of them have one of his soldiers, for such they stiled his boat's crew, from the uniformity of their dress, to guard their warehouses and dwellings, which, from the dishonesty of the populace, they apprehended would be plundered in the tumult. This request Mr. Anson granted, and all the men thus employed behaved much to the satisfaction of the merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their fidelity and diligence.

The intrepidity of the English, in putting a stop to the fire, and their prudence and honesty where they were employed as guards, was the general subject of conversation among the Chinese; and the next morning many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his assistance, freely owning, that he had preserved the city from being entirely consumed, since they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves. Soon after the commodore received a message from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience, which sudden resolution was owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people on this occasion.

The commodore was much pleased at having his audience fixed, since he was convinced that the Chinese government would not have come to this determination, had they not resolved to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him every thing he could reasonably desire. The commodore therefore prepared for this event, and engaged Mr. Flint to act as an interpreter in the conference.

On the day appointed, a mandarin came to the commodore at ten o'clock in the morning, to let him

know that the viceroy was prepared, and expected him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately set out. At his entering the outward gate of the city, he found a guard of 200 soldiers, who attended him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then resided, and where a body of troops, to the number of 10,000, were drawn up under arms, and being all-new clothed for this ceremony, made a very fine appearance. The commodore, with his retinue, having passed through the middle of them, was conducted to the great hall of audience, where the viceroy was seated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of mandarins attending him. There was a vacant seat, in which the commodore was placed on his arrival, which was the third from the viceroy, there being only above him the chiefs of the law and the treasury, who in the Chinese government precede all military officers. When the commodore had taken his seat, he addressed himself to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with mentioning the various methods he had taken to obtain an audience; the delays he had met with, and the insincerity of those he had employed, which had obliged him to send his own officer with a letter to the gate. The viceroy here interrupted the interpreter, and bid him assure the commodore, that the first knowledge he had of his being at Canton was from that letter. The commodore then complained to him of several grievances suffered by the East-India company, from the vexatious impositions of the merchants, and inferior custom-house officers, and at length entered upon his own affairs, and informed the viceroy, that this was the proper season for returning to Europe. That he wanted only a licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready, and that as soon as he had got his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton and sail for England. To this the viceroy replied, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that the following day every thing should

should be ordered on board; then finding Mr. Anson had nothing further to insist on, he, for some time continued the conversation, acknowledged, in very civil terms, how much the Chinese were obliged to him, for his signal services at the fire, and owned that he had saved the city from being destroyed; then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on the coast, he wished the commodore a prosperous voyage to Europe; after which the commodore thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

The commodore was no sooner out of the hall, than he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment; where an entertainment was provided; but finding that the viceroy was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the same manner as at his arrival, only, on his leaving the city, he was saluted with three guns, which are the most that are ever fired by the Chinese on any ceremony.

The commodore had now, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair; had procured a licence for shipping off his stores, and established an authentic precedent, by which his majesty's ships of war will for the future be exempted from the payment of duty in any of these Chinese ports.

The commodore's provisions were begun to be sent on board, according to the viceroy's promise, the day succeeding the audience, and four days after the commodore embarked for the Centurion, and all the preparations for putting to sea, were pursued with such vigour, that on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and on the 12th anchored before Macao, where the merchants of that town purchased the galleon for 6000 dollars, which was much below her value; but these merchants insisted on these unequal terms from their knowing the commodore's impatience to put to sea. She was delivered up the 15th of December 1743, and the same day the Centurion sailed for Europe.

It

It has been often observed, that the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people; and this is sufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures, which are established among them; and eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts seems to be the most important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a second-rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japanese in those manufactures, which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous instances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency seems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius, which constantly attends all servile imitators. This is most conspicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all these, though they can copy the different parts, and can form some resemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at such a justness in their fabric, as was necessary to produce the desired effect. And if we pass from their manufactures to artists of a superior class, as painters, statuaries, &c. in these matters they seem to be still more defective; their painters, though very numerous and in great esteem, rarely succeeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compositions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in these, some part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the brightness and excellency of the colours, than to the skill of the painter; since it is very unusual to see the light and shade justly and naturally handled, or to find that ease and grace in drawing, which are to be met with in the works of European artists. In short, there is a stiffness and minuteness in most of the Chinese productions, which are extremely displeasing; and it may perhaps be asserted with great truth, that these defects of their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar

turn.

turn of the people, among whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chinese literature, we shall find, that their obstinacy and absurdity are equally wonderful: for though they have for many ages been surrounded by nations to whom the use of letters was familiar, yet they alone have hitherto neglected to avail themselves of that almost divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of representing words by arbitrary marks; a method which necessarily renders the number of their characters too great for the human memory to contain, makes writing an art that requires prodigious application, and in which the greatest of men can be only partially skilled; while all reading and understanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obscurity and confusion; for the connexion between those marks and the words they represent, cannot be retained in books, but must be delivered down by oral tradition: and how uncertain this must prove in such a complicated subject, is sufficiently obvious to those who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are transmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the history and inventions of past ages, must frequently prove unintelligible, and consequently the learning and boasted antiquity of the nation must, in numerous instances, be extremely obscure.

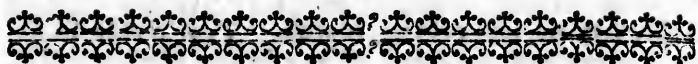
The missionaries indeed allow this to be the real fact; but they pretend, that though the Chinese fall short of the Europeans in science, yet the morality and justice taught and practised by them are both exemplary. And from the examples given by some of these good fathers, one would be inclined to believe, that the whole empire was a well governed affectionate family, where the only contests were, who should exert the most humanity and benevolence. But the proceedings of these famous moralists with commodore Anson, the behaviour of their magistrates, merchants and



and tradesmen at Canton, sufficiently refute these jesuitical fictions. And as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in the works of the missionaries, we shall find them solely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, instead of discussing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another, on reasonable and equitable principles. Indeed the only pretension of the Chinese to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but solely on the affected evenness of their behaviour, and their constant attention to suppress every symptom of passion and violence. But it should be remembered, that hypocrisy and fraud are often as mischievous to the general interests of mankind, as impetuosity and vehemence of temper; since the latter, however imprudent they may appear, are not repugnant to sincerity, or benevolence. And perhaps if this matter were examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the Chinese, on which they so much value themselves, and which distinguishes the nation from all others, is in reality the source of the most exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often observed by those who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robust and violent passions, without augmenting at the same time the force of those that are selfish: so that the timidity, dissimulation, and dishonesty of the Chinese, may in some measure be owing to the composure, and external decency so universally seen in that extensive empire.

But it is now time to resume the transactions of the Centurion, in her return to England. It has been already observed, that she sailed from Macao on the 15th of December. Nor was it long before she reached the straits of Sunda, for she came to an anchor there on the 3d of January, 1744, where she continued taking in wood and water till the eighth, and then standing

standing for the Cape of Good Hope, anchored in Table bay on the 11th of March. This Dutch settlement is the best provided of any in the known world, for the refreshment of seamen after long voyages. The commodore continued there till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the picturesque appearance of the country, the healthfulness of its air, and its extraordinary accommodations. While he staid there he entered about forty new men, and on the 3d of April, having compleated taking in water and provisions, put to sea. On the 10th of April, the Centurion was within sight of the island of St. Helena, but did not touch at it. On the 10th of June he spoke with an English ship bound for Philadelphia, from whom the commodore received the first intelligence of a French war; and though there was at that time a considerable French fleet cruizing in the chops of the channel, the Centurion ran through, being all the time concealed by a fog. In short, on the 15th of the same month, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew, the Centurion came to an anchor at Spithead. Thus after a series of the most extraordinary adventures, and the most dreadful scenes of distress, did they encompass the globe in three years and nine months. All England rejoiced at the news; the treasures taken by the Centurion were conveyed in many waggons, adorned with Spanish flags, through the streets of London, amidst the acclamations of the multitudes. Mr. Anson was justly loaded with honours, and the meanest sailor who had shared in all the dangers and distresses of these glorious enterprizes, had not only the satisfaction of having contributed to humble the pride of the enemies of his country, but of being made rich with their spoils.



Mr. ELLIS's Voyage for the Discovery of a  
NORTH-WEST PASSAGE to the SOUTH  
SEAS.

A North-west passage to the South Seas has long been considered as an object of the last importance to Great Britain, and several successive expeditions have been undertaken in order to make so valuable a discovery: but the misfortunes and distresses that attended captain James and his crew, so greatly affected the nation, that no attempts were made for the discovery of a north-west passage, for upwards of thirty years: after which many others took place, though with equal ill success. At last a dispute arising between Arthur Dobbs, Esq. and captain Middleton, in relation to a voyage made for the same purpose by the latter, many generous and public spirited persons opened a subscription for another trial, and for that purpose raised 10,000 l. while the legislature condescended to encourage the undertakers, by offering a reward of 20,000 l. in case the discovery should be made.

For this purpose the Dobbs galley of 180 tons, commanded by Mr. William Moor, and the California of 140 tons burden, under the command of Mr. Francis Smith, were fitted out, and supplied with a sufficient quantity of provisions, military and naval stores; also extraordinary wages agreed to be given to all concerned; and that no encouragement might be wanting, in case of success, the captains were to have 500 l. each mate 200 l. and every other officer a reward suitable to his station.

At the time when the expedition was resolved to be undertaken, I (says Mr. Ellis) was in Italy; and upon my return to England, had no intimation concerning it, till I was accidentally informed of it at Hertford; when

when the concern I expressed upon this occasion, and the passion I shewed for an opportunity of exerting myself in so glorious a design, having reached the ears of some of the principal proprietors, I was sent for, and it was agreed that I should go the voyage in quality of agent for the committee, without being under the command of any officer on board, in order to make exact draughts of all the new discovered country, to mark the soundings, to examine the saltness of the water, to observe the variation of the compass, and to collect metals, minerals, and all kinds of natural curiosities; and so great was my eagerness to engage in this expedition, that in 18 hours from the time this affair was settled, I was actually on board at Gravesend.

Among the instructions given by the committee, we were to avoid giving the least displeasure to the natives, and to bring none of them away by force; but if they should offer themselves voluntarily in exchange for others left in the country, they were to be brought to England, while such as stayed were to be allowed trifles to present to the natives, in order to conciliate their esteem; with seeds for garden-stuff, and trees not found in those parts, and paper, pens and ink, to make observations on the country.

The ships sailed from Gravesend on the 20th of May, 1746, and steering by the east coast of England, passed by the islands on the north of Scotland. Nothing occurred but the common circumstances of wind and weather, till the 21st at night, when a terrible fire broke out in the great cabin of the Dobbs, and quickly made its progress to the powder room, which was directly underneath it, where there were no less than thirty or forty barrels of powder, besides candles, spirits, matches, and other combustibles. It is impossible to express the confusion and consternation of the whole crew: every one on board had the greatest reason to expect that moment, or the next at most, was his last. You might on this occasion hear all the varieties of sea eloquence; cries, prayers, curses, and scolding.

mingled together; yet this did not prevent proper measures being taken to save the ship and our lives. Water in great abundance was properly applied, and every other method used by those who still preserved their reason. As to the crew in general, their apprehensions suggested a variety of expedients, which they one moment endeavoured to execute, and the next abandoned, through distraction and despair. Some were for hoisting out the boats, and accordingly the lashings were cut; but none had patience to hoist them out; others were for setting more sail to come up with the California, which was at a great distance a-head, that, if any should be alive after the ship's being blown up, they might have a chance of saving themselves on board. Chimerical as this was, the reefs were turned out of the top sails, which were with great difficulty properly set. In the midst of all this hurry, the man at the helm, reflecting that the fire and powder were directly under him, was quite distracted, and thoughtless of his charge; so that imagination cannot paint a wilder scene than was now exhibited. The ship was a-head to the wind, the sails shaking with a noise like thunder; she then turned, and ran right before it, and continued rolling, while every body waited in an agony for the blast that was to put an end to their fears and perplexities: but at length the fire was happily extinguished, to the inexpressible joy of all on board.

On the 27th we fell in with great quantities of low ice, and for some time after passed through abundance of drift wood, that is, pretty large timber floating at sea, and on the sixth of July began to fall in with those mountains of ice that are always met with near Hudson's Straights. This mountainous ice is of a prodigious bulk, and if I should say that it is sometimes five or six hundred yards thick, I am satisfied I should not exceed the truth. On the eighth of July we made the islands of Resolution, in the mouth of the freights, when the fogs suddenly clearing up, prevented our going on shore, and our vessels being broke to pieces upon the rocks.

## Discovery of a NORTH-WEST PASSAGE. 189

At these islands three large and twenty-six small canoes full of Eskimaux Indians came on board to trade with us, bringing whale-bone and seal skins, in exchange for which we gave them hatchets, saws, gimblets, &c. We made a considerable profit by our dealing with them, and they were so well pleased with this traffic, that both the men and women were very eager in stripping themselves almost naked, that they might sell their cloaths, which they did for knives and pieces of iron.

The word Eskimaux is derived from an Indian term that signifies an eater of raw flesh, to which is added a French termination. Indeed they are the only nation hitherto known that eat animal flesh absolutely raw, and this, with their having beards, which no other Indians have, makes them believed to be the same people with the Greenlanders. They are of a middle size, robust, and inclinable to fat; their heads are large, and their faces round, flat, and swarthy; their eyes are black, small and sparkling; their noses flat, their lips thick, and their hair black and lank; their shoulders are broad, and their limbs proportionable; but their feet are extraordinary small. Their behaviour is chearful and sprightly; but they seem to be very subtle, cunning, and deceitful, great flatterers, and much addicted to pilfer from strangers; easily rendered bold by encouragement, but as easily frightened. They are extremely attached to their own customs: some who have been taken prisoners by the southern Indians when they were boys, and brought to the factories, have for several years regretted their absence from their native country. One of them, after having been fed on English diet, being present when an Englishman was cutting up a seal, from which the train oil ran very plentifully, licked up what he could save with hands, crying, "Ah! commend me to my own dear country; where I could get my belly full of this."

The men's cloaths are of seal skins, and sometimes of the skins of land and sea fowl sewed together;

each

each of their coats has a hood like a capuchin ; it is close from the breast before like a shirt, and reaches no lower than the middle of the thigh ; the breeches are close before and behind, gathered like a purse, with a string, and tied about their waists : they have several pair of boots and socks, which they wear one over another, to keep them warm and dry. The difference between the dress of the men and women is, that the latter have a narrow flap behind to their jackets that reaches to their heels. The hoods are also larger and wider at the shoulders, for the sake of carrying their children in them at their backs ; and their boots are a great deal wider, and commonly stuck out with whale-bone ; because when they want to put a child out of their arms, they slip it into one of their boots till they can take it up again. Some few of them wear shifts of seals bladders sewed together, in nearly the same form with those in Europe. In general, their cloaths are sewed very neatly : this is performed with an ivory needle, and the sinews of deer split fine and used for thread. They discover a good deal of taste in adorning them with stripes of different coloured skins sewed in the manner of borders, cuffs and robings for their cloaths, which all together appear handsome as well as convenient.

Their snow eyes, as they properly call them, are equally contrived. These are bits of wood, or ivory, neatly formed, to cover the organs of sight, and tied at the back of the head : in each piece are two slits of the same length with the eyes, but narrow, through which they see very distinctly. This invention prevents snow blindness, a very grievous and painful distemper, occasioned by the brightness of the light reflected by the snow upon the ice, more especially in the spring. Their use strengthens the sight prodigiously, and becomes so habitual, that when they would observe an object at a great distance, they commonly look through them, as we do through telescopes.

The same spirit of invention is seen in their instruments for fishing and fowling. Their darts and har-

poons

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poons are well made, as are also their bows and arrows. They are very dexterous in the management of their canoes, which are of a construction very suitable to their occasions, easy of carriage, and quick in motion: their frames are made of wood or whale-bone, covered all over with seal skin parchment, except a hole in the middle, which has a rim of whale-bone or wood round it, to prevent the water running in from the deck, affording only room for one man to sit in, his feet being stretched forward; and sometimes the skin is laced about his waist at the rim above-mentioned, which effectually shuts out the water. They rub the seams with a kind of glue or pitch made of seals blubber. In these boats they carry their little conveniences, and their instruments for killing whales, sea horses, sea unicorns, seals, &c. They likewise carry slings and stones in their canoes, with which they can do execution at a great distance. Their harpoons are headed and pointed with sea horse teeth; the upper end serves to spear the whales, or other large animals, when they are struck, the more readily to dispatch them: the lower end is made use of to strike the fish, and introduce into his body a barb tipped with iron, which remains there, whilst the other part of the harpoon disengages itself readily, and comes out. To this barb is fastened a thong of sea horse hide, at the end of which is a seal skin blown up; this serves as a buoy to shew where the whale is when he goes down, and prodigiously fatigues him in swimming. As soon as he expires, they with their canoes tow him ashore, and strip him of his fat, which serves them for food, and to burn in their lamps during the winter.

Besides the above canoes for the men, which are sharp at each end, about twenty feet long, and two feet broad, they have boats much larger, that are open, and rowed by the women, and though made of the same materials as the former, will carry above twenty persons.

On



On the 17th the ice being very thick about us, we made fast to the largest piece we could find, with several ice anchors and ropes, and the crew of the California, as well as we in the Dobbs galley, filled our empty casks with fresh water, out of the ponds that are commonly found upon the ice. Two days after the ice opening, we got under an easy sail, and proceeding through vast quantities of it, at length reached Marble Island, from whence the long boats of each ship were sent, commanded by the chief mates, with whom I went to observe every circumstance relating to the tides, and whatever might furnish any lights towards the discovery of a passage. We saw several considerable openings to the westward of this island, and found that the flood tide came from the north-east, the course of the coast. We returned and made our report on the 16th of August, on which a council being held, it was agreed to defer any farther attempt to make a discovery till the next summer, and to steer to Port Nelson, it being preferable to any other place in Hudson's Bay, on account of its being the soonest cleared of ice, and its abounding with wood, venison, and other game.

The centre of Marble Island lies in the latitude of 62 deg. 55 min. north, and in 92 deg. west longitude from London. It is situated near the eastern coast of Hudson's Bay, at the entrance of the Welcome: its greatest length from east to west is six leagues, and it is two or three miles in breadth. It is high at the west end, and low at the east. The land is one continued rock of an hard white kind of marble, interspersed in some places with spots of different coloured stone, as black, blue, and green. The tops of the hills are prodigiously rent and shattered, and numbers of huge rocks are confusedly huddled together, under which are deep caverns, whence issue a great noise resembling the rolling of waves. By the water that oozes out of the clefts, there seems to be mines of copper and other ores; for in one place it was green, and tasted like verdigrease,  
and

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and in another perfectly red, dying the stones over which it passed of the same hue. In the valleys was a shallow soil of turf, and but little herbage; but in several pools of fresh water were swans and ducks, and hard by some deer grazing. The only harbour is at the south-west part of the island, the entrance of which is but narrow and shoal; but within it is capacious enough to hold an hundred sail.

In our passage from this island to port Nelson we had blustering weather, attended with snow, sleet, and thick fogs. We arrived in sight of the shoals of that river, which are very dangerous, on the 25th of August, and the next day the weather being fine and moderate, the boats of each ship were sent a-head to sound, and to erect a flag, as a mark to sail over the flats at the mouth of the southern branch, or Hayes's river. The California got safe to an anchor, but the Dobbs came aground on the flats, and had it blown hard, must inevitably have been lost. The governor under the Hudson's Bay company cruelly seized this opportunity to compleat our distress, and sent his boat and people to cut down the beacon, which was the only proper mark to guide us into a place of safety; if we should be so happy as to get the ship afloat, as we did the next day, when we got to an anchor near the California.

As we had intended to winter at Port Nelson, the boats of each ship were sent to examine that river, which is the finest in Hudson's Bay. It being navigable for many leagues, and having a communication with the great lakes behind Canada; the most advantageous trade might be carried on upon it, provided settlements were made thirty leagues up, where the climate may be justly stiled temperate. This river lies in 57 deg. 30 min. latitude; it is about two leagues wide at the entrance, with a very good channel about a mile broad. Its banks are low, and covered with large woods, chiefly of spruce, fir, poplar, birch, larch, and willow; and abound with deer, hares, rabbits, geese, ducks, swans, partridges, pheasants,

sants, plover, and many other fowl, in their proper seasons, as also variety of fish in great plenty. These advantages could not however tempt the captains to repass the shoals, and expose the ships to danger in entering the proper channel: we therefore ran three miles up Hayes's river, and then landed some of our stores to lighten the ships, and moored them in a safe creek five miles above York fort.

We now turned our thoughts on the methods necessary for our preservation, and being sensible that the severity of the cold would render it impossible to live on board the ships, some of the people were employed in cutting fire-wood, and others in building log-tents. This contrivance, I suppose, was borrowed from the natives; they were made of trees cut about sixteen feet long, raised close together, their ends lying one against another at the top, and extending at the bottom, in the form of the roof of a country house. The vacancies between these logs were stuffed with moss, and that being plaistered over with clay, made a warm hut: the door was low and small, there was a fire-place in the middle, and a hole over it to let out the smoke.

The grand business was building an house for the officers, and we chose a situation that was equally pleasant and convenient; it was on an eminence surrounded with trees; the main river was half a mile distant to the north-west; near the same distance was the creek where our ships lay; at about 150 yards from the front was a handsome basin of water, called the Beaver Creek, which in prospect looked like a grand canal; and we were protected from the north and north-east winds by thick and tall woods.

This situation being chosen, I drew a plan of our intended mansion, which was approved. The house was to be twenty-eight feet long, and eighteen broad; it was to have one story, the lower rooms six, and the upper seven feet high; the captains and some of the principal officers were to lie above, and the remainder below, with the subalterns and servants. The door

was

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was to be in the middle of the front, five feet high and three broad, with four small windows above stairs, and the stove was to be placed in the center, that every body might equally partake of its heat. These matters being thus adjusted, all hands were set to work; trees were cut down and hewed, planks sawed, and the walls begun by placing one log upon another, with moss between.

The weather was now excessive cold; and Hayes's River being frozen quite hard, we had some experience of what was to be expected from an Hudson's Bay winter. On the 2d of November, we could not keep the ink from freezing at the fire. The next day all the bottled beer was froze solid, though packed up in tow, and near a good fire. On the 6th the cold becoming insupportable abroad, the sailors were distributed among the several huts, which were placed in the woods, and the captains and officers, &c. went to live in their new house, which was christened in the sea way Montague House, in honour of his grace the duke of Montague, who was one of the subscribers to this expedition.

About this time we put on our winter dress, which consisted of a robe of beaver skins, that reached to our heels, and two waistcoats under it, a cap and mittens of the same, lined with flannel, a pair of Indian stockings over our yarn ones, made of broad-cloth or leather, which reaches up to the mid-thigh, with shoes of soft tanned moose or elk skin, under which we wore two or three pair of blanket or thick duffil socks; and a pair of snow shoes, about five feet long, and eighteen inches wide, to prevent our sinking in the snow, completed our dress. This is the garb of the Indians, who have taught it the English, and nothing can be better contrived both for convenience and use; for when thus equipped, we were able to stand almost the keenest cold that happened during the winter.

Our utmost skill and industry were now exerted in forming snares to catch rabbits, and in shooting partridges,

tridges, which were so numerous, that a good marksman might kill sixty or eighty in a day. The animals of the fur kind are caught in traps of different sorts, or in nets; and thus the beaver is most commonly taken: they spread and dry their skins in the sun, and eat the flesh, which is very fat and delicious.

Keen frosts continued all the month of November. When the wind was westerly or southerly, the cold was very supportable; but on its changing to the north-west or north-east, it immediately became excessive sharp, and often attended with a sort of snow like grains of sand, that drifted with the wind in clouds from every plain, and made it dangerous to be out upon the river, or any flat place; for this drift snow is commonly so thick, that one can scarcely see twenty yards; every path is levelled by it, and sometimes people have wandered in the utmost danger of being froze to death for hours together upon the ice of the river; within half a mile of the factory, without being able to find their way to it:

The severe cold was however felt only about four or five days in a month, and generally towards the full and change of the moon, which has a great influence on the weather in these parts. But at other times, though there is a continued hard frost, the weather is pleasant enough.

The men now began to fetch their provisions weekly from the ships; but used little in the beginning of the season, while there were plenty of rabbits; nay, they in a good measure supplied us at Montague House with them. What they carried backward or forward, they drew after them upon small sledges made of about a dozen of thin staves joined together, four in breadth, and turned up at one end, the better to slide over the snow. One man could conveniently draw on such a sledge above an hundred weight fifteen or sixteen miles in one day. The dogs in this country are of the size of common mastiffs; they never bark, but growl when they are provoked; they are the only  
beasts

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beasts of burden used by the English and the natives, and will draw much more to a greater distance than the men. In long journeys the men generally go before them to beat a path with their snow-shoes: these dogs are soon accustomed to whatever they are taught, and being docile and tractable are very useful.

Besides these small sledges, we had others that were larger and stronger, for carrying great weights; they were of the same form as those before described, but ten or twelve feet long, and three wide, and required twenty or thirty men yoked to draw them.

In Christmas week, which was spent very merrily, captain Moor proposed to lengthen, raise, and deck our long-boat for the use of the discovery; and after some deliberation, it was resolved on by a majority. This was an excellent measure, since it would have been very dangerous to make so close a search as was necessary without it; for with such a vessel we might go among rocks, and pass over shoals, where a vessel of any draught would strike: if she came aground, we could get her off, or if she was lost, the ship's afforded a safe retreat.

This affair being settled, the boat was drawn on a high bank by the side of the creek, sheltered by trees, and a log-tent was built over her, and covered with sails, with a fire-place in the middle, that the carpenters might be able to work all the winter.

The coasts of this country extend from the latitude of about 51 deg. to 58 deg. north, having Hudson's Bay to the east, and Canada to the south; but its boundaries to the west and north are yet undiscovered. In the southern parts, and where we wintered, the soil is fertile; the surface being a loose dark mould, under which are layers of different-coloured clay. Near the shore the land is low and marshy, covered with trees of various sorts: within land there are large plains with little herbage except moss, interspersed with tufts of trees, and some lakes. In the country are a great variety of shrubs and plants, and many of those known in Europe, as the gooseberry, currant, and

craneberry. There are shrubs that bear red and black berries, on which the partridges feed. The plant by the Indians called wizekapukka, is used both by them and the English as a medicine, in nervous and scorbutic disorders. Here are also to be met with strawberries, angelica, nettles, butterflowers, wild auriculas, favine, many of the Lapland plants, and others that are unknown to us. There are great quantities of wild rice by the sides of the lakes and rivers; there is also long grass and good meadow ground; and at the factories are tolerable gardens, especially at York Fort, Albany and Moose river, where most kinds of English garden-stuff grow very well, such as beans, pease, cabbages, turnips, and many kinds of sallads. Farther within land the country is much more fruitful than at these places; for the summers are warmer, and the winters shorter and less severe.

There are undoubtedly many sorts of minerals here. I have met with iron ore; lead ore is said to be found in plenty on the surface of the earth at Churchill, and the northern Indians frequently bring pieces of copper to that factory. There are also a great variety of talcs, spars, and rock crystals of different colours, as red and white, the former resembling rubies, and the latter very transparent, and shooting into pentangular prisms. In the northern parts a substance resembling coal is found, which burns; the asbestos, or stone-flax, is common here; and also a stone of a black, smooth, and shining surface, that easily separates into thin transparent leaves, which the natives use as looking-glasses. The country likewise abounds in various sorts of marble, some perfectly white, and others speckled with red, green, and blue.

There are here frequently seen parhelia or mock suns, and halos about the sun and moon, which are very luminous, and beautifully tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. I have seen six of these parhelia at a time. The true sun also rises and sets with a large cone of yellow light perpendicular to it, and no sooner does it disappear than the Aurora Borealis spreads

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spreads a thousand different lights and colours over the whole concave of the sky, with such resplendent beauty, that even the full moon does not efface their lustre, though they are more apparent when she does not shine; for then one may distinctly read by them, and the shadows of the objects are seen upon the snow tending to the south-east. The stars seem to burn with a fiery red, especially those near the horizon.

But to return to the climate, and the methods we took to secure ourselves from the cold: we usually put at least an horse-load of wood at a time into our stove, which was built of bricks six feet long, two wide and three high. When the wood was near burnt we beat off the embers, and threw out the brands, and then stopped up the top of the chimney. This caused a sulphureous, suffocating smell, and so great a heat, that notwithstanding the rigour of the weather, we often sweat: the difference between the cold without and the heat within was so extreme, that our people frequently fainted on entering the house, and remained for some time lifeless. If a door or window was but opened, the cold air rushed in with great fury, and turned the inclosed vapours into small snow: nor could all the heat we could raise keep the windows, the sides and ceiling free from ice: those whose bed-cloaths touched the walls were generally froze fast to them in the morning, and our breath settled in a white hoar frost upon the blankets. This happened soon after the fire went out: as the house cooled, the sap that had been thawed in the timbers with the heat, froze, splitting the wood in cracks, with a noise resembling the report of a musket.

No liquid can withstand the cold; strong brine, brandy, and even spirits of wine froze, but the latter only to a consistence like oil. All liquors under the proof of common spirits became perfectly solid, and burst the vessels that contained them, whether of wood, tin, or even copper. The ice in the river was above eight feet thick. We could keep our provisions sweet as long as we pleased, without the assistance of



salt; for our game froze the instant it was killed, and some remained so from October till April, when it began to grow moist.

The hares, rabbits, and partridges, which in summer are brown and grey, change in winter to white. Every animal is here furnished by nature with extraordinary furs to resist the cold, which fall off as the warm weather returns; and even this is the case with the dogs and cats brought thither from Europe.

If we touched iron, or any other smooth solid surface in the winter, our fingers were froze fast to it; if in drinking a dram of brandy out of a glass, one's tongue or lips touched it, in pulling them away the skin was left upon it. One of our people carrying a bottle of spirits from the house to his log-tent, and not having a cork, stopped it with his finger; but it soon froze so fast, that he was obliged to lose a part of it to make the cure practicable. All solid bodies, as iron, glass, and the like, acquired so intense a degree of cold, as to resist the effects of a strong heat for a considerable time. I have brought an axe that has been exposed to the frost without doors, and held it within half a foot of a good fire, when pouring water upon it, it has been instantly formed into a cake of ice, and thus remained for some time.

We buried our beer twelve feet deep in the ground on a bed of willow and grass, both under and over it, and then covered it twelve feet deep with a soapy earth, yet some of the casks of small beer next the sides were froze, and the strong iron-bound casks burst; though the spirituous part remained fluid in the heart of the ice, and was strong but the ice on being melted tasted quite vapid: other casks were not burst, nor were their contents half congealed; the watery parts having time to thaw, and mix with the spirituous, the beer was very good, and we fancied better than if it had never been froze.

One would imagine from this account of the severity of the winter in this country, that it must be the most uncomfortable in the world, and its inhabitants the

the most unhappy; but this is far from being the case; for though the weather is cold, they have abundance of furs to cloath them, and many other conveniencies, that in some measure put them on a level with those who live in a milder climate: but what is still more extraordinary, there are Europeans who have lived here for some years, and prefer it to all other places.

The natives are of the middle size, and of a copper colour: they have black eyes, and long lank hair of the same colour; but their features vary as in Europe. They are of a chearful disposition, good-natured, affable, friendly and honest in their dealings.

The men are cloathed in summer in a loose coat made of blanket, which they buy either from the French or English settled in their neighbourhood; they have a pair of leather stockings, which reach so high as to serve also for breeches; they make their shoes of the same materials. The cloaths of the women differ from those of the men only in their generally wearing a petticoat, that in winter comes a little lower than their knees. Their ordinary apparel is made of the skins of deer, otters, or beaver, with the hair or fur on them; the sleeves of their upper habit are generally tied on with strings at the shoulders, so that their armpits, even in the depth of winter, are exposed to the cold, which in their opinion contributes to their health: indeed their diseases are but few, and those chiefly arising from colds caught after drinking spirituous liquors, which they buy of the English; for the French are so prudent as to sell them none. Those Indians who live in places contiguous to the Hudson's Bay company's settlements, are by drunkenness become meagre, small, and indolent, and are hardly equal to the hardships of the country; while those who are near the French settlements are hardy, vigorous, and active, and there is no comparison in the number of furs that the one and the other bring into trade.

They live in tents covered with mooze and deer-skins sewed together. These are of a circular form,

probably as that is the most capacious, and convenient for their sitting round the fire, which is in the middle. They are formed of poles set to lean one against the other, so as they meet at the top, and are extended below; an opening is left where the poles meet to admit the light, and let out the smoke. They strew the bottom with the tops of pine trees, and lie with their feet to the fire, and their heads to the sides of the tent. The entrance of the tent is generally on the south-west side, and you go in by lifting up a part of the skins, to which is fastened a piece of stick to make it flap close. These are generally placed in a bottom, by the side of a creek or river, and as the natives chiefly spend their time in hunting, fowling, and fishing, they change their habitations according to the plenty or scarcity of the game. For this reason also they do not live in any great numbers together. They are influenced in their behaviour by a natural rectitude, that restrains them from all acts of violence and injustice, as effectually as the most rigorous laws. The chiefs of every family or tribe, who are generally chosen from among the most antient of the people, commonly for their skill in hunting, experience in trade, and their valour in the wars they often wage with the Eskimaux, direct those who reside with them in their different employments; but their advice is rather followed through deference than obligation.

They have no dependence for subsistence on the fruits of the earth; but live entirely on the animals they take in hunting, or catch in traps, at which they are very dextrous. They every season make a prodigious slaughter among the deer, from the absurd notion, that the more they destroy, the greater plenty will succeed; hence they sometimes leave three or four hundred dead on the plains, taking out of them only their tongues, and leaving their carcasses either to rot or to be devoured by the wild beasts. At other times they attack them in the water, and kill great numbers, which they bring down on floats to the factories.

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The Indians also live on birds of passage, as plover, swans, wild geese, ducks, and many others that fly to the northward in the spring to breed, and return to the southward in autumn. They likewise feed on eagles, hawks, partridges, pheasants, crows, and owls, which stay in the winter. They generally boil their flesh, and eat it by itself, drinking the water it is boiled in, which they esteem very wholesome. In the same manner they dress their fish, which are very good.

Up the rivers and lakes they have large sturgeon, pike and trout, and two very delicious kinds of fish, the one called Titymag, the other resembling an eel, spotted with yellow and white, and called by the natives Muthoy: these are reckoned fattest in winter; when they are caught by making holes in the ice, and letting down a baited hook, at which the fish greedily bites. At the mouths of the rivers, especially those more to the north, are plenty of fine salmon, trout, and a tolerable good fish called a Sucker, which resembles a carp. There comes in with the flood tide great numbers of white whales, which might easily be taken. Seals also frequent these coasts.

To return to the Indians. It is thought a great offence for a woman to stride over the legs of a man when he sits on the ground, and they even think it beneath them to drink out of the same vessel with their wives. They have a custom which must appear shocking to every humane mind: when their parents grow so old as to be unable to support themselves by their own labour, they require their children to strangle them, and their performing this is esteemed an act of duty. It is done in the following manner; the old person's grave being dug, he goes into it, and after having conversed, and smoked a pipe, or perhaps drank a dram or two with his children, he lets them know that he is ready; upon which two of them puts a thong about his neck, one standing on one side, and the other opposite to him, pull violently, till he is strangled; they then cover him with

earth, and over that erect a kind of rough monument of stones. Such old people as have no children require this office of their friends ; but in this last case it is not always complied with \*. They have a very strange maxim of policy, which is obliging their women to procure frequent abortions, by the use of a certain herb common in that country, in order to ease themselves of the heavy burthen of an helpless family ; but this is however less barbarous than the custom still used in China of exposing their children. These differ from almost all other nations in their manner of making their urine, for here the men always squat down, and the women stand upright.

They acknowledge a Being of infinite goodness, whom they stile Ukkewma, which in their language signifies the Great Chief ; they consider him as the author of all the blessings they enjoy, and speak of him with reverence. They sing a kind of hymns to his praise, in a grave and solemn tone, that is not altogether disagreeable ; yet their religious sentiments are very confused. They also acknowledge another Being, whom they call Wittikka, whom they represent as the author of all evil, and of him they are much afraid ; but we know of no methods used by them to appease him.

The situation of these poor people is indeed very melancholy, though they do not seem much sensible of it. Notwithstanding the best part of their lives is spent in procuring necessaries, they having little notion of providing against the distresses to which they are sure to be exposed every winter : from their natural generosity, they are very free of their provisions when they have plenty, and, except drying a little venison

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\* The Hottentots cruelly expose their parents when grown helpless with age, to perish with hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts ; and also expose their children. See Kolben's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, chap. iv.

and fish, take no care to lay up supplies for a time of scarcity. The Indians who come in the summer to trade at the factories, sometimes missing of the succours they expected, have been obliged to singe off the fur from thousands of beaver skins, to feed upon the leather: but when thus reduced to the greatest extremities, they undergo them with a kind of habitual and steady patience, which it is much easier to admire than to imitate. It is common with them to travel 2 or 300 miles, even in the depth of winter, through a wide open country, without meeting with any house to receive, or carrying any tent to protect them. When night approaches they make a little kind of fence with brush-wood, by the side of which they kindle a fire, and after clearing away the snow, they lie down upon the ground, and sleep between the fire and the fence: but when they happen to be benighted upon a wild plain, where no wood can be had, they are forced to lie down under the snow, which in some measure shelters them from the cold. This is also practised by those who live in the extremities of Siberia.

But the hardships they suffer in these long journeys, from the difficulty of procuring provisions, are sometimes much greater than those that result merely from the cold. A story which is related at the factories, and known to be true, affords a most shocking and dreadful proof of this. An Indian coming with his family to trade from a place at a very great distance, had the misfortune to meet with but little game by the way, and was soon, with his wife and children, reduced to the last extremity. They plucked the fur from their cloaths, and, as long as they were able, preserved life by feeding on the skins, and even those they wore; but this wretched resource soon failing them, these poor unhappy creatures supported themselves, by feeding on the flesh of two of their poor children. On their arrival at the factory, the distracted Indian, whose heart overflowed with grief, told his melancholy story with all its affecting circumstances to  
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the English governor, when to the disgrace of our nation, and even of the human race, it was received with a loud laugh. On which the unhappy parent, with a look of amazement, cried in broken English, "This is no laughing talk!" and instantly went away, no doubt highly edified at such Christian morals.

To return to our own affairs. The bringing two casks of brandy, as already mentioned, to make merrily with at Christmas, was attended with fatal consequences. The men, who before this season of mirth had been very healthy, now indulging themselves too freely in the use of spirituous liquors, were soon invaded by the scurvy. Those medicines, which in other countries are generally used with good success in this foul and fatal disease, here proved intirely ineffectual, and the only powerful and prevailing medicine was tar-water, by the steady use of which many were saved, even after the distemper was far advanced. Those English who constantly reside here are little, if at all, exposed to this cruel disease; which they attribute to the constant use of spruce beer, by the plentiful drinking of which the people of the four factories of Churchill, York Fort, Albany, and Moose river, enjoy so good a state of health, that though in number above an hundred, seven years have sometimes passed without their burying a single man.

The whole month of January wore the settled face of winter; and the partridges and rabbits, which had hitherto been pretty plentiful, began now to grow very scarce. In the middle of February the weather grew something milder, and toward the latter end of that month orders were given to cut the ice from about the ships, which was performed with chissels and pick-axes, at which the people now worked every day. The guns, and every thing of considerable weight were landed, that the ships might be lighter when the ice broke up. In March we had a specimen of every kind of weather; the snow melted whenever it was exposed to the sun, and towards the  
end

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end of the month some herbage began to peep out on the banks that fronted the south. The rivers and plains were by this time covered with water, and we were apprehensive that the ice would break up suddenly, and with violence: to prevent the ill consequences with which this might be attended, orders were given for getting every thing in the ships ready, and after they had been well warmed with fires, a sufficient number of men, with proper officers, were put on board. But April opened in such a manner, as in a good measure freed us from the terrors we were under about the breaking of the ice, and its driving against the ships. In the latter end of this month the fowls proper to the country began to visit us, and with them abundance of wild fowl of all the sorts common in the northern parts of Europe. We had likewise a great flight of small birds, mostly of a dark unpleasing colour; but the sweetness of their notes compensated for whatever was disagreeable in their plumage.

After this was a short return of winter, attended with bleak winds, hard frosts, much snow, with very stormy and tempestuous weather, which lasted till about the sixth of May, when the warm weather returning, the creek where the ships lay, became imperceptibly clear of ice; but the river being still froze, the fish resorted to the creek, where we caught plenty of them with our nets. The long-boat, to which was given the name of the Resolution, being soon completely finished, was launched, and on the ninth of June the ships got down the river as far as the factory of York Fort, where we took in our naval stores and provisions, in order to put to sea, and to prosecute the discovery.

York Fort is situated on the southern branch of Port Nelson River, which is called Hayes's River, within five miles of its fall into the sea; in 57 deg. 20 min. north latitude, and in 93 deg. 58 min. west longitude from the meridian of London. This fort and the factory is in a clear space, surrounded on three sides by

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the woods, with an open front to the water. On the south-east is a dock for building or repairing sloops or boats; between which and the battery is a piece of land called the Plantation, where the Indians, who come to the factory, pitch their tents; and there is generally a tent or two of old infirm Indians, both men and women, who are maintained by the factory; from which this place is separated by two rows of high palisades: between these are store-houses, the kitchen and some work-shops, low built. Within the inner palisades are small spots sowed with turnips, colworts, sallads, and other garden stuff, belonging to the governor and officers. From the first entrance of the palisades to the factory is a wooden platform. The factory is a square fort, built of wood, and flanked with four small bastions. Before it is a spacious area. In the upper story of the south-east bastion is the governor's apartment, to which there is a handsome flight of stairs out of the area. It consists of four rooms, with a fire-place in the largest; all of them wainscotted, and neatly fitted up. Under the governor's apartment is the common room for the deputy governor, the ship, and house carpenter, and others who compose the governor's mess; in which is a large brick stove, erected for warming both this and the governor's apartment. By the side of it are several small lodging rooms. In the lower part of the north-east bastion is a common room, with a stove of brick for the warming the apartments; and in this bastion are lodged the steward and cook, and all others, except the surgeon, who are not of the governor's mess. The other two bastions, and the curtains, are divided into store-houses, a trading room, a magazine, &c. The buildings have but a mean appearance on the outside; but they are warm and convenient, and from the platform on the top is an extensive prospect over the woods of the hills to the south-east, at about twenty miles distance. There are three small pattereroes placed on each of the curtains; the battery, on which are mounted pretty large guns,  
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commands the river ; it is defended by a small breast-work, and in time of war, the number of the people who reside at the factory amount to thirty-three, or thereabouts. Thus, however formidable Yoik Fort may appear to the savages, it is incapable of defence, if it should happen to be attacked by an European army.

On the 24th of June we weighed anchor, and passing the shoals, stood with a fair wind to the northward. The next day we sailed through much broken ice; but avoided the thickest part of it, by standing in close to the shore : though a great deal continued in sight till we got to the northward of Cape Churchill, where we had a clear sea, and proceeded without difficulty till we made Centry Island in 61 deg. 40 min. north latitude.

The next day the Resolution came along-side the Dobbs, and took in provisions and sea-stores sufficient for the use of ten men for two months, when captain Moor, with eight hands and myself, went aboard, in order to examine the coasts. That gentleman ordering the Dobbs to proceed to Marble Island, and to wait there till we joined her, the ships sailed to the northward, and we stood in for the shore, where we grappled for that night. The next day we continued to sail along the shore northward through a great deal of broken ice. The Eskimaux, who inhabit the sea-coasts to the northward of the company's settlement, appeared in small bodies on the eminences, and made signals for us to approach; but we sailed on without minding them, till we arrived at Knight's Island, in the latitude of 62 deg. 2 min. north, where we anchored.

We soon weighed from thence, and endeavoured to stand in with the west shore, where a large opening appeared ; but the weather growing tempestuous, and the ice driving about in large pieces, we found it necessary to return to Knight's Island, where we took shelter till the 5th, when the sea was much clearer. Here two canoes of Eskimaux came off to us from  
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the west coast, and upon our letting them know we wanted whalebone, they left us; but quickly returned with a considerable quantity of that, and a large parcel of bladders filled with train-oil. We purchased the whalebone with small hatchets, knives, bits of iron hoops, and the like; but did not care to encumber ourselves with the oil, though they would, no doubt, have offered us a good bargain; for they were very pressing to have us go to some islands that lay in sight to the westward, where they intimated that they had considerable quantities of both; but this, as our business was not trade, we thought fit to decline. Here we saw great numbers of seals and white whales.

There happened a circumstance which filled us with astonishment: in sailing through the ice and among these islands, the needles of our compasses lost their magnetic quality: this evil we strove to remedy, by retouching them with an artificial magnet, but to very little purpose; for if they recovered their powers by this means, they presently lost them again. This occasioned much speculation, in order to account for this strange phenomenon; but upon carrying the compasses to a warm place, the needles speedily resumed their activity, and pointed as usual.

On the 5th we stood over to the south side of Sir Biby's Island, in hopes of being able to enter the opening we had attempted before; but the ice driving in and out in very large pieces, we were again obliged to desist.

Here six canoes, full of Eskimaux, came on board with a large parcel of whalebone, which we purchased upon terms as much to their satisfaction as to our profit. We then steered to the north-west, and after passing over several shoals, and running between many islands, entered Nevil's Bay, the same we attempted at the south end of Sir Biby's Island, which in a manner covers it, it lying at the distance of about five leagues to the south-east. When one is in it, it appears a very capacious harbour, well sheltered from the

the sea; and in the bottom of it is a pretty large river running westward. The main land about it chiefly consists of a smooth rock covered with moss, with here and there a few small plants. On repassing the shoals with an intention to coast to the northward, the tide swept us upon a ridge of stones, where our vessel narrowly escaped being flaved to pieces. While we were in this hazardous situation, six canoes of Eskimaux came off to us with whalebone, which we bought of them. They were very sensible of our distress; but so far from taking advantage of it, that they were not only extremely civil, but highly serviceable; for when the tide of flood floated us off, an old man, who seemed better acquainted with the place than the rest, paddled before us, pointed out the shoals, and kept in deep water: thus it was in some measure by his assistance, that the Resolution escaped being lost, and even saved from suffering the least damage. Whatever therefore other authors may say to their prejudice, it is but justice to own, that they behaved not only with humanity, but with great kindness and friendship.

I could not help admiring the industry and ingenuity of these people, who, for want of iron, are frequently obliged to make, not only the barbs of their harpoons, but also their hatchets and knives of stones, sea-horse teeth, and sea-unicorns horns; and it is difficult to conceive the dextrous use they make of materials that seem so very improper for the purpose to which they employ them. Their needles are also made of the same, and yet their cloaths are perfectly well sewed, in the same manner as those of the people we meet with in Hudson's streights. From hence, as well as from the conformity between them in their language, persons, and customs, we conclude, that they were originally one people; but these are more affable and friendly, and also more accomplished artists. The borders of their habits are commonly fringed with cut leather, and are sometimes hung with fawns teeth. The women do not, like those of the

the other Eskimaux, stick out the sides of their boots with whalebone; and they differ from those already described, in wearing a cap made of the skin of a buffalo's tail, which, though it has an horrid appearance, is very useful in keeping off the musketoes, which are here excessively troublesome. Indeed the hair hanging over their faces, somewhat obstructs their sight; however, it is easily removed with their hands, and was it not for this defence, those insects would be here insupportable. For this purpose their children wear them, while they hang at their mothers backs; and as thus dressed they make a most dismal figure, it is apt to raise a shocking idea of the barbarity of these people, though they are very harmless and inoffensive.

On their going to sea, in order to catch fish, they commonly take in their boats a bladder full of train oil, as our people do a dram-bottle, and seem to drink the contents with the same relish; nay, when their stock is out, we have sometimes seen them draw the bladder through their teeth, with much seeming satisfaction. They are probably convinced by experience of the salutary effects of this coarse kind of oil in this rigorous climate, which makes them so fond of it. Thus the inhabitants of St. Kilda, a rocky island on the coast of Scotland, are as much pleased with the oil they make from the fat of Soland geese, which must be very near as rancid. The Eskimaux also use this oil for their lamps, which are made of stone, hollowed out as artificially as can be expected, considering their tools: but instead of cotton they have no other wick but dried goose dung.

Their manner of kindling a fire appears very extraordinary: they prepare two pieces of dry wood, and making a small hole in each, fit into them a little cylindrical piece of wood, round which a thong is put; they then, by pulling the ends of this thong, whirl the cylindrical piece about with such velocity, that the motion sets the wood on fire, when lighting a little dry moss, which serves for tinder, they make as

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large a fire as they please; but as the little timber they have is drift wood, this fails them in the winter, and they are obliged to make use of their lamps for the supply of their family occasions.

It must not be omitted, that these poor creatures were so far from being jealous of their wives, that they would willingly have prostituted them to us, from a notion that our children by them would have been in every respect as much superior to those of their nation as they took us to be; for they imagine, that, in the most literal sense, every man begets his like, and that the son of a captain must infallibly be a captain.

On the 9th of July we anchored at Sea-Horse Island, which is very properly named, prodigious numbers of those creatures resorting thither; and this being their season of propagation, they were extremely furious, and roared in a terrible manner; many of them flouncing about upon the beach, and still greater numbers in the sea that washes its coasts. This island is also frequented by vast flocks of sea fowls.

The next day we stood along shore, among many small islands and pieces of floating ice, till we arrived at Whale Cove, in the latitude of 62 deg. 30 min. north. To the westward of this place we discovered a bay, in which were many islands, from whence we were visited by a few savages; for it is observable, that in the summer season they always fix themselves on the most desolate islands, for the convenience of fishing. Upon one of these captain Moor thought proper to land in the little boat we made use of upon such occasions; in which I accompanied him, together with two of the men. We were no sooner on shore, than we were met by about twenty Eskimaux, most of them women and children; for the men were gone a fishing; but we soon left them in order to take a view of the place; and having gained the highest part of the island, looked out for some considerable opening, but in vain: for this reason, and because we observed the tide of flood coming in from the eastward, we returned on board the Resolution.

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The following day we arrived at a point, from whence we discovered a large opening running to the westward, to which I gave the name of Corbet's Inlet; but we did not enter it, because the tide of flood came in from the eastward, and because captain Moor thought he saw the end of it; so that after some short intercourse with the Eskimaux, who were there pretty numerous, and supplying ourselves with fresh water, great plenty of which we found in the cavities of the rocks, occasioned by the melting of the snow, we resolved to return again to the ships, which we accordingly did, and found them both lying at anchor in a tolerable good road between Marble island and the main.

In our absence, the Dobbs galley had been exposed to a great deal of danger from the ice driving down upon her out of Rankin's Inlet, situated about four leagues to the westward, where about that time the ice had broke up. Into this place captain Smith had sent his chief and second mate to examine it; but after sailing about thirty leagues upon different courses, it was found to terminate in a bay. According to the accounts given of this inlet by the second mate before this search was made, there seemed to be some probability of a passage, which induced captain Smith to attempt entering it with his ship; but being soon embarrassed by dangerous rocks and shoals, he desisted, and returned to Marble Island.

On the morning that we returned on board the Dobbs galley, captain Smith, of the California, had sent his long-boat with his second mate, to search all the coast between Cape Jalabert and Cape Fullerton. While we remained here, there arrived six Eskimaux, from whom we bought the flesh of four seals to make train oil, and then dismissed them, firing one of our great guns at their departure; but the sound being echoed from all the neighbouring rocks, made such a terrible noise that they were extremely frightened, and never after came near us.

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On the 14th we weighed, and in company with the California steered to the northward, dispatching, at the same time, the Resolution, under the command of the chief mate, to make the same tour that had been proposed for the California's long-boat, with instructions to join us again about Cape Fullerton. All the next day we sailed through very thick shoals of ice, which at length grew impassable, so that we and the California were obliged to grapple to a very large field, as the seamen in that part of the world term it, till its separation allowed us a safe passage: while we lay thus, we saw a vast number of seals and sea-horses lie basking upon the ice-field; but we did not give them much disturbance.

Two days after the ice parted, and we stood in for the shore, where we soon got pretty clear of it. As the boats did not join us so soon as we expected, we began to grow impatient and uneasy, and it was at length agreed, that the ships should separate, in order to go in quest of them. Accordingly the California stood to the south, and we to the north. In the mean time I went ashore with the pinnace, to a head-land in the latitude of 64 deg. 32 min. to which we gave the name of Cape Fry, in honour of Rowland Fry, Esq. one of the committee. In our passage we saw several whales sporting near the shore; and upon trying the tide, we found it came from the north. The coast was of an easy ascent, but rose pretty high; the hills at a distance from the shore were of a red-coloured rock, very smooth, and intirely bare: in the valleys between them, the soil is covered with a kind of turf, with pretty long grass, and here and there some plants bearing yellow flowers; as also a kind of vetch then in bloom, which bore blue and red flowers; there were great plenty of these near the ponds, of which we found many. We saw several herds of deer browsing on the sides of the hills; but we had not time to chase them, because the Dobbs galley waited for us in the offing. The sea weed near the shore grows to an extraordinary size, some to the length



length of thirty feet ; which seems the more surprizing, as, from the severity of the climate, there are but few vegetables on shore.

On the 21st we sailed in search of our boats ; and the next day fell in with the California ; when upon mature consideration, it was resolved to wait no longer than the 28th, and that the California should steer to the latitude of 64 min. and the Dobbs to that of 65 deg. north. We also took the necessary precautions to prevent any accident that might happen, by the boats passing by while we were thus employed. A pole was erected with a flag flying at Cape Fry, at the foot of which a letter was buried, to give them instruction how to act, and information where we were gone. Lest they should not observe this, a large cask was moored about a mile and half from shore, where we judged they would pass, and upon this also was fixed a small flag, with an intimation that they should repair to Cape Fry for farther intelligence.

We now sailed to the northward, and having reached the latitude of 65 deg. 5 min. I went in the pinnace with the second mate and six hands, on the west coast of the Welcome, in order to try the tide, and found the flood still coming from the northward. The country differed little from that about Cape Fry, except that it appeared somewhat higher ; we also here observed great herds of deer feeding. In our passage we took notice of several black whales, and considering the numbers we saw upon this coast, it is highly probable that a most advantageous fishery might be carried on here from the factories.

On the 26th we sailed back to Cape Fry, where we had the pleasure of meeting with the California, in company with the two boats. The officers on board then reported, that they found an inlet in 64 deg. north latitude, which was three or four leagues wide at the entrance ; but upon their sailing eight leagues, it increased to six or seven leagues wide ; that ten leagues higher it grew narrower by degrees, till it became only four leagues wide : but though they could  
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Perceive the shores open again, they were discouraged from proceeding farther, by observing that the water grew thicker, fresher, and shallower. They met in their passage with many of the Eskimaux, who, at a small expence, supplied them with a considerable quantity of fresh venison, and would have procured them more, as well as train oil, if they could have stayed for them. It is however highly probable, that this inlet may have some communication with the great lake within land, which may perhaps have another outlet into the Western Ocean. What gives weight to this conjecture is, that the stream of ebb runs faster by one half than in the Thames for ten hours in twelve, though it is above twelve miles broad. At first sight the freshness of the water may seem conclusive against a passage; but if it had been quite fresh upon the surface, it would have been far from being so; because as this was the season when the snows were melting and draining off the land, that might have been expected, and would have been no more than what is found in the Baltick, and on the west coast of Africa after the rainy months. It may be proper also to remark, that though the tide of flood coming from the west would have been a proof of its being a passage to another sea, yet a flood from the east is by no means a direct proof of the contrary; for it is well known, that in the streights of Magellan the tides from the two oceans meet, and it is probable, that, whenever a discovery is made of a north-west passage, this will be the case there.

Being near Wager's streight, and absolutely certain that the tide in the Welcome came from the north, the captains were of opinion, that considering the warm dispute about it between Arthur Dobbs, Esq; and Captain Middleton, and the great expectations this dispute had raised, it was necessary now to try whether it was really a streight into the Western ocean, as the former of those gentleman had, from very probable reasons, concluded; or a fresh-water river, as the captain had asserted.

Wager's streight, as it was then called, is in 65 deg. 33 min. N. latitude, and in 88 deg. W. longitude

tude from London; having Cape Montague on the north, and Cape Dobbs on the south; the narrowest part is about five leagues to the westward of the last mentioned cape, or scarce so much, and there the tide flows like a sluice, the spring tides running at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour. While the ships were in this place, we had very little command of them; for the rapidity of the current carried the California four or five times round, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of her crew to prevent it. There could not be a more surprising spectacle than the view of the water, which raged, foamed, boiled, and whirled about like a great torrent, broken by many rocks: this seems to have no other cause than the narrowness of the channel, in proportion to the vast body of water that passes through it. Many pieces of straggling ice came in with us from the Welcome; and though we went at a great rate, yet by the force of the irregular current they sometimes ran ahead of us, and then fell astern of us again. We were about three hours in this situation; but having passed Savage sound, where the channel grew broader, and the tide less rapid, we found we were more at our ease, and in greater safety. This sound is formed by a chain of small islands that extend at some distance from the north shore, behind which captain Middleton lay, when formerly in this place. On the 30th, we found ourselves off Deer Sound, about eight or ten leagues higher up, and soon after discovered a very good place for securing the ships, in a manner surrounded with high rocky islands that sheltered it from almost every wind: to this place we gave the name of Douglas Harbour, in honour of James and Henry Douglas, Esqrs. After mooring our ships, a council was held aboard the Dobbs galley, in which it was unanimously agreed, that the ships should remain in their present station, while the boats of each should proceed up the streight as far as possible, to determine whether it was a passage to the Western ocean of America or not; and it was resolved, to prevent the ships being detained by waiting for the boats, that if they did not return by the 25th of August, both ships should set sail for England.

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In pursuance of these resolutions, the Captains sailed with proper officers, and a sufficient number of hands, in the boats belonging to their respective ships, upon the last day of the month, with a fine gale, and continued a westerly course till the streight diminished in breadth from ten leagues to scarce one. It was now almost night, when we were alarmed by a very loud noise resembling the sound of a vast cataract; but not being able to discover from whence it came, it was thought necessary to come immediately to an anchor, that some of us might go on the eminences on shore to see what discoveries we could make. This was accordingly done; but the shore proving excessively rocky and steep, it was dark before we could get to the top, and we were obliged to return to our boat very weary, and no wiser than when we went. In ascending these rocky mountains, we had at once as great, as gloomy, and as awful a prospect as perhaps was ever beheld by mortal eyes. While we walked along the beach, the ragged rocks above seemed pendent over our heads: in some places were falls of water, dashing from cliff to cliff; from others hung rows of prodigious icicles, one behind another, like the pipes of a vast organ; but the most tremendous part of the scene were the shattered crags that lay at our feet, and plainly appeared to have been torn from the mountain tops, through the expansive power of the rigorous frosts, and rolled down the sides, till they reached the places where they now lay.

The reader will easily believe, that we spent the night with no great satisfaction. Early in the morning we went ashore, where we soon discovered that the astonishing noise we had heard was occasioned by the tide's being confined in a passage about sixty yards wide: both the body of the water and its rapidity were exceeding great; and though we were above 150 miles from the entrance of the streight, its colour was perfectly bright, its taste was very salt, and the tide commonly rose fourteen feet and a half at the full and change of the moon.

Observing that the streight opened beyond this fall to five or six miles wide, and several miles to the west-

ward, we were still in hopes of a passage: our greatest difficulty was how to pass the fall; but this was much easier than we had apprehended, for I passed it in a little boat when it was in its full fury, and we soon found that it might be crossed without the least hazard at half flood, when the water below the fall was upon a level with that above.

While we lay here, three Indians came to us in their canoes, and appeared from their manners to be the same sort of people as those we met with in other parts of this coast, but much lower in stature; for it is observable, that in sailing north of York fort every thing dwindles, so that in 61 deg. trees sink in brush wood, and beyond the latitude of 67 deg. none of the human species appear. These Indians at first seemed a little timorous, we being probably the first Europeans they had ever seen: but upon our making signs of friendship, they grew bolder, and came to converse with us; when letting them know we wanted tuktoa, which in their language signifies venison, they went ashore and brought us some, that had been cured after their manner by drying, with some pieces of buffaloes flesh that appeared to have been lately killed. These were bought at an easy rate, and they went away highly satisfied.

We passed the fall on the 2d of August, and above it the tide rose only four feet; the shores on both sides were very steep, and no ground was to be felt with a line of 140 fathoms. We still saw seals and white whales; yet, notwithstanding this, most of the company were a good deal discouraged at finding the water almost fresh; but being of opinion that this freshness was only on the surface, I let down the bottle strongly corked, to the depth of thirty fathoms, where the cork was forced in, and the bottle came up full of water, of the same degree of saltness with that in the Atlantic ocean. This revived our hopes; but this gleam of success proved of short continuance, for on the third of August in the evening the water became unexpectedly shoal, upon which we anchored. At day-break the next morning we went ashore; and from the hills, that were not far from the coast, we had the mortification

tion to see our hitherto imagined streight ended in two small unnavigable rivers, one of which plainly fell from a large lake that lay some miles distance to the south-west.

During the stay we made here, six canoes came off to us, and we purchased of them a small quantity of deer and buffaloes flesh, and some dried salmon. We made signs to them that we wanted more, which they readily apprehended, and soon brought a much larger quantity; which we not only purchased, but bought out of mere curiosity some of their cloaths, their bows, and whatever else they were inclined to part with. From these people I endeavoured to obtain some intelligence with respect to another sea, which I strove to suggest to them might lie to the westward; and to make them comprehend what I meant, I chalked out a rude draught of the coast, in hopes they would have continued it; but they did not seem in the least to understand me, and this was a considerable addition to the disappointment we had lately met with. Among the Indians came a person whose dress and language were the same with theirs, yet from his complexion, which was much fairer, and from his being entirely unacquainted with the management of a canoe, he manifestly appeared to be of another nation, and only brought by them to see us. Our Captain, imagining that he might be a slave, and observing how ready they were to part with any thing they had, thought it might not be impossible to purchase him: he therefore sent Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, on shore with a parcel of goods, to try what he could do; but the Indians rejected the offer, in a manner that plainly shewed their dislike.

On the 4th both the boats weighed, and we began to make the best of our way back to the ships; but the wind being high against us, we were obliged in the evening to take shelter in a cove under the south shore; however towards midnight, the wind shifting in our favour, we got under sail, and had not proceeded far, before we were hailed by the people of the California's boat, to inform us that they had lost a man, who had the misfortune to be knocked overboard by the main-  
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fall's suddenly shifting from one side to the other ; but the boat making great way, and the night being very dark, they heard no more of him. We repassed the fall on the 6th, and grappled that night under an island eight or ten leagues below it. Having from thence a strong gale of wind, with much sleet and snow, we soon arrived at the ships.

A council was immediately held for receiving our report ; and Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, intimating some doubts that as the sea ran high, and we were at a considerable distance from the north shore in our return, we might possibly have passed some opening unobserved, which he was the rather inclined to apprehend, as he thought the land looked high and double, with very large breaks between the mountains ; he proposed to take a review in order to obtain full satisfaction. I readily seconded his motion, from the consideration of the extraordinary tides we had observed at Douglas harbour, where they rose sixteen feet and half perpendicular ; and it was resolved, that the Resolution should immediately proceed to obtain full satisfaction.

Mr. Thompson, the chief mate, and myself, went upon this expedition. In our passage we saw many black whales, and a prodigious number of seals ; but about midnight finding ourselves inclosed by the coast and the islands that lay before it, we sounded, and felt ground at thirty fathoms ; and the depth, continuing to diminish, we came to an anchor. In the morning we landed, and discovered from an eminence, that this opening ran several leagues to the south-west ; but that it would be impossible to proceed much farther, on account of several ridges of stones that ran quite across it, and were very visible at low water. We also discovered to the northward of this, another opening, which likewise terminated about three leagues from its entrance, much in the same manner. All hopes of finding a passage in this place being now lost, we returned to the ships as speedily as possible, and reached them on the 14th ; so that we had been absent on this service only one day.

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On the 15th of August, we weighed from Douglas harbour, in company with the California. We were met in the Narrows entering the Wager, by a flood-tide, which detained us several hours. On the 17th the weather being very fair and moderate, and the sky clear, we being now in the Welcome, it was proposed that as we lay within three or four leagues of the Low Breach, we should go thither to try the tide. Accordingly in the evening I went with our second mate for that purpose; but before we could reach the shore it was dark, and past the time of high-water, which made it necessary for us to stay till it was high-water again, in order to execute our commission with certainty. In the mean time the Dobbs lay to in the offing, and fired guns every half hour; but either the wind, or the ebb tide, driving her several leagues to the northward, she was soon at too great distance for us to hear her guns, and by morning was out of sight. At day-break we finished the business for which we came, finding that the tide flowed from the northward, and arose to the height of fifteen feet; and that it was high water somewhat earlier than upon the opposite coast. Our business being now over, it was next to be considered how we should get on board, which seemed attended with difficulties, cloathed with such circumstances of terror, as could not fail of making the strongest impression on our minds. The ship as I have observed was out of sight, and it was impossible for us to know which way to follow her; the wind grew very high, and the weather thick, attended with snow; the boat was small and deep, most of the hands were landmen, and those much indisposed; so that, every thing considered, we were in a deplorable situation. I endeavoured to encourage the people, by representing, that, let the event be what it would, it was better for us to go to sea in search of the ship, than to remain on that inhospitable coast, where there was not the least track of man or beast, no shelter to be had, or so much as a drop of fresh water; and where it was impossible to prolong our lives, as we had hardly one day's provision on board. Influenced by these reasons, the people agreed to put to sea; which we



accordingly did. The wind increasing, and the sea running very high, we took in a great deal of water, and much of our time and labour were employed in throwing it out; so that it was impossible we should have held it much longer. However, when we were about twelve leagues from shore, we, to our great joy, observed the ships; and this giving us fresh spirits, we redoubled our efforts, and soon got safe on board. Happy was it for us that we did so; otherwise we must inevitably have perished: for the wind and sea soon rose much higher, and the weather became so thick and dark, that it would have been impossible to have discerned either the ships or the shore.

On the 19th, the wind, which had been southerly, shifting, we took the advantage of sailing; but the Resolution being a great hindrance, it was judged expedient to take every thing out of her, and turn her adrift; and the weather growing very indifferent, it was agreed to bear away for England. We entered Hudson's Straights on the 29th, and had very pleasant and war weather till the 3d of September, when it grew foggy again. On the 5th we fell in with two of the Hudson's bay company's ships. The uncomfortable weather we now had, chiefly occasioned by the thick noisome fogs, made many of our people relapse into their old distemper the scurvy; which was the more unfortunate, as we were then in the most dangerous navigation of all those seas, owing to the narrowness of the freights, the want of soundings, the huge mountains of ice; which might be well compared to floating rocks, and the dismal dark weather that rendered it very difficult to avoid them. Frightful and shocking as these circumstances were, they soon became so familiar as not much to affect us: and here the danger is so far lessened by keeping a constant watch, and proper discipline among the seamen, that a melancholy accident seldom happens, and the Hudson's bay company's ships return year after year without suffering any disaster.

On the 9th of September we fell into a prodigious strong rippling, the sea breaking over us on all sides, occasioned by the tide setting strongly against a pretty  
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brisk wind; and from hence we judged ourselves to be near the islands of Resolution. There were now several large mountains of ice floating in sight; but we soon left them behind us, as we began to enter a warmer climate. On the night of the 12th we had a most terrible storm, in which we suffered considerably in our rigging; but our masts escaped beyond expectation. During this storm the California was separated from us: the weather however cleared up, and lasted favourable for about ten days; and on the 28th we cast anchor at Carstown, in the Island of Pomona, where, to our great joy, the California arrived the day after, from whom we had been separated about a week, and on the 6th of October sailed from thence in company with the California and four Hudson's bay ships, under the convoy of his Majesty's ship the Mercury, and arrived safely in Yarmouth road on the 14th of the same month, after being one year, four months and seventeen days from our leaving that road. Thus ended a voyage which had raised the expectation of all the maritime countries in Europe, without success; and yet with clearer and fuller proof of the probability of such a passage than had ever before been given.



An Authentic Narrative of the loss of the *Doddington East-Indiaman*, together with the Adventures of those on Board, who survived that Shipwreck, and after living seven Months on a barren Rock, arrived safe at *Madras*. Extracted from the Journal of one of the surviving Officers.

ON the 23d of April 1755, the *Doddington*, commanded by captain Samson, sailed from the Downs, in company with the *Pelham*, the *Houghton*, the *Streatham*, and the *Edgecourt*, all in the service of the East-India company, and in about seven days got clear of the channel; during this time captain Samson perceived that his ship sailed faster than any of the

others, and was unwilling to lose the advantage of this superiority by keeping them company: he therefore stood on alone, and having very soon lost sight of them, he made Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd islands, lat. 16 North, on the 20th of May, and on the 21st he got into Porto Prior bay. It now appeared either that he had been mistaken in supposing his ship to out-sail the rest of the fleet, or that he had lost time by the course he had steered, for he found the Pelham and the Streatham had reached the bay two hours before him. The Houghton arrived soon afterwards, but the Edgcourt did not come in till the 26th.

On the 27th of May, the Doddington, Pelham, Streatham, and Houghton, having taken in their water, proceeded on the voyage together, leaving the Edgcourt in the road; they continued in company steering S. by E. 1-4th E. till the 28th, when Capt. Samson thinking the course too far easterly, ordered the Doddington to be kept South, which again separated her from the rest of the fleet, and after a fine voyage of seven weeks she made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. Having just doubled the Cape, a new departure was taken from de Agulhas on the 8th of July; and the vessel having steered eastward about twenty-four hours, between the latitude of 35 deg. 30 min. and 36 deg. the captain ordered her to be kept E. N. E.

In this course she continued till about a quarter before one in the morning of Thursday, July 17, when she struck: the officer from whose journal this account is taken, was then asleep in his cabin, but being suddenly awaked by the shock, he started up in the utmost consternation, and made all the haste he could to get upon deck; here all the terrors of his situation rushed upon him at once; he saw the men dashed to and fro by the violence of the sea that rolled over them, and the ship breaking to pieces at every stroke of the surge; he crawled over, with great difficulty, to the larboard side of the quarter-deck, which lay the highest out of water, and there he found the captain, who said very little more than they must all perish; in a  
few

few minutes a sea parted them, and he saw him no more. He made a shift to get back to the quarter deck, but he was very much bruised, and the small bone of his left arm broken; all the rest of the ship was under water, and shattered to pieces. In this dreadful situation, expecting every moment to be swallowed up, he heard somebody cry out Land! upon this he looked eagerly about him, but though he saw something which he supposed was taken for land, he believed it only the range of the sea on the other side of the breakers; at the same moment the sea broke over him with great violence, and not only forced him from his hold, but stunned him by a violent blow upon his eye. In this insensible condition he continued upon the wreck, till the day was considerably advanced, and on recovering his senses found himself fastened to a plank, by a nail that had been forced into his shoulder. Besides the pain that he felt from his wounds and bruises, he was so benumbed with cold, that he could scarce move either hand or foot: he called out as loud as he could, and was heard by the people on the rocks, but they could give no assistance, so that it was a considerable time before he could disengage himself and crawl on shore.

This shore was a barren uninhabited rock, in lat. 33 deg. 44 min. South, and distance about 250 leagues East of the Cape of Good Hope\*. Here were now met Mr. Evan Jones, chief mate, Mr. John Collet 2d, Mr. William Webb 3d, and Mr. S. Powell 5th mate; Richard Topping, Carpenter; Neal Bothwell and Nathaniel Chisholm, quarter-masters; Daniel Ladova, the captain's steward; Henry Sharp, the surgeon's servant; Thomas Arnold, a black, and John Macdowal, servants to the captain; Robert Beaseley, John Ding, Gilbert Cain, Terence Mole, Jonas Rosenbury, John Glas, — Taylor, and Hendrick Scantz, seamen; John Yets, midshipman; and John

\* It does not appear by any map, that in lat. 33. deg. 40 min. S. 250 leagues east of the cape, the supposed situation of their rock, they could be within six leagues of any part of the main land; they must therefore be all mistaken in their reckoning.

Lister, Ralph Smith, and Edward Dysoy, matrosses. These persons, being 23 in number, were all that remained of 270 souls that were on board when the ship struck.

Their first care was to search among the things which had been thrown upon the rocks from the ship, for something to cover them, in which they succeeded beyond their hopes. The next thing they felt the want of was fire; and this was not so easily supplied; some of them attempted to kindle two pieces of wood, by rubbing them together, but without success; others went peeping about among the rocks to pick up something that might serve for a flint and steel; after long search they found a box that contained two gun flints and a broken file; this was a joyful acquisition, but still they had nothing that would kindle from a spark, and till something like tinder could be procured, the flint and steel were useless; a farther search was therefore undertaken with inexpressible solicitude and anxiety; a cask of gunpowder was discovered, but to their great disappointment it proved to be wet; however, upon a near examination, a small quantity was found at the bottom of the cask, which had suffered no damage. Some of this they bruised on a linen rag, which served them very well for tinder, and a fire was soon made; the bruised and wounded gathered about it, and the rest went in search of other necessaries, without which the rock could afford them but a short respite from destruction. In the afternoon a box of wax-candles, and a case of brandy were brought in; both were extremely welcome, especially the brandy, of which every one thought it adviseable to take a dram. Soon after some others of the party returned, with an account that they had discovered a cask almost full of fresh water, which was yet of more consequence than the brandy, and Mr. Jones brought in some pieces of salt-pork, and soon after some others arrived driving before them seven hogs, which had come on shore alive; some casks of beer, water, flour, were also seen at a distance, but it was not then possible to get them over the rocks. The approach of night made

made it necessary to provide some shelter; all hands therefore were employed to make a tent of some canvas that had been thrown on shore, which was at last effected, though it was so small for want of more sail-cloth, that it would not hold them all. The island was much frequented by a kind of water-fowl something larger than a duck, called a gannet, and the highest part of it was covered with their dung; upon this part they were obliged to build their tent, for fear of being overflowed, and they placed those who could not walk, under the tent, and kindled a fire near them; but as they had passed the day without food, so they passed the night without rest; for besides that they were sunk a foot in the fowl's dung, the night was so tempestuous that the wind blew about their fire, and before it could be scraped together again, the rain put it out.

In the morning, which was Friday, July the 18th, those that were able went again about the rock, to see what could be saved from the wreck, but to their great mortification they found all the casks which they had seen the night before, except one of beer, and one of flour, staved to pieces against the rocks; soon after these were secured the tide flowed up, and put a stop to the work of that day. The company therefore was called together to eat their first meal, and some rashers of pork were broiled upon the coals for dinner.

The sitting down thus desolate and forlorn, to a repast, which they used to share in the convivial cheerfulness, which naturally arose from the consciousness of present plenty, and the hope of future, struck them with such a sense of their condition, that they burst into passionate lamentations, wringing their hands and looking round them with all the wildness of despair. In such tumults of mind, our thoughts hurry from one subject to another, to fix, if possible, upon something that may afford comfort; and one of the company recollecting, that as the carpenter was among them, they might build a strong sloop, if they could procure materials and tools, mentioned this as a subject of hope to the rest. Every man's attention was immediately turned upon the carpenter, who declared that he had no

doubt

doubt but he should be able to build a sloop that would carry them to some port of safety, if tools and materials could be found; at that time indeed, they had no rational prospect of procuring either, any more than of being able to victual a sloop, if they had one ready built; yet they had no sooner placed their deliverance one remove beyond total impossibility, than they seemed to think it neither improbable nor difficult; they began to eat without repining, and from that moment the boat engrossed their whole conversation; and they not only debated upon the size and manner of rigging her, but to what port they should steer her, whether to the Cape or Delagoa.

As soon as they had finished their repast, some went in search of tools, others to mend the tent; no tools however were found that day.

Saturday, July 19, they secured four butts of water, one cask of flour, one hog'shead of brandy, and one of their little boats, which had been thrown up by the tide, in a shattered condition; but they found no tools except a scraper.

Sunday, July 20, they had the good fortune to find a hamper, in which there were files, sail-needles, gimblets, and an azimuth compass-card. They also found two quadrants, a carpenter's adze, a chisel, and three sword blades, and a chest of treasure. This search was made very early in the morning, as there had been a prodigious surf rolling in all the day before, by which it was reasonable to suppose something would be thrown up. At ten o'clock they all assembled to prayers, and did not go out again till after dinner, when they found most of the packets of letters belonging to the king and the company; these they carefully dried and laid by.

The same day, as they were searching about the beach, they found the body of a gentlewoman, which they knew to be that of Mrs. Collet, the wife of their second mate, who was then at a little distance from the spot. The mutual affection of this couple was remarkably tender, and Mr. Jones, the first mate, immediately stepped aside to Mr. Collet, and found means to take  
him

him to the other side of the rock, while the other two mates, the carpenter, and some others, dug a grave in the bird's dung, in which they deposited the body, reading over it the burial service, from a French prayer-book, which had driven ashore with her from the wreck. Having thus paid the debt of humanity to the dead, and concealed from Mr. Collet a fight which would most sensibly, if not fatally, have affected him, they found means, after some days, to disclose to him, by degrees what they had done, and to give him the wedding-ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion, and afterwards spent many days in raising a monument over the grave, by piling up the squarest stones he could find, on the top of which he fixed an elm plank, and inscribed it with her name, her age, the time of her death, and some account of the fatal accident by which it was occasioned.

On Monday, July 21, they secured some more water and pork, and found some timber, plank, cordage, and canvas. These they secured with great joy for the boat, though as yet they were in want of many implements, without which it was impossible for the carpenter to work. He had just finished a saw, but he had neither hammer nor nails. It happened however, that one of the seamen, Hendrick Scantz, a Swede, having picked up an old pair of bellows, brought them to his companions, and told them, that he had been by profession a smith, and that with these bellows and a forge, which he hoped they would be able, by his direction, to build, he could furnish the carpenter with all the tools he would want, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning the timber which had come on shore from the wreck. This account was received with a transport of joy; the smith immediately applied himself to mend the bellows, and the three following days were spent in building a tent and a forge, in bringing together the timber and plank for the carpenter's use, who was also busy in getting ready the few tools he had, that he might begin the boat as soon as possible.

Thursday,



Thursday, July 24, the carpenter, assisted by Chesholm the quarter master, began to work upon the keel of the boat, which they had determined should be a sloop, thirty feet long, and twelve wide. This day also the smith finished his forge, and laid in a quantity of fir for fuel. From this time the carpenter and smith continued to work with indefatigable diligence, except when they were prevented by the weather; the smith having fortunately found the ring and nut of a bower anchor, which served him for an anvil, supplied chissels, axes, hammers, nails as they were wanted, and the carpenter used them with great dexterity and dispatch, till the 31st, when he fell sick.

As the lives of the whole company depended upon the carpenter, they watched his recovery with the utmost impatience and anxiety, and to their unspeakable joy he was so far recovered on the 2d of August, as to return to his work.

In the mean time the stores which they had saved from the wreck were so near exhausted, that they came to an allowance of two ounces of bread a man per day, and had no salt pork, except what they were determined to keep to victual the boat; water also fell short. In this distress they had recourse to several expedients; they dug a well, in hopes to find a spring, but were disappointed: they attempted to knock down some of the gannets that settled on the top of the rock, and in this they had some success: but they found the flesh very rank, of a fishy taste, and as black as a shoe. They also made a raft or float, called a catamaran, on which they proposed to go out a fishing, with such hooks and lines as had come ashore. They killed also some seals, but all those who eat them were sick.

When then were driven to great distress, they killed a hog, but they had generally success in fishing on a float, and they sometimes sent two at a time. It happened, however, that Mr. Collet the second mate, and Mr. Yets the midshipman, were very near being driven out to sea on one of these floats, where they would inevitably have perished. On the 20th August they had been fishing all the afternoon, till about four o'clock,

when

when they weighed and endeavoured to come in again, but the wind suddenly freshening up to the westward, instead of gaining a head, they drove out very fast. The people on shore perceived their distress, but knew not how to assist them; at last, however, they sent out another float, with killicks and ropes, which they hoped would enable them to ride till the wind became more moderate; but the surf was so great, that it overfet three times, and the men were obliged to swim back. In the mean time they saw their friends driving out to sea at a great rate, and were just giving them up to inevitable destruction, when the carpenter sent them word, that he would make the little boat so tight, that she should not take in water faster than one man could lave it out. This gave them fresh hope, and every one was ready to venture out for the deliverance of their friends. The carpenter dispatched the boat in a quarter of an hour, and she soon overtook the float, and took Collet and Yets on board. They soon found that the water gained very fast upon them, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, and when she came in, she was so full of water, that in a few minutes she must have sunk.

As they were now afraid of venturing any more on the raft, the carpenter went again to work on the little boat, and put her into compleat repair. Their success in fishing was very uncertain; sometimes they took none. Nor were the supplies they gained on shore less precarious; the gannets would sometimes settle in amazing numbers, like a cloud, and sometimes they would totally disappear for several days together. This made them very desirous of finding some way to preserve the food they caught from putrefaction, that they might lay by the surplus of a fortunate day, to serve them when neither gannets nor fish were to be caught. They made several attempts to cure both their fish and their fowl by smoaking it, but without success. They then attempted to make salt, but this had like to have been fatal to them all. The smith had mended a copper vessel for the experiment, and they immediately began to work without knowing that their

their process in salt-making would dissolve the surface of the copper into verdigrease, and that this solution or rust of copper was poison. Salt, however, was procured, but the quality that made it poisonous happened to abound in such a degree, as to make it intolerably offensive to the taste; it was therefore thrown away, but those who had ventured to palate it, were seized with violent cholics, cold sweats, and reachings, which sufficiently convinced them of the danger they had escaped.

Wednesday, Sept. 3. They had now been inhabitants of this desolate rock ever since the 17th of July, near seven weeks, and during this time they had often seen a great smoke on the main land, which made them desirous to send the boat, to try what assistance might be obtained from thence. On this day, therefore, Bothwell, Rosenbury, and Taylor, set out on the discovery, and at night the people on shore made a large fire on the highest part of the rock, as a signal to them.

While they were waiting the return of the boat, they were all thrown into the utmost consternation by an accident which happened to the carpenter, who unfortunately cut his leg with an adze, in such a manner that he was in great danger of bleeding to death, they having no surgeon among them, nor any thing proper to apply to the wound. At length, however, though with much difficulty, the blood was staunch'd, and the wound healed without any bad symptom intervening.

Saturday, Sept. 6. The weather had been fair for forty-eight hours, they expected the return of the boat. At noon they became very uneasy at having seen nothing of her; but just as they were sitting down to dinner, they were agreeably surpris'd by two of their people, who came running over the rocks, crying out, the boat! the boat! They all started up, overjoyed at the sound, and ran to see her come in, with great hopes that she had succeeded; but they soon distinguished that she was rowed only by one man, who plied both oars: they concluded, therefore, that the other two were lost or detained; but presently they saw

saw another get up from the bottom of the boat, where it was supposed he had lain down for a short refreshment, and then the boat came forward somewhat faster, though still at a slow rate. The dinner was now entirely forgot, and after they had waited an hour on the beach with the utmost impatience, the boat came in. The two men were Rosenbury and Taylor, who the moment they stepped on shore, threw themselves on their knees, and in short but earnest ejaculations returned thanks to God for having once more set them safe upon this place, which, barren and desolate as it was, they now considered as an asylum from a situation of much greater distress. Having exerted their utmost effort to bring the boat in, their strength forsook them at once, and they were not able to rise from the ground without assistance.

As soon as they were got over to the tent, every body was busy to procure them some refreshment, for they found that the boat was quite empty both of provisions and water. They dressed them some fish, with as much haste as they could, and perceiving that they were quite exhausted with watching and labour, they left them when they had eaten their meal, without asking any questions, and they immediately fell asleep. The behaviour of these honest sailors to their messmates, was an uncommon instance of hearty kindness, and generous self-denial; the impatience of their curiosity must have been both increased and justified in proportion as they were interested in the account that was to gratify it; yet even this curiosity, in which life itself was concerned, they had the kindness and the fortitude to repress, rather than delay the refreshment of others for its gratification.

The account which was given by the two adventurers when they awoke, was to this effect:

About three o'clock on the day they set out, they got round a point, about six leagues east of the rock; as they approached, it had the appearance of a double point, which encouraged them to hope, that between the two points they should find an harbour; but in this

this hope they were disappointed, for they found a large surf all along the coast. However, about five o'clock, having seen only one of the natives, they ventured to pull in for the shore, but the moment they got into the surf the boat overfet. By this accident poor Bothwell was drowned, and the other two, who reached the shore in an exhausted and feeble condition, were left destitute of every kind of provision, except a small keg of brandy. As soon as they had a little recovered their strength they crawled along the shore to seek for the boat, having no other hope of shelter from the wild beasts, which might be expected to come abroad in the night. After some search they found her, but they were too weak to get her up, and darkness coming on, they were obliged to lie down upon the sand, with no other covering than the branches of a tree, and in this condition they passed the night. As soon as the morning dawned they went to look for the boat, which the surf had driven from where they left her. As they walked along the coast they saw a man, and advanced toward him, upon which he ran away into the woods, that lay near the beach, and were very thick. They went on, and soon after discovered the body of their companion Bothwell, which had been dragged up the sand a considerable distance from the water, and torn to pieces by some wild beast. This terrified them exceedingly, and having found the boat, the dread of passing another night on shore determined them immediately to return. They were, however, prevented in the attempt by a fresh gale at the west, and before they could put back, the boat overfet with them a second time, and drove with them along the shore. After much struggling and swimming, they got once more safe on the land; but as they had now been fasting ever since three o'clock the day before, they were fainting with hunger and fatigue. It happened, however, that they met with a fruit resembling an apple, which they eagerly gathered and eat, without knowing either its name or its quality. By good fortune it did them no harm; and being somewhat refreshed

refreshed by their antediluvian repast, they made shift to haul the boat on shore, and turning it upside down, they crept under it to sleep, being thus very well sheltered from the sun, and secured against the wild beasts. Those who know the irresistible power of sleep, after long watching and excessive labour, will not conclude that their first slumber was short, because their situation was incommodious or insecure; they waked, however, before the next morning, and peeping under the edge of the boat, they could discern the feet of several creatures, which by their claws they supposed to be tygers, pass by them to and again. This was a sufficient motive to remain in their resting place till morning, when they looked out again, and saw the feet of a man. Upon this discovery they came from under the boat, to the great astonishment of the poor savage, and two other men and a boy, who were at a distance. When they got all together, and were a little recovered from their surprize, they made signs to the sailors to go away, which they endeavoured to do, though they were able to move but very slowly. Before they had gone far from the boat, a considerable number of the natives ran down upon them with their lances. It happened that Rosenbury had picked up the mast of the boat and a pistol which had been washed on shore, as he went along; being thus armed, when the Indians came down upon him, and being besides unable to run, he imprudently turned about, and exerting all his strength, advanced towards them in a threatening manner, supposing they would have been seized with a panic and retreated into the woods. It happened, however, that he was mistaken; for instead of running away they surrounded him, and began to whet their lances. Taylor thought it was now time to try what could be done by supplication; he therefore threw himself on his knees, and in a piteous tone cried out for mercy; but Rosenbury took refuge in the water. The savages immediately came up to Taylor and began to strip him: he suffered them quietly to take his shoes and his shirt, but when they

attacked

attacked his trowsers he made some resistance, and by his gestures intreated they would not leave him quite naked, upon which they thought fit to desist. They then made signs for Rosenbury to come to them, who was all this while swimming about in the sea ; but he refused, and made signs that they would kill him. They then pointed to Taylor, intimating that they had not killed him : upon this he came forward, and having first thrown them his pistol, and all his cloaths but his shirt, he ventured to put himself into their hands. When he came up they offered him no violence, only held the boat's mast and the pistol to him, by way of deriding the folly of his attempt to fright them. They seemed to be very much pleased with the cloaths, which they divided among them as far as they would go. Then they began to rife the boat, and having taken all the rope they could find, and the hook by which the rudder hung to the stern post, they began to knock the stern to pieces, for the iron which they saw about it. Next to knocking the poor wretches on the head, this was the worst thing they could do, and, rough as they were, they burst into tears at the injury that was offered to their boat, and intreated the savages to desist, with such agony of distress that they suffered the boat to remain as they found it. Encouraged by this appearance of placability and kindness, and urged by hunger, they asked by signs, for something to eat ; this request was also granted, and having given them some roots, they again made signs for them to depart ; upon which they once more launched their boat, and got into it, but the wind blowing strong from the west, they could not put off. The natives perceiving that they were willing to comply with their desires, but not able, covered them with the boat to sleep under, and left them as they had found them. The next morning, the weather being fine, and the wind easterly, they launched the boat a third time, and returned back to the rock.

From this time till Sunday the 29th of September, the carpenter and smith continued to work upon the boat,

boat, and the people were busy in getting in from time to time what was thrown up from the wreck, particularly cordage and canvas, to rig the boat, and some casks of fresh water, which they were very solicitous to keep for sea-stores, as their escape in the boat scarce depended less upon fresh water than upon the sails themselves. On this day, after they had been at prayers, a duty which was regularly and publicly performed every Sunday, the officers discovered that the chest of treasure had been broke open, and the greater part of it taken away and concealed. It may perhaps be thought strange, that the people, whom danger had made religious, should at the same time be guilty of theft; but, upon this occasion, it should be remembered, that as soon as the ship is lost, the sailors lose their pay, and the captain his command; every distinction and subordination that subsisted on ship-board is at an end; and whatever is cast on shore from the wreck is considered as common property. The men therefore, who thought fit secretly to take what they deemed their share of this treasure, were not in their own opinion guilty of dishonesty, but intended only to secure what they feared the officers would monopolize, and by this means prevent disputes, which, in their circumstances, might produce fatal effects. The officers, however, when they discovered what had been done, and found that nobody would own they knew any thing about it, proposed to write the form of an oath, and administer it separately to every individual, the officers to take it first. But to this the majority immediately objected; for though they might not suppose they had committed a crime by taking the treasure, they knew it would be not only immoral, but impious, to swear they had not taken it. As the minority were not in a condition to support their motion, the affair was suffered to rest, without farther enquiry or remonstrance.

On the 6th of October they found a fowling-piece; this was a joyful acquisition, and though the barrel was much bent, it was soon made serviceable by the carpenter, and used with great success in shooting the birds,



birds, which before they had no way of taking but by knocking them down with a stick.

On Friday, October 11, they perceived the gannets, which had of late forsaken them, to hover again about the rock in great numbers, and were in hopes they would fettle to lay their eggs, in which, to their great joy, they were not disappointed; for after this time they were constantly supplied with eggs in great plenty, till the beginning of January, when the season of laying was past.

On Sunday, October 20, Mr. Collet, Mr. Webb, and two others, ventured out once more on the float, but the wind springing up very fresh, the float broke loose, and drove them to the other side of the rocks. The wind still rising, and the sea running very high, it was impossible for the boat to put out; they were therefore obliged to remain all night among the seals on the rocks, without any shelter or refreshment. But in this situation, however dreadful, they received great comfort from reflecting how much more dreadful it would have been, if instead of being driven on the rocks, their float had been carried out to sea. It was noon the next day before the wind abated, and then the boat ventured off; but as the waves still ran high, it could bring in no more than two at a time, leaving the float behind them. They had now some very rainy weather, which proved very acceptable, as they contrived to save some of the water for sea stores; but they were still in great want of bread, having lived many days on short allowance. As a last resource, they thought of building an oven, for they had some barrels of flour, though they had no bread: in this attempt they succeeded beyond their expectation, and were able to convert their flour into tolerable biscuit.

This biscuit however was at length so near exhausted, that they were obliged to live upon a few ounces a day, without brandy, of which only a small quantity remained inviolable for the use of the carpenter. They were also so short of water, that of this they were allowed but half a pint a day.

In this condition, however, they happily in a great degree preserved their health and vigour, and on the 16th of February they launched their boat, and called her the Happy Deliverance. On the 17th they got their small pittance of stores on board, and on the 18th set sail from the rock, on which they had lived just seven months, and to which at parting they gave the name of Bird Island.

Their whole stock consisted of two butts and four hogheads of water, two live hogs, one firkin of butter, about four pounds of biscuit each man, and ten days subsistence of salt provisions, at about two ounces a day each, but quite rotten and decayed.

On the 18th at one in the afternoon, they weighed with a light westerly breeze, in order to make the river St. Lucia, their first intended port. But misfortune still attended them, so that for twenty-five days successively, they laboured under a continual series of distress, almost without provisions, and opposed by strong currents setting at the rate of a mile and a half an hour; so that though they had a fair wind and a pleasant breeze, they could hardly stem the current. This rendered them very miserable, and obliterated every gleam of hope they entertained of reaching the river of St. Lucia: and as the currents set so strongly to the westward, and the wind being for the most part easterly, they determined to put back, and attempt to reach the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly on the second of March they bore away to the westward; but the next day the sky appeared with a lowering aspect, and threatened a very hard gale of wind from the westward.

They were not mistaken in their opinion; the wind increased apace till the fourth, when they endeavoured to lie to, but shipped such heavy seas, that they expected every surge would dash their slight vessel in pieces; they were therefore obliged once more to bear away, and scud under their top-sail. Sometimes the squalls were so violent, that the sea appeared like cliffs over the stern. In this alarming man-

er the gale continued till the fifth in the morning, when fine weather again returned.

On the seventh it fell calm, and they came to an anchor, about three quarters of a mile from the shore, where they soon perceived several of the natives coming down from the mountains. This sight encouraged them to try whether it was possible to land. Accordingly Thomas Arnold a black servant, with two seamen, were sent in the boat, carrying with them a string of amber beads, as a present to the Indians. Arnold, as soon as the boat came near the beach, leaped over board, and swam on shore, while the boat returned to the vessel, which continued sailing along at a proper distance, in order to find a place where she might land with safety. Arnold, attended by about forty of the natives, followed the vessel to a convenient place for landing, and the boat was again sent to bring the black off. He told them, that when he first got on shore, the natives seemed very shy of him; but at last all of them sat down, and desired him to sit down by them. Upon which he presented the string of amber beads to the oldest man among them, who received it very kindly. He then made signs that he wanted something to eat, upon which they gave him some Indian corn and fruit, and water in a calabash to drink. He added, that the natives had sent up into the country for sheep, bullocks, &c. and was therefore very desirous of landing again. But the wind continuing westerly, they only sent the boat, which soon returned with wood sufficient to last them four days.

They continued sailing along the coast till the 10th of March, when the wind shifting to the eastward, they came to an anchor in twelve fathom water, about half a mile from the shore. In the evening several of the natives came down to the water-side, halloing, and making signs for them to land; but this they found impracticable. In the morning the natives repeated their signals, driving before them a great number of goats and bullocks. This was indeed a pleasing

pleasing sight to persons perishing with hunger; but they still found it impossible to land. In this tantalizing condition they continued till the 14th, when two of the crew begged to be set on shore at any hazard, and permitted to live among the natives, rather than starve on board, having had nothing to eat during the two last days. Accordingly the boat was dispatched with them, and after much difficulty landed them on the shore. Towards evening there was very little wind, which seemed inclinable to shift to the westward. This gave them great uneasiness on account of their companions on shore, fearing it might blow too hard for their vessel to ride till morning; they therefore kept repeating signals all night, by shewing lights, in hopes to bring them to the water side, and get them off before the surf rose too high. They however saw nothing of them till about six o'clock in the morning, when it was too late, there being a fresh gale of wind and a large surf. They therefore waved them along shore, in hopes of finding a more favourable place to get them off; and accordingly bore away, and made sail along shore. They had scarce run two leagues before they came to a very good place, and immediately worked close in shore, anchored in five fathom, got the small boat out, and sent four men in her, two to go and meet the four men that landed yesterday, and two to sound the river's mouth, being in great hopes they should find water enough over the bar for their boat. In about three hours the two men returned with the other four; but they were afraid to attempt to come on board, there being too great a surf to launch the boat.

They spent the night on board with great anxiety, and at day-light weighed and stood close to the shore; but seeing them still loath to venture, they called to them, that if they did not come off immediately, and give them some advice or other, whether there was any possibility of getting into the river, they must be obliged to leave them, being without provisions, or any likelihood of getting any there. Their threaten-

ings had the desired effect, for two of them ventured off in the boat, although there was a large surf. When they came on board they informed the crew that the natives received them very civilly, and gave them beef and fish to eat, and milk to drink, and conducted them over the mountains from the place where they landed till they met their companions. The wind was now easterly, which made it bad riding here; and a fair wind into the river, where they said there was water enough for the vessel. At eleven in the morning they weighed, and stood in for the river. The small boat sounded a-head; but when they came the length of the bar, those on shore waved them back again. On which they wore and anchored again; and when the boat came on board, they were informed there was only eight feet water on the bar, it was therefore necessary to wait till high-water. At two in the afternoon they weighed, and made sail for the river, and got in very well, without shipping any water, and anchored in two and an half fathom water.

Their first care was to consult in what manner they might proceed to trade with the natives for what provisions and other necessaries they were in need of, not having heard of any trade on that part of the coast; however this did not take up much time, as they had but few commodities for that use, such as brass coat buttons, small iron bolts, nails, and some copper hoops, which they made into bracelets for their arms and legs, what the people in India wear commonly in great numbers, and call them bangles. These they took on shore, and shewed them to the natives, at the same time making signs to them, as well as they could, for what they wanted to exchange their commodities, by kneeling down and gnawing the grass, holding their hands up like horns, and making a noise like that of bullocks, sheep, &c. which they soon understood, and were very expeditious in driving down two small bullocks, which they soon purchased for about one pound of copper and three or four brass buttons,  
each

each bullock weighing about five or six hundred, very good meat; and they seemed very well satisfied with their bargain, and promised to bring more bullocks when wanted. They likewise brought down milk in great quantities, and at a very cheap rate, asking only a brass button for about two or three gallons. Likewise a small grain like Guinea wheat, which they purchased at the same rate, and ground between two stones, and baked it upon some embers for bread, in hopes it would keep till they could get better; but this did not succeed, for it grew mouldy in three days, they therefore afterwards boiled it with their meat, and found it very good food. They staid here about a fortnight, during which time they often went up in the country to their towns about ten or twelve miles, where they lived in huts covered with rushes like a kind of thatch, very neat within, and they always offered one for their visitors to lie in if they staid on shore all night, and were extremely obliging. At these times they used to eat with them, and the natives liked the English way of dressing victuals, though they are particularly fond of the intrails, such as the paunch and guts, which they mostly eat raw, only shaking out the excrement. They were also pleased at coming on board the boat, often went up the river in the small boat with them, and behaved very sociably. They were no ways shy of their women, but frequently brought their own sisters and daughters, and left them for a whole day with the English, when they were going into the woods.

Their chief exercise is hunting, and their only arms are lances and two short sticks with a knob at the end, with which, after having wounded their game with the lance, they knock it down.

The river is very full of manattes, or sea cows, which are no ways mischievous; they mostly come on shore in the night, and their chief food is grass; the natives sometimes catch them asleep and kill them to eat. They have a few elephants teeth, which they offered very cheap, but there was no room to stow

them in the boat. They wear little or no cloathing in the day-time, and in the night only a bullock's hide, which they dry thoroughly, and make them very supple. Their chief ornaments are a piece of a bullock's tail, which hangs dangling down from their rump to their heels, with a few small sea shells tied to it; they also wear small pieces of the skin tied round their knees, ankles, and arms. Their hair they plaister up with a great quantity of tallow or fat mixed with a kind of red earth, and they rub their bodies all over with greafe. They are so prodigious active and dextrous with their launces, that they will throw them thirty or forty yards, and hit a small head of corn. They have another method of exercising themselves in the day, and commonly when they meet or part from one another, and that is by dancing and jumping all round a ring, and making a most hideous noise, sometimes halloing, and sometimes grunting like a hog; then running backwards and forwards as hard as they can, flourishing their launces. Another circumstance, which perhaps may be a little surprising, is, that among these natives, who are entirely black, and all wooly haired, they met with a youth, seemingly about twelve or fourteen years of age, quite white, and his features had the true resemblance of an European, having fine light hair, not in the least resembling that of the other natives. They farther observed, that this boy was made use of as a kind of domestic: for they sent him on errands, and sometimes would not let him eat with them, but made him stay till they had done; tho' they are a very amicable sort of people among themselves; for if they have any thing to eat, be it ever so little, the person who has it divides it equally as far as it goes with a seeming pleasure.

Having, by the blessing of Providence, laid in a comfortable stock of provisions, they weighed on the 29th at five in the morning, and soon got on the bar, where they found a very ugly surf breaking quite over the boat, and becalmed their sail, so that they had

had little or no head-way, and were in great fear of driving on the rocks; however they had the happiness to get safe out, and made sail for the river St. Lucia.

Nothing material happened till the 6th, when they entered the river of St. Lucia. On going ashore they found they had a very different people to deal with; for when they shewed them what they had to trade with, they made signs that they wanted a small kind of grain. However, upon shewing them brass buttons, they immediately brought down some bullocks, fowls, potatoes, pumkins, &c. The bullocks could not be purchased, they wanting some brass rings big enough to go round the collar. The fowls, pumkins, &c. were bought at a very cheap rate: five or six grown fowls for a small piece of bunten, not worth above a groat in England. The English continued here three weeks, which they spent in walking about the country, and seeing their towns and method of living, and endeavouring to carry on a petty trade for what they wanted. They seeming to have a great veneration for brass, we carried a brass handle of an old chest, and shewed it them, for which they immediately offered two bullocks, which was readily agreed to; and they drove them down to the boat. They found these a haughty, proud sort of people, and not altogether so honest as the former, having detected the principal governor, whom we had already paid for a lodging in one of their huts for the night, stealing some pieces of iron they had with them in a basket, to defray expences till their return to the boat. They staid two or three days with them in the country, in which time they never could get them to eat with them. They likewise differed greatly from the other people afore-mentioned in their cookery, as they dress all their victuals in a very cleanly manner, and are likewise very cleanly in their bodies; for the first thing they do in the morning is to wash themselves all over; then they go to some kind of devotion, which they never observed in the others. Neither have these



any of the same ornaments the others use. They pride themselves much in their hair, which they dress up very neatly; and they are extremely shy in regard to their women. Their arms are the same as the others, and also their diversions. We found a few men here who came from Delagoa, and had some ambergrease and elephants teeth to dispose of; the latter in great plenty.

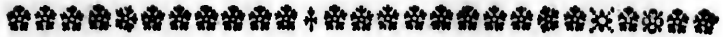
It being a pleasant gale westerly, and fair weather coming on, they weighed on the 18th at seven in the morning, being all on board, and made sail; about a quarter before high-water, when they were got almost to the bar, our people very imprudently hauled the sails down, and let go the grapnail close to the brake of a sand, and nine of them got the boat out, and went on shore, swearing bitterly that they would sooner take their chance of living among the natives than be drowned in attempting to go over the bar; so the rest who remained on board were either to venture over the bar, or to go on shore, the vessel not being able to get back, the wind and tide setting both out of the river, so that before half ebb she would ground and beat to pieces. Therefore, in hopes to save themselves and the boat, they weighed, and soon got to the breakers; there they lay beating in a dismal condition, having no more than eight foot water, and the vessel drawing five foot. After half an hour's conflict, had a kind of smooth on the surface, and by the Almighty's providence, they got safe out of the river St. Lucia. The poor creatures who had left them, some with only a shirt and a pair of drawers, travelled along shore.

In this manner they continued their course till the 20th, when at four in the afternoon they anchored in Delagoa river, in nine fathom, where they found the Rose galley now, captain Chandler, trading for beef and teeth, of whom most of them begged a passage to Bombay. After staying about three weeks, they saw a small country boat coming up the river, which brought three of their people, who left us at the river  
St.

St. Lucia, and they informed them the other six were remaining on the other side of the bay of Delagoa, waiting the opportunity of a boat to bring them over. Here they thought this would be the properest place to secure the treasure, packets, and other effects. In order to which, they enticed four or five of the men on shore, and secured two more on board the snow. This done, Mr. Jones went with captain Chandler's pinnace manned and armed, and took all the money, plate, and packets he could find, and brought them on board the snow, in order to deliver them on their arrival at Madras. The people left in the sloop, being afraid they should pay them another unwelcome visit, took an opportunity of getting away in the night.

On the 25th of May weighed in the Rose galley, in order to proceed to Madagascar, to complete the cargo, on account of a difference between captain Chandler and the natives, who had first sold him upwards of one hundred head of cattle, and afterwards stole them all away. The day they left the land, they saw a sail, which proved to be our sloop, which immediately bore down to them, and two of the people came on board the snow, one of whom was the carpenter, who prevailed on captain Chandler to buy the sloop for 500 rupees, which he gave his note for. They told them they had taken in the other six men who were left behind at the river St. Lucia, three of whom were now dead, and two more very ill; and these in two or three days after died likewise of the fatigue of travelling over land. They then proceeded for Madagascar, in company with the sloop, and in about twenty-two days made the island, and anchored at Morondava, June the 14th; and on the 16th arrived there the Caernarvon, Norton Hutchinson, commander, from Europe for China.

Therefore, as their packets and treasure were directed for Madras, they took a passage in the Caernarvon, and leaving Morondava, July the 1st, arrived at Madras, August the 1st, where they delivered the packets, treasure, and other private effects.



Mr. MARTIN'S Voyage to St. KILDA, the  
most remote of all the Western Isles of  
SCOTLAND.

**T**HE ingenious author of this performance tells us, that he often in vain attempted to visit the island of St. Kilda, till the last summer, when the laird of Mack-Leod heartily recommending the care of the inhabitants of St. Kilda to Mr. John Campbel, minister of Harries, he went to St. Kilda, and Mr. Martin chearfully embracing the occasion, they embarked at the isle Esay in Harries, May the 29th, 1697, with the wind at S. E.

Before they were well got out of the harbour, Mr. Campbell observing the whiteness of the waves, attended with an extraordinary noise beating upon the rocks, expressed his dislike of it, being in those parts a prognostic of an ensuing storm; but the same appearing sometimes in summer, before excessive heat, it was slighted by the crew. But as they advanced about two leagues further, upon the coast of the isle Pabbay, the former signs appearing more conspicuously, they unanimously concluded a storm approaching, which occasioned a motion for their return; but the wind and ebb-tide concurring, determined them to pursue their voyage, in hopes of arriving at their desired harbour, before the wind or storm should rise, which they judged would not be suddenly: but their fond imagination was not seconded with a good event; they had scarce sailed a league further, when the wind inclined more southerly, and altered their measures; they endeavoured by the help of their oars to reach the Haw-sker rocks, about four leagues to the southward; but this they were not able to effect.

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By this time they were advanced so far into the ocean, that after a second motion for their return, it was found impracticable, especially as they could not hope to fetch any point of Scotland; this obliged them to make the best of their way for St. Kilda, though labouring under the disadvantages of wind and tide. Their crew extremely fatigued and discouraged, having seen no land for sixteen hours; at length one of them discovered several tribes of the fowls of St. Kilda flying to the southward, which was a demonstration they had lost their course, by the violence of the flood and wind both concurring to carry them to the northward, though they steered due west by their compass.

Soon after they discovered the isle Borera, near three leagues north of St. Kilda, which was then about four leagues to the south; this was a joyful sight, and after a very laborious attempt reached the island, where they took shelter under the hollow of an extraordinary high rock, which was covered with a prodigious number of Solan geese hatching in their nests. The heavens were darkened by their flight, and their excrements were in such quantity, that they gave a tincture to the sea. Two of them confirmed the truth of what has been frequently reported of their stealing from one another grass wherewith to make their nests, by affording the following very agreeable diversion. One of them finding his neighbour's nest without the fowl, lays hold on the opportunity, and steals from it as much grass as he could conveniently carry off, taking his flight towards the ocean; from thence he presently returns, as if he made a foreign purchase, but it does not pass for such: For the owner had discovered the fact, before the thief had got out of sight, and, too nimble for his cunning, waits his return, all armed with fury, and engages him desperately; this bloody battle proved fatal to the thief, who fell dead so near their boat, that the men took him up, and presently dressed and

eat him ; which they reckoned as an omen of good success in the voyage.

They proposed being at St. Kilda next day, but their expectation was frustrated by a violent storm, which almost drove them to the ocean. But a calm succeeding, the next day they were rowed to St. Kilda. As they came close upon the rocks, some of the inhabitants, who were then employed in setting their gins, welcomed the boat with a "God save you," their usual salutation, admiring to see them get thither contrary to wind and tide ; they were walking unconcernedly on the side of this prodigious high rock, at the same time keeping pace with the boat, to the great admiration of Mr. Martin and his companion, who expected to see some of them tumble headlong into the sea ; but they themselves had no such fears, for they outran the boat to the town, from thence they brought the steward and all the inhabitants of both sexes to receive the strangers ; who now approached the outmost part of the low rock, called the Saddle, on which stood a number of the inhabitants, having on their feet the usual dress on such occasions, i. e. socks of old rags sowed with feathers instead of thread. As soon as the boat came pretty near, it was kept off this rock with long poles ; some of their number coming by pairs into the sea, received Mr. Campbell and our author upon their shoulders, and carried them to land, where they were received with all the demonstrations of joy and kindness they were able to express\*.

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\* The reverend Mr. Kenneth Macauley, who visited St. Kilda in the year 1758, gives us a very remarkable account of the dangers attending his landing on the island. He had also been overtaken in his passage with a terrible storm, and it was not without the utmost difficulty they reached the island, and came to an anchor before the Saddle. "The people of St. Kilda,

They all walked together to the little village, where there was a lodging prepared for them, furnished with beds

“ Kilda, says that gentleman, upon the first notice they had of our arrival on their coast, flew down from the village to our assistance, men, women, and children.—From their behaviour on the rock, to which we lay pretty close, it evidently appeared that they have humanity enough to feel deeply for their fellow creatures in distress.—It was impossible for us to understand the meaning of their cries; only we had reason to believe that they were greatly affected with our danger.—From the repeated signals they made, we concluded at last, that, in their opinion, we might safely weigh.—Trusting to their superior skill, we took the hint without loss of time. But after approaching the Saddle, in spite of our united efforts, we were soon reduced to the disagreeable necessity of shearing off.

“ A little to the west of this rock is a sandy beach, accessible only at low water.—Here is a sort of landing place, though extremely dangerous, and for that reason seldom attempted, unless the weather be very favourable.—To this beach the people ran in a body, after having directed us to the same place. — We obeyed willingly, and they with an amazing intrepidity flew into the water to meet us; a most desperate adventure, in which any other race of men would hardly think of engaging, were they to see their nearest relations in the same danger. The disposition they made was this: after having divided and formed themselves into two links, the two ablest men among them marched forward into the sea, each in front of his own little corps. — Those next in strength and stature, seized these two leaders by the middle, and the rest, from one end of the row to the other, clung fast to those immediately before them, wading forward till those

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beds of straw ; and according to the ancient custom of the place, the officer, who presides over them in the steward's absence, summoned the inhabitants, who by concert agreed upon a daily maintenance for the strangers, as bread, butter, cheese, mutton, fowls, eggs, fire, &c. all which was to be given in at their lodging twice every day ; this was done in the most regular manner, each family by turns paying their quota proportionably to their lands : the allowance for each man per diem, beside a barley cake, was eighteen of the eggs laid by the fowl called by them Lavy, and a greater number of the lesser eggs, as they differed in proportion ; the largest of these eggs

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“ who were foremost in the rank, and after them every one else, in the order in which he stood, got hold of the boat — Those who go from year to year to St. Kilda, always take the precaution to wrap a strong rope round the stern of their boat, and tie the other to the prow. As soon as the St. Kildians have posted themselves round it, they immediately hand about the two ropes from one to another, till the women and children who stand upon the beach come at it, so as to have their share in the work. — This operation which is so very necessary, being soon over, a general signal is given, and every individual exerts himself with all his strength and spirit : the consequence is, the boat, and every thing contained in it, are with surprising quickness and dexterity hauled on shore beyond the reach of the sea.

“ All the strength of this art, was with the greatest alacrity tried upon this occasion, and with a success beyond any thing I could have expected. — Without giving time to any of us to jump out into the water, the St. Kildians hoisted up, almost in a moment, our little vessel, ourselves, and all the luggage that belonged, to a dry part of the strand.”

is near in bigness to that of a goose, the rest of the eggs gradually of a lesser size.

The inhabitants live together in a small village, carrying all the signs of an extreme poverty; the houses are of a low form, and the doors all to the north-east, to secure them from the shocks of the tempestuous south-west winds. The walls of the houses are rudely built of stone, the short couples joining at the ends of the roof, upon whose sides small ribs of wood are laid, and these covered with straw; the whole secured by ropes made of twisted heath, the extremity of which on each side is poised with stone to preserve the thatch from being blown away. This little village is seated in a valley surrounded with four mountains, serving as ramparts of defence, and are so many amphitheatres, from whence a fair prospect of the ocean and isles may be seen in a fine day.

This isle is by the inhabitants, as likewise by all the western islanders, called Hirt; Buchanan calls it Hirta; Sir John Narborough, and all sailors, St. Kilda; in sea maps it is called St. Kilder, and lies in the latitude of 58 deg. 30 min. north, and about 20 leagues to the westward of Harries.

The air is sharp and wholesome; the hills are often covered with ambient white mists, which in winter are forerunners of snow, if they continue on the tops of the hills; and in summer, if only on the tops of the hills, they prognosticate rain; when they descend to the valleys excessive heat. The night here about the time of the summer solstice is not above an hour in length, especially if the season be fair. The harvest and winter are liable to violent winds and rain.

St. Kilda is two miles long from east to west, one mile in breadth from north to south, and five miles in circumference. It is naturally fenced with one continued face of a rock of great height, except a part of the bay, which lies to the south-east, and is generally well defended with a raging sea: this bay is half a mile in length, and as much in breadth. The only



only place for landing, is on the north side of this bay, upon a rock with a little declination, which is slippery, being covered with several sort of sea-weeds; these, with a boisterous sea, render the place almost inaccessible, except in neap-tides, when the wind is either north-east, or west, or a perfect calm should happen; when these circumstances concur, the birlin, or boat, is brought to the side of the rock, and hawled above the high-water mark, by the joint assistance of all the inhabitants of both sexes.

At the head of the bay is a plain sand, only to be seen in summer, the winter sea washing it all off the stones; but necessity only can compel any person to attempt a landing here. The sea is very impetuous every where about this isle; which may be reckoned among the strongest forts, natural or artificial, in the world; nature has provided the place with store of ammunition for acting on the defensive; that is, a heap of loose stones in the top of the hill Oterveaul, directly above the landing-place; and it is very easy to discharge vollies of this ammunition directly upon the place of landing, from a lofty eminence almost perpendicular. The four great mountains are faced on the side towards the sea, with rocks of extraordinary height; the hill Conagir on the north side, is not less than two hundred fathoms perpendicular above sea.

Upon the west side of this isle lies a valley declining towards the sea, with a rivulet running through the middle of it, on each side of which is an ascent of half a mile; all which piece of ground is called by the inhabitants, The Female Warrior's Glen; this amazon is famous in their traditions: her house, or dairy of stone, is yet extant; some of the inhabitants dwell in it during the summer; the whole is built of stone, without any wood, lime, earth, or mortar to cement it, and is in form of a cone, in the top of which is a vent, the fire being always in the center of the floor; the stones are long and thin, which supplies the defect of wood: the body of this  
house

house will contain about nine persons sitting ; there are three beds, or low vaults at the side of the wall, which will hold five men each, and are separated by a pillar ; at the entry to one of these low vaults is a stone standing upon one end ; upon this she is reported ordinarily to have laid her helmet ; there are two stones on the other side, upon which she is said to have laid her sword : they tell you she was much addicted to hunting, and that in her days, all the space betwixt this isle and that of Harries, was one continued tract of dry land.

St. Kilda abounds with excellent fountains or springs ; that near the female warrior's house is reputed the best ; it is called Tou-bir-nimbeuy, importing no less than the well of qualities or virtues ; it runs from east to west, and is sixty paces above the sea ; the water is very clear, exceeding cold, light, and diuretic.

Near the town is a very large well, called St. Kilder's Well ; this water is not inferior to that above-mentioned ; it runs to the south east from the north-west.

Within half a mile of the latter is another well named after one Conirdan, an hundred paces above the sea, and runs from north-west towards the south-east.

Another celebrated well issues out of a rock on the north side of the east bay, called the Well of Youth, but is only accessible by the inhabitants, no stranger daring to climb the steep rock ; the water of it is received as it falls into the sea. A rivulet runs close by the town, and another larger beyond Kilder's Well ; this last serves for washing linen, which it does to perfection without soap.

The whole island is one hard rock, formed into four high mountains, three of which are in the middle ; all thinly covered with black or brown earth, not above a foot deep, except the top of the hills, where it is above three feet, and affords good turf ; the grass is very short but sweet, producing plenty of milk ;

milk ; the number of sheep commonly maintained in St. Kilda, and the two adjacent isles, does not exceed two thousand.

There are not more than eighteen horses in the whole island, very low, and all of a red colour. The cows, which are about ninety in number, are of a low stature, but fat and sweet ; the dogs, cats, and all the sea fowls of this isle are speckled.

The soil is very fertile, generally producing sixteen, eighteen, or twenty fold ; they use no plough but a kind of crooked spade. Their arable land is very nicely parted into ten divisions, and these into subdivisions. The chief ingredient of their compost is ashes of turf mixed with straw ; with these they mix their own urine, and the bones, wings, and entrails of their sea fowls.

Leyinis, a rock about fourteen paces high, and thirty in circumference, but narrower at the top, stands about half a league to the south-east bay, covered with no kind of earth or grass ; a spring of fresh water issues out from the side of it ; this rock, by an ancient custom, belongs to the galley's crew. Berwixt the west point of St. Kilda, and the isle Soa, is the famous rock Stackdonn, i. e. a Mischievous Rock, having proved so to several of the inhabitants, who have perished in attempting to climb it ; it is much of the form and height of a steeple ; there is a very great dexterity, and it is reckoned no small piece of gallantry, to climb this rock, especially that part of it called the Thumb, which is so little, that of all the parts of a man's body, the thumb only can lay hold on it, and that must be only for the space of one minute ; during which time his feet have no support, nor does any part of his body touch the stone, except the thumb, in which minute he must jump by the help of his thumb, and the agility of his body, to a sharp point of the rock, which when he has reached, puts him out of danger, and having a rope about his middle, which he casts down to the boat, by the help of this he brings up as many persons as are designed for  
fowling

fowling at this time; the foreman, or principal climber has the reward of four fowls bestowed upon him over and above his proportion; perhaps, one might think four thousand too little to compensate so great a danger as this man incurs; but he has the advantage by it of being recorded among their greatest heroes; as are all the foremen who lead the van in getting up this Mischievous Rock.

About a pistol-shot distant from this rock is the isle Soa, a mile and an half in circumference, but contracted narrower toward the top, being a full half mile in difficult ascent all round, most of it bare rock, some parts of it covered with grass, but dangerous to ascend; the landing is also very hazardous, both with regard to the raging of the sea, and the steep rock that must be climbed; yet the inhabitants are accustomed to carry burthens both up and down this precipice. There is scarce any landing here, except in one place, and that only in a westerly wind and a neap tide; the waves upon the rock discover when it is accessible; if they appear white from St. Kilda, the inhabitants do not so much as offer to launch out their boat, in order to land in Soa, or any other isle or rock, tho' their lives were depended upon it. This little isle is furnished with an excellent spring, the grass is very sweet, feeds five hundred sheep, each of which generally has two or three lambs at a birth, and every lamb so fruitful, that it brings forth another before itself is a year old. The same is also observed of lambs in the little isles adjacent to those of Harries and North-Wist. The sheep in the isle Soa are never milked, which disposes them to be the more prolific: there are none to catch them but the inhabitants, who pursue those creatures nimbly down the steep descent, with as great freedom as if it had been a plain field.

This isle abounds with an infinite number of fowl, as fulmar, lavy, falk, bowger, &c.

About two leagues and a half to the north of St. Kilda, is the rock Stack-Ly. It is about two hundred paces in circumference, and of a great height, being

a perfect triangle terminating in a point at the top; it is visible above twenty leagues distant in a fine day. It has neither grass nor earth to cover it, but appears sometimes perfectly white with Solan geese sitting on and about it. One would think it next to impossible to climb this rock; but the inhabitants attempt it annually, and have erected near the top, a stone pyramidal house, where they often lodge during the month of August, at which time the season proves inconstant. This obliges the inhabitants in point of prudence to send a competent number of those to whose share the lot falls, to land on this rock some days before the Solan geese take wing; for if they neglect this piece of foresight, one windy day may disappoint them of five, six, or seven thousand Solan geese, which this rock yearly affords. They are so very numerous here, that they cannot be divided in respect to their lands, as elsewhere; and for this reason the fowlers sent hither act for the public interest, and when they have knocked down all they can reach, they then carry them to a sharp point, called the Casting-Point, whence they throw them into the sea, until the boatmen cry, Enough, lest the sea, which has a strong current there, should carry them off, as it sometimes does, if too many are thrown down at once. In this manner they load their boat; and at their return every man has his share proportioned to his lands, and what remains under the number ten, is due to the officer as a part of his yearly salary. In this rock the Solan geese are allowed to hatch their first eggs, but not in the rocks next to be described; and that for this reason, that if all were allowed to hatch at the same time, the loss of the product in one rock would prove the loss of all the rest, since all would take wing pretty nearly at the same time.

The isle Borera lies about half a league to the north-east of Stack-Ly. It is about one mile and a half in circumference, and feeds about four hundred sheep, and would feed more, did not the Solan geese pluck a large share of the grass for their nests.

This

This is a very lofty island, wholly furrounded with rocky precipices, which render it inaccessible, except in a calm, and has only one place for landing; towards the south: Near the west end of this isle is Stallir-House, which is much larger than that of the female warrior in St. Kilda, but of the same model in all respects; it is all green without like a little hill; the inhabitants have a tradition that it was built by one Stallir, a devout hermit of St. Kilda; and had he indeed travelled the universe he could scarcely have found a more solitary place for a monastic life\*.

There are about forty stone pyramids in this isle, for drying and preserving their fowl, &c. These little houses are all built of loose stones, without the smallest help of timber. Every stone hangs over that immediately below it; and thus by imperceptible degrees, the highest courses are near enough to be covered

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\* Mr. Macauley gives a different account of this curious relick of antiquity. He tells us, that at the distance of many ages back, a bold, public-spirited, or self-interested person, whose name was Staltar, or the Man of the Rocks, headed an insurrection against the governor or steward, and possessed himself of Soay, which he defended for some time, and erected a strange kind of habitation for himself and his accomplices.—The house is eighteen feet high, and its top almost level with the earth, by which it is furrounded; it is below of a circular form, and all its parts are contrived in such a manner, that a single stone covers the top.—If this stone be removed, the house has a sufficient vent. In the middle of the floor is a large hearth; and round the wall a paved seat, on which sixteen persons may conveniently sit. Here are four beds roofed with strong flags, or stone lintels, every one of which is capable of holding four men. Each of these beds has a separate entry, and the distances between these openings resemble in some degree so many pillars.

This

wered with a single flag at the top. Here is also a surprising number of fowl, the grafs as well as the rocks being filled with them.

A small diftance to the weft of Borera lies the rock Stack-Narmin; this rock is half a mile in circumference, and as inaccessible as any of the reft; there is a poffibility of landing only in two places; nor even there except in a perfect calm, and after landing the danger in climbing is very great. The rock has neither earth or grafs to cover it, has a fountain of good water iffuing out above the middle of it, running eafterly, and abounds with Solan geefe and other fowl; here are feveral ftone pyramids, as well for lodging the inhabitants that attend the feafons of the Solan geefe, as for thofe that preferve and dry them.

There is a violent current, both at ebb and flood, upon all the coafts of St. Kilda, the leffer ifles and rocks. It is obferved to be more impetuous with fpring than neap tides; there are eddies on all the coafts, except at a fharp point where the tides keep their due courfe; the ebb fetts to the fouthward and flood to the northward.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are originally defcended of thofe of the adjacent ifles, Lewis, Harries, South and North Vift, and Sky: both fexes are naturally grave, and of a fair complexion; fuch as are not fair are natives only for an age or two; but their off-fpring proves fairer than themfelves. Several of them would be reckoned among beauties of the firft rank, were they upon a level with others in point of drefs.

Some of both fexes have a genius for poetry, and are great admirers of mufic: the Jews harp is the only mufical inftrument they have, which difpofes them to dance. Their fight is extraordinary good, and they can difcern things at a great diftance: they have very good memories, and are refolute in their undertakings, chaffe and honeft, but reputed jealous of their wives. They argue clofely, and with lefs paffion than other iflanders, or thofe inhabiting the high-lands on the continent.

They

They are very cunning, and there is scarce any circumventing of them in traffic and bartering: the voice of one is the voice of all, being all of a piece, one common interest uniting them firmly together. They marry very young, the women at about thirteen or fourteen; and are nice in examining the degrees of consanguinity before marriage.

The inhabitants are Christians, and much of the primitive temper, neither inclined to enthusiasm nor to popery.

They have three chapels, each of them built with one end towards the east, the other towards the west, the altar always placed at the east end; the first of these is called Christ Chapel, and stands near the village; it is thatched after the manner of their houses; and on the altar lies a brazen crucifix, not exceeding a foot in length; the body is compleatly done, distended, and in the crucified posture. They hold this piece of sacred furniture in the highest reverence, though they pay no kind of adoration or worship to it; nor do they either handle or see it, except when they are married, or swear decisive oaths; and both these ceremonies are publickly performed. The church-yard is about an hundred paces in circumference, fenced in with a little stone wall; within which they bury their dead, and take care to keep it perfectly neat, nor suffer their cattle to have any access to it. The inhabitants, young and old, come to the church-yard every Sunday morning, the chapel not being capacious enough to receive them; here they devoutly say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

The second chapel is dedicated to St. Columba, and the third to St. Brianan; both are built after the manner of Christ's Chapel; having church-yards belonging to them, and are a quarter of a mile distant from each other.

They told me of a ship that dropped anchor in the mouth of the bay the preceding year, and that the lowlanders aboard her were not Christians; I enquired

if

They



if thier interpreter, who they said spoke bad Irish, had owned this to be a truth. They answered in the negative; but that they knew this by their practices, and that in these three particulars; the first was the working upon Sunday, carrying several boats full of stones aboard for ballast; the second was the taking away some of their cows without any return for them, except a few copper pieces; and the third was, the attempt made by them to ravish their women, a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda, where there has not been one instance of fornication or adultery for many ages before this time. I remember they told me, that the bribe offered for debauching the poor women, was a piece of broad money, than which there could be nothing less charming in a place where the inhabitants make no distinction betwixt a guinea and a six-pence.

Their marriages are celebrated after the following manner: when any two of them have agreed to take one another for man and wife, the officer who presides over them, summons all the inhabitants of both sexes to Christ's Chapel, where being assembled, he enquires publicly if there be any lawful impediment why these parties should not be joined in the bond of matrimony? and if there be no objection to the contrary, he then enquires of the parties, if they are resolved to live together in weal and woe, &c. After their assent, he declares them married persons, and then desires them to ratify their solemn promise in the presence of God and the people, in order to which the crucifix is tendered to them, and both put their right hands upon it, as the ceremony by which they swear fidelity one to another during their lives.

The island of St. Kilda is the property of the laird of Mack-Leod, chief of one of the most ancient families of Scotland; it is never farmed, but commonly bestowed upon some favourite, one of his friends or followers, who is called Steward of the isle.

The number of people inhabiting this isle at present is about one hundred and eighty, who in the steward's absence

absence are governed by their meijre, a name which imports an officer. This officer was anciently chosen, or at least approved of, by the people, before the steward settled him in his office, but now the stewards have the nomination of him absolutely; he is president over them in all their debates, takes care that the lots be managed impartially, that none to whose share they fall may have cause to repine, whether it be for the steward's service, or that of the commonwealth. The use of the lots, together with the crucifix, contribute greatly to their peace and quiet, keeping every one within his proper bounds.

They are remarkably active and dextrous in climbing the rocks in search of the fowls which breed here in amazing multitudes. In order to this they furnish themselves with ropes to carry them through the more inaccessible openings among rocks; there are only three of these ropes in the whole island, each of them twenty four fathoms in length; and they are either lengthened by tying the one to the other, or used separately as occasion requires; the chief thing upon which the strength of these ropes depends, is cows hides salted, and cut out in one long piece; this they twist round the ordinary rope of hemp, which secures it from being cut by the rocks; they join sometimes at the lower end two ropes, one of which they tie about the middle of one climber, and another about the middle of another, that they may assist one another in case of a fall; in this manner they procure an incredible number of eggs and fowls.

The ropes belong to the commonwealth, and are not to be used without the general consent; the lots determine the time, place, and persons for using them: they get together in three days a much greater number of fowls and eggs than their boat is able to carry away, and therefore what is over and above they leave behind in stone pyramids built for this purpose.

Their habit consists of a short doublet reaching to their waist, about that a double plait of plad, both ends being joined together with the bone of a Ful-





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mar; this plad reaches no lower than their knees, and is above the waist girt with a leather belt; they wear caps of the same colour and shape with capuchins, but shorter, and bonnets on Sundays; some of late have got breeches, made wide and open at the knees; they wear cloth stockings, and go without shoes in summer; their leather is dressed with the roots of tormentil.

The women wear upon their heads a linen dress, strait before, and drawing to a small point behind below the shoulders, a foot and an half in length, and a lock of about sixty hairs hanging down each cheek, to their breasts, the lower end tied in a knot; their plad, or upper garment, is fastened upon their breasts with a large round buckle of brass in form of a circle; they wear neither shoes nor stockings in the summer time; their ordinary and only shoes are made of the necks of Solan geese, which they cut above the eyes, the crown of the head serves for the heel; this shoe does not last above five days, and if the downy side be next to the ground, not above three or four; however, there are plenty of them, some thousands being caught, or, as they term it, stolen every March.

They preserve the Solan geese in their pyramids during the whole year, sitting them down the back, for they have no salt. They have built above five hundred of these stone pyramids for their fowls, eggs, &c.

There is only one boat, sixteen cubits long, which serves the whole commonwealth; it is very curiously divided into apartments proportionable to their lands and rocks; every individual has his space distinguished to a hair's breadth, which his neighbour cannot encroach so much as to lay an egg upon it.

In the side of a cliff south of the town, is a famous rock called the Mistress-Stone; it exactly resembles a door, and is placed in the very front of this rock, which is twenty or thirty fathom perpendicular in height. Upon the lintel of this door, every batche-

lor is, by an antient custom, obliged in honour to give a specimen of his affection for his mistress: he is to stand on his left foot, the one half of it hanging over the rock, in this situation he draws the right foot towards the left, bows, and puts both his fists further cut to the right foot. This performance acquires him no small degree of reputation; for he is ever after accounted worthy of marrying the finest woman in the world. They firmly believe this achievement is always attended with the desired success.

They know the time of the day by the motion of the sun from one hill or rock to another: upon either of these the sun is observed to appear at different times; and when the sun does not appear, they measure the day by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they can tell exactly, though they should not see the shore for some days together: their knowledge of the tides depends upon the changes of the moon, which they are likewise very exact in observing.

Both sexes have a great inclination to novelty; and, perhaps, any thing may be thought new with them that is but different from their way of managing land, cattle, fowl, &c. A parcel of them were always attending the minister and me, admiring our habit, behaviour, &c. In a word, all we did or said was wonderful in their esteem; but above all, writing was most astonishing to them; they cannot conceive how it is possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of his mind in such black characters upon white paper. After they had with admiration argued upon this subject, I told them, that within the compass of two years or less, if they pleased, they might easily be taught to read and write, but they were not of the opinion that either of them could be obtained, at least by them in an age.

The officer in his embassy in July last, travelled so far as to land on the continent next to Sky, and it was a long journey for a native of St. Kilda, for scarce any of the inhabitants have ever had the opportunity of travelling so far into the world.

They observed many wonderful things in the course of their travels ; and think Mack-Leod's family is equivalent to that of an imperial court, and believe the king alone to be superior to him : they say his lady wore so strange a lowland dress, that it was impossible for them to describe it ; they admired glass windows prodigiously, and a looking-glass to them was a prodigy ; they were amazed when they saw hangings covering a thick wall of stone and lime, and condemned it as vain and superfluous.

They reckon the year, quarter, and month, as in Great Britain. They compute the several periods of time by the lives of the proprietors and stewards, of whose greatest actions they have a tradition, of which they discourse with as great satisfaction, as any historian reflecting on the Cæsars, or greatest generals in the world.

They account riding one of the greatest of earthly grandeurs, and told me with a strange admiration, that Mack-Leod travelled not on foot, as they supposed all other men did, and that they had seen several horses which were kept on purpose for him to ride upon.

One of their number landing on the isle of Harries, enquired who was the proprietor of those lands ? they told him, that it was Mack-Leod ; which did not a little raise his opinion of him. This man afterwards, when he was in the isle of Sky, and had travelled some miles there, one day standing upon an eminence, and looking round about, fancied he saw a great part of the world, and then asked to whom those lands belonged ? and when one of the company had acquainted him, that Mack-Leod was master of those lands also, the St. Kilda man, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out with admiration, " O mighty prince ! who art master of such vast territories !" This he expressed so emphatically in the Irish language, that the saying from that time became a proverb, whenever any body would express a greatness and plenitude of power.

One



One of the things they admired most, was the growth of trees; they thought the beauty of the leaves and branches admirable, and how they grew to such a height above plants, was far beyond their conception: one of them, much astonished, told me, that the trees pulled him back as he travelled through the woods and they resolved once to carry some few of them on their backs to their boats, and take them to St. Kilda, but upon second thoughts, the length of the journey, being through the greatest part of the isle of Sky, deterred them from this undertaking, for though they excel others in strength, they are yet but bad travellers on foot, being so much unused to it.

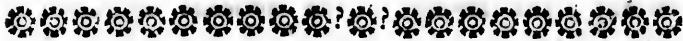
Another of their number travelling in the isle of Sky, to the south part of it, thought this a prodigious journey; and seeing in the opposite continent the shire of Inverness, divided from Sky only by a narrow sea, enquired of the company, if that was the border of England.

An inhabitant of St. Kilda, after he had taken a pretty large dose of aqua-vitæ, and was become very heavy with it, as he was falling into a sleep, and fancying it to be his last, expressed to his companions the great satisfaction he had in meeting with such an easy passage out of this world; for, said he, it is attended with no kind of pain. In short, their opinion of foreign objects is as remote from the ordinary sentiments of other men as they are themselves from all foreign converse.

In short the inhabitants of St. Kilda, are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty. They enjoy in reality the fancied happiness of the people in the golden age. They live in innocency and simplicity, purity, mutual love, and cordial friendship; free from solicitous cares, and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and all their train of fatal consequences. They are altogether ignorant of the vices of foreigners, and governed by the dic-

tates of reason and christianity, as it was first delivered to them by those heroic souls, whose zeal animated them to despise danger and trouble, that they might plant religion in one of the remotest corners of the world.

They would doubtless be the happiest people on this habitable globe, if they knew their own felicity, and how much they are above the avarice and slavery of the rest of mankind. Their way of living makes them contemn gold and silver, as below the dignity of human nature; they live by the munificence of heaven, and have no designs upon one another, but such as are suggested by justice and benevolence.



A succinct Account of the Russian Discoveries, with regard to the North-West Coast of America, and of their visiting the Islands of Japan.

**T**HE long and expensive voyage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, has induced the commercial part of the world to be very assiduous in enquiring, whether it was not possible to find a shorter and safer passage to the eastern coasts of Asia, and several schemes have been accordingly proposed for this purpose. The first was that of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Suez, a neck of land between the river Nile in Egypt and the Red sea; in order to open a passage to the Indian ocean, through the straits of Babelmandel. This was actually attempted more than once by the ancients; but the projectors were at last convinced from experience, that they had undertaken a work they were unable to finish.

This scheme being thus rendered abortive, another was proposed, that of cutting a passage through the isthmus

isthmus of Darien, a neck of land that connects together the two continents of North and South America. But they were soon convinced, that the execution of this design must meet with unsurmountable difficulties, from the unhealthiness of the climate, the amazing mountains, and other natural obstacles, and the prodigious number of hands necessary for executing so enormous an enterprize. Besides the distance to the coast of Coromandel, Bengal, &c. would have been much greater from England through a canal across the isthmus of Darien, than round the Cape of Good Hope. Nor would it have been possible to have returned in any reasonable time from the East Indies through such a passage, because of the trade winds, against which the greater part of the voyage must have been performed.

These schemes being therefore justly considered as visionary, enquiry was made whether nature herself had not opened such a passage, by which a voyage to the East Indies might be performed in less time and with less difficulty. Two different parts of the globe seemed to promise such a passage, one to the north-west round North America, the other to the north-east, about the northern coasts of Europe and Asia. Both these have been tried without success, though in all probability there are passages both to the north-west and north-east. But the severity of the cold in these northern parts of the globe, together with the vast islands of ice that continually float in the Frozen Ocean, seem to render either of these passages useless, even supposing the distance was much less than it really is. Experience has sufficiently demonstrated the danger and misery that always attend long voyages in these severe climates, where that fatal distemper the scurvy makes the most frightful ravages, when the men are obliged to subsist on salt provisions.

The Russians have for some years pursued these discoveries with considerable success. They have found that the continents of Asia and America are actually

separated from each other by a strait, which in some places is not more than one hundred and fifty miles wide, having islands in it, by which the communication is facilitated between these two large continents; the inhabitants of which knew one another from early times.

The Russians have also discovered, that there is a free passage from Kampschatka, and the coasts of the sea of Ochazk, to the islands of Japan, and consequently to the different parts of China and the East-Indies. Among other proofs of this assertion, the following voyage made by the direction of commodore Bering in the year 1738, will we presume be sufficient to satisfy the reader.

Commodore Bering was a Dane by birth, and had in his youth made several voyages to the East and West Indies, when the great encouragement given by the Czar Peter the Great, to persons skilful in maritime affairs, tempted him to seek his fortune in Russia. He served in all the naval expeditions during the Swedish war, and joined to the capacity requisite for his office a long experience, which rendered him particularly worthy of being employed on so important a service.

This gentleman, having received orders for pushing the Russian discoveries in the eastern part of that empire, repaired to Ochotzk, in order to put these orders in execution, and attempt a voyage to Japan. Captain Spanberg, who was appointed commander of one of the vessels in this expedition, gave orders for two vessels to be built at that place, one a hucker, called Michael the Archangel, the other a double shallop, named the Hope. In the mean time commodore Bering ordered two more packet boats to be built for a voyage to the coast of America, and also two vessels for provisions, which were only to attend the fleet as far as Kampschatka. All these were finished in the summer 1740, and the two packet boats were called by the names of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the mean time they went on  
without

without interruption, in transporting provisions from Jakutzk to Judomskoi Krest, and from thence to Ochotzk.

Captain Spanberg commanded the hucker Michael, and lieutenant Walton, the double shallop, called the Hope. The boat Gabriel of the first Kampschatka voyage was added to these, and the command of her entrusted to the midshipman Scheltinga; with these three vessels captain Spanberg set sail from Ochotzk, about the middle of June 1738. He could not get out sooner, for the sea till that time was full of ice, and even then he did not get through it without great difficulty. He first directed his course towards Kampschatka, entered the river Bolschaia Reka, where he made preparations for his winter quarters. After a short stay there, he directed his course to the Kurilian islands, situated in the strait that separates Asia from America. These he made in the beginning of autumn, having steered a south and west course, to 46 degrees north latitude, but returned to Kampschatka, intending to put to sea sooner the following summer, in order to finish the navigation. During their winter residence at Bolscheretzkoï Ostrog, captain Spanberg built a small yacht, or decked shallop, of birch wood, with twenty-four oars, which he called Bolschaia-reka. This he proposed to make use of in discovering the islands, as it would be more convenient than either the hucker, or double shallop, for the navigation of the narrow streights which separated them.

On the 22d of May, 1739, they again put to sea, with all the four vessels, and rendezvoused at the first Kurilian islands, where the captain gave the officers under him the necessary instructions and proper signals. This being done, they prosecuted their voyage, on the first of June, steering south-east, till about 47 degrees north latitude, without meeting with any land, and then south-west, in order to make the Kurilian islands again, which they accordingly did.

On

On the 14th of June, a violent storm came on, with a very thick fog, in which lieutenant Walton, with the double shallop, was separated from captain Spanberg, and, though they fought each other for two days, and fired several guns as signals, they did not join each other again during the whole voyage. Each therefore sailed alone, and both landed at Japan at different places, and, after their return, gave the following accounts to the commodore.

Captain Spanberg came to anchor under the land of Japan on the 18th of June, in twenty-five fathom water, and according to his reckoning, in 38 deg. 41 min. north latitude. The shore appeared pleasant, being interspersed with valleys, and covered at a distance with delightful woods; a multitude of Japan vessels were perceived, two of which came rowing towards them; but when they were at the distance of thirty or forty fathoms, they lay on their oars, and would not approach nearer. When the men on board the ship beckoned for them to come up, they did the same, and made them understand that the captain and his people should go on shore. But this captain Spanberg carefully avoided; nor did he remain long in one place for fear of being surpris'd.

On the 20th of June many Japanese vessels were again seen, each of which contained ten or twelve men. On the 22d the captain anchored at another place, in 38 deg. 25 min. north latitude. Here two fishing boats came on board, and the men exchanged fresh fish, rice, large tobacco leaves, pickled cucumbers, and other things, for various Russian goods, with which the ship's company were provided; as cloth, cloaths, cotton, silk stuffs, looking glasses, scissars, needles, bits of blue glass, &c. which last they were highly pleas'd with; but they set no value upon the former articles, having these in their own country. They were very civil and reasonable in their prices.

The ship's company received from them some oblong square pieces of gold coin, of the same kind as  
are

are described and represented by Kämpfer ; they are not of so high a colour as the Dutch ducats, and somewhat lighter, the difference in weight being two grains.

The following day, seventy-nine of these fishing-boats were seen at a distance ; all of which were flat at the stern, and sharp at the head. Their breadth was from four and a half to five feet, their length about twenty-four feet ; they had decks, on the middle of which a small hearth was placed ; the rudder might be taken out, and stowed away when not in use : some vessels had two rudders, both at the stern, one on each side, and bent very crooked : they use their oars standing, and are also provided with grapplings.

Besides these they have other kinds of vessels to trade to the circumjacent islands, and even along the coast, when their voyage is of any length. These are much larger than the former, sharp equally at the head and stern ; they carry more people, and sail better, especially before the wind.

The Japanese are in general of a small stature, and of a swarthy complexion, with black eyes and flat noses. The men shave their hair from the forehead to the crown, the rest of the hair being combed smooth, tied behind, and wrapped up in paper. But the boys are distinguished by a shaved patch in the middle of the crown, about two inches broad, about which their hair is dressed in the same manner as that of the former. Their cloaths are long and wide, resembling the European night-gowns. They wear no breeches, but the lower parts of their bodies are wrapped up in linen.

Before captain Spanberg left this place, a large canoe came to his ship, in which sat four men besides the rowers, dressed in embroidered cloaths, and seemed to be persons of condition. The captain therefore invited them into his cabin, on entering which they bowed to the ground, held up their hands folded over their heads, and continued in that posture till the captain

tain bid them rise : they were entertained with brandy, which they seemed to like. When the captain shewed them a globe, and a chart of those parts, they immediately knew their own country, and called it Nippon. They also pointed out with their fingers on the chart the islands Matsmai and Sado ; together with the capes Songar and Noto. At parting they again bowed to the ground, and expressed their thanks, in the best manner they could, for what they had received : the same day the fishing-boats returned, and brought off several sorts of commodities, which they exchanged for Russian goods.

Captain Spanberg made no doubt but the chief design of his voyage, namely, the discovery of the proper situation of Japan, with regard to Kamptschatka, was now accomplished. He therefore a few days after set out on his return, during which he made several observations on the islands he had seen before, and by which it was necessary for him to pass a second time.

He first stood to the north-east, and on the 23d of July, saw a large island in the latitude of 43 degrees 50 minutes, where he came to an anchor in thirty fathoms water, and sent his birch yacht with a boat on shore, in search of fresh water ; but they could find no landing-place on account of the steep rocks which formed the coast. He then sailed to another part of the island, and again sent ashore his boat, which returned with thirteen casks of good water. On this island grew birch, fir, and other trees unknown to the Russian seamen ; they also saw men, who ran away on being perceived, and found leather boats, constructed in the Kamptschatkan manner. This induced the captain to sail nearer to the shore, and anchor near the bottom of a sandy bay, in eight fathoms water. In this bay was a village, whither the captain sent the shallop, which brought off eight of the inhabitants.

The features and stature of these people were like those of the Kurilian, islands in the strait near Kamptschatka, and spoke the same language. They had pretty



pretty long hair all over their bodies ; the men of a middle age had black, and the old, grey beards ; some of them wore silver ear-rings. Their cloaths were made of silk stuffs of various colours, and reached to their feet, which were bare. They had brandy given them to drink, and presents of various trifles were made them, with which they were highly pleased. On seeing a live cock on board, they fell upon their knees, clapped their hands together over their heads, and bowed down to the ground, both before the cock, and for the presents they had received. After which the captain set them ashore.

On the 9th of July, captain Spanberg left this island, and failed to discover the situation of the others in its neighbourhood, in order to insert them with certainty in his map. But this was attended with danger and inconvenience. Sometimes they had only from three to four or five fathoms water ; and many of the ship's company fell sick, some of whom died soon after.

On the 23d of July he arrived by a south-west course at the island Matsmai, in 43 degrees 22 minutes north latitude, where he found three large Japan buffes, and therefore prepared for an engagement, in case they should attack him. But they remained quiet, and the captain continued his course to Ochotzk, where he arrived on the 29th.

In the mean time Walton, who had been separated from captain Spanberg in a fog, stood for the isles of Japan, which he had sight of on the 16th of June. He still continued his course to the southward, and on the 17th, thirty-nine Japanese vessels like gallees appeared, seeming to come out of a harbour, but soon separated for different places. They had strait sails of cotton stuffs, some of them striped with blue, others entirely white. Walton followed one of them in search of a harbour, and arrived before a large town or city, where he anchored in thirty fathoms water.

On the 19th a Japanese vessel, with eighteen persons on board, came along-side of the Russian ship. These

These people appeared very civil, and gave them to understand by signs, that they might come ashore; on which Walton sent his second mate, a quarter-master, and six soldiers well armed ashore, with two empty casks, which they were to fill with fresh water. He also provided them with different commodities, as presents to the Japanese, in order to gain their friendship.

As the Russians approached the shore, above a hundred vessels advanced to meet them, and crowded so close to the yawl, that the men could hardly use their oars. The Japanese shewed pieces of gold, which they seemed to have in plenty, to intimate, that they were desirous of engaging in trade with their foreign guests. In the mean time the yawl landed, and the small vessels continued at a little distance from the shore. The strand was crowded with people, who all bowed to the strangers, filled the casks with water, and, with great complaisance, brought them back to the yawl.

During this interval, the second mate, accompanied with the quarter-master and four soldiers, went on shore, leaving two soldiers to take care of the boat. The town consisted of about fifteen hundred wooden and stone houses, which took up a space of about three wersts along the coast. The mate entered the house into which he perceived his casks were carried, and was received by the master in an extraordinary civil manner, conducted into an apartment, and entertained with wine and a desert, which were all served in porcelain vessels. The desert consisted of grapes, apples, oranges, and preserved raddishes. From this house he passed to another, where he was entertained in the same manner, and had besides boiled rice presented him to eat. The same was also done to the quarter-master and soldiers that attended him. After presenting their benefactors, and the people who had filled their water casks, with glass beads and other trifles, they walked about the town, and observed every where, both in the houses and streets, a great deal of cleanliness

cleanliness and good order. In some parts they saw shops, where cotton stuffs were sold, but did not observe any silks. Horses, cows, and hens, were in abundance; and the fruits of the field consisted in wheat and pease.

When the mate returned to the yawl, he perceived before him two men with sabres in their hands. This sight filled him with some apprehensions, and therefore hurried away to the ship as fast as possible.

Above a hundred Japanese vessels, with fifteen men in each, followed the yawl to the ship; in one of these was a gentleman, who came on board. He appeared by his silk cloaths, and the great respect that was shewn him, to be the governor of the place. He made a present to Walton of a vessel filled with wine; which mark of respect the lieutenant returned with other presents. He also treated both his guest and his retinue with the best in his power; and it was observed that the Japanese seemed pleased with the taste of the Russian brandy. As soon as this person had taken his leave, Walton got under sail, after firing a gun in token of friendship.

On the 22d of June, he again made land, and anchored in twenty-three fathoms water, but the anchor's not holding, he was obliged to weigh it again. In the mean time several small vessels came off to his assistance; and on Walton's signifying that he was in want of water, they took his casks, went ashore, and returned with them full of fresh water. They also seemed to intimate their desire that he should come nearer the shore, where there was a safe harbour. But before Walton could resolve whether he should accept of their offer, a boat came from the shore, forbidding the people to have any further communication with the Russians. In this boat was a person dressed like a soldier, having a sword by his side and a pistol in his hand: Walton therefore supposed this to be a Japanese guard-boat.

The next day the Russians came to an anchor in another place near the shore in two fathoms water, the ground

ground a coarse sand mixed with muscle-shells. Considering the great heat of the summer, they could not lay in too much fresh water, especially as this always furnished new opportunities for getting intelligence with regard to the country. Wherefore, on the 24th of June, Walton sent the second gunner, with some men, and the surgeon's apprentice ashore in the yawl. They however found no water, but saw several Japanese, clad in long white linen frocks. They brought off with them an orange-tree, several shells, and the branch of a pine tree. The young surgeon also gathered several sorts of herbs, particularly the buds of the fir tree, of which decoctions were afterwards made for the sick on board the ship.

Walton continued some time longer on the coasts of Japan, and then stood pretty far to the eastward, in order to see if he could discover any land, or islands in that sea; but finding none, he returned to Kamtschatka; and on the 21st of August, to Ochotzk, where he was afterwards joined by captain Spanberg.

Thus ended an expedition, which demonstrated that there is an open and free passage from the southern coasts of Russia to Japan and China; and possibly, in future ages, a very considerable and advantageous trade will be carried on between these large and populous empires.

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