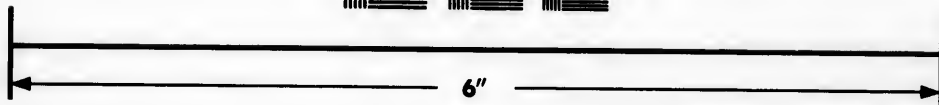
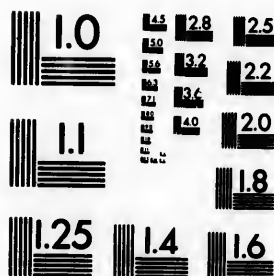


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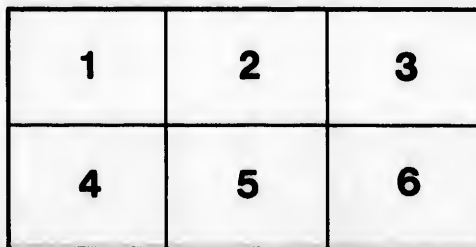
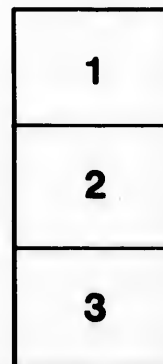
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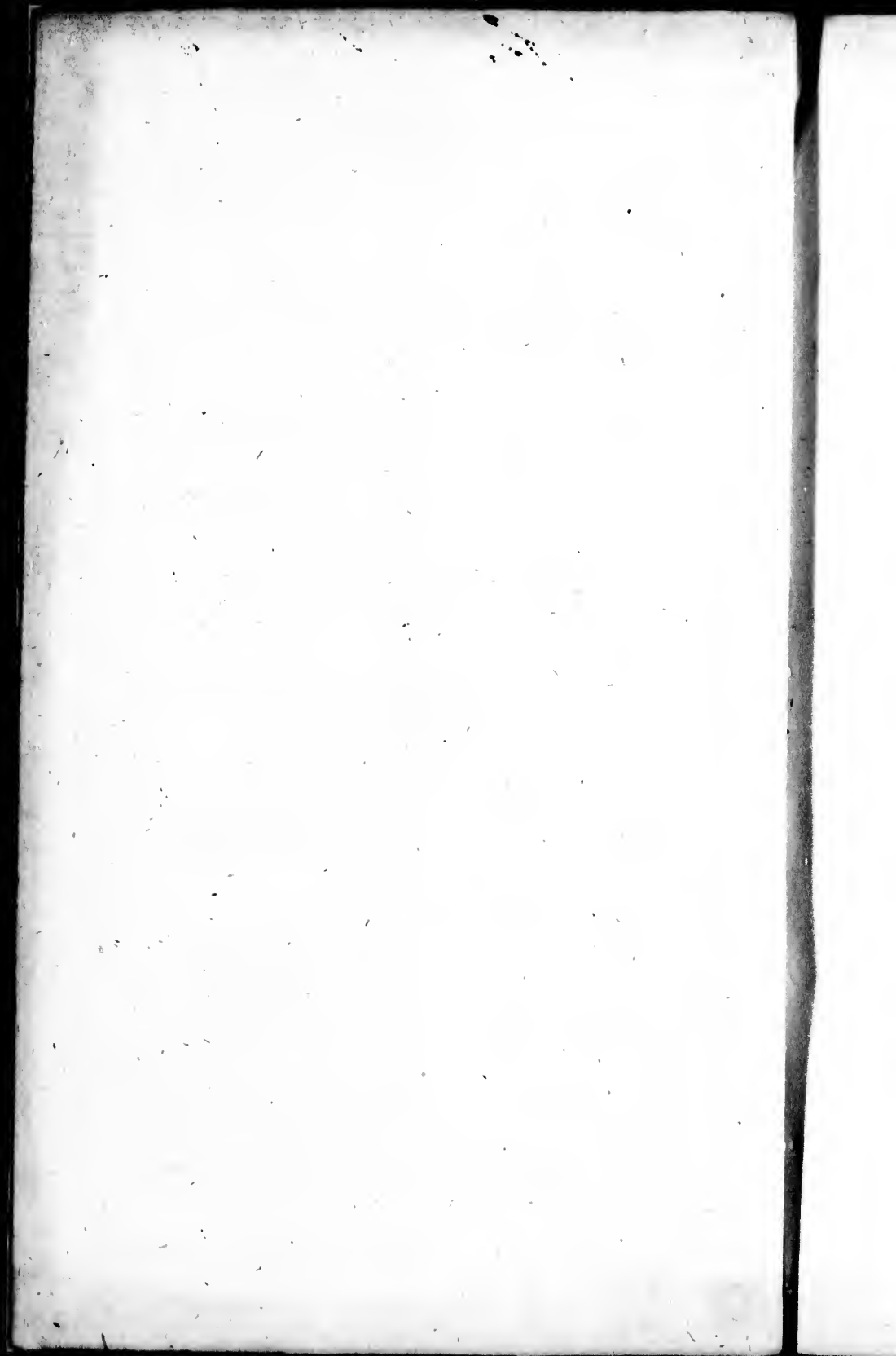
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# C O N T E N T S

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The VOYAGE of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE  
round the Globe.

THE learned Camden informs us, that sir Francis Drake was the son of a clergyman, who, in the time of queen Elizabeth, became vicar of Upnore, on the river Medway. But the industrious John Stowe says, that he was the eldest of twelve brethren, all children of Edmund Drake, of Tavistock, in the county of Devon, mariner; and that he was born in the year 1540. The only way to reconcile these accounts, is to suppose that Edmund Drake, being a zealous Protestant, suffering much for his religion in the days of Henry VIII. and, having likewise a competent share of learning, was ordained deacon in the days of queen Elizabeth, and settled at Upnore. As for our hero, he received the Christian name of Francis from his godfather Francis earl of Bedford: but it does not appear, that he obtained any great benefit from that nobleman's patronage in his youth; for as soon as he was able, he was sent to sea, apprentice to the master of a small bark trading to France and Zealand; who, having a great affection for the lad, and being himself a bachelor, when he came to die, left him



him his bark. At the age of eighteen Mr. Drake was made purser of a ship, which went to the Bay of Biscay; and at twenty he made a voyage to the coast of Guinea. In all these voyages he distinguished himself by his extraordinary courage, and by a sagacity very unusual in persons of his age. His laudable desire of glory induced him to venture all that he had in the world in a voyage to the West Indies in the year 1565, but in this he had no success. In 1567, he served under his kinsman sir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico; but was still unfortunate, returning from thence rich in point of fame, but, as to his circumstances, in a manner undone. These disappointments served only to heighten his resentment and therefore he made two voyages more into those parts, the first in 1570, with two Ships, the Dragon and Swan; the second in 1571, in the Swan alone, purely for the sake of information, and that he might qualify himself for undertaking something of importance in those parts, which by his courage and perseverance, he brought to bear.

His character being now sufficiently established, he found enow ready to venture part of their fortunes in a voyage he proposed; for which having made all things ready, he sailed May the 24th, 1572, in the Pasca of Plymouth, which was of no greater burden than seventy ton; having for his consort the Swan, of two hundred fifty ton, commanded by his brother John Drake, with seventy-three men and boys, and provisions for a year. Such was the preparation he made for attacking the King of Spain in the West Indies, which he believed he had a right to do, in order to make reprisals for what he had suffered by his subjects. In this voyage he sacked the famous town of Nombre de Dios, and soon after saw from an high tree, the South Seas; which sight inflamed him with a violent desire of carrying an English ship thither, an attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before that time. In this expedition

expedition he acquired immense riches for his owners, as well as himself; being a man of such generosity, that he scorned to take even those advantages, which any other man would have considered as his right; of which we have a very remarkable instance in his behaviour, on a present made him by a captain or prince of the free Indians inhabiting the isthmus of Darien, who, in return for a cutlass presented him by captain Drake, gave him four large wedges of gold, which he threw into the common stock: "My owners, said he, gave me that cutlass, and it is but just they should have their shares of its produce. His return to England was as fortunate as his foreign expedition; for, in twenty-three days, he sailed from the cape of Florida, to the isles of Scilly; and arrived at Plymouth on Sunday August the 9th, 1573, in sermon-time. The news of captain Drake's return being carried into the church, there remained few or no people with the preacher, all running out to observe the blessing of God upon the dangerous adventures of the captain, who had spent one year, two months, and some odd days, in this voyage. The wealth he had thus acquired, he generously spent in his country's service, equipping no less than three frigates at his own expence, which he commanded in person, and with which he contributed greatly to the reduction of the rebellious Irish, under the conduct of that worthy nobleman Walter earl of Essex. After his death, he chose for his patron sir Christopher Hatton, at that time vicechamberlain to the queen, and afterwards chancellor of England: by his interest, notwithstanding great opposition, captain Drake obtained the queen's commission for that voyage, which he had so long meditated.

He was no sooner thus provided, than his friends contributed largely toward this glorious expedition; and captain Drake, on his side, applied with equal diligence to the getting every thing ready for accom-

plishing his undertaking; and, with this view, equipped five ships, viz. the Pelican, called by him afterwards the Hind, admiral, burden an hundred tons, Francis Drake, captain general; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, John Winter, captain; the Marigold, a bark, of thirty tons, John Thomas, captain; the Swan, a fly-boat, of fifty tons, captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, captain Thomas Moon. These ships he manned with one hundred and sixty-four able men, and furnished them with such plentiful provision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a voyage seemed to require: withal stowing certain pinnaces aboard in pieces, to be set up as occasion might call for. Neither did he omit to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying for this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture, all the vessels for his table, and many belonging to his cook-room, being of silver; with divers utensils of all sorts, of curious workmanship; whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations, whither he should come, be the more admired. All things being thus adjusted, captain Drake sailed out of Plymouth Sound November the 5th, 1577, about five in the afternoon; but by a fearful storm, wherein they sustained some damage, he was forced to put back again; when, having, in few days, supplied all defects, on the 13th of December, the same year, with more favourable winds, he once more hoisted his sails and put to sea. He avoided, as much as he could, falling in too early with the land; and the wind favouring his design, they made none, till the 25th of the same month they fell in with Cape Cautin, on the coast of Barbary, and, on the 27th, came to the isle of Magador, lying one mile distance from the main, between which and the isle they found a very safe and convenient harbour. Here the admiral directed a pinnace to be built, having brought, as we observed, the hulks

hulks of four ready framed from England. While they were upon this work, some of the inhabitants came to the water-side shewing flags of peace: upon which the admiral sent out his boat to know their minds: one of his men stayed as a pledge amongst them, and two of their company were brought a ship-board. They told him by signs, that the next day they would furnish his ships with good provisions, which civility he rewarded with linen cloth, shoes, and a javelin, things very acceptable to them; and so they departed. The next day they came as they had promised, and one of the men, whose name was Fry, leaping out of the boat amongst them, thinking to have leaped into the arms of friends, made himself the prisoner of those perfidious wretches, who, threatening to stab him if he made any resistance, presently mounted him a horseback, and carried him up into their country; from whence, however, after examination, he was sent safely back.

The pinnace being finished, they set sail December the 30th, and January the 17th they arrived at Cape Blanco, where they found a ship at anchor within the cape, having only two mariners in her: this ship they took, and carried her into the harbour, where they stayed four days: in which time the admiral mustered his men ashore, to prepare them for land, as well as sea-service. Here they took of the fishermen such necessaries as they wanted, and also one of their barks of about forty ton, leaving behind them a little bark of their own. They left this harbour January the 22d, carrying along with them one of the Portuguese caravels, which was bound to the isles of Cape de Verd for salt; the master of the caravel assured the admiral, that in one of the Cape de Verd islands, called Mayo, there was a good store of dried cabritos, or goats, which were every year made ready for such ships of the king's as called there. They came to this place January the 27th;

but the inhabitants would drive no trade with them, the king's orders having positively forbade it: yet the next day they went to take a view of the island, the admiral sending out a company of men for that purpose. They marched towards the chief place of the isle, and, having travelled through the mountains for three days, they came thither before day-break: they found that the inhabitants were all run away, but, as for the country, by the manuring, it appeared to be more fruitful, than the other part of the island. They rested themselves here a while, and banqueted upon delicious grapes, and cocoanuts, which were in their prime even at that season of the year, which is the depth of winter with us in England.

Having satisfied themselves with these fruits, they marched farther into the island, and saw great store of cabritos; but they could take none of them, though, if they had pleased, they might have furnished themselves with some that were old, dead, and dried, which the people had laid out on purpose for them: but, not caring for the refuse of the island, they returned to their ships, with an account of what they had seen.

January the 21st, they went from hence, and sailed by the isle St. Jago; in passing by which, the people discharged three pieces of cannon at them, but without doing mischief. The island is fair and large, inhabited by Portuguese; but the mountains are possessed by the Moors, who, to deliver themselves from slavery, fled to these places of refuge, where they have fortified themselves. Before this island they saw two ships under sail, one of them which they took, and found to be a good prize, laden with wines: the admiral retained the pilot, but discharged the ship and the men, giving them some victuals, a butt of wine, and their wearing cloaths \*. The same night

\* The reason of taking these ships was, that at this time Portugal was annexed to the crown of Spain.

they

they came to the island Del Fogo, or the Burning Island, which is inhabited by Portuguese: on the north side there is a sort of vulcano, that is continually belching out smoke and flame: on the south side lies a very delightful island, full of trees ever green and flourishing, and refreshed with cooling streams, that pour themselves out into the sea. Here was no convenient road for their ships, the sea being so deep, that there was no possibility of fixing an anchor thereabout. Leaving these islands, they drew toward the line, being sometimes becalmed for a long time together, and, at others, beaten with tempests. They had continually great plenty of fish, as dolphins, bonitos, and flying-fish, some of which dropt down into their ships, and could not rise again, because their finny wings wanted moisture.

From the first day of their departure from the islands of cape Verde, they sailed 54 days without sight of land; and the first which they saw was the coast of Brasil, in  $38^{\circ}$  of south latitude. April the 5th, the barbarous people on shore, having discovered the ships, began to use their accustomed ceremonies, in order to raise a storm to sink their ships: For this purpose they made great fires, and offered some sacrifices to the devil; but at present, it seems, he was not able to serve them. April the 7th, they had lightning, rain, and thunder; in which storm they lost the company of a little bark, the Christopher; but the 11th they found her again; and the place where all the ships, that were dispersed in the search of her, met together, the admiral called Cape Joy, and here every ship took in fresh water. The country hereabouts was fair and pleasant, the air sweet and mild, the soil rich and fruitful. The inhabitants seemed to be only some herds of wild deer, no others being to be seen, though they discerned the foot-steps of some people in the ground. Having weighed anchor, and run a little farther, they found a small

harbour between a rock and the main, where the rock breaking the force of the sea, the ship rode very safely. Upon this rock they killed several seals, keeping them for food, and found them wholesome, though not pleasant.

Their next course being to  $36^{\circ}$  of south latitude, they entered the great river of Plate, and came into between 53 and 54 fathom of fresh water; but, finding no good harbour there, they put out to sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good bay; in which bay were several pretty islands, one of which was stocked with seals, and the others, for the most part, with fowls, so that there was no want of any provisions, or of good water there. The admiral being on shore in one of those islands, the people came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade; but their custom was not to take any thing from any other person, unless first thrown down on the ground. They were comely strong-bodied people, very swift of foot, and of a brisk lively constitution. The Marigold, and the Christopher, (being sent to discover a convenient harbour) returned with the happy news of such an one; into which they went with all their ships. Here the seals abounded to that degree, that they killed more than 200 in an hour's space. The natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working on shore; their faces were painted, and their apparel only a covering of beast-skins (with the fur on) about their waists, and something wreathed about their heads. They had bows an ell long, but no more than two arrows a-piece. They seemed to be not altogether destitute of martial discipline, as appeared by the method they observed in ordering and ranging their men; and they gave sufficient proof of their agility, by stealing the admiral's hat off from his very head; which was a brave prize among them: one taking the hat, and another the gold lace that  
was



was on it ; neither of which could ever be got from them again. They were the nation which Magellan called Patagons.

Having dispatched all affairs in this place, they sailed ; and June the 20th, they anchored in port St. Julian, so called by Magellan. Here they saw the gibbet on which Magellan had formerly executed some of his mutinous company : and here also admiral Drake executed one captain Doughty, the most suspected action of his life. After which execution, August the 17th, they left St. Julian's port, and the 20th fell in with the streight of Magellan, going into the South Sea. The 21st they entered the streight, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers turnings ; by which means, shifting about so often, the wind would sometimes be against them, which made their sailing very troublesome, and not only so, but dangerous too, especially if any sudden blasts of wind came : for, though there be several good harbours about, and fresh water enough, yet the sea is so deep, that there is no anchoring there, except in some very narrow river or corner, or between the rocks. There are vast mountains, covered with snow, that spread along the land on both sides the streights ; the tops of which mount up in the air to a prodigious height, having two or three regions of clouds lying in order below them. The streights are extremely cold, with frost and snow continually : yet the trees and plants maintain a constant verdure, and flourish notwithstanding the seeming severity of the weather. At the south and east parts of the streight there are various islands, between which the sea breaks into the streights, as it does into the main entrance : The breadth of it is from one league, where it is the narrowest, to two, three, or four leagues, which is the widest ; and the tides rise high through the whole.

September the 6th they entered the South Sea at the cape or head shore, and the 7th they were driven



by a storm back from that entrance more than 200 leagues longitude, and  $1^{\circ}$  to the south of the streight; from the bay they were driven southwards of the Streights, in  $57^{\circ}$  of south latitude, where they anchored among the islands, finding good fresh water, and excellent herbs. Not far from hence, they entered another bay, where they found naked people, ranging from one island to another in their canoes, to seek provisions. These traded with them for such commodities as they had. Sailing northward from hence, they found three islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds, as is hardly credible. October the 8th, they lost the company of the ship, in which was Mr. Winter. Being now come to the other mouth of the streights, they put away towards the coast of Chili, which the general maps place to the south-west, but they found afterwards to lie to the north-east and easterly; so that those coasts were either not fully discovered, or at least not faithfully described. They proceeded still in the same course, till, upon the 29th of November, they came to the isle of Mocha, where they cast anchor, and the admiral, with ten men, went ashore. The people that dwelt there, were such as the extreme cruelty of the Spaniards had forced from their own habitation to this island, to preserve their lives and liberties. They carried themselves at first very civilly to the admiral and his men, bringing them potatoes, and two fat sheep, promising also to bring them water; for which they received some presents. The next day two men were sent ashore with barrels for water; and the natives, having them at an advantage, presently seized them, and knocked them on the head. The reason of this outrage was, because they took them for Spaniards, whom they never spare when they fall into their hands.

Continuing their course for Chili, and drawing near the coasts of it, they met an Indian in a canoe, who, mistaking them for Spaniards, told them, that

at

at St. Iago there was a great Spanish ship laden for Peru. The admiral rewarding him for his intelligence, he very readily conducted them where the ship lay at anchor, which was port Val Pariso, in  $33^{\circ} 40'$  of south latitude. All the men they had in her were no more than eight Spaniards and three negroes; and they, supposing the English to have been friends, welcomed them by beat of drum, and invited them to drink some Chili wine with them. But they, resolving first to secure their prize, and then drink, immediately boarded the ship, and, driving all the Spaniards under hatches, took possession. One of the Spaniards, seeing how they were served, desperately leaped overboard, and swam to the town of St. Iago, to give them notice of the coming of the English; upon which, all the inhabitants presently quitted the town, and ran away, which they might quickly do, there not being above nine households in the whole town. The admiral and his men entered, rifled the town and the chapel, taking out of it a silver chalice, two cruets, and an altar-cloth. They found in the town also a good cargo of Chili wine, and boards of cedar wood; all which they carried to their ships. The general then having set all the prisoners on shore, except one, whom he reserved for his pilot, he left St. Iago, and directed his course for Lima, the capital of Peru.

As they were now at sea, and had both leisure and opportunity to examine the particulars of the booty taken at St. Iago, they found 25,000 pezoës of pure gold of Baldivia, which amounted to somewhat more than 37,000 Spanish ducats: So, continuing their course to Lima, they put into the haven of Coquimbo, which lies in  $29^{\circ} 30'$  S. L. Here the admiral sent fourteen men ashore to fetch water: but the Spaniards happening to spy this small company, and being resolved, for the glory of their nation, to undertake revenge upon so daring an enemy, they, with an army of 360 horse, and 200 foot attacked these

these fourteen English; and, after some dispute, by the help of their guns, made a slaughter of one of them, the other thirteen coming back to the ship. After this, the English going again on shore to bury their dead man, the Spaniards put out a flag of truce; but they, believing their fidelity to be no greater than their courage, did not care to trust them, and so went off. From hence they came to a port called Tarapaxa, where, being landed, they found a Spaniard asleep upon the shore, with eighteen bars of silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 Spanish ducats: they did not disturb the Spaniard's repose, but, taking the silver, left him to take out his nap. Not far from hence, going ashore for water, they met a Spaniard and an Indian driving eight Peruvian sheep, laden with very fine silver, every sheep having two leather bags (containing fifty pounds weight each) on his back. They delivered the poor animals from their irksome burdens, and lodged the bags in their own ships: after which, the Indian and Spaniard were permitted to drive on. They sailed hence to Arica, which is in  $8^{\circ} 30'$  of south latitude; and, in this port, found three small barks, which, being rifled, yielded them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each weighing about twenty pounds: They took no prisoners in the barks; for the men that belonged to them, fearing no strangers coming thither, were all gone on shore to make merry amongst themselves. They did not assault the town, having not strength enough for it: so, putting out to sea again, they met with another little bark laden with linen cloth, part of which the admiral took, and so let her go, disdaining to hurt others, where he could do himself no good.

February the 13th they came to the port of Lima, which lies in  $11^{\circ} 50'$  south latitude; and, having entered the haven, found there twelve sail of ships lying fast at anchor, with all their sails down, without watch or guard, their masters being all drinking and carousing

carousing ashore: examining the contents of these ships, they found a chest full of rials of plate, great store of silks and linen; all which plate they carried to their own ships, with part of the silks and linen. The admiral here had notice of another very rich ship, called the Cacafuego, which was gone towards Paita, which they pursuing thither, found that before their arrival, she was gone for Panama: but, however, though they missed their intended prize, another (which they took in their pursuit of her to Panama) paid them the charge of their voyage: For, besides the ropes, and other tackling for ships, which they found in her, she yielded them eighty pounds weight of gold, together with a fine crucifix of the same metal, richly adorned with emeralds; all which, with some of the cordage, they seized: but resolving still to proceed in the pursuit of the Cacafuego, the admiral, to encourage his company, promised, that whoever first saw her, should have his gold chain for a reward; which fell to the share of Mr. John Drake, who first descried her about three o'clock. About six o'clock they came up with her, gave her three shots, struck down her mizen, and boarded her. They found her full as rich and valuable as she was reported to be, having aboard her thirteen chests full of rials of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, a good quantity of Jewels, and twenty-six ton of silver bars. The place where this prize was taken, was called cape San Francisco, about 150 leagues from Panama, and in 1° degree of north latitude. Among other rich pieces of plate, which they found in this ship, they met with a couple of very large silver bowls gilt, which belonged to the pilot of her: the admiral, seeing these, told him, that he had two fine bowls, but he must needs have one of them; which the pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himself; and, to make it look less like compulsion, he presented the other of them to the admiral's steward. Having ransacked the Cacafuego, they  
cast

cast her off; and, continuing their course to the west, they met with a ship laden with linen cloth, China dishes, and silks of the same country; the owner of it was a Spaniard, then on board, from whom the admiral took a falcon, wrought with massy gold, with a great emerald set in the breast of it; besides this, chusing what he liked of the wares aboard this vessel, and seizing the pilot for his own service, he turned off the ship. This pilot brought them to the haven of Guatulco, the town adjacent to which had but (as he said) seventeen Spaniards in it: having, therefore, put to shore, they marched directly to the town, and so up to the public hall of justice, where they found a court sitting, and a judge ready to pass sentence upon a parcel of poor negroes, that were accused of a plot to fire the town: but the admiral's coming changed the scene of affairs at this court; for he, being judge himself, passed sentence upon them all, both judges and criminals, to become his prisoners; which sentence was presently executed, and they were all carried away to the ships. Here he made the chief judge write to the townsmen, to keep at a distance, and not pretend to make any resistance: so the town being cleared, they ransacked it all over, finding no other valuable plunder than about a bushel of rials of plate; only one of their company took a rich Spaniard flying out of the town, who paid him for his trouble in pursuing him, with a gold chain, and some jewels. Here the admiral setting ashore some Spanish prisoners, and his old Portuguese Pilot, whom he took at the island of cape de Verd, departed hence for the Island Canno: while they lay here, a certain Spanish ship, bound for the Philippine islands, came in their way, which they only lightened of a part of the burden of her merchandize, and so discharged her.

The admiral, now thinking he had, in some measure, revenged both the public injuries of his country, as well as his own private wrongs, upon the Spaniards,

niards, began to deliberate upon his return home: but which way he should take, was the question to be resolved: to return by the streights of the South Sea, he thought would be to throw himself into the hands of the Spaniards, who would probably there wait for him, with a far greater strength than he could now cope with; for he had at this time but one ship left, not strong, though it was a very rich one.

All things therefore considered, he resolved to go round to the Moluccas, and so follow the course of the Portuguese, to get home by the cape of Good Hope: but, being becalmed, he found it necessary to sail more northerly to get a good wind. Upon this design they sailed at least 600 leagues, which was all the way they made from April 16. to June 3. June 5, being got into  $43^{\circ}$  of north latitude, they found the air excessive cold; and the further they went, the severity of the weather was more intolerable: upon which score they made toward the land, till they came into  $38^{\circ}$  north latitude, under which height of the pole they found a very good bay, and had a favourable wind to enter the same. Accordingly here they had some correspondence with the people of the country, whose houses lay all along upon the water-side. They sent the admiral a present of feathers, and cawls of net-work, who entertained them with so much kindness and liberality, that the poor people were infinitely pleased. Though the country be cold, yet they so order the matter in the framing their houses, as to live out of danger of starving; for they surround them with a deep trench, upon the outmost edge of which they raise up great pieces of timber, which close all together at the top like the spire of a steeple; their bed is the bare ground strewed with rushes, and their fire-place in the middle, about which they all lie. The men go naked, the women wear a close garment of bulrushes, dressed after the manner of  
hemp,



hemp, which, fastened about their middles, hangs down to their hips, and upon their shoulders they have a deer's skin; but their very good qualities make amends for their ordinary dress and figure, being extremely dutiful to their husbands. The admiral had, quickly after, another present from them, which was feathers and bags of tobacco; a considerable body of them waiting upon him at the same time: they were all gathered together at the top of an hill, from whence their speaker harangued the admiral, who lay below in his tent pitched at the bottom of the hill: when this was ended, they left their weapons, and came down, offering their own presents, and, at the same time, civilly returning these which the admiral had made them. All the while, the women who remained above, possessed with a mad fury, tore their hair, and made dreadful howlings, which is the common music at their sacrifices, something of which nature was then solemnizing. The men below were better employed, attending very diligently to divine service, then performed in the admiral's tent. These circumstances, though trivial in themselves, are of consequence in asserting our first discovery of California.

The news of the English being there, having spread about in the country, there came two ambassadors to the admiral, to tell him, that the king was coming to wait upon him, and desired a token of peace to assure his safe conduct. The admiral having given this, the whole train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful order: in the front came a very comely person, bearing the Sceptre before the king, upon which hung two crowns, and three chains of a very great length: the crowns were made of net-work, and artificially wrought with feathers of many colours, and the chains were made of bones. Next to the sceptre-bearer came the king himself, a very comely proper person, shewing an air of majesty in all his deport-

ment;

ment; he was surrounded by a guard of tall martial-looking men, who were all clad in skins. Next to these came the common people, having, to make the finer shew, painted their faces, some white, some black, and some of other colours; and all with their arms full of presents, even the very children not excepted. The admiral drew up all his men in line of battle, and stood ready to receive them within his fortifications: at some distance from him, the whole train made a halt, and kept a profound silence, at which time the sceptre-bearer made a speech of half an hour long. This being ended, the same officer, of a Speech-maker, became a dancing-master, and, at the same time, struck up a song, in both which he was followed by king, lords, and common people, who came singing and dancing up to the Admiral's fences. Being all set down there, after some preliminary compliments, the king made a solemn offer of his whole kingdom, and its dependences, to the admiral, desiring him to take the sovereignty upon him; and professing, that he himself would be his very loyal subject: and, that this might not seem to be mere compliment and pretence, he did, by the consent of his nobles there present, take off the illustrious crown of feathers from his own head, and fix it upon the admiral's; and, at the same time, investing him with the other ensigns of royalty, did, as much as in him lay, make him king of the country. The admiral accepted of his new-offered dignity, as her majesty's representative, in her name, and for her use; it being probable, that from this donation, whether made in jest or in earnest, by these Indians, some real advantages might hereafter redound to the English nation and interest in those parts. The common people dispersed themselves up and down every-where amongst the admiral's tents, expressing an admiration and value for the English, to the degree of madness and profaneness; coming before them with sacrifices, which they pretended to



offer with a profound devotion to them, till they, by force, kept them back, expressing their utmost abhorrence of them; and directed them to the Supreme Maker and Preserver of all things, whom alone they ought to honour with religious worship. The admiral and his people travelled to some distance up in the country, which they found to be extremely full of deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a herd. There was also such a vast plenty of rabbits, that the whole country seemed to be one intire great warren; they were of the bigness of a Barbary coney, their heads like those in our parts, their feet like a mole's, and their tail resembling that of a rat; under the chin of each side is fastened a bag, into which the creature injects what food it gets abroad, and preserves it for a time of necessity. The flesh of them is a valuable dish among the natives, and their skins afford robes for the king, and all the great men. The earth of the country seemed to promise very rich veins of gold and silver, there being hardly any digging without throwing up some of the ores of them. The admiral called it Nova Albion, partly in honour to his own country, and partly from the prospect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the sea. At his departure hence, he set up a monument with a large plate, upon which were engraven her majesty's name, picture, arms, title to the country, the time of their arrival there, and the admiral's own name. In this country the Spaniards had never set footing, nor did they ever discover the land by many degrees to the Southward of this place.

Sailing from hence, they lost sight of land till October 13, upon which day in the morning they fell in with certain islands in  $8^{\circ}$  of north latitude; from whence they met a great number of canoes coming laden with cocoas, and other fruit: these canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of art, and looked smooth and shining without like burnished

nished horn; the prow and stern both yielded inwards,  
 circlewise; on each side of them lay two pieces of  
 timber, about a yard and an half long, more or less,  
 as the vessel was bigger or less; they were of a con-  
 siderable height, and, for shew, set off in the inside  
 with white shells: the people that were in them, had  
 the lower part of their ears cut round, and stretched  
 down a considerable way upon their cheeks, by the  
 weight of those things they hang in them. They  
 seemed to design their nails for weapons, letting  
 them grow a full inch in length. Their teeth are as  
 black as pitch; and they have a way to preserve  
 them, by eating of an herb, with a sort of powder,  
 which they ever carry about with them for that pur-  
 pose. October 18, they came to several other islands;  
 some of which appeared to be very populous, and  
 continued their course by the islands of Tagulada,  
 Zelon, and Zewarra; the first of which had good  
 store of cinnamon, and the inhabitants of all of them  
 were friends to the Portuguese. The admiral, without  
 making any delay, steered the same course still. No-  
 vember the 14th, they fell in with the Moluccas, and,  
 intending for Tiridore, as they coasted along the  
 island Mutyr, which belongs to the king of Ternate,  
 they met his viceroy, who, seeing the admiral's ship,  
 without fear came aboard him. He advised the ad-  
 miral by no means to prosecute his voyage to Tiri-  
 dore, but to sail directly for Ternate, because his  
 master was a very great enemy to the Portuguese, and  
 would have nothing to do with them, if they were  
 at all concerned with Tiridore, or that nation, who  
 were settled there. The admiral, upon this, resolved  
 upon Ternate; and early next morning came to an  
 anchor before the town: he sent a messenger to the  
 king with a velvet cloak, as a present, and to assure  
 him, that he came thither with no design, but purely  
 that of trading in his country. The viceroy also by  
 this time had been with the king, and disposed him  
 to entertain a very favourable opinion of the Eng-

lish; which wrought so far, that the king returned a very civil and obliging answer to the admiral's message, assuring him, that a friendly correspondence with the English nation was highly pleasing to him; that his whole kingdom should lie open to them, and whatever it yielded should be at their service; and, moreover that he was ready to lay himself, and his kingdom, at the foot of so glorious a princess, as was the queen, whom they served, and to make her his sovereign, as well as theirs: and, in token of this, he sent the admiral a signet, carrying it, besides, with a very great respect to the English messenger, who went to court, and had been received there with much pomp and ceremony. The king, having a mind to make the admiral a visit on ship-board, sent beforehand four large canoes, filled with the most dignified persons about him; they were all dressed in white lawn, and had an exceeding large umbrella of very fine perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds, spreading over their heads, from one end of the canoe to another; their servants, clad in white, stood about them; and, without these, were ranks of soldiers placed: in order, on both sides their martial men, were placed the rowers, in certain well-contrived galleries, which lay three of a side all along the canoes, and were decently raised one above the other, each gallery containing eighty rowers. These canoes were furnished too with all warlike provisions, and the soldiers well accoutred, having all manner of weapons, both offensive and defensive. Rowing near the ship, they all paid their reverences to the admiral, in great order, one after another; and told him, that the king had sent them to conduct him into a safer road than that he was in at present. Soon after came the king himself, attended by six grave antient persons: he seemed to be much pleased with the English music, and much more with the English generosity, which the admiral expressed to the full in very large presents made to him, and his nobles.

The

The king promised the next day to come aboard again; and that same night sent them in store of provisions, as rice, hens, sugar, cloves, a sort of fruit they call frigo and fago, which is a meal they make out of the tops of trees, melting in the mouth like sugar, but tasting like a sour curd; but yet, when made up into cakes, will keep so as to be very fit for eating at ten years end. The king came not aboard according to his promise, but sent his brother to excuse him, and withal to invite the admiral ashore, and to be a pledge for his safe return: The admiral declined going himself, but sent some gentlemen of his retinue, in company of the king's brother, and kept the viceroy till their return. They were received ashore by another brother of the king's, and several of the nobles, and conducted in great state to the castle, where there was a court of at least one thousand persons, the principal of which was the council, to the number of sixty, very grave persons, and four Turkish envoys, in scarlet robes and turbans, who were there to negotiate in matters of trade between Constantinople and Ternate: the king came in, guarded by twelve lances, a glorious canopy, embroidered with gold, being carried over his head. He had a loose robe of cloth of gold hung about him, his legs bare, but shoes of cordovan upon his feet; he had circlets of gold wreathed up and down in his hair, and a large chain of the same metal about his neck, and very fair jewels upon his fingers. A page stood at the right hand of his chair of state, blowing the cool air upon him with a fan two foot in length, and one broad, curiously embroidered and adorned with sapphires, fastened to a staff three foot long, by which the page moved it. He kindly received the English gentlemen, and, having heard their message, sent one of his council to conduct them back to their ships. He is a potent prince, and has seventy islands under him, besides Ternate, which is itself the best

of all the Moluccas. His religion, and that of his country, is Mahometanism.

After this, the admiral, having dispatched all his affairs here, weighed anchor, and put off from Ternate, sailing to a little island southward of the Celebes, where they staid twenty-six days. This island is extremely woody; the trees are of a large, high growth, strait, and without boughs, except at top, and the leaves something like our English broom. Here they observed a sort of shining flies, in great multitudes, no bigger than the common fly in England, which skimming up and down in the air, between the trees and bushes, made them appear as if they were burning. Here are bats also as big as hens, and a sort of land cray-fish, which dig holes in the earth like conies, and are so large, that one of them will plentifully dine four persons. Setting sail from hence, they designed to have run for the Moluccas; but, having a bad wind, and being amongst a parcel of islands, with much difficulty they recovered the mouth of Celebes; where, being not able, for contrary winds, to continue a western course, they altered to the southward again; which they found very hazardous, by reason of the shoals that lie thick among the islands. This they proved by a dangerous, and almost fatal experiment, on Jan. 9, 1579, when they ran upon a rock, in which they stuck fast from eight at night to four in the afternoon of the next day. In this distress, they lightened their ship upon the rock of three ton of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and some provisions; very quickly after which, the wind chopping about from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, they hoisted sail; and the happy gale, at that moment, intirely disengaged them from the incumbrances of the rock. February 18, they fell in with the fruitful island Baratene, having, in the mean time, suffered much by winds and shoals. The  
people

people of it are of a comely proportion in their bodies, but of a far more beautiful disposition of mind, being very civil and courteous to strangers, and punctually just in all their dealings. The men cover only their heads and their loins; but the women, from the waist down to the foot: Besides which, they load their arms with large heavy bracelets of bone, brass and horn. Linen cloth is a very good commodity here; these people being fond of it, to make girdles and rolls for their heads. The island affords gold, silver, copper, sulphur, nutmeg, ginger, long-pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocoas, frigo, sago, &c. particularly a sort of fruit, in bigness, form, and husk, resembling a bayberry, hard, but pleasantly tasted, and, when boiled, is soft and of good easy digestion: in short, except Ternate, they met with no place that yielded greater plenty of all comforts for human life than this island did.

Leaving Baratene, they sailed for Java major, where they met with a courteous and honourable entertainment likewise: The island is governed by five kings, who live in perfect good understanding with each other. They had once four of their majesties on ship-board at a time; and the company of two or three of them very often. The Javans are a stout and warlike people, go well armed, with swords, targets, and daggers, all of their own manufacture, very curious, both as to the fashion and temper of the metal. They wear Turkish turbans on their heads; the upper part of their body is naked; but, from the waist downwards, they have a pintado of silk, trailing on the ground, of that colour which pleases them best. They manage their women quite after another rate than the Moluccans do; for these latter will hardly let a stranger see them, whereas the former are so far from that nicety, that they will very civilly offer a traveller a bedfellow. And, as they are thus civil and hospitable to

strangers, so they are pleasant and sociable among themselves; for in every village they have a public house, where they will meet, and bring their several shares of provisions, joining all their forces together in one great feast, for the keeping up good fellowship amongst the King's subjects. They have a way peculiar to themselves of boiling rice; they put it into an earthen pot, which is of a conical figure, open at the greater end, and perforated all over. In the mean time, they provided another large earthen pot full of boiling water, into which they put this perforated vessel, with the rice, which swelling, and filling the holes of the pot, but a small quantity of water can enter. By this sort of boiling, the rice is brought to a very firm consistency, and, at last, is caked into a sort of bread; of which, with butter, oil, sugar, and spices, they make several very pleasant kinds of food. The French disease prevails among them in this island; but, instead of fetching out the poison by a salivation, they do it by a sort of perspiration through all the pores of the body, and that by sitting naked in the sun for some hours, whose scorching rays open those passages, and give free vent to the noxious particles to discharge themselves. The admiral here had news of some great ships that lay not far off; so, not knowing what they might prove, he would stay no longer. From hence they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land they fell in withal, neither did they touch at any other till they came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea. They passed the cape June 18, and, by the pleasure of the voyage that way, found how much the Portuguese had abused the world in the false representations of the horrors and dangers of it. July 22, they arrived at Sierra Leona, where they found great store of elephants.

After two days stay, which they spent in wooding, watering, and taking in refreshments, they sailed from thence. July 25, they found themselves under

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der the tropic of Cancer, being then 50 leagues off the nearest land. On the 22d of the same month, they were in the height of the Canaries; but, being sufficiently stocked with all necessaries, they made no stay there, but continued their voyage to Plymouth, where they arrived on Monday September 26, 1580, but, according to their account, it was Sunday. In this circum-navigation of the globe he spent two years, ten months, and a few days. The report of his return was very soon spread through the kingdom; and as that was an age when virtue might be said to be in fashion, it made a great noise, especially among such as affected to distinguish themselves either as the patrons of arms, or arts, all of them striving to express their sense of his worth, by the praises, and other testimonies of regard, which they paid to captain Drake.

It was not, however, reasonable to expect, that so bold and brave an action, attended likewise by such vast applause, should pass altogether uncensured; and therefore we need not be surpris'd, that there were many who endeavoured to give a wrong colour to this gallant action. They gave out, that his surrounding the globe served only to amuse common minds, and that the main business of his voyage was plunder, of which, they said, he had acquired enough to exempt the nation from taxes for seven years; that as there was no war proclaimed against Spain, it was a dangerous thing to own such an adventurer, since the public might come to pay dear for the prizes he had taken: that our merchants had great effects in Spain, and therefore reason to doubt, that a handle might be taken to seize our merchants goods to make good his depredations. These objections really weighed much with some people, and others thought fit to countenance them, though they did not believe them. The Spanish ambassador also attacked him by very warm memorials, his party stiling him the Master Thief of the unknown world. The friends



friends and patrons of captain Drake, however, who found themselves wounded through his sides, took abundance of pains to vindicate his conduct; alledging, on his behalf, that he had the queen's commission to justify his making reprisals; that the more wealth he had brought home, the more the nation was obliged to him; that the Spaniards had already done us very great injuries, and therefore they had more reason to fear us, than we them; that, in fine, if the king of Spain had a mind to seize our merchants effects, the public would do well to receive this Indian treasure by way of equivalent; and that, if they did not, it would break the spirit of that sort of men, who were otherwise most like to break the spirits of the Spaniards. Such were the reasonings on both sides, while the thing remained in suspense, as if queen Elizabeth intended to hear every body's sentiments, before she decided the merits of so great a cause.

Things remained for a considerable time in this situation, during which captain Drake, no doubt, was extremely uneasy, as not knowing, whether, after all his toils abroad, he might not be declared a pirate at home. There is however reason to believe, that the queen delayed to disclose her sentiments from motives of true policy, as inclining to see what effects this conduct of hers might have had upon the court of Spain, which was certainly withheld from meddling so far as was otherwise intended in her affairs, by the hopes of drawing so great a treasure out of our hands; and, to keep them in this hope, she very artfully consented to part with some small sums to Mendoza the Spanish agent. At last, when things were come to a crisis, the queen threw off the veil at once; and notice being given to captain Drake of her intention, she, on the 4th of April 1581, went on board his ship at Deptford, where she was magnificently entertained; and, after dinner, was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knight-  
hood

hood on captain Drake; telling him, at the same time, that his actions did him more honour than his title. There was a prodigious croud attended her majesty upon this occasion, so that they broke down the bridge laid from the shore to the ship, by that time she was got on board it; yet of 200 persons, who by this accident fell into the Thames, not one was either drowned or hurt, which her majesty was pleased to attribute to the fortune of Sir Francis Drake. After this public approbation of the sovereign, all ranks of people redoubled their congratulations; and Sir Francis Drake himself is said thenceforward to have given for his device the terraqueous globe, with this motto, *Tu primus circumdedisti me*, i. e. *Thou first encompassed me*; but not excluding his former motto, *Divino auxilio*, i. e. *By the help of God*.

This ship was preserved many years at Deptford, as a very great curiosity; and when it was almost entirely decayed, a chair was made out of it, and sent as a present to the university of Oxford, where it is still to be seen.

THE

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T H E  
VOYAGE round the WORLD,  
PERFORMED BY  
Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER.

Captain William Dampier was descended from a very reputable family in Somersetshire, where he was born in the year 1652; and, during the lifetime of his father and mother, had such an education, as was thought requisite to fit him for a trade. But, losing both his parents while he was very young, those, who had the care of him afterwards, finding him of a roving disposition, and strongly inclined to go to sea, resolved to comply with his humour in this respect; and, about the year 1669, bound him to a master of a ship who lived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, with whom he made a voyage to France the same year, and, in the next, went to Newfoundland. He was so pinched by the severity of that climate, that, on his return, he went home to his friends in the country, having lost much of that eagerness, with which he had been possessed for going to sea. This, however, soon returned, on his hearing of an outward-bound East India ship, which was speedily to sail from the port of London; and thereupon, in the latter end of the year 1670, he came up to town, and entered himself before the mast on board the *John and Martha* of London, captain Earning commander, with whom he made a voyage to Bantam in the island of Java, and back; by which he acquired a great deal of experience. He returned

turned into England in January 1672, and retired to his brother's house in Somersetshire, where he staid all the next summer. In 1673, he entered himself on board the Royal Prince, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two engagements against the Dutch that summer; but, falling sick, was put on board an hospital-ship a day or two before the last engagement, in which that brave English seaman was killed, and which Mr. Dampier saw only at a distance. After this, he went down again to his brother's in Somersetshire, where, meeting with one colonel Hellier, who had a large estate in Jamaica, he was persuaded by him to go over to that island, where he was to be employed in the management of it. With this view, he sailed from the river Thames in the spring of the year 1674, and resided somewhat more than a year at Jamaica; where, not liking the life of a planter, he, at the persuasion of one captain Hodsell, engaged himself among the logwood-cutters, and embarked in August 1675 for Campeachy, where he resided for some time, and followed that employment diligently, tho' he underwent many and great hardships, before he had an opportunity of returning to Jamaica, which he did in the end of the year. In the February following, he embarked again for Campeachy, being now better provided for the trade of logwood-cutter than before. He continued here a good while, and acquainted himself perfectly with the manner of cutting logwood, and trading in it; which enabled him to form some projects for advancing his fortune: This, however, made it necessary for him to return first to Jamaica, and then to England, where he arrived on board a ship commanded by one captain Loader, in the month of August 1678. It was this new scene of life in the bay of Campeachy, that introduced him to the acquaintance of some Buccaneers, and gave him a notion of that sort of life, in which he afterward engaged, and of which, it

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is certain, he was afterwards very much ashamed. This was probably the reason, that he has concealed many circumstances, with which, however, the world has been made acquainted by others, who had not, perhaps, the same reasons for keeping them secret. But to proceed with the history of our author's adventures.

In the spring of the year 1679, he embarked on board the *Loyal Merchant*, of London, commanded by captain Knapman, bound for Jamaica, where he arrived in the latter end of April, the same year, with an intent to have provided himself in such manner, as might have set him up for a complete log-wood-cutter, and trader in the bay of Campeachy. But he afterward changed his resolution, and laid out the best part of what he was worth in the purchase of a small estate in Dorsetshire, of a person he knew to have a good title; and then made an agreement with one Mr. Hobby, to take a trip to the Continent before he went for England. Soon after their setting out, they came to an anchor in Nigral bay, at the west end of Jamaica: They found there the captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharpe, and other privateers, with whom all Mr. Hobby's men presently agreed to go, and left nobody with him but our author; who, believing that his assistance could not do him much good, consented to go along with them too. At the close of the year 1679, they set out: their first expedition was against Porto-Bello, which being accomplished, they took a resolution to cross the isthmus of Darien, in order to pursue their designs in the South Seas. On April 5, 1680, they landed near Golden Island, being between 3 and 400 strong, carrying with them such provisions as were necessary, and toys to gratify the free Indians, through whose country they passed. In about nine days time they arrived at Santa Maria, which they took without much difficulty, but found there neither gold nor provisions, as they expected; so they staid there

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only

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only three days, and then embarked on board canoes, and other small craft, for the South Seas. On April 23, they were in sight of Panama; and, having in vain attempted Puebla Nova, before which captain Sawkins, then acting as commander in chief, was killed, they went off to the isles of Quibo. On June 6, they sailed from thence for the coast of Peru; and, touching at the islands of Gorgonia and Plata, they came to Ylo, which they took in the month of October. About Christmas, the same year, they arrived in the island of Juan Fernandez, which was the farthest they went towards the South: there they deposed captain Bartholomew Sharpe, who had the chief command after the death of Sawkins, and made choice of one captain Watling to command, under whom they attempted Arica. Here they were repulsed with the loss of twenty-eight men, among whom was their new commander captain Watling; when they sailed for some time without any commander; but, arriving in the island of Plata, their crew split into two factions; when it was resolved, before they proceeded to the choice of a commander, that the majority, with their new captain, should keep the ship, and the minority should content themselves with the canoes and small-craft. Upon the poll, captain Sharpe was restored, and Mr. Dampier, who had voted against him, prepared, with his associates, to return over land into the North Seas.

On April 17, 1681, they quitted captain Sharpe, and, without acknowledging any commander, resolved to prosecute their design of repassing the isthmus, though they were but forty-seven men in all. This was one of the boldest undertakings that ever came into the head of desperate men, and yet they performed it without any considerable loss. On May 1, they landed on the Continent; past the isthmus in twenty-three days; and, on the 24th, embarked on board captain Tristrion, a French privateer, with whom they joined a fleet of those sort of people,

con-

consisting of nine vessels, on board of which were near 600 men. This was a very great force, and they flattered themselves with the hopes of doing great things against the Spaniards: but through variety of accidents, though chiefly through the disagreement among their commanders, they were able to do very little; except that these people, who came over land, made themselves masters of a tartan; and, putting themselves under the command of captain Wright, continued cruizing along the Spanish coast, quite down to the Dutch settlement of Curacoa. Here they endeavoured to sell a good quantity of sugar, which they had taken on board a Spanish ship; but, failing in that design, they prosecuted their voyage to Tortugas, and from thence to the Caracca coast, where they took three barks, one laden with hides, another with European commodities, and the third with earthen-ware and brandy. With these prizes they proceeded to the island of Roca, where they shared them, and then resolved to separate, though they were but sixty in all: of these, about twenty, among whom our author was, took one of the barks, and, with their share of the goods, proceeded directly for Virginia, where they arrived in the month of July 1682. There they continued for some time, and then the best part of them made a voyage to Carolina, from whence they once more came back to Virginia; and, having spent the best part of their wealth, were now ready to enter on any scheme that could be proposed for getting more; nor was it long before such an opportunity offered. Captain Cooke coming thither with a prize, and declaring his resolution to go into the South Seas, and cruise upon the Spaniards; Mr. Dampier, whose old acquaintance he was, and who knew him to be an able commander, readily agreed to go with him, and brought most of his companions into a like disposition; which was of greater consequence to that commander, as it furnished him with one-third of his whole company. In



this voyage it was that captain Cowley acted as master, though he was not trusted with the true design. They sailed from Achamack in Virginia, August 23, 1683, and steered their course for the Cape de Verd islands. In their passage they met with a violent storm, which lasted a whole week. We have now seen our author embarked; the remainder of his voyage shall be given in his own manner.

The Isle of Salt, says captain Dampier, is situated in  $16^{\circ}$  latitude; and in  $19^{\circ} 33'$  longitude west from the Lizard in England. It is in length from north to south nine leagues, and in breadth about two leagues; has abundance of salt ponds, (whence it derives its name) but no trees or grass that ever I saw. Some few poor goats feed upon shrubs near the sea-side. I have also seen some wild fowl here, and especially the Flamingos, a reddish fowl, of the shape of a heron, but much larger, living in ponds, or muddy places: we shot about fourteen of them, though they are very shy: their nests they build with mud, in the shallow places in ponds or standing waters; these they raise up like hillocks, tapering to the top, two feet above the surface of the water, where they leave a hole to lay their eggs in, which when they do, or are hatching them, they stand with their long legs in the water close to the hillocks, and so cover the hollowness only with their rumps; for, if they should sit down on them, the weight of their bodies would break them. The young ones cannot fly, nor do they come to their true colour or shape, till they are ten or eleven months old, but run very fast: their flesh is lean and black, but not ill tasted: They have large tongues, and, near the root of them, a piece of fat, which is accounted a great dainty. I saw, at another time, great store of these birds at the isle of Rio la Hacha, near the continent of America, opposite to Curacao, but never could so fully observe their nests, or young ones, as here. We found not above five or six men in the island of salt; the chief



brought us three or four poor goats ; in return for which, and some salt we bought of him, we gave him some old cloaths.

We sailed from the isle of Salt to St. Nicholas, another of the Cape Verd isles, twenty-two leagues west south-west. From thence we came to an anchor on the south-east side. It is of a triangular form, the longest side to the east being thirty leagues in length, and the other two twenty each : near the shore it is rocky and barren ; but has some valleys farther in the country, which produce vines and grafs. The chief of the isle, with two or three gentlemen, brought some of the wine aboard us, which was of a pale colour, and tasted like Madeira wine, but was a little thick : they told us, that the principal village was in a valley, fourteen miles from the bay, where we then were, and contained about 100 families ; they were of a dark swarthy complexion. After having spent five or six days here in digging of wells for fresh water, we sailed to Mayo, another of the Cape de Verd islands, forty miles east by south from the last, where we came to an anchor to the north-west side of it. We would have provided ourselves with some beef and goats here, but they would not let our men come ashore ; because one captain Bond, a Bristol man, had, not long before, carried off some of the chief inhabitants under the same pretence. This isle is but small, and the coast full of shoals ; yet has a considerable commerce in salt and cattle\*.

From the Cape Verd isles we steered our course to the south with an east north-east wind directly to the streights of Magellan ; but at  $10^{\circ}$  north latitude, the wind blowing hard at south by west, and south south-west, we directed our course to the Guinea coast, and came in a few days to an anchor at the mouth of Sherborough river, where there is an English factory

\* See a particular description of the Cape Verd islands, in captain Roberts's Voyage, to be found in vol. 2.

south of Sierra Leona, which drives a considerable trade with camwood, yielding a red colour, used by the dyers. Not far from the shore we saw a pretty large village, inhabited by negroes; the houses were low, except one in the middle, where they entertained us with palm-wine, and brought aboard good store of rice, fowls, honey, and sugar-canes. About the middle of November we prosecuted our voyage to the streights of Magellan; but, as soon as we got out to sea, we met with tornadoes, three or four in a day, which, together with calms, made us advance but slowly, the wind veering at intervals to the south and by east, and south south-east, till we were past the equinoctial line, about a degree to the east of the Isle of St. Iago. After we were come  $1^{\circ}$  to the south of the line, the wind turned to the east, which made us steer south-west by west; and, the farther we got to the south, the wind increased upon us from the east. At  $3^{\circ}$  south latitude, we had the wind at south-east; and at  $5^{\circ}$  at south-east, where it held a considerable time, and carried us the 18th of January, 1684, to  $36^{\circ}$  of south latitude, without any remarkable accident. The sea hereabouts being of a palish colour, we thought to have found ground with our line, but found none at 100 fathom. At noon I computed to be  $48^{\circ} 50'$  west from the Lizard, the variation  $15^{\circ} 50'$ . January 28, we made three isles of Sebald de Weert, in  $51^{\circ} 25'$  south latitude, and  $57^{\circ} 28'$  longitude, west from the Lizard of England, the variation  $33^{\circ} 10'$ . We came to an anchor within two cables length of the shore of the furthestmost of those three islands, where we found foul rocky ground, and the island barren, and destitute of trees, but some dildo-bushes growing near the sea-side. We saw the same day vast shoals of small red lobsters, no bigger than one's finger; but were perfectly like our lobsters, except in their colour.

As we found neither safe anchoring nor fresh water at those isles, we made the best of our way to-

ward the streights of Magellan. February 1, we came in sight of the streight le Maire, which we found very narrow, with high land on both sides. The wind at north north-west, we sailed with a brisk gale till within four miles of the mouth, where, being becalmed, we found a very strong tide setting out of the streights to the north; but whether it flowed or ebbed we were not able to distinguish; because it ran all ways, breaking on all sides, and tossing our ship at such a rate, as I never saw before or since. At eight o'clock at night we sailed with a west north-west wind to the east, in order to sail round the States Isle; at the east end of which, anchoring the 7th at noon, we found ourselves at  $45^{\circ} 52'$  south latitude. At this end are three small rocky islands, white with the dung of birds. We steered to the south, in order to sail round to the south of Cape Horn, the southermost point of Terra del Fuego; but the winds running betwixt the north-west and west, we did not see the Terra del Fuego. After the first evening, we made the streight of le Maire: as I did not see the sun, at setting or rising, from the time we left the isles of Sebald de Weert, till we came into the South Seas, so I am not able to tell you the variation: I made, indeed, an observation at noon in  $59^{\circ} 30'$  longitude, the wind at west by north<sup>1</sup>; and at night the wind veered about to the south-west at  $60^{\circ}$ , the furthest south latitude I ever was in. February 14, we were surpris'd by a most violent storm in  $57^{\circ}$  latitude to the west of Cape Horn, which continued till the 3d of March, from the south-west, and south-west and by west, and west south-west. March 3, it blew a fresh gale from the south, and afterwards from the east, which brought us into the South Sea. The 9th, we found ourselves at  $47^{\circ} 10'$ , and the variation  $15^{\circ} 30'$  east. The 17th, we had a fair gale from the south-east at  $36^{\circ}$  latitude, the variation  $8^{\circ}$  east. The 19th, early in the morning, we discerned a sail to the south of us, which we supposed to be a Spanish merchantman bound

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bound from Baldivia to Lima; but proved one captain Eaton, from London, who being bound to the South Seas as well as we, we kept company with him quite through the streights.

March 24, we got in sight of the isle of Juan Fernandez, and soon after came to an anchor, in a bay at the south end, in 25 fathom water, within two cables length of the shore \*. We sent immediately to look after a Muskito man we had been forced to leave there three years before; and who, notwithstanding all the search made by the Spaniards after him, had kept himself concealed in the woods. When he was left there by captain Watling (after captain Sharpe was turned out) he had with him a gun, a knife, and some powder and shot, which being all spent, he sawed his gun-barrel into small pieces, and these he made up into harpoons, hooks, and such-like instruments; all which, though it may seem strange, yet is commonly practised among the Muskito Indians, who make all their instruments without either forge or anvil. And the other Indians, who have not the use of iron from the Europeans, make their hatchets, wherewith they cut their timber and wood, of a very hard stone. In the hollowing out of their canoes, they make use of fire beside. The stone hatchets of the Indians, near Blewfield River, are ten inches long, fourteen broad, and two inches thick in the middle, ground away flat and sharp at both ends; the handle is in the midst, being a deep notch, of a finger's length, which they bind round with a withe of about four feet long. Thus the Indians of Patagonia head their arrows very artificially with ground flints: with these before-mentioned instruments our Muskito man used to strike goats and fish for his subsistence; his hut being half a mile from the sea-side, made of

\* This island is accurately described in Anson's voyage; following.

goat skins; as was his bed, the same serving likewise for his cloathing; those he had, when he was left, being quite worn out. We had no sooner landed, than another Muskito, aboard our ship, ran to meet his countryman, and, after he had thrown himself on his face upon the ground, embraced him with all the marks of tenderness; which ceremony being over, he came to salute us his old friends. His name was Will, and the other's Robert: For, though they have no names among themselves, they love to have names given them by the English. This island has only two bays fit for anchorage, with a rivulet of fresh water in each: both these are at the east end, and so conveniently situated, that they might be strengthened and defended by a slender force against a powerful army, there being no access to them from the West over the high mountains. Here it was that five Englishmen, left here by captain Davis, secured themselves against a great number of Spaniards.

After staying fourteen days at the island of Juan Fernandez, we set sail again April 8, 1684, in company with captain Eaton, for the Pacific Sea, properly so called, being that part of the Mare del Zur which extends from south to north, betwixt  $30^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  south latitude; and, from the American shore to the west, without limitation, as far as I know. I have sailed in this sea 250 leagues without any dark or rainy clouds, tempests, tornadoes, hurricanes, or any other winds, except the trade-winds: notwithstanding which, the sea runs high at the new and full moon, and makes landing very unsafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of hazy and foggy weather in the morning, so as to hinder the observation of the sun. We continued our course towards the line to the  $24^{\circ}$  south latitude, in sight of the continent of America. This vast track of land belonging to Chili and Peru being very mountainous, we sailed no nearer than twelve or sixteen leagues to it,

it, for fear of being discovered by the Spaniards; and the land, from  $24^{\circ}$  to  $10^{\circ}$  south latitude, still exceeds the former in height, being inclosed by three or four ridges of mountains within one another, the furthest within the country surpassing the rest in height; they exceed, in my opinion, in height, the peak of Teneriff, and of St. Martha, or any other in the world that ever I saw. Sir John Narborough, in his voyage to Baldivia, mentions very high lands near that city, lying upon the coast; and I have been informed from divers Spaniards, that from Coquimbo, at  $30^{\circ}$  south latitude, to Baldivia, at  $40^{\circ}$  south, the shore is also very high; which makes me conclude, that these ridges extend all along the South Sea coast from one end of Peru and Chili to the other, they are called the Andes. This I believe to be the reason why but few, and these very small rivers, exonerate themselves into the sea, scarce any of them being navigable, and some drying up at certain seasons of the year. Thus the river of Uli runs with a brisk current from January to June, and then decreases till September, when it quite dries up till January again, as I can say on my own experience, and as I have heard the Spaniards affirm the same of other rivers on this coast. So I look upon them rather as torrents, occasioned by rain at certain seasons, than rivulets.

We continued our course at some distance along the coast till May the 3d, at  $9^{\circ} 40'$  south latitude, when we descrying a vessel, captain Eaton took her, being laden with timber. Afterwards we steered our course to the isle of Lobos, at  $6^{\circ} 24'$  south latitude, five leagues from the continent. This isle is called Lobos de la Mare, to distinguish it from another nearer the Continent, and, therefore, called Lobos de la Terra; Lobos signifying as much as a seal in Spanish, of which there is great plenty hereabouts. May 10, we anchored near Lobos de la Mare with our prize. This is properly a double island, each of

a mile in circuit, separated by a small channel, not capable of receiving any ships of burden : A little way from the shore, on the north side, several rocks lie scattered in the sea : at the west end of the eastermost isle, is a small sandy creek, where ships may be secure from the winds ; all the rest of the shore being rocky cliffs. The land is also rocky and sandy, without any fresh water, trees or shrubs, or any land animal, except fowls, as boobies, but above all, penguins, a sort of sea-fowl of the bigness of a duck, and having just such feet, but the bill is pointed : their wings are no more than stumps, which serve them instead of fins in the water ; and they are covered rather with down, than with feathers : As they feed on fish, so their flesh is but of an indifferent taste, but the eggs are very good. The penguins are to be seen all over the South Sea, on the coast of Newfoundland, and on the Cape of Good Hope.

Upon examination of the prisoners, being convinced that we were discovered by the Spaniards, and, consequently, that they would keep all their richest ships in port, it was considered, whether we should attack some place thereabouts ; and Truxilo, though a populous city, and of a difficult access in landing, at the port of Guanehagno, six miles hence, being thought the most likely place, we prepared for the said expedition ; and, May 17, found our whole number to consist of 108 sound men ; but, the next day, some of our men descrying three vessels to the west, without the isles, and one betwixt the isle and the Continent, we gave them chace ; we in captain Cooke's ship that towards the Continent, and captain Eaton the other two. They were soon taken, and proved to be laden with flour from Guanehagno to Panama : in one of them we found a letter from the viceroy of Lima, to the president of Panama, intimating, that, having notice of some enemies lately come into those seas, he had immediately sent away these



these three ships to supply their wants ; at the same time, being informed by the prisoners, that those of Truxillo were erecting a fort near their harbour of Guanehagno, we resolved to give over our design of attacking that place, and steered with our three prizes to the isles of Gallipagos, so called by the Spaniards from their supposed disappearing. May 31, we came to an anchor at the east side of one of the easternmost isles, a mile from the shore, in sixteen fathom water, clear, white, hard sand\*.

There is no place in the world so much stored with guanas and land tortoises as these isles. The first are fat, and of an extraordinary size, and exceeding tame ; and the land tortoises so numerous, that some hundred men may subsist on them for a considerable time. They are very fat, and as pleasant food as a pullet ; and of such bigness, that one of them weighs 150 or 200 pounds ; and are from two feet to two feet six inches over the belly ; whereas, in other places, I never met with any above thirty pounds weight ; though I have heard them say, that at St. Laurence, or Madagascar, there are also very large ones. There are three or four sorts of land tortoises in the West Indies. After a sea tortoise gets ashore to lay, she is an hour before she returns, because she always chuses her places above high-water mark, where she makes a large hole with her fins in the sand, to lay her eggs in ; which done, she covers them up two feet deep with the same sand she had raked out before : sometimes they will take a view of the place beforehand, and be sure to return to the same the next day to lay. The tortoises are taken in the night, upon the shore, when they are turned upon their backs, above the high-water mark, and so fetched away the next morning ; but a large green tortoise will find work enough for two able fellows to turn her upon her back.

\* These islands are described by Woodes Rogers.



After a stay of twelve days among these isles, one of our Indian prisoners, a native of Rio Lega, having given us an ample account of the riches of that place, and offered his service to conduct us thither, it was resolved to take his advice; and accordingly we set sail the 12th of June, with an intention to touch in our way at the isle of Cocoas: we took our course north  $4^{\circ} 40'$  latitude, with a south and by west and south south west winds; and, as we came west to the isle of Cocoas, the wind south-west and by south, thus we continued our course to  $5^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude, when, despairing to make the isle of Cocoas, as the wind stood, we directed our course to the continent. The isle of Cocoas lies in  $5^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude, its circuit seven or eight leagues, but has no inhabitants. Near the sea-side it produces a certain pleasant herb in the low grounds, called Geamadael by the Spaniards. As it is environed with steep rocks, so there is no coming near it, except that on the north-east end ships may ride safely in a small creek: this is what I learn from the Spaniards, and was confirmed to me by captain Eaton. The fair weather, and small winds, conducted us by the beginning of July to Cape Blanco, on the continent of Mexico, so called from two white rocks, half a mile from the cape, in  $9^{\circ} 56'$  latitude; they are taper, high, and steep, like two high towers; the cape itself is about the same height as Beachy-head, on the coast of Sussex, in England, being a full point jetting out with steep rocks to the sea, but having an easy descent on both sides from the flat on the top, which, being covered with tall trees, affords a pleasant prospect. On the north-west side of the cape, the land runs in north-east for four leagues, making a small bay, called the Caldera Bay; at the entrance whereof, at the north-west side of the cape, a sweet-water rivulet discharges itself into the sea amongst the low lands. These are very rich, and abounding in lofty trees, which extend a mile north-east beyond the rivulet, where

where the Savannas begin, and run several leagues into the country; being here-and-there beautified with small groves of trees, and covered with a sweet, thick, and long grass, some of the best I ever saw in the West Indies. Deeper into the bay, the low lands are stored with mangroves; but, farther into the country, the land is higher, partly woods, partly hilly savannas; the grass whereof is not so good as the former, neither are the trees in the woods so tall, but small and short. From the bottom of this bay, you may travel over hilly savannas for fourteen or fifteen leagues to the lake of Nicaragua.

On the coast of the North Sea, captain Cooke, who had been very ill ever since our departure from the island Juan Fernandez, died as soon as we came within two or three leagues of this cape, a thing frequent at sea, for people to die in view of the land, after a long illness: and as, in a few hours after, we came to anchor a league within the cape, near the mouth of the before-mentioned rivulet, at fourteen fathom clear hard sand, he was immediately carried on shore, under a guard of twelve armed men, in order to his interment. While our men were busy in digging the grave, three Spanish Indians came to them, asking them several impertinent questions; which our people having answered as they thought convenient, they kept them in discourse till they found means to seize them all three, though one of them escaped their hands again. The other two, being carried aboard, confessed that they were sent thither as spies, to inform themselves concerning us, from Nicoya, a small Mulatto town, twelve or fourteen leagues hence, seated upon the banks of a river bearing the same name, which being a place very convenient for building and refitting of ships, the president of Panama had sent advice of our coming into these seas to their magistrates.

Concerning the inhabitants of the country, they told us, that they lived mostly by manuring of their grounds

grounds for corn, and feeding their cattle in the Savannas or plains, of which they had great store; and that they sent their ox-hides to the North Sea, by the lake of Nicaragua; as they did also a sort of red wood, (which I suppose to be the same, called at Jamaica blood wood, or Nicaragua wood) used for dying, which they exchanged there for linen and woollen commodities brought thither from Europe. They added, that not far from thence was a large beef-pen, where we might provide ourselves with what cows or bulls we had occasion for. As this was a scarce commodity amongst us at that time, twenty-four of us were immediately dispatched in two boats, who, under the conduct of one of the Indians, landed at a place a league from the ship, and haled their boats upon the dry sand: thus, led by their guide, they came to the pen, in a large savanna, two miles from the boats, where, finding abundance of bulls and cows feeding, some were for killing three or four of them immediately; but the rest opposed the same, alleging, they had better stay all night, and in the morning kill as many as they had occasion for. Hereupon I, and eleven more, thought fit to return aboard, which we did without the least opposition, expecting the coming of the rest the next day; but, hearing nothing of them by four o'clock in the afternoon, ten men were sent in a canoe to look after them. They were no sooner come into the bay where they landed before, but they found their comrades upon a small rock, half a mile from the shore, standing up to the middle in water, whither they had fled for refuge to escape the hands of forty or fifty well armed Spaniards, with guns and lances, who had burnt their boat: they were got upon the rock at low water; but it being then flowing water, they must have infallibly perished, had our canoes come but one hour later, which now brought them safe aboard. We afterwards seized upon two canoes, ready fitted, in this bay; for ships and barks they have

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have none, nor any instrument for fishing, there being scarce any fish thereabouts. This country abounding in wood, called lance-wood, growing straight, like so many ashes, and very hard and tough, we cut a good quantity of it to make handles or staves for oars, and scouring-rods for our guns, as being much more durable than those made of ash.

The 19th of July, the day before our departure from the bay of Caldera, Mr. Edward Davis, our quarter-master, was constituted captain, in the room of captain Cooke, deceased: the next day we sailed, in company with captain Eaton, and one of our meal prizes, towards Rio Leja, with a moderate north wind, which brought us, in three days, over against the said port. The country about Rio Leja is easily discovered at sea, by reason of an high, peaked, burning mountain, called Volcano Vejo, the Old Volcano, by the Spaniards. It is easily distinguished, being very high, so as to be seen twenty leagues at sea; besides that there is no other mountain, like this, on that coast; and it smokes all day, and also sends forth flames at night. If you will make the harbour, the mountain must bear north-east; then, steering directly with the mountain, that course will bring you to the harbour, the entrance whereof you see about three leagues off it. You must take the advantage of the sea-winds to enter, which are here at south south-west. The harbour is inclosed by a low isle, of a mile in length, a quarter of a mile broad, and one and half from the continent. At each end is a channel; that on the east, being narrow, and having a very strong tide, is scarce ever used; but that on the west end, being much larger, is most frequented by ships, which must, however, have a care of a certain sandy shole on the north-west point of the isle, which as soon as they are past, they must keep close to the shore of the isle, there being a sand-bank, which runs above half-way out from the continent; after which, there is very good riding near the

the main shore, in seven or eight fathom water, clear hard sand. This point is able to contain 200 ships. About two leagues thence is seated the town of Rio Leja, in a fenny country, full of red man-grove trees, betwixt two narrow branches of the sea, the westernmost whereof reaches up to the town, and the easternmost runs up near the backside of it; but no shipping can come to the town; the description whereof I will give the reader in my return hither.

Being in sight of the Volcano Vejo, seven or eight leagues from the shore, the mouth bearing north-east, we took in our topsails, and made towards the harbour; and then, setting out our canoes, rowed up to the small town, that makes the harbour of Rio Leja, by nine o'clock in the morning; where we discovered an house, and soon after three men going into a canoe on the inside of the island, and making what haste they could to row to the continent; which before they could reach, we overtook them, and carried them to the little isle. At the same time, we observed one on horseback on the continent, riding away full speed towards the town. They frankly confessed, that they had been placed there by the governor of Rio Leja, who had been advised of our coming into those parts, to keep watch day and night; and that horseman we saw riding away, was placed upon the same account on the continent, within an hour's riding of the town. Thus, finding ourselves discovered, the horseman being gone three hours before Eaton and his canoes came to the island, the design upon that town was laid aside for this time. This small island has a curious spring of fresh water, some trees, and good store of grass; but no beasts to feed upon it; and is situated at  $12^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude. We staid till four o'clock in the afternoon; then we went aboard again; and, pursuant to a consultation held betwixt captain Eaton and captain Davis July 26, took our course the next day for the gulph of Amapalla.

This

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This gulph is a large branch of the sea, entering eight or ten leagues deep into the country. On the south side of its entrance, it has a point, or cape Caswina; and, on the north-west side, St. Michael's Mountain, at  $12^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude. They both appear very remarkable at sea; for the cape is an high round point, the land near it being very low; and Mount Michael is a high peaked hill, not very steep, at the foot whereof, on the south-east, is a low plain of a mile in length. This bay or gulph has many islands, but uninhabited. One pretty large we saw belonging to a monastery, where four or five Indians looked after the cattle, that fed there in great numbers. This gulph has two channels, one betwixt cape Caswina and Mangera, the other between this last place and Amapalla. The best anchorage is on the east side of Amapalla, opposite to the low grounds, the rest being high lands. As you go in deeper, you may ride on the north east side of Amapalla, close to the main. This the Spaniards call the port of Martin Lopez. The gulph extends a great way beyond the isle; but it is not deep enough to bear ships of burden.

Captain Davis being sent before, with two canoes into this gulph, to get some prisoners, he came to Mangera, where, finding a path from the creek, he followed it towards the town; but the inhabitants no sooner had notice of his coming, than they ran all into the woods, leaving only the priest behind them; who being taken, with two boys his attendants, captain Davis made them conduct him to the isle of Amapalla, where being landed, he marched up to the before-mentioned place, a mile from the landing-place, on the top of the hill. The inhabitants, who saw them advance, were ready to retire into the woods; but the secretary, an enemy to the Spaniards, having persuaded them that they were friends, who craved their assistance against their common oppressors, they bid Davis and his men welcome. After the first salutation, they marched towards

This

wards the church, (the priest, brought along by captain Davis, at the head of them) their only place of public meeting, whether for consultations or diversions, where they kept their vizards, hautboys, strumstrums, (a kind of cittern) and other musical instruments. Here they meet to make merry, especially in the night preceding or next ensuing any holiday, where they dance, sing and play, with antic dresses and gestures; though, to speak truth, their music and mirth have something very melancholy in them, suitable to the yoke they groan under.

But to return to captain Davis: his intention was, as soon as they were all got into the church, to engage all their assistance against the Spaniards, to accomplish which the priest had promised his good offices; but, just as a few of the remaining Indians were entering the church, one of captain Davis's men pushed a man forwards, to hasten him into the church; which the Indian being frightened at, set up his heels, and the rest, taking the alarm, followed; so that captain Davis and the frier being left alone in the church, he ordered his men to fire at them; which being done, the secretary was killed in the fray: and so the whole project vanished into smoke, by the foolishness of one inconsiderate fellow. The same afternoon, our ship being entered the gulph between cape Caswina and the isle of Mangera, came to an anchor on the east side, near the isle of Amapalla. Captain Davis came aboard us with the frier, who told us, that, since the secretary was killed, they had no other way than to send for the casica; which being done by the priest, he came, attended by six other Indians, who did us considerable service in conducting us whither we had occasion to go, especially to fetch beef; for which they were rewarded to their satisfaction. On this island of Amapalla, a company of English and French landed afterward, and thence came to the continent, and marched by Land to the Cape River, which has got its name from



from its discharging itself into the north seas near Cape Gratia. At the source of this river they make bark-logs, wherewith they passed into the north seas. However, they were not the first who knew this passage, something of it having been discovered by some English thirty years before, who went up this Cape River into the north seas in canoes, to the same place where the French built their bark-logs, and thence to an inland town called Segovia. They performed this not without incredible difficulty, and in no less than a month's time, by reason of the many cataracts of this River, which obliged them frequently to hale their canoes ashore, and drag them over land, till they were past these water-falls. I have spoken with several, that were in this expedition, and, if I mistake not, captain Sharpe was one of them. But to return to our voyage: after we had careened, and provided our ships with fresh water, captain Davis and captain Eaton broke off consortship; and the last left the gulph September 2.

September 3, 1684, having seen the frier on shore, we sailed with the land-wind at west north-west, out of the gulph of Amapalla through the channel betwixt Mangera and the isle of Amapalla, directing our course to the coast of Peru. As the tornadoes, with thunder, lightening, and rains are very frequent on these coasts from June to November, we had our share of them, coming most from the south-east; but afterwards, the wind veering to the west, it held till we came within sight of cape St. Francisco, where we met with fair weather, and a south wind. This cape, being an high full point of land, lies at  $1^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, and is covered with lofty trees. As you pass by it from the north side, you may easily mistake a small low point for the cape; but, soon after you pass it, you will discover it with triple points. The land near it is high, and the mountains appear black. We plied along the shore, for the advantage both of the sea and land-winds, the



first blowing from the south, as the land-winds do from south south-east, though sometimes, when we were opposite to a river's mouth, the wind would turn to south-east. September 20, we came to an anchor near the isle of Plata, at sixteen fathom, being now fallen in with the places whence I began the account of this voyage, after having compassed the whole continent of South America. The isle of Plata, situated at  $1^{\circ} 10'$  south latitude, is about four miles in length, and one and an half in breadth, of a pretty good height, and inclosed with rocky cliffs, except in one place on the east side, which is the only place where a fresh-water torrent falls down from the rocks. The top is flat and plain, the soil sandy; yet it produces three or four sorts of low and small trees, not known in Europe. These trees were much overgrown with moss; and pretty good grass is to be found here in the beginning of the year; but here are no land-animals to feed upon it, that vast number of goats, which used to be here formerly, being all destroyed. However, they have a great many boobies and men-of-war birds. Some say the Spaniards have given it the name of Plate Island, ever since sir Francis Drake carried thither the Cacafuego, a rich ship of theirs laden with plate. The place for anchorage is on the east side, about the middle of the isle, close to the shore, within two cables length of the sandy bay, in eighteen or twenty fathom of fastousy ground, and very smooth water; because the south-east point of the isle keeps off the force of the south winds, which commonly blow here. In this sandy bay, opposite to the anchoring-place, is good landing, this being the only place that leads up into the isle. From the south-east point runs out a small shole about a quarter of a mile into the sea, where, when it flows, you see great rising in the water. The tide is strong, flowing to the south, and ebbing to the north. At the same point are three small, but high rocks, about a cable's length

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length from the isle; and as many, but much larger, at the north-east end. All round the island there is deep water, except in the before-mentioned road; and, near the shore, there are great plenty of small sea-turtles mentioned before: the island bears four or five leagues west south-west from cape St. Lorenzo.

After a day's stay here, we continued our voyage to point St. Helena, bearing south from the isle of Plata, at  $2^{\circ} 15'$  south latitude. It appears high and flat like an isle, being surrounded with low grounds, and covered on the top with thistles; but without trees. As it jets out into the sea, it makes a good large bay to the north side, a mile within which, on the very sea side, stands a wretched village, called also St. Helena, inhabited by Indians; but the ground, though low, being sandy and barren, they have neither trees nor grass, or any corn or fruit, except water-melons; which are very good here. They are forced to fetch their water as far as the river Calanche, four leagues thence, at the bottom of the same bay. They live chiefly upon fish, and are supplied with maiz for Alcatrane. Near this town, about five paces above the high-water mark, there issues out of the earth a certain bituminous substance, called Alcatrane by the Spaniards, which, by long boiling, becomes hard like pitch, and is used as such by the Spaniards. To the leeward of the point, directly opposite to the village, is good anchorage; but, on the west side, very deep water. Some of our men, being sent in the night-time to take the village, landed in their canoes in the morning, and took some prisoners, and a small bark set on fire by the inhabitants, alledging, that they had done it by special order from the viceroy. Our men coming back the same evening, we returned again into the isle of Plata, where we anchored September 26, which very evening, we sent some of our men to Manta, an Indian village, two or three leagues west

of cape St. Lorenzo, to get more prisoners, in hopes of better intelligence.

Manta is a small village, inhabited by Indians, on the Continent, seven or eight leagues from the isle of Plata. Its buildings are mean, and scattered; but, being raised on an easy ascent, afford a very agreeable prospect towards the sea-side. The church here is very fine, and adorned with carved work, because this place was formerly inhabited by Spaniards. As the grounds about it are dry and sandy, they bear neither corn nor roots, but only a few shrubs. They are supplied with provisions by sea, this being the first place, where the ships bound from Panama to Lima, and other parts of Peru, refresh themselves. They have an excellent spring of fresh water between the village and the sea. Just opposite to the village, one mile and an half from the shore, is a rock, which proves often dangerous, because it never appears above water; but, a mile within this rock, is safe anchorage at six, eight, or ten fathom, hard and clear sand. About a mile west from the anchoring-place, a shoal runs out a mile into the sea. Behind the town, directly south of it, a good way into the country, stands a very high mountain, rising up into the clouds like a sugar-loaf; and therefore serves for a good sea-mark, there being none other like it on all that coast. We returned to our men, who landed about day break, one mile and half from the village; but the inhabitants, being already stirring, took the alarm, and so got all away, except two old women, who, being taken prisoners, declared, that the viceroy, upon news brought him, that a good number of the enemies were come over the isthmus of Darien into the South Seas, had ordered the burning of their ships, the destroying of all the goats in the isle of Plata, and no more provisions to be kept than for their own present use.

We returned the next day to the isle of Plata, where we found our ship. Here we staid, unre-  
solved

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solved what course to take, till October 2, when captain Swan, commander of the *Cygnets* of London, a rich ship, which was designed to trade on that coast, came to an anchor in the same road; but, being disappointed in his hopes to traffic thereabouts, his men had forced him to take aboard a company of privateers he met with at Nicoya, being the same we were told of at Manta; for they were come by land, under the command of captain Peter Harris, nephew to the same captain Harris who was killed before Panama. Captain Swan's ship being unfit for service, by reason of his cargo, most of his goods were sold upon credit, and the rest thrown overboard, except the fine commodities, and some iron for ballast. Then captain Davis and captain Swan joined company by consent; and Harris had a small bark given him. Our bark, which had been sent three days before cruising, brought in a prize laden with timber, which they had taken in the bay Guaiquil. The commander told us, that it was credibly reported at Guaiquil, that the viceroy was fitting out ten frigates to chase us out of those seas. This made us wish for captain Eaton; and it was resolved to send our small bark towards Lima, to invite him to join company with us. This done, we fitted up another small bark into a fireship; and, October 20, sailed for the isle of Lobos. The wind being very slack, we did not pass by the point of St. Helena till the 23d, and the 25th crossed the bay of Guaiquil. The 30th, we doubled the cape of Blanco, at 30° 48', the worst cape in the South Seas to double, because you cannot here, as in most other places, stand off at sea, by reason of the strong current, which, setting north-west, will carry a ship off more in two hours, than she can get again in five. Thus we were forced to keep near the shore, which is not often performed without great difficulty; for as there are no land-winds here, it generally blows hard at south south-west, or south by west. The cape is surrounded

rounded with white rocks on the sea-side, whence, questionless, it has got its name; and the country near it appears steep and rugged.

November 2, we lay about six leagues off Payta, whence we sent several canoes, manned with 110 men, to attack the town, a small sea-port belonging to the Spaniards, at  $5^{\circ} 15'$ , built on a sandy rock near the sea-side, under an high hill. It has two churches, though not more than seventy-five or eighty houses, low, and meanly built. It is like most of the other buildings all along the coast of Peru. They build their walls with a kind of brick made of earth and straw, dried only in the sun, three feet long, two broad, and one  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick. In some places they only lay poles across, covered with mats instead of roofs; but sometimes they used roofs. The reason why they build so meanly, is partly because they want materials of good stone and timber, partly because it never rains, which only makes them solicitous of keeping out the sun; and those walls, tho' never so slight and brittle, yet will there hold firm for a considerable time, as they were at first, being not shaken or mouldered by the wind and rains. The timber the better sort make use of in their buildings, is brought thither from other places. Their walls, as well as those of their churches, are neatly whitened, both within and without, with very large beams, posts, and doors, all adorned with carved work, besides good pictures brought thither from Spain, and rich hangings of tapestry, or painted calicoes. But the houses of Payta were not of that sort, though their churches were large and handsome. Close by the sea is a small fort, which, with musquets only, commands the harbour, as another on the top of an hill commands both that and this fort. They are obliged to fetch their fresh water, as also their fowls, hogs, plaintains, and Maiz from Colon, a town two leagues north north-east from Payta, where a fresh-water river empties itself into the sea.

The

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The dry track of this country begins to the north from cape Blanco, and reaches to Coquimbo, at 30° south latitude, where I never saw or heard any rain, nor of any green thing growing, either in the mountains or valleys, except in some places watered constantly with divers rivers.

The people of Colon are much addicted to fishing, which they perform in bark-logs: these are composed of divers round logs of wood, like a rafter, but in different manners, according to the use for which they are intended. Those designed for fishing are only three or four logs of light wood, eight feet long, joined to each other on the sides with wooden pegs and withes. The middlemost is always longer than the rest, especially at the fore part, which ends, by degrees, in a point, the better to cut the waves. Those intended for carrying merchandize are made after the same manner and shape, of twenty or thirty great trunks of trees, joined together, thirty or forty feet long. Upon these they fasten, with wooden pins, another shorter row of logs cross-ways. From this double bottom they raise a raft of ten feet, by the means of posts set upright, which are the supporters of two thick trees laid across each other, just like our wood-piles, but not so close as in the bottom of the float, and at the end and sides only, the inner part being hollow. In this, at four feet high from the beam of the bottom, they lay small poles close together, which serve for a bottom of another room, on the top whereof they make just such another floor. The first story serves for the hold, in which they stow ballast, and water-casks, or jars; and the second for the seamen, and what belongs to them. Above this second floor the goods are stowed, as high as they think fit, which seldom exceeds ten feet. Some space is left behind for the steersman, and before for the kitchen, especially in long voyages, because they sometimes go 5 or 600 leagues. They have a very large rudder,



and, in the midst of this machine, a mast, with a large sail, like our west-country barges.

As they cannot go but before the wind, they are only fit for those seas, where the wind blows constantly one way, seldom varying above a point or two in the whole voyage betwixt Lima and Panama. If thereabouts they meet, as sometimes it happens, with a north-west wind, they drive before it till it changes, having nothing else to do in the mean while but to avoid the shore; for they never sink at sea. These last bark-logs carry sixty or seventy tons of wine, oil, flour, sugar, Quito-cloth, soap, dressed goat-skins, &c. They are managed by three or four boatmen only, who after they come to Panama, sell both the goods and vessel there, because they cannot go back in them by the trade-wind. The fishing bark-logs are likewise furnished with masts and sails, and are much easier managed than the large ones. These get out at night with the land-wind, and return in the day-time with the sea-wind. These small bark-logs are used in a great many places in the West Indies, and in some in the East Indies. On the coast of Coromandel they use only one, or sometimes two logs, made of a light wood, without sail or rudder managed by a single man, who, with his legs in the water, steers the log with a paddle.

The next town of consequence to Payta is Piura, a spacious place, forty miles thence, seated in a valley upon a river, which discharges itself into the bay of Chirapee, at 7° north latitude. This bay, though much nearer to Puna than Payta, yet is seldom visited by ships of burden, being full of shoals; but, instead thereof, they sail to Payta, one of the best harbours on the coast of Peru; being sheltered at the south-west by a point of land, which renders the bay very smooth, and consequently safe from anchorage, from six to twenty fathom in clear sand. Most ships bound either to the north or south touch at Payta for fresh water, which is brought thither from Colon

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at a reasonable rate. November 3, early in the morning, our men landed four miles south of Payta, where they took some prisoners that were set for a watch, who told us, that the governor of Piura was come with 100 men to their assistance: notwithstanding this, our men attacked the fort on the hill, and took it with little opposition; whereupon the governor and inhabitants quitted the town: our people soon entered it, but found it empty of money, goods, and provisions. The same evening, we came with our ships to an anchor not far from the town, a mile from the shore, at ten fathom water; we stayed six days, in hopes of getting a ransom for the town; but, perceiving we were not likely to have any, it was laid in ashes.

At night we set sail hence, with the land-wind towards Lobos. The 14th day we came within sight of the isle of Lobos de Terra, bearing east from us; and, at eight o'clock at night, came to an anchor at the north-east end of it, at four fathom water. The isle of Lobos de la Terra is of an indifferent height; and, at a distance, appears altogether like the isle of Lobos de la Mare; we anchored at the north-east end of it, in four fathom water. It has, at the north end, a rock, a quarter of a mile from the shore; and, betwixt it, a channel of seven fathom water. In the afternoon, we sailed with a south-east wind to Lobos de la Mare, where we arrived May 19. The 26th, in the evening, we discovered a bark at a distance, which was sent to see whether we were still in these seas; but we, keeping close under the shore, remained there undiscovered. The 29th, in the morning, we set sail for the bay of Guaia, situated betwixt cape Blanco to the south, and point Chandy to the north, twenty-five leagues from cape Blanco. In the bottom of this bay lies a small isle, called St. Clara, extending east and west, having many shoals to the Nore; which makes the ships, bound for Guiaquil, to pass on the south side of it.

The



The Spaniards say, there lies a very rich wreck on the north side; but that there is very hard coming at it, by reason of the great multitudes of cat-fish; which fish is not unlike a whiting, but with three fins on the back, and one on each side, which have each a bone; and, if they strike into the flesh, it proves frequently mortal: they are met with all along the American coasts, and likewise in the East Indies; their flesh is both sweet and wholesome.

From the isles of St. Clara to Punta Arena, the sandy point being the westernmost point of the isles of Puna, is seven leagues east north-east: here ships, bound for Guiaquil, take in their pilots, which live in a town of the said isle, bearing the same name, on the south side, seven leagues from point Arena. The isle of Puna itself is low, stretching fourteen leagues east and west, and five leagues broad: it has a strong tide round the shore, which is full of little creeks and rivers: near this town is a small point, where the inhabitants are obliged to keep a constant watch. The inland part of the isle is good pasture-ground, intermixed with some wood-lands, producing divers, to us, unknown trees; and, amongst the rest, abundance of palmetoes. The houses of the town of Puna are built on posts ten or twelve feet high, into which they go up by ladders, and are thatched with palmeto-leaves: the like contrivance I have seen among the Malaysians in the East Indies. The best place for anchorage is directly opposite to the town, within a cable's length of the shore, at five fathom water. From Puna to Guiaquil is seven leagues, and one league to the entrance of the river Guiaquil, which is two miles over, and afterwards runs up into the country in a pretty strait channel, the ground, on both sides marshy, and full of red mangrove-trees: about four miles on this side of the town of Guiaquil the river is divided by a small low island, into two channels; that to the south-west is the broadest, though the other is as deep.

From

From the upper end of this isle to the town is near a league, and the river thereabouts of the same breadth, where a ship of great burden may ride with safety, especially towards that side where the town stands. It is seated close by the river, partly on an ascent, and partly on the foot of a small hill, with a great descent towards the river-side. It is defended by two forts, erected on the low grounds, and another on the hill, being one of the best sea-ports belonging to the Spaniards in the South Sea, under the jurisdiction of a governor, and beautified with divers fine churches, and other good buildings. They export cocoas, hides, tallow, sarsaparilla, drugs, and woollen cloth, called Quito cloth.

Having formed a design against the town of Guayaquil, we left our ships at cape Blanco, and steered with a bark, and some canoes, to the isle of St. Clara, in the bay of Guayaquil, and thence in two canoes to point Arena, where we took, the next day, some of the fishermen of Puna, and afterward their watch, together with the whole town and inhabitants. The next ebb, we took a bark laden with Quito-cloth, coming from Guayaquil; the master whereof told us, that there were three barks full of negroes coming with the next tide. From whence we, lying near the town of Puna, embarked all our men in canoes, leaving only five men aboard the bark, with orders not to fire at any thing till next morning at eight o'clock, by which time we supposed we should have taken the town. We had not rowed above two miles, before we took one of the barks laden with negroes; the master whereof having told us, that the other two would not come out till the next tide, we rowed forward; but our canoes being heavily laden, it was break of day before we came within two leagues of the town, there being not above an hour's flood: now we absconded all day in an adjacent creek; and, at the same time, sent orders by one of our canoes to our bark left near Puna, not to fire

fire till the next day ; but to no purpose ; for the before-mentioned two barks with negroes, being come out of the harbour with the evening-tide, passed by without being seen or heard by us ; and, falling down with the ebb towards Puna, our bark, seeing them full of men, fired three guns at them, before our canoes could bring them our last orders. But we took the masters of both the barks, as they were making their escape on shore. The firing of these three guns put us all into great consternation, as not questioning but that thereby the townsmen had taken the alarm ; and that therefore some were for advancing to the town immediately, others for returning to our ships : but as the ebb tide hindered us from going upwards, so captain Davis, with fifty of his men, resolved to march by land to the place ; the rest, judging it impracticable, remained in the creek to see the issue of the enterprize. After four hours captain Davis and his men, having been almost choaked in the marches among the mangrove-woods, returned without having been able to advance far on their way to the town. It was then resolved to row up in sight of the town ; and, if we found ourselves discovered, to retire without attempting : so, rowing through the north-east channel, we got in the night in view of the town, when, at the discharge of a musquet, we saw, on a sudden, the whole town full of lights ; where, as there was but one seen before, this appeared almost an infallible sign that we were discovered ; but, as some alledged, that these lights were used by the Spaniards in the nights before holidays, as the next day was, they upbraided captain Swan and his men with cowardice : we landed in a place two miles on this side of the town, which being all over-run with woods, we were forced to expect daylight. We had two Indians guides ; one was run away from Guiaquil, the other a prisoner we had taken three days before ; the last being led by a cord by one of captain Davis's men, who seemed one of the

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the most forward in the enterprize; but now, perhaps, beginning to repent his rashness, cut the rope wherewith the guide was tied, and so let him make his escape into the town: when he judged him to be out of danger of being retaken, he cried out, that somebody had cut the rope; so that, after we had searched in vain for our guides, it was unanimously resolved to desist. However, about break of day, we rowed up into the middle of the river, where we lay still about half an hour, without being in the least molested from the town, though we landed on the opposite bank to a beef-cloze, and killed a cow. We returned the ninth to Puna; and, in our way, seized upon the three before-mentioned barks, laden with 1000 lusty negroes; out of them we kept about sixty, and left the rest with the barks behind; whereas, if we had carried them all to St. Maria, on the isthmus of Darien, we might, with their assistance, have worked the gold mines on that side; and, by erecting a fort or two at the entrance of the river of St. Maria, and with the assistance of the natives our friends, and some thousands of English and French privateers from all parts of the West Indies, have not only maintained ourselves there against all the power of Spain, but also extended our conquests to the coasts and gold mines of Quito.

We set sail again the 13th, and arrived at the isle of Plata the 16th; where, after having provided ourselves with fresh water on the continent, we parted our cloth, and resolved unanimously to direct our course to Lovalia, a town in the bay of Panama. Accordingly we set sail December 23, with a brisk south-south-west wind, towards the bay of Panama. The next morning, we passed in sight of cape Passao, 8' south of the line, being a round point, but very high, divided in the middle, bare towards the sea, but covered with fruit-trees to the land-side; the land hilly and woody. Betwixt this and the cape St. Francisco, you see abundance of small points, which inclose so many sandy creeks, full of trees of several kinds.

As

As our design was to look for canoes, in some river or other unfrequented by the Spaniards, so our Indian pilots were but of little use to us: however, as we were indifferent for the rest what river we came to, so we endeavoured to make the river of St. Iago, by reason of its nearness to the isle of Gallo, in which there was much gold, and where there was safe anchorage for our ships. We passed by cape St. Francisco; whence, to the north, the sea-side is full of trees, of a vast height and thickness: from this cape the land runs more easterly into the bay of Panama, this cape being its boundary to the south, as the isles of Cobaya or Quito are to the north. Betwixt this cape and the isle of Gallo are several large rivers, but we passed them all to go to St. Iago, a large navigable river,  $2^{\circ}$  north: about seven leagues up in the country it divides itself into two branches, which inclose an isle four leagues in circumference; the broadest is the south-west channel; they are both very deep, but the narrowest has sandy banks at its entrance; so that, at low ebb, a canoe cannot pass over them. Beyond the isle, the river is a league broad, the channel strait, with a swift current; it flows three leagues up the river, but to what height I am not able to tell: it runs through a very rich soil, producing all sorts of the tallest trees usually found in this climate; but especially red and white cotton-trees, and cabbage trees, of the largest kind.

The white cotton-tree grows not unlike an oak, but much taller and bigger; the trunk strait, without any branches to the top, where it sends forth strong branches; the bark is very smooth, the leaves of the bigness of a plumb-tree-leaf, dark-green, oval, smooth, and jagged at the ends; they are not always biggest near the roots, but often in the middle of the trunks. The cotton they bear is silk-cotton, which falls in November and December upon the ground; but not so substantial as that of the cotton-shrub, but rather like a down of thistles; they don't think it worth their while to gather it in the West Indies,

but

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but in the East Indies they put it into their pillows. In April the old leaves fall off, which, in a week's time, are supplied by fresh. The red cotton-tree is somewhat less; but, for the rest, altogether like the other; except that it produces no cotton, and its wood hard, though both are somewhat spongy; they are found in the flat grounds, both in the East and West Indies.

The cabbage-tree is the tallest in those woods, some being above 120 feet high: it is likewise without boughs or branches, except on the top, where its branches are of the thickness of a man's arm, and twelve or fourteen feet long; two feet from the stem come forth small long leaves, of an inch broad, so thick and regular on both sides, that they cover the whole branch: in the midst of these high branches shoots forth the cabbage itself; which, when taken out of the outward leaves, is a foot in length, and of the thickness of the small of a man's leg, being white like milk, sweet and wholesome: betwixt the cabbages and the large branches sprout forth other small twigs, two feet long, very close together; at the extremities of which grow hard and round berries, of the bigness of a cherry, which, once a year, fall from the trees, and are excellent food for the hogs. The trunk has rings half a foot asunder, the bark is thin and brittle, the wood hard and black, and the pith white; as the tree dies after its head is gone, they cut them down before they gather the fruit.

As the coast and country of Lima has continual dry weather, so this part of Peru is seldom without rains; which, perhaps, is one reason why they have made but small discoveries on this coast: add to this, that when they go from Panama to Lima, they don't pass along the coast, but sail up to the west, as far as the Cobaya isles, for the west winds, and thence stand over to the cape St. Francisco: in their return they coast it; but their ships being then laden, are

not



not fit to enter the rivers, which, as well as the sea-side, are covered with woods and bushes, and therefore are fit places for the natives to lie in ambuscade. These Indians have some plantations of maiz and Plaintains, as also some fowls and hogs.

We entered the river of St. Iago, with four canoes, December 27, by the lesser branches, and met with no inhabitants till within six leagues of its mouth, where we discovered two small huts, thatched with palmeto-leaves; and, at the same time, Indians, with their families and household goods, paddling against the stream much faster than we could row, because they kept near the banks. On the opposite side to the west, we saw many other huts a league off; but, the current being very rapid, we did not care to venture cross it. In the two huts, on the east side, we found nothing but a few plantains, fowls, and one hog, which seemed to be of the European kind, such as the Spaniards brought formerly into America, but especially to Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Cuba, where they feed in the woods (being marked beforehand) in the day-time; and at night are called, and kept in pens, by the sounding of a conch-shell. On the continent of America, they don't turn their hogs into the woods. We returned the next morning into the river's mouth, with an intention to sail on to the isle of Gallo, where we had ordered our ships to meet us.

This isle is but small, and without inhabitants, seated at 3° north latitude, in a spacious bay, three leagues from the river Tomaco, and four leagues and a half from an Indian village of the same name: it is indifferently high, and well stored with timber-trees: at the north-east end is a good sandy bay, near which is a fine spring of fresh water, and against the bay is very good anchorage, at six or seven fathom water; there is but one channel to approach the isle at four fathom water, but you must go in with the flood, and come out with the ebb. The river of Tomaco,

supposed



supposed to have its rise amongst the rich mountains of Quito, has borrowed its name from an adjacent village of the same name. Its banks are well peopled by the Indians, and some Spaniards, who traffic for gold with them. It is so shallow at the entrance, that only barks can enter it. The town of Tomaco is a small place, seated near the mouth of a river, for the entertainment of the Spaniards, who traffic in those parts. From this place to the branch of the river of St. Iago, where we then were at anchor, is five leagues.

As the land here is low and full of creeks, we left the river December 21, and crossed these small bays in our canoes: in our way we saw an Indian house, whence we took the master, and whole family, and so rowed forward, and came at twelve at night to Tomaco: here we seized upon all the inhabitants; and, among the rest, one Don Diego de Pinas, a Spanish knight, whose ship was not far off, at anchor, to lade timber: so we took her, and found thirteen jars of good wine aboard her, but no other lading. An Indian canoe came aboard us, with three of the natives, who were strait and well-limb'd, but of low stature, with black hair, long visages, and small noses and eyes, and of a dark complexion. The 31st, several of our men, who had been seven or eight leagues up the river, returned with their canoes, and brought along with them some ounces of gold they had found in a Spanish house, but the people were fled.

January 1, 1685, as we were going in our canoes from Tomaco towards Gallo, we took a packet of letters in a Spanish boat, sent from Panama to Lima, whereby we understood, that the president of Panama wrote to hasten the plate-fleet thither from Lima, the Armada from Spain being come to Porto-Bello: this news soon made us alter our resolution of going to Lavelia; instead whereof, it was resolved to rendezvous among the King's, or Pearl Islands, not far distant

distant from Panama, and by which all ships, bound to Panama from the coast of Lima, must of necessity pass. Accordingly we sailed the 7th; the 8th, we took a ship of 90 tons, laden with flour, and continued our voyage with a gentle south wind, towards Gorgonia, an isle twenty-five leagues distant from that of Gallo, where we anchored the 9th, at the west side of it, in thirty-eighth fathom clean ground, two cables length from the shore, in a sandy bay, the land against it very low \*.

The 13th, we pursued our voyage to the King's Isle, being now two men of war, and two tenders, one fireship, and the prize: we sailed forward with the common trade-wind south, along low land on the continent near the sea-side, but with a prospect of mountains deeper into the country. The 16th, we passed by cape Corientes, at  $5^{\circ} 10'$  latitude, being an high point, with four small hillocks on the top; the current then running strong to the north. The 21st, we came in sight of point Garachina, at  $7^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude. The land is high, rocky, and with out trees near the sea-side: within the point is plenty of oysters and mussels. About twelve leagues from this point, are the King's or Pearl isles: betwixt these and the before-mentioned point of Garachina, is a small, flat, barren isle, called Galleria, near which we came to anchor for that time. The King's or Pearl Isles are a good number of low woody isles, seven leagues from the continent, and twelve leagues from Panama, and fourteen leagues in length north north-west by north, and south-east by south. In the maps they are called the Pearl Isles, though I never could see one pearl-oyster, or any thing like it near them. The channel, betwixt them and the continent is seven or eight leagues broad, of a moderate depth, and has good anchoring all along: the isles, though lying close together, yet have their channels

\* This island is described by Woodes Rogers.

## CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER. 67

fit for boats. At the end of St. Paul's isle is a convenient careening place, in a good deep channel, inclosed by the land. You must enter in on the north side, where the tide rises ten feet perpendicular: The 25th, we brought our ships in with a spring-tide; and, after having cleaned our barks first, we sent them the 27th to cruize towards Panama: they brought us, the fourth day after, a prize, coming from Lavelia with maiz, or Indian corn, salted beef, and fowls. Lavelia is a large town, seated on the bank of a river, on the north side of the bay of Panama, seven leagues from the sea-side: as Nata is another town, seated in a plain, near another branch of the same river: these two places supply Panama with hogs, fowl, beef, and maiz. In the harbour where we careened, we found abundance of shell-fish, with some pigeons and turtle doves.

Our ships being well careened by the 14th of February, and provided with fuel and water, we sailed out from amongst the isles the 18th, and anchored in the great channel, betwixt the isles and the continent, at fifteen fathom water, soft ousy ground; and the next day cruized in the channel towards Panama, about which the shore appears very beautiful, with variety of small woods and hills; besides that, a league from the continent, you see divers small isles, scattered partly with trees; and the King's Isles, on the other side the channel afford a very fair prospect, according to their various shapes and situations. The 16th, we anchored within a league of the island of Pacheque, in seventeen fathom water; and the 18th, steered our course with a north-east wind directly towards Panama, where we anchored directly opposite to Old Panama, once a place of note in those parts; but the greatest part thereof being laid in ashes in 1673, by sir Henry Morgan, it was never rebuilt since.

About four leagues from the ruins of Old Panama, near the river-side, stands New Panama, a very  
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handsome

handsome city, in a spacious bay of the same name, into which disembogue many long navigable rivers, some whereof are not without gold; beside that, it is beautified with many pleasant isles; the country about it affording a delightful prospect to the sea, by reason of variety of adjacent hills, vallies, groves, and plains: the houses are for the most part of brick, and pretty lofty, especially the president's; the churches, monasteries, and other public structures, which make the best shew in the West Indies: it is encompassed with a high wall of stone, on which are mounted a good number of guns, which formerly were only planted to the land-side, but now also to the sea. This city has a vast traffic, as being the staple for all goods to and from all parts of Peru and Chili; beside that, every three years, when the Spanish Armada comes to Porto-Bello, the plate-fleet comes thither with the king's plate, beside what belongs to the merchants; whence it is carried on mules by land to Porto-Bello.

The 20th, we anchored within a league of three little rocky islands, called the Perico islands; and, the 21st, took another prize, laden with hogs, beef, fowl, and salt, from Lavelia. The 24th, steered over to the isle of Tobago, in the same bay, six leagues south of Panama: its length three miles, and its breadth two. It is very rocky and steep, except on the north side, where it has an easy descent; and, as the soil is black and good up to the middle of the mountains, they produce abundance of fruit, as plantains, bananas, and, near the sea-side, cocoa and mammee-trees; these last are large and strait, without knots, boughs, or bunches, and sixty or seventy feet high. At the tops sprout out some small branches, thick and close together; the fruit is of the bigness of a large quince, round, and covered with a grey rind, which, before it is ripe, is brittle; but, when come to maturity, grows yellow, and will peel with ease. The ripe fruit is of the same colour,

lour, like a carrot, smells and tastes well, and has two rough flat stones in the middle, each of the bigness of a large almond. The south-west side is covered with trees and fire-wood, but the north side has a very fine fresh-water spring, which falls from the mountains into the sea. Near it formerly stood a pretty town, with a fair church, but the greatest part has been destroyed by the privateers. Opposite to the town, a mile from the shore, is good anchoring, sixteen or eighteen fathom water, soft ousy ground. At the north north-west end lies a small town, called Tobagilla, with a channel betwixt both; and on the north-east side of Tobagilla, another small one, without a name.

Whilst we were at an anchor near Tobagilla, we were in great danger of being trepanned by a pretended merchant of Panama, who, under colour of trading privately with us, instead of a bark, advanced with a fire-ship, pretty near us, hailing us with the water-word. Thereupon, some of our men, more suspicious than the rest, bid her come to an anchor; which she not doing, they fired at her; which so terrified the men, that they got into their canoes, after they had set her on fire, and we were forced to cut our cables, to escape the danger. At the same time captain Swan, who lay a mile from us at anchor, saw a small float, with only one man upon it, driving towards his ship, but soon after disappeared; he supposed this to have been a machine, made up with combustible matter, to fasten to his rudder, (as it happened to captain Sharpe near Coquimbo) but that the fellow, thinking himself discovered, had not courage enough to go forward in the enterprize; but captain Swan thought also fit to cut his cables, and to keep under sail all night. The fire-ship was framed and managed by one captain Bond, who formerly run away from us to the Spaniards, without whose assistance they could not have fitted her out; it being almost incredible, how grossly ignorant the Spaniards, in the South Seas, are in

sea affairs. In the morning, while we were busy in recovering our anchors, we discovered a whole fleet of canoes, full of men, pass betwixt Tobagilla and the other isle, who proved English and French privateers, lately come out of the North Sea over the Isthmus of Darien; there were 280 in all, 200 French and 80 English; these last were taken aboard captain Davis and captain Swan, and the rest put into our flour-prize, under the command of captain Gronet, their countrymen; in return for which, he offered captain Davis and captain Swan, each a commission from the governor of Petit Goave, it being their custom to carry along with them blank commissions from the said governor. Captain Davis accepted of one; but captain Swan, having one from the duke of York, refused it.

Every thing being thus disposed, we set sail, March the 2d, towards the gulph of St. Michael, in quest of captain Townley (who, they told us, was coming with 180 English over the isthmus of Darien.) This gulph lies thirty leagues south-east from Panama, and you must turn for passage betwixt the King's Isles and the Continent.

March 3, as we were steering for the gulph, captain Swan kept near to the Continent, as we did nearer to the King's Isles; where, at two of the clock in the afternoon, near the place where we had careened our ships, we met captain Townley with his crew, in two barks which they had taken, one laden with brandy, wine, and sugar, and the other with flour. As he wanted room for his men, and had occasion for the jars in which the Spaniards carry their wines, brandy, and oil, in these parts, containing seven or eight gallons a-piece, he distributed part thereof amongst our ships, being then all at anchor among the King's Islands: but, as it was towards the latter end of the dry season, and all the water dried up, we sailed to the point of Garrachina, in hopes of finding fresh water. The 21st, we anchored



chored two miles from the point, and found the tide very strong, coming out of the river Sambo. The 22d, we anchored at four fathom within the point; we found the tide to run nine feet, and the flood to set north north-east, and the ebb south south-west: the natives brought us some refreshments; but, as they did not understand in the least the Spanish tongue, I suppose they had no commerce with the Spaniards. Meeting with no fresh water here, we set sail for Porto-Pinas, lying seven leagues southward by west hence, at  $7^{\circ}$  north latitude. It derived its name from the vast numbers of pine-trees growing there.

The country rises, from the sea-side, by a gentle ascent, to a considerable height, and is pretty woody near the shore: at the entrance of the harbour are two small rocks, which render the passage into it narrow, and the harbour but of a slender compass; beside that, it lies exposed to the south-west wind. This made us not go into the harbour, but send our boats to bring some fresh water, which they could not perform, by reason of the high sea near the shore; so we turned towards point Garrachina, where we arrived the 29th. In our way, we took a vessel laden with cocoa from Guaiacuil: finding ourselves here also disappointed in getting of fresh water, we sailed the 30th for Tobago, with a south south-west wind, being now in all nine ships. April 1, we anchored at the isle of Pacheque, and the 3d at Perico: our men took a canoe, with four Indians, and a mulatto; who, being found to have been in the fireship that was sent to burn our ship, was hanged immediately.

Whilst we were employed in filling of water, and cutting of wood for fuel, we sent four canoes to the Continent, to get some sugar in the adjacent sugar-works, to make our cocoa up into chocolate; but especially to get some coppers, which we much wanted to boil our victuals in, since our number was so considerably increased: they brought us three cop-



pers. In the mean while, captain Davis sent his bark to the isle of Ottoque, seated in the bay of Panama, but uninhabited, except by a few negroe slaves, who bred up some fowls and hogs there. Here our men met with a messenger sent to Panama, with an account that the Lima fleet was sailed: most of the letters had been thrown into the sea; yet, out of the remaining part, we understood that the fleet was coming under a convoy, composed of all the ships of strength that they had been able to bring together from Peru. Being informed that the king's ships always came that way where we now lay, we sailed the 10th from Tobago to the King's Isles, and the 11th anchored at the place, where we careened. Here we met with captain Harris, who had brought along with him some men (we had heard the Indians mention before) from the river St. Maria, but they were not near so many as they reported. The 19th, 250 men were sent in canoes to the river Cheapo, to surprise the town of the same name. The 21st, we followed, and arrived the 22d at the isle of Chepelio, a pleasant island, seated in the bay of Panama, seven leagues from the city of that name, and one league from the Continent, being about two miles long, and as many broad, low on the north side, but rising by an easy ascent to the south. The soil is very good, producing in the low grounds store of delicious fruits, such as plantains, sapadilloes, avogato-pears, mammees, mammee-sapotas, star-apples, &c. On the north side, half a mile from the shore, is a good anchoring-place, where is also a very good spring of fresh water near the sea-side. This isle lies directly opposite to the river Cheapo.

The river of Cheapo has its rise in the mountains on the north side, being inclosed afterward between them and the mountains on the south side. It turns to the west, and at last, forcing its way to the south-west, makes a kind of a semicircle, and afterward runs gently to the sea, where it discharges itself se-

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ven leagues from Panama. It is very deep, and a quarter of a mile broad; but, by reason of the sands, that choke up its entrance, is navigable only by barks. About six leagues from the sea-side stands the city of Cheapo, on the left bank of the river, in a champagne country, affording a very pleasant view, by reason of divers adjacent hills, covered with woods, though the greatest part is good pasture-ground; but the south side of the river is all wood-land for many leagues. The 250 men before-mentioned, sent to this place, returned the 24th, having taken the town without the least opposition; but found nothing worth mentioning there. In the way thither, they took a canoe with armed men; sent to watch our motions; but the men escaped for the most part. The 25th being joined by captain Harris, we sailed the 26th, and arrived at Tobago the 28th; and finding ourselves now 1000 strong, it was consulted, whether we should make an attempt upon Panama; but being informed by our prisoners, that they had received a considerable reinforcement from Porto-Bello, that design was laid aside. May 4, we sailed again for the King's Isles, whereabout we cruised till the 22d, when we sent two canoes to the isle of Chepelio, to get some prisoners. They returned the 25th, with three seamen of Panama, who informed us, that, having issued a strict order there, not to fetch any plantains from the adjacent isles, this had occasioned a great scarcity; and that they expected every day the arrival of the fleet from Lima. On the south side of the isle Pacheque lie two or three small isles, and betwixt them a channel not above seven paces wide, and a mile in length. On the east side of this channel we lay at anchor with our whole fleet, consisting of ten sail, but only two men of war, viz. captain Davis, thirty-six guns, 156 men; and captain Swan, sixteen guns, 140 men; the rest being provided only with small arms, making in all 960 men; we had also one fireship. Hitherto we had

had the wind at north north-east, with fair weather; but, the 28th, the rainy season began. About eleven of the clock, it beginning to clear up, we discovered the Spanish fleet three leagues west north-west from the isle of Pacheque, standing to the east, we being then at anchor a league south-east from the isle, betwixt it and the Continent. About three in the afternoon we sailed, bearing down right before the wind upon the Spaniards, who kept close on a wind to come up with us; but night approaching, we exchanged only a few shot. As soon as it began to be dark, the Spanish admiral put out a light at his top, as a signal for the fleet to come to an anchor. In half an hour after, it was taken down again; but appeared soon after as before, which we supposing to be in the admiral's top, kept under sail, being to the windward; but found ourselves deceived in our expectation, by a stratagem contrived by the Spaniards, who, having put this second light on the topmast-head of one of their barks, sent her to the leeward; so that, in the morning, we found that they had got the weather-gage of us. They came up with full sail; so we were forced to make a running fight of it all the next day, almost quite round the bay of Panama; for we came to anchor against the isle of Pacheque. Captain Townley, being hard pressed by the Spaniards, was forced to make a bold run through the before-mentioned channel, betwixt Pacheque and the three adjacent small isles; and captain Harris was forced away from us during the fight. Thus our long projected design vanished into smoke. The Spanish fleet, according to the report of some prisoners taken afterwards by captain Wright, consisted of fourteen sail, besides periagoes, or boats of twelve or fourteen oars a-piece, among which were eight ships of good force; viz. from eight to forty-eight guns. They were computed to have 3000 men aboard the whole fleet, and two fireships. The 30th, in the morning, we saw the Spanish fleet three leagues

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to the leeward of us at anchor, and, at ten of the clock, with an easy gale from the south, making the best of their way to Panama. We do not know their loss. We had but one man killed. Captain Gronet, who was not in the fight, laid the fault thereof on his men. He was ordered to leave us, in a consultation held for that purpose, where it was also resolved to sail for the isles of Quibo, or Cobaya, in quest of captain Harris.

In our voyage to Quibo, the wind being constantly at south south-west and south-west, we met with very bad weather; so that we did not reach these isles till June 15, where we met with captain Harris\*.

June 6, it being agreed, that, since we had missed at sea, we should try our fortune by land, the city of Leon was pitched upon, (on the coast of Mexico) as being nearest to us; but, wanting canoes to land our men, we cut down trees, to make as many as we had occasion for. In the mean time 150 men were sent to make themselves masters of Puebla Nova, (a town on the continent near these isles) in hopes of getting some provisions there. They took the town with much difficulty, and returned the 26th; but met with nothing there, except an empty bark. July 5, captain Knight came to us, having been farther to the west, where meeting with no purchase, he sailed to the south as far as the Bay of Guaiacuil, where he took two bark-logs with wine, oil, brandy, sugar, soap, &c. The master declared, that the merchant-ships designed to have been sent away by the Spanish fleet to Panama, did stay behind at Payta, till farther orders; and that, had he had more strength, they might easily have been taken. In a month's time, our canoes being got ready, captain Harris, with his men, went on board captain Davis and captain Swan (his ship being rotten); and,

\* As the descriptions in Anson undoubtedly deserve the preference, we refer to his voyage for an account of Quibo.

July 20, we sailed from Quibo towards Rio Leja, the next port to the city of Leon, being now 640 men, eight sail of ships, three tenders, and a fire-ship, the wind at south south-west. Coasting along, we passed by the gulph of Nicoya, that of Dulce, and the isle of Caneo, the land low, covered with wood, and almost destitute of inhabitants. We had variable winds: but most south-west and west south-west, the land-winds at north north-east. We were much pestered with tornadoes. August 8, at  $11^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, we discovered the Volcano Vejo, or old Volcano, the sea-mark of Rio Leja, bearing north-east by north; and no sooner had we brought the said mountain to bear north-east, but we made provision for landing the next day.

The 9th, we sent 520 of our men in thirty-one canoes towards the harbour of Rio Lega. The weather was fair, and the wind favourable, till two in the afternoon, when a tempest, mixed with thunder and lightning, had almost buried us in the sea; but, after half an hour, it began to abate, and so did the agitation of the sea, it being observable, in those hot countries, that the waves soon rise and fall. At seven of the clock at night it was calm; but, finding we could not be ready to land before day, being five leagues from shore, we staid thereabout till next evening, for fear of being discovered; but, about three of the clock, another tornado had like to have put an end to our enterprize. However, as the same did not last long, we entered the creek lying on the south-east side of the harbour, leading to Leva, in the night; but durst not go farther till day-break, when we rowed deeper into the creek, which is very narrow, and the land on both sides marshy near the banks, and full of mangrove-trees; so that there is no passing through them. Beyond the mangrove-trees, upon the firm ground, they cast up a small intrenchment. We rowed as fast as we could, and landed

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470 men, leaving the rest (of which number I was one) to guard the canoes.

The city of Leon stands twenty miles in the country, in a sandy plain, near a peaked burning mountain, thence called the volcano of Leon, the way to it being through a champagne country, covered with long grass. Betwixt the landing-place and the city were several sugar-works; and, about mid-way a delicious fordable river, being the only thing they met with in their way. Two miles on this side the city is an Indian town, where a pleasant sandy road leads you to the city, the houses whereof are stone, and large, with gardens about them; but low, and covered with pantile. It has three churches and a cathedral. Its situation is in a sandy plain, with savannas all round about it, which drink up the rain, and afford a free passage to the breezes from all sides. This makes it both healthful and pleasant, though it is not a place of great commerce, all their substance being in cattle and sugar-works.

Our men marched at eight of the clock, captain Townley leading the van, at the head of eighty of the briskest men. Captain Swan followed him with 100 more; and captain Davis brought up the rear with 170, in conjunction with captain Knight. Captain Townley, being advanced two miles before the rest, and having forced seventy horse to a retreat at four miles on this side of the city, marched forward, and, at three of the clock in the afternoon, with his eighty men only, entered the town without resistance; but met with some opposition from five hundred foot and two hundred horse, first in a broad street, and afterwards in the great market place; but the foot, seeing the horse take to their heels, also retreated, leaving the town to our people's mercy. Captain Swan came not into the town till four o'clock; Davis about five; and Knight, with the remainder, not till six. The Spaniards killed one of our men, that straggled behind, being very old, and refusing to accept of quarter; and



and took one Smith prisoner. Next day, the governor sent word he would ransom the town. We demanded 30,000 pieces of eight, and provisions for 1000 men for four months; which he not relishing, we set the city on fire the 14th, and marched toward our canoes the next morning. Smith was exchanged for a gentlewoman. We released another gentleman, upon his parole to deliver to us 150 oxen for his ransom at Rio Leja, the place we intended to attack next.

The 16th in the afternoon, we came back in our canoes to the harbour of Rio Leja, where our ships were come to an anchor by that time. The Creek, that leads from Rio Leja, extends from the north-west part of the harbour's mouth to the north, about two leagues from the isle in the harbour's mouth, to the town. The first two-third parts are broad; but afterwards closes in a narrow deep channel, lined on both sides with many cocoa-trees. A mile from the entrance of the creek, it winds to the west. Here it was, that the Spaniards cast up an intrenchment, fronting the entrance of the creek, defended by 100 foldiers, and twenty guards. Below it a boom of trees was made across the creek; so that they might have kept off 1000 men, had they not wanted courage to keep their post; but, at the firing of two of our guns, they quitted it, leaving us at liberty to cut down the boom. This done, we landed, and marched to the town of Rio Leja, a fine borough, seated a mile thence, upon a small river, in a plain. It has three churches, and an hospital with a handsome garden to it, the place being seated in an unwholesome air, among the fens and marshes, which send forth a noisome scent. We took the town without the least opposition. The country about it has many sugar-works, and inclosures for cattle; and great quantities of pitch, tar and cordage are made by the country-people. It produces also melons, pine-apples, guavas, and prickly-pears.

The



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The shrub, that bears the guava-fruit, has long and small boughs, a white and smooth bark, and leaves like the halle. The fruit resembles a pear, with a thin rind, and many hard seeds. It may be eaten while green, a thing seldom observed in fruits either in the east or west Indies. It is yellow, soft, and well-tasted. After it is ripe, it may be baked like pears, and will coddle like apples. There are different sorts, distinguished by their shape, taste, and colour; some being red, others yellow, in the inside. Before it is ripe, it is astringent; but afterwards loosening. The prickly pear grows upon a shrub five feet high, in many places in the West Indies. It thrives best in saltish sandy grounds, near the sea-shore. Each branch of this shrub has two or three round leaves, of the breadth of a man's hand, not unlike house-leek, edged with prickles of an inch long. At the extremity of the leaf grows the fruit, of the bigness of a large plum, small towards the leaf, and thicker to the end, where it opens like a medlar. The fruit has also small prickles, is green at first, but turns red by degrees. The pulp is of the same colour with the substance of a thick syrup, with small black seeds. Its taste is pleasant and cooling. I have often observed, that, if you eat twenty or more of them at a time, they will colour the urine as red as blood; but without any ill consequence.

We found nothing considerable in the town, except 500 packs of flour, and some pitch, tar, and cordage. We received also the 150 oxen promised by the gentleman we released at Leon, which, together with the sugar, and some other cattle we found in the country, was extremely welcome to us. We staid here from the 17th to the 24th. The 25th, captain Davis and captain Swan parted, the first having a mind to return to the coast of Peru; the other intending to go farther to the west. As I had a curiosity to be better acquainted with the northern parts  
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of the continent of Mexico, I left captain Davis, and went aboard captain Swan. Captain Townley, with his two barks, joined us; but captain Harris and captain Knight followed captain Davis. The 27th, captain Davis with his ship, went out of the harbour; but we staid some time behind, to provide ourselves with water and fuel.

By this time our men began to be much afflicted with fevers, which we attributed to the remains of a contagious distemper, that lately reigned at Rio Leja; for captain Davis's men underwent the same fate. September 3, we sailed again, steering to the west. We had bad weather all along the coast, with violent tornadoes, thunder and lightning. The tornadoes blew from the north-west. The tempestuous weather kept us out at sea; so that we saw no land till the 14th, at  $12^{\circ} 51'$  north latitude. We came in sight of the volcano or burning mountain of Guatimala. It appears with a double peak, like two sugar-loaves, betwixt which sometimes break out the fire and smoke, especially before bad weather. The city of Guatimala is seated near the foot of this high mountain, eight leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty leagues from the Gulph of Matique in the Bay of Honduras in the North Seas. It is reputed a rich city, the country about it abounding in several commodities peculiar to it, and transported thence into Europe, especially the four noted dyes, indico, otta or annatta, silvester, and cochineal. The land near the volcano of Guatimala is low by the sea-side; but, by degrees, becomes higher and higher for about ten leagues from the shore. We saw abundance of drift-wood and pumice-stones floating in the sea. These last were thrown out by the mountain, and washed by the rains into the sea. The 24th, at  $14^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, the weather being settled, captain Townley went ashore with 106 men to the west, in hopes to find a landing place, and some refreshments for our sick men. We lay  
by

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by till the 26th, when, coasting along to the west, with a north-west wind, we saw a track of high land, beginning at the east, and running for ten leagues within the land to the west, where it sinks by an easy descent. On this side of it, near to the sea, we saw rich pasture-plains, mixed with pleasant groves. The country near the sea-shore was defended by sandy hills; but the boisterous waves would not let our men land with their canoes. We were forced to coast still for eight or nine leagues farther; but captain Townley, seeing no prospect of landing, returned aboard with his men October 2. But, being resolved to try his fortune again, he forced his canoes ashore in a sandy bay, where he landed with the loss of one man, and most of the powder spoiled with the salt water. When they were got ashore, they found the country full of torrents, and unfordable rivulets; so they were forced to return to their canoes. They were charged by 200 Spaniards and Indians; but these they soon repulsed, and forced them to take the way of Teguantepeque, the same town that captain Townley went to look for, but could not get sight of it. Immediately after his return, we sailed again, with a brisk north north-east wind, still coasting to the west, within two miles of the shore. At six miles from the land we found nineteen fathom, and, at eight miles, twenty-one fathom, coarse sand. We could not discover either creek or bay for twenty leagues farther, till we came to the isle of Tangola, where there is safe anchorage. It is high, but small, yet well furnished with wood and water, about a league from the Continent, which has pleasant pasture-grounds near the sea, but high woodland deeper in the country. We sailed a league farther into the port of Guatulco, one of the best in the kingdom of Mexico, at  $15^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. On the east side of the entrance of the harbour, about a mile from it, is a small island adjacent to the shore, and, on the west side of the said entrance, a great

hollow rock, open at the top, through which the waves of the sea force their passage, as if through a pipe, with a great noise, and to a great height, even in the calmest weather; so that it affords a good mark to seamen bound for this port. The whole depth of the harbour is about three miles, and its breadth one mile. It runs in north-west. The west side is the more secure, because the rest is exposed to the south-west winds, which are frequently on this coast.

Here captain Townley landed again with some men; and, marching to the east, came to the river Capalita, which has a very swift current; but is deep at its entrance. A league from Guatulco, two of our men swam over the river, where they seized upon three Indians, that were placed there to keep watch. As they could not speak Spanish, so they made signs, that they could conduct them to a village; whereupon 140 men were sent, under the conduct of captain Townley, myself being one, who returned the 8th, having seen, after fourteen miles march, a small Indian village, where they found nothing but some vinelloes drying in the sun. The vinello is a perfume which communicates a delicate flavour to chocolate; it grows on a small kind of vine, creeping up about the trees. This, at first, bears a yellow flower, which produces a cod of the bigness of the stem of a tobacco-leaf, and about four or five inches long. This cod is green at first, but, when ripe, becomes yellow: the seeds are black. After they are gathered, they lay them in the sun, which makes them soft, and of a chesnut colour. They squeeze it flat afterwards with their fingers. The Spaniards, who buy this commodity very cheap of the Indians, flake them afterwards with oil. I never heard of any of the vinelloes, except hereabouts, about Caiocha in the bay of Campeachy, and Bocco-toro. Near this last place, I gathered them myself, and endeavoured to cure them, but could not; and, as I know other

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persons, who have lived many years in these parts, and have attempted the same with no better success, I am apt to believe the Indians have some peculiar way to cure them, that hitherto is unknown to us.

The 10th, we sent four canoes before to the west, to expect our coming at Port Angels; and, in the mean while, endeavoured to take some prisoners. The 12th, we sailed with our ships from Guatulco, the land lying along to the west, inclining to the south, for twenty or thirty leagues, the sea-winds at north. We coasted along as near as we could to the shore, to take the benefit of the land-wind, the sea wind being against us, besides that we were kept back by the current setting to the east; so that we were forced to come to an anchor at Sacrificio, an isle half a mile long, a league to the west of Guatulco, and half a mile from the continent. To the west of the isle appears a good bay, but it is rocky. The best anchorage is betwixt the isle and the continent, at five or six fathom water, though the tide is pretty strong here, the sea rising about six feet. The 23d, we landed 100 men at Port Angels, who subsisted three or four days upon salt beef, and got store of salt maiz, hogs, cocks and hens, in an adjacent house to the plain; but could carry but little aboard, by reason of the great distance from the sea-side. The 27th, we sailed in the morning with the land-wind; about noon the sea-wind blew; and, at night, we anchored at sixteen fathom water, near a small rocky isle, sixteen leagues west from Port Angels; and half a mile from the Continent. The 28th, we continued our voyage with the land-wind; the sea-wind blew hard in the afternoon, and, at night, we met with the other two canoes we had sent out from Guatulco; they had been as far as the port of Acapulco; and, in their return, took in fresh water in spite of 150 Spaniards that would have opposed it. Thence they came into a salt-water lake, or pond, on the banks of which finding abundance of dry fish, they brought some aboard us. As we were just off this lake, we

sent twelve men in a canoe for more fish. The entrance of the lake is closely hemmed in with rocks on both sides, that the passage betwixt them is not above a pistol-shot over, but within the lake is a considerable compass. The Spaniards, being alarmed already, now seeing our canoes before the lake, posted themselves behind the rocks, and fired such a volley of shot upon our canoe, at her entering into the pond, that they wounded five of our men: however, our people rowed forward into the lagoon, or pond, out of gun-shot, where they staid two days and three nights, not daring to repass the same way they came: at last captain Townley, who lay nearer to the shore than we, hearing the firing of some guns that way, manned one of the canoes, and beating the Spaniards from the rocks, opened them a free passage; so that they returned aboard October 31. This lagoon is in  $16^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude.

November 2, we passed by the rock of Alcatraz; the land near it is high, woody, and mountainous in the country; six miles to the west of the said rock, lie seven or eight white cliffs to the south by west, whereof a large shole runs out five miles at sea. Two leagues to the west of these cliffs is an handsome river, having a small isle at its entrance: the east channel is shallow and sandy, but that to the west will admit of canoes. The 3d, we came to an anchor opposite to this river, one mile and an half to shore, at fourteen fathoms. The Spaniards having cast up an intrenchment along the west channel, defended by 200 soldiers, we landed our men, and forced them thence with little opposition: we found here a good quantity of salt, designed for the salting the fish they take in the lake; but we saw no nets, hooks, or lines, nor any bark, canoe, or boat. Marching three leagues into the country, we took a Mulatto prisoner, who informed us, that lately there was a stout ship come from Lima to Acapulco: captain Townley standing in need of a better ship than that which he possessed, it was agreed, though not with-



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out some opposition from captain Swan, to fetch the said ship out of that harbour. The 5th we continued coasting to the west toward Acapulco: the 7th, twelve leagues from the shore we saw the high land of Acapulco, very remarkable for a round hill betwixt two other hills; the westernmost being the largest and highest, with two hillocks on the top; but the easternmost is higher and more peaked than the middlemost. The port of Acapulco is so large and convenient, as to be able to contain some hundreds of ships without danger. Across the entrance of the harbour is a low isle, one mile and a half long, and half a mile broad, stretching from east to west. At each end is a deep channel for the entrance of their ships, and their coming out, provided they enter with the sea-wind, and come out with the land-wind, and these blow at stated times of the day or night. The channel at the west end is narrow, but so deep, that there is no anchorage: through this the ships come in from Manilla, but the ships from Lima pass through the south-west channel. The harbour runs in eight miles to the north; then, closing up in a narrow channel, goes a mile farther to the west. At the entrance of this channel, on the north-west side, just by the sea-side, stands the town of Acapulco, near which is a platform with a good number of guns; and over-against the town, on the east side, stands a strong castle, defended by no less than forty great guns; ships commonly ride within reach of this castle, at the bottom of the harbour. Captain Townley went with 140 men, in twelve canoes, to fetch out the Lima ship; but by force of weather, was forced into Port Marquis, a good harbour, a league east of the port of Acapulco: here they staid all day, and the next night rowed softly to Acapulco, where they found the ship riding at anchor 100 yards from the castle and platform; so that, finding it impossible to carry her off, he returned much dissatisfied. The 11th, we sailed farther to the west, with the land-wind at north-east.

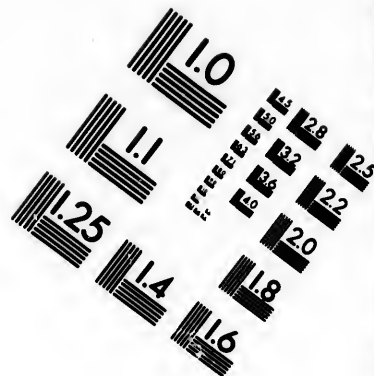
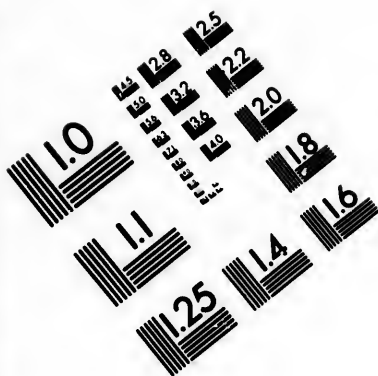


As the sea-winds are here at south-west, we sailed along a sandy bay, twenty leagues in length, where there was good anchorage two miles from the shore; but the sea-waves fell with such violence against it, that there is no safe landing-place. Near the sea-side the grounds are low, and abound with trees, especially with spreading palm-trees, which are sometimes twenty or thirty feet high, but no bigger than an ordinary ash. The country is intermixed with many small hills, which are, for the most part, barren; but the valleys very fertile. At the west end of this bay, jets out into the sea the hill of Petaplan, at  $17^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, being a round point, that appears like an isle at sea. A little farther to the west, is a little knot of round hills: we entered betwixt these and the point, where we anchored at the north west side of the hill, at eleven fathom water. Here we sent 170 men ashore; who, marching fourteen miles into the country, came to a wretched Indian village, left by the inhabitants; so that we met with nobody but a mulatto woman, with four small children: being brought aboard, she declared, that a caravan of mules, laden with flour and other goods, designed for Acapulco, had stopt their journey on the road to the west of this village. So we sailed farther to the west the 18th, about two leagues, to a place called Chequetan, a pretty good harbour, having the conveniency of a fresh-water river, and abundance of wood: we landed ninety-five men the 9th, in six canoes, having the mulatto woman for their guide, at Estapa, a league west of Chequetan: Hence they were carried by their guide through a pathless wood, by a river-side, into a plain, near which, in a farm-house, they found the caravan, consisting of sixty mules, laden with flour, chocolate, cheefes, and earthen-ware; all this they carried, except the earthen vessels, with some beef they had killed, and brought to their canoes, and thence to our ships. Captain Swan went afterwards ashore, and

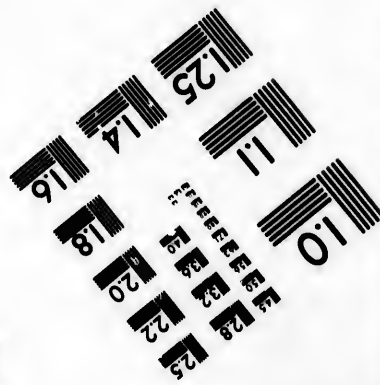
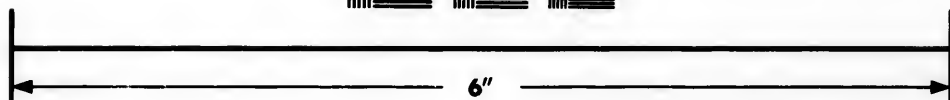
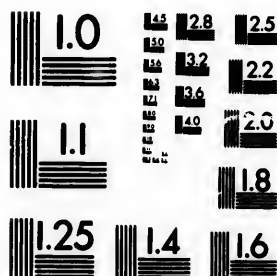
and killed eighteen cows more without the least opposition. The country is woody, but fertile, and watered with many rivers and rivulets.

The 21st, we sailed with the land-wind, which is at north here, and the sea-wind at west south-west, coasting along to the west. At first the land appears with ragged hills; but, farther to the west, with fruitful valleys betwixt them. The 25th, we passed by an high hill, divided into peaks, at  $18^{\circ} 8'$  north latitude: the Spaniards say, there stands a town, called the Cupan, not far from it, but we could not find the way to it. The 26th, 200 men were sent to endeavour to find out the city of Colima, a rich place; but, though they rowed twenty leagues along the shore, they could not meet with any place to land in, and saw not the least sign of any inhabitants. At two places they saw two horsemen, and our men followed them, but lost the track in the woods; so we returned the 28th on board; and, soon after, the Volcano, or burning mountain, of Colima, very remarkable for its height, at  $18^{\circ} 36'$  north latitude, six leagues from the sea-side, appeared, with two high points, from each of which issues always either fire or smoke. The valley, in which it stands, bears the name of the mountain, as does the adjacent town, the chief city of all the country. If we may credit the Spaniards, it is a most delightful and fertile valley, abounding in cocoas, corn, and plantains, being ten or twelve leagues wide to the sea, and stretching a great way into the country; but there is no landing-place near it, occasioned by the impetuosity of the waters; for, about two leagues from the east side, is low woody ground, and, at the end, is a deep river, which disembogues into the sea; but, by reason of a land-bank at the mouth, there is no entrance, even for canoes. The 29th, 200 men were sent again, to try whether they could find any path or track leading to the town of Sallagua, seated, as the Spaniards report, at the west end of the bay of





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the valley of Colima; but, the waves running so high there was no landing, they returned aboard the 30th.

December 1, we came in sight of the port of Sallagua at  $18^{\circ} 52'$ : It is a bay, parted by a rocky point about the middle; so that it appears like two distinct harbours, in either of which is safe anchorage at ten or twelve fathom water, though the west harbour is the best, having, beside this, the conveniency of a fresh-water rivulet falling into the sea. We saw a good number of armed Spaniards, to whom we gave a visit, the next morning, with 200 of our best men; but the foot never stood one charge, and the horse soon followed them: in the pursuit, our men, lighting upon a broad road, leading through a woody and rocky country, followed it for four leagues; but, finding not the least footsteps of any inhabitants, they turned back, and in their way took two straggling mulattoes, who assured them, that the broad road led to the city of Oarrah, four long days journey from hence, and that these men were sent from that city to secure the ship from Manilla, that was to set passengers ashore there. The Spanish maps place the town of Sallagua hereabouts, but we could see no signs of it. December 6, we sailed again, coasting to the west towards Cape Corientes, in hopes of meeting thereabout with the ship expected from the Philippines. The sea-winds are here north-west, and the land-wind at north; the land indifferent high, sprinkled with many ragged points, and woody. Here I was afflicted with the dropsy, and so were many of our men: this being a common disease on this coast, the natives pretend to cure it with the stone or cod of an alligator (of which they have four, viz. one near each leg within the flesh) beaten to powder; but we had not the good fortune to meet with any of these creatures, though they are sometimes found hereabouts. Betwixt Sallagua and Cape Corientes are divers good ports we did not touch at.

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As we approached the cape, it appeared with many white cliffs, and, deeper into the country, with peaked hills; to the west of these runs a ridge of mountains, beginning with an high steep mountain at the east end, with three peaks, resembling a crown; whence the Spaniards called it Coronada, the crown land; but at the west end it terminates in an easy descent. The 11th, we were in sight of Cape Corientes, bearing north by west, and the Coronada to the north. This cape is pretty high, very steep and rocky towards the sea, but flat on the top, and covered with trees; it is at  $20^{\circ} 28'$  north latitude: I found its longitude from Teneriff  $23^{\circ} 56'$ , keeping thereby to the west, according to our course; pursuant to which computation it is, from the Lizard in England,  $121^{\circ} 41'$ , and the difference of time eight hours six minutes. The ship from the Philippines being obliged to make this point in her voyage homewards, we took our stations with our four sail, so as that we judged we could not well miss the ships: but, as we wanted provisions, fifty or sixty men were sent in a bark to the west of the cape to get some: they returned the 17th without any purchase, not being able to get about the cape, the wind being generally northwest and south-west on this coast; however, they left four canoes, manned with forty-six men, behind, who intended to row to the west. The 18th, we sailed to the isles of Chametly, eighteen leagues to the east of Cape Corientes: They are five low, small, and woody isles, surrounded with rocks, and lying in form of an half-moon, within a mile from that shore, betwixt which and these isles, there is safe anchorage. They are inhabited by fishermen, servants to some of the inhabitants of the city of Purification, a considerable place, fourteen leagues up in the country. The 20th, we entered on the south-east side, and anchored betwixt the isles and the continent; we found here fresh water, wood, and rock-fish in great plenty. The 21st, sixty of our men,

under



under captain Townley, were sent seven or eight leagues to the west, to surprise an Indian village.

The 24th, the four canoes, left thereabout by captain Townley's bark, returned to us near the cape, having got beyond it by the help of their oars, and landed in the valley of Valderas, or Val d'Iris, the Valley of Flags, lying at the bottom of a deep bay, inclosed between Cape Corientes on the south-east, and the point Pontique on the north-west. The breadth of the valley is three leagues; the sandy bay is level to the sea, and affords a good landing-place. In the midst is a good fresh-water river, navigable with boats; but at the latter end of the dry season, viz. in February, March, and April, it becomes brackish. On the land-side, this valley is bounded by a green hill, which, by its easy descent in the valley, affords a delightful prospect; as do the wide-spread pastures, stored with cattle, the pleasant groves of guavas, orange, and lime-trees, which grow wild here in vast numbers. In this delightful valley we landed thirty-seven men, who, advancing three miles into the country, were attacked by 150 Spaniards, horse and foot: by good fortune there was an adjacent wood, which afforded an happy retreat to our men, who from thence fired so furiously upon the Spaniards, that they killed their leader, and seventeen troopers, besides many wounded, with the loss only of four men, and two wounded: This made the enemy retreat; however, had the foot seconded the horse, scarce one of our men could have escaped. The 28th, captain Townley returned aboard with forty bushels of maiz, which he had taken in an Indian village to the east of Cape Corientes, five leagues in the country. We continued cruising off this cape till the first of January, when we failed for the valley of Valderas, to provide ourselves with some beef: at night we anchored at sixty fathom water, a mile from the shore.

We continued here till the 7th, and landed 240 men (50 whereof were constantly employed to watch the

the motions of the Spaniards :) we killed and salted as much beef as would serve us two months ; and, had we not wanted salt, we might have had much more. By this time our hopes of meeting with the Manilla ship being quite vanished, we concluded, that, whilst we had been employed in looking for provision ashore she had given us the slip to the east ; which proved true, according to the account we had afterward by several prisoners. The loss of so great and rich a prize must chiefly be attributed to the wilfulness of captain Townley, who would needs attempt the taking of the Lima ship in the harbour of Acapulco, when, at the same time, we ought to have provided ourselves, as we might then have done, with beef and maiz for such an enterprize, which whilst we were forced to seek, we lost this ship ; whereas, had we not wanted necessaries, we might have gone even as far as Cape Lucas, in California, where Sir Thomas Cavendish formerly took one of these Manilla ships. Hitherto we had a double design in view ; first, the taking of the Manilla ship ; secondly, the search after rich towns and mines near this coast, not knowing that the wealth hereabouts lies all in the inland country ; but now, finding ourselves quite deceived in our hopes, we parted, captain Townley going back to the east, and we, in captain Swan's ship, to the west.

January 7, we sailed from this valley, the landwind being at north-west, and at night passed by Pontique, the west point of the Valley of Valderas, ten leagues from Cape Corientes, at  $20^{\circ} 50'$  north latitude. A league beyond it, to the west, lie two little isles, called the Pontiques : beyond those, the shore runs ragged to the north for eighteen leagues. The 14th, we came to anchor in a channel betwixt a small, white, rocky isle and the continent, at fourteen fathom, at  $21^{\circ} 15'$ . The isle is three leagues from the main ; we anchored one league from it. From this island the land runs in north, making a sandy bay : We anchored one league from the continent,

ment, but there is no landing. We found the land-wind all along here at north-east, and the sea-wind at north-west.

The 20th, we anchored one league on the east side of the isles of Chametly, (different from the before-mentioned) being a knot of six small isles at  $23^{\circ} 11'$ , a little to the south of the tropic of Cancer, three leagues from the continent: one or two of them only have some sandy creeks to the sea-side, and produce a certain fruit, called Penguins: these are of two sorts, red and yellow; the last grows on a stem, of the thickness of a man's arm, a foot from the ground, with leaves of half a foot long, and one inch broad, edged with prickles: the fruit grows just at the top of the stalk in clusters; they are round, and of the bigness of an hen's egg: the rind is pretty thick, and the pulp full of black seeds, of a delightful taste. The red penguin is no bigger than an onion, but of the shape of a nine-pin; it does not grow on a stalk, but immediately out of the ground, standing upright, sometimes sixty or seventy in a cluster, being encompassed with prickly leaves of one foot and an half, or two feet long.

Captain Swan went with 100 men to the north, to find out the river Cullacan, supposed to lie at  $24^{\circ}$  north latitude, in the province of Cullacan, with a fair rich town upon its banks: but, though they had rowed above thirty leagues, they could find no river, neither was there any safe landing-place. Seven leagues north north-west from the isles of Chametly is a lake, with a narrow entrance, at  $23^{\circ} 30'$ , called Rio de Sall by the Spaniards, it having water enough for canoes to enter. Our men landed on the west side, and took some maiz at an adjacent farmhouse, and, at another landing, an Indian, who informed us, that five leagues thence there was an Indian town: so our men marched toward it, and, coming near the place, were encountered by a good body of Spaniards and Indians; but these being

beaten

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beaten back after the first charge, they entered the town, where they found only two or three wounded Indians, who told them, that the town was called Massactan, and that five leagues hence there were two rich gold mines. We staid here till the 2d of February, when eighty men were sent, and landed in the River Rosario, about three leagues from the sea. They came to a pretty little town, of the same name, where the prisoners assured them, that the before-mentioned mines were not above two leagues from thence; but, as we had present occasion for provisions, we carried aboard ninety bushels of maiz, without searching after the mines. The 3d, we anchored against the mouth of the river Rosario, one league from the shore, in seven fathom, at  $22^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude. But as this small quantity of provisions was not likely to do our business for our intended voyage, we landed, the 8th, forty men, to seek the river Oletta, supposed to lie to the east of the river Rosario; but they returning without any booty, or without being able to find it, we resolved to go on the east, to the river of St. Iago, where we anchored the 11th, two miles from the shore, in seventeen fathom water, soft ousy ground, three leagues from the white high rock of Maxentelbo, bearing north north-west, as the high hill Zelisco bore south-east of us.

The river of St. Iago, one of the most considerable on this coast, lies in  $22^{\circ} 15'$ . It has ten feet water on the bar at low-water: its breadth, at the entrance, is about half a mile; but it is broader within, three or four rivers discharging themselves into it there: the water is brackish; but, near the mouth, on the sandy shore, you may dig fresh water at three or four feet. Captain Swan sent out seventy men to look for a town, the country having a fair prospect. After they had rowed up and down two days, they landed in a corn field, where, while they were busy in gathering the maiz, they seized an Indian, who told

told them, that four leagues farther there was a town called S<sup>a</sup> Pecaque. They were no sooner come on board, but captain Swan, with 140 men, went in eight canoes five leagues up the river, which was thereabout not above a pistol shot wide, with high banks; and, landing his men, marched through fertile plains and woods for three or four hours: at their approach, the Spaniards quitted the place; so we entered it without opposition.

The town of S<sup>a</sup> Pecaque is seated on the side of a wood, in a spacious plain. It is not very large, but neatly built, with a square market-place in the middle, as most Spanish towns are, and has two churches. There are silver mines five or six leagues from this town: the ore whereof is carried from this place by mules to Compostella, where it is refined. Compostella is the capital of this part of Mexico, twenty-one leagues distant from Pecaque, inhabited by about 70 white families, and 5 or 600 Mulattoes and Indians. As our men found plenty of maiz, sugar, salt, and salt-fish here, captain Swan ordered one half of them to carry provisions aboard, whilst the other took care of the town: this they did by turns, having got some horses to ease them in their labour. Thus they continued for two days; but, the 19th, captain Swan, being informed by a prisoner, that 1000 armed men had lately marched from St. Iago (a rich town upon the river, three leagues thence) to attack our men, ordered his people to get all the horses they could, and to march all together, with what provisions they could carry, to their canoes; but they refusing to obey him, till all the provisions could be carried on board, he was forced to let one half of them go on with 54 horses; but they had not marched a mile, before the Spaniards, lying in ambush, attacked and killed them all upon the spot: captain Swan marched to their relief, but came too late, being all slain and stript, though, at the same time, they never attempted to engage him, having,

questionless,

questionless, paid pretty dear for their victory. Captain Swan being returned aboard with the rest of his men, with what provisions they had got, it was resolved to sail to Cape St. Lucas, on California, in hopes of a commerce with the Indians there, and, consequently, in the lake of California. This lake is properly a channel, or part of the sea, betwixt the isle and the continent; but either not much known by the Spaniards, or else concealed by them, for fear that the other European nations should find out that way to the mines of New Mexico; for they vary considerably about it in their charts; some make it an isle, others join it to the continent, but not one of them gives any account of the tides, the depth, or harbours, in or near this lake; whereas their hydrographical maps describe the coasts towards Asia, on the west side of the isle from Cape St. Lucas to  $40^{\circ}$  north. New Mexico, according to the report of the Spaniards, and some English prisoners there, lies near fifty leagues north-west from Old Mexico, where the richest mines of all this country are supposed to be; though there are, questionless, some also in other parts hereabout, as well as on the continent, near the main-land of California; though, as the Spaniards have mines enough to manage, they have not taken the pains to discover them; and the vast distance of this country has, no doubt, been the occasion, that no discoveries have been made by others, or are like to be made, unless a nearer way thither could be found; I mean by the north-west.

I am not ignorant, that divers unsuccessful attempts have been formed for the discovery of a north-west passage: the reason whereof I attribute to their searching for the passage at the beginning through Davis's or Hudson's bay; whereas, in my opinion, the search ought to have been begun in the South Seas, and thence along by California, and so a passage made back into the West Seas. The same rule might be observed in discovering the north-east passage, viz.

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to winter about Japan, Corea, and the north-east part of China, and so take the advantage of the approaching Spring and Summer to go along the coast of Tartary, whence you may have time enough to reach Archangel, or some other port on these coasts. From hence we sailed the 21st towards California, with a north-west and west north-west wind. After we came past the isles of St. Maria, we had strong winds at north north-west, and at north, the usual trade-wind, and consequently lost ground till February 6; so that the 7th we were forced to the east again, to the Marias, where we anchored the 7th, at the east end of the middlemost of these isles, in eight fathom, good clear sand. This isle we call Prince George's Isle. The isles called Marias are three islands, stretching north-west and south-east fourteen leagues of an indifferent height, stony, barren, and uninhabited, at  $12^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude, forty leagues distant from Cape St. Lucas on California, bearing east south-east, and twenty leagues from Cape Corientes, bearing upon the same points of the compass with Cape St. Lucas. They produce some Cedars, and, near the sea-side, a green prickly plant, with leaves not unlike the penguin-leaf, and a root like that of the sempervive, but much longer. The Indians of California have a great part of their subsistence from these roots. We baked and eat some of them, and found them to taste like the English burdock boiled. I had been long sick of the dropsy, so I was laid in the sand, and covered up to the head for half an hour. I sweated exceedingly, and, I believe, with good effect; for I began to mend soon after.

We remained here careening till the 26th; but as there is no fresh water to be gotten here in the dry season, we were forced to sail to the valley of Valderas, where we anchored the 28th, near the mouth of the before-mentioned river; which being also brackish at this time, we sailed three leagues nearer to the  
Cape



Cape Corientes, and anchored by a small round isle, half a mile from the shore, four leagues to the north of the cape. The rivulet where we filled our water, is on the continent, just opposite to the isle. Being by this time sufficiently convinced of our mistake concerning the riches of this coast, and the probability of finding some sea-ports worth our taking, founded upon an erroneous opinion we had conceived, that the commerce of this country was carried on by sea, whereas it is entirely managed by land, by the help of mules, we were the sooner prevailed upon to try our fortune in the East Indies.

Our men, being encouraged with the hopes of better success for the future, and through the persuasions of captain Swan, sailed from cape Corientes March 31. In all this voyage, we saw neither fish nor fowl, except once, being then, according to my account, 4975 miles west from cape Corientes, in the kingdom of Mexico, when we saw a vast number of boobies, supposed to come from some rocks not far off, and mentioned in some hydrographical maps (but we did not see them.) After we had sailed 1900 miles, our men began to murmur; but, being encouraged with fair words by captain Swan, we sailed forward; and, seeing some clouds setting in the west, they were looked upon as the forerunners of land. May 20, at four o'clock in the afternoon, being in  $12^{\circ} 55'$  north latitude, and steering west, we discovered, to our great joy, the isle of Guam, at eight leagues distance. Guam is one of the Ladrone isles, under the Spanish jurisdiction. Its length is twelve leagues, and its breadth four, lying north and south, defended by a small fort, with six guns, and a garrison of thirty soldiers, under a Spanish governor, for the conveniency of the Philippine ships, that touch here for refreshments in their voyage from Acapulco to Manilla. The soil is indifferently fruitful, producing rice, pine-apples, water-melons, musk-melons, oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, and a certain fruit called

the bread-fruit, growing on a tree as large as our apple-trees, with dark leaves. The fruit is round, and grows on the boughs, like apples, of the bigness of a good penny-loaf. When ripe, it turns yellow, soft, and sweet; but the natives take it green, and bake it in an oven, till the rind is black. This they scrape off, and eat the inside, which is soft and white, like the inside of new baked bread, having neither seed nor stone; but if it is kept above twenty-four hours it is harsh. As this fruit is in season eight months in the year, the natives feed upon no other sort of bread during that time. They told us, that all the Ladrone isles had plenty of it. I never heard of it in any other place. May 31, we came to an anchor on the west side of this isle, near the middle of it, one mile from the shore, there being no anchoring on the east side, by reason of the trade-wind, which forces the waves with great violence against it on that side. The natives are strong limbed, copper-coloured, with long black hair, small eyes, high noses, thick lips, very white teeth, and of a stern countenance, though they were very affable to us. The air is accounted exceeding wholesome, except in the wet season betwixt June and October. These Indians inhabit in small villages on the west side near the shore, and have certain priests to instruct them in the Christian religion. By means of some presents sent to the governor, and an obliging letter from captain Swan, we obtained good store of hogs, cocoa-nuts, rice, wheaten biscuits, and other refreshments, besides fifty pounds of Manilla tobacco; and, being informed by one of the friers, that the isle of Mindanao, one of the Philippine islands, inhabited by Mahomedans, abounded with provisions, we sailed June 2, with a strong east wind, and arrived the 21 at the isle of St. John, one of the Philippine islands.

The Philippines are a range of large islands, reaching from  $5^{\circ}$  north latitude to  $19^{\circ}$ , and to  $16^{\circ}$  longitude.

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gitude. The chief of them is Luconia, where Magellan was killed with a poisoned arrow, and is now entirely under the Spanish subjection. Their capital city here is Manilla, a large town and sea-port, seated at the south east end, opposite to the isle of Mindora, a place of great strength, and vast trade, because the two great ships from Acapulco fetch thence vast quantities of India commodities, brought thither by the Chinese and Portuguese, and sometimes also by the English of Fort St. George, though by stealth, the Spanish allowing no commerce here to the English or Dutch, for fear they should discover both their weakness, and the riches of those isles, which abound in gold.

To the south of Luconia are twelve or fourteen other large isles (besides an infinite number of lesser ones) inhabited by Spaniards; but the two southermost, viz. that of St. John and Mindanao, are the only ones not subject to the Spanish jurisdiction. The isle of St. John lies between  $7^{\circ}$  and  $8^{\circ}$  north latitude, on the east side of Mindanao, about four leagues from it. Its length, from north north-west to south south-east, is thirty-eight leagues, and its breadth about the middle twenty-four leagues. The soil is very fat and fertile. Mindanao is, next to Luconia, the largest of all the Philippine islands, its length being sixty leagues, and its breadth forty or fifty, the south end at  $5^{\circ}$  north latitude, and the north-west end reaching almost to  $8^{\circ}$  north latitude. The soil is generally fat; and the stony hills produce many sorts of trees, most of which are not known among us. The vallies are watered with fresh brooks and rivulets, and stored with divers sorts of evergreen trees and variety of fruits; but, above all the rest, a sort of trees, which grow wild in groves several miles long, called the libby-tree by the natives, which furnishes the Sago. The poor people feed upon it instead of bread here for three or four months in the year.

The libby-tree is not unlike the cabbage-tree; the bark and wood hard, full of a white pith, like that of the elder-tree. They cut down the tree, and, splitting it in the middle, take out the pith, which they stamp or beat well in a mortar or trough; which done, they put it in a cloth, and, pouring water upon it, stir it well, till the water carries also the substance with it through the cloth into the trough; this, after it is well settled, they separate from the water (by drawing it off) and bake it into cakes. The sago, transported hence into other parts of the East Indies, is dried into small pieces, like comfits, and used, with milk of almonds, as a good remedy against fluxes, being very astringent. We shall only add, that the nutmegs here are extremely large and good; but they do not care to propagate them, for fear the Dutch, who monopolize the trade of the spice islands, should be induced to give them a visit.

This isle affords both wild and tame beasts. Of tame fowls they have only ducks and hens; but, of the wild kind, pigeons, parrots, paraquetoës, turtle-doves, bats as big as our kites; and of small birds an infinite number. Their chief fish are bonetoës, snooks, cavalies, bremes, mullets, and sea tortoises. Neither do they want harbours, creeks, and rivers. The climate of Mindanao is not so excessive hot, especially near the sea-side, considering its situation near the line; since the sea-breezes cool the air by day, as the land-winds do at night. The wind blows from the east from October to May, when it blows west to October again. These west winds produce the wet season, which is heaviest in July and August, and begins to remit, by degrees, in September, and ceases in October, when the east wind brings fair weather till May. Though the inhabitants of the isle of Mindanao are generally alike in colour, stature, and in their religion, (being Mahomedans) yet they differ in their language and government.

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The Mindanyans, properly so called, are of low stature, with small limbs, little heads, and straight bodies; small eyes, short noses, wide mouths, thin red lips, and black teeth, but sound. Their hair is black and straight; their complexion tawny, but something brighter than that of other Indians. They are ingenious and nimble, but much addicted to idleness; civil and obliging to strangers, but withal implacable when once disobliged. Their cloathings are, a turban tied once round the head with cloth, the ends fringed or laced, tied in a knot, and hanging down. They wear also breeches, and frocks over them; but neither stockings nor shoes. The women tie their black and long hair together in a knot, hanging down behind. They are smaller-featured than the men, and have very little feet. Their garments are only a piece of cloth sewed together at both ends, and a frock reaching a little below the waist.

One peculiar custom they have in the city of Mindanao, that as soon as any strangers arrive, the men of Mindanao come aboard, to invite them to their houses, where they are sure to inquire, whether any of them have a mind for a Pagally, or innocent female friend. The strangers, in civility, are obliged to accept the offer made them of such a friend, and to shew their gratitude by a small present, as the continuance of the same friendship must be purchased by some other trifles; in return for which, they have the liberty to eat, drink, and sleep in their friends houses for their money. They have no other entertainment there gratis, except a little tobacco and betel, a mean way of begging, though practised even among the richest of the place.

The capital of this isle bears the same name with the island, and is seated on the south side, two miles from the sea, upon the bank of a small river, in  $7^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude. Their houses are built upon posts, from fourteen to twenty feet high, having only one floor, but many rooms or partitions. The sul-

tan's house rests upon 150 great posts, and was much higher than the rest, with great broad stairs leading up to it. In the hall stood twenty pieces of iron cannon, placed on field carriages. The general, and other great men, have also some guns in their houses, the floors whereof are generally well matted, they using no chairs, but sitting cross-legged. Their ordinary food here is rice, sago, and some small fish; but the better sort eat buffaloes and fowl, though a great deal of rice with them.

The chief trades in this city are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and shipwrights; for they build good ships both for trade and war. Their chief commodities, exported, are gold, bees-wax, and tobacco. The two first they purchase from the mountaineers; and the last grows all over the isle in vast plenty. These they exchange for calicoes, muslins, and China silks. The Mindanao tobacco is reckoned no way inferior to that of Manilla; yet you may buy ten or twelve pounds of it for a rial. They have many wives; but I never could learn their marriage-ceremonies, except that they feast their friends for the most part of the night. They are under the government of a sultan, who is poor enough; but so absolute, that he even commands every private subject's purse at pleasure. He was between fifty and sixty years old, and had twenty nine concubines, besides his queen. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a couch upon four mens shoulders, attended by a guard of eight or ten men. He has a brother called Raja Laut, who is both chief minister and general, a shrewd man, of good conversation, who both speaks and writes Spanish very well. In their wars they make use of swords, lances, and hand-creffets, a weapon much like a bayonet, which the greatest to the meanest always wear about them. They never fight any pitched battle in the field, but make small wooden forts, defended by guns, wherein they encamp, and endeavour to

surprize

surprize one another by small parties; and they neither give nor take quarter.

We came to anchor at the north-east side of the isle; but, understanding by some of the natives, that the city of Mindanao was on the west side, we steered to the south-east with a south-west wind. We arrived July 18th, at the entrance of the river Mindanao, in  $6^{\circ} 22'$  north latitude, and  $23^{\circ} 12'$  longitude west from the Lizard of England, where we anchored in fifteen fathom water, clear hard sand, two miles from the shore.

Soon after, Raja Laut, and one of the sultan's sons, came aboard us, and demanded in Spanish, who we were; and, being told that we were English, they asked, whether we were come to settle among them, of which they had had some promise before, and were now in hopes to see it effected, and to serve them for a protection against the Dutch, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we considered the matter, it would have been much for our advantage to have done so, considering the commodious situation of the isle of Mindanao, betwixt the spice islands and the Philippines: neither did we want any thing requisite for such a settlement, being provided with all sorts of artificers, as carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, taylors, &c. as also with convenient tools, arms, guns great and small, and ammunition sufficient for such a beginning: and, notwithstanding the great distance of this island from England, we needed not have been without hopes of reasonable supplies thence. But to return to Raja Laut and his nephew: they invited captain Swan ashore, and promised to furnish him with what provisions he wanted, desiring, that, in the mean time, we should secure our ship in the river, for fear of the approaching west winds; which captain Swan, after some deliberation, agreed to.

The tempestuous weather now approaching, the sailors hauled the ship up the river, 50 or 60 fath-



men lending their assistance; after which, they moored her in a hole dug for that purpose, where-in she was always a-float, and here many citizens came on board of her, who soon provided the men with Pagallys, and captain Swan being generally attended at dinner with his trumpets, Raja Laut was greatly delighted with the music.

During the wet season, the city of Mindanao, which is a mile in length, and stretches along the bank of the river, was a perfect pond, and the floods frequently washed down large pieces of timber from the country, that would have endangered the vessel, had not great care been taken to prevent it. As soon as the floods began to subside, captain Swan hired a warehouse, in which he deposited his goods and sails, in order to careen the ship, when it was surprising to see the multitude of worms that had eaten into her bottom, during her stay in this harbour. But having new sheathed her, they steered out on the 10th of December, when they began to take in rice, and to fill their water. But the king's brother, who had his views in delaying the vessel, constantly kept several of the men on shore, hunting of black cattle, under the pretence of stocking the ship with beef. However, in ten days, they met with only four cows, none of which they were able to run down.

At this time, captain Swan had some thoughts of quitting Mindanao, in order to take in a lading of spice, in a neighbouring island, which is since fallen into the hands of the Dutch. However, most of his men expected that he would have continued privateering, to which he had an utter aversion, though he carefully concealed it from his people.

The day after Christmas-day, Raja Laut had a hunting match, in search of black cattle, in which he was accompanied by five or six Englishmen, and all his wives: but in this hunting match they killed but three heifers. However, he and his company

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got drunk two or three times, with a pleasant extract of rice.

At this time, one of the English sailors happening accidentally to find captain Swan's journal, in which he had taken notice of the slightest offence of every sailor on board, and was even lavish of invectives against the whole crew in general, he shewed it to the rest of his comrades, who, upon this, resolved to depose captain Swan, which they accordingly did, choosing Mr. Read captain in his room, and Mr. Teate, master; and leaving him with thirty-six men on shore, set sail on the 14th of January, 1687, in order to cruize before Manilla.

February 3, we anchored in a bay on the west side of an island without a name, in  $9^{\circ} 15'$ , on the west side of the isle of Sebo, in 18 fathom water, oozy ground. Its length is eight or ten leagues. In the middle of this bay we saw a low, small, woody isle, haunted by a sort of bats, of the bigness of a large fowl, their wings, when extended, being seven or eight feet long: every night we saw them, in vast swarms, take their flight towards the great isle, and return to the little one in the morning.

We sailed hence February 10, with a north wind, coasting along the west side of the Philippine isles. In our passage by Panga, (a large isle inhabited by the Spaniards) we saw many fires, supposed to be lighted to give notice of our approach, it being rare to see a ship on this coast. The 18th, we came to an anchor at the north-west end of the isle of Mindora, in ten fathom: it is a large isle, the middle of it lying in  $13^{\circ}$  longitude. It stretches in length forty leagues north-west and south-east. A small brook of water runs into the sea near the place where we anchored, and we saw good store of hogs and oxen, but they were so wild we could catch or kill none. Whilst we were here, a canoe, with four Indians, came hither from Manilla, who told us, that  
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the harbour of Manilla was seldom without twenty or thirty vessels, Chinese, Portuguese, and Spaniards; and that if we had a mind to trade, (clandestinely) they would carry our letters to certain merchants there. The 21st, we sailed again, and, the 23d, came to the south-east end of the isle of Luconia. We took two Spanish barks from Pagassanum, a small town on the north-east of this isle, bound to Manilla: one of these had goods aboard for the Acapulco ship.

The isle of Luconia extends in length 6 or 7° of longitude, and its breadth, near the middle, sixty leagues. The south end is in 12° 30', and the north end in 90° north latitude. It is surrounded by many other small isles, especially at the north end. Mindora is the chief, and the nearest to it, and imparts its name to a channel that runs between it and the isle of Luconia, called the Streights of Mindora. The country is partly composed of large pasture plains, and partly of mountains. These afford some gold; as the savannas or plains are well stored with buffaloes, bullocks, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs. The inhabitants, who live in little towns, are Indians, under the Spanish jurisdiction, and instructed in the Romish religion by Spanish priests.

Manilla is the chief, if not the only city of the isle of Luconia, seated at the foot of a ridge of high hills fronting the harbour, near the south-west point of the isle, in 14° north latitude. It is defended by a strong wall; the houses are spacious, strong, and covered with pantile; and the streets large and regular, with a market-place in the midst. They have many fair churches and convents. The harbour is very large. Besides the two great Acapulco ships, they have abundance of small vessels of their own. The Chinese have commonly thirty or forty junks or stout vessels here: and the Portuguese have also liberty of commerce in this isle. A league on this

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side the city is a strong fort to defend the harbour, where the great ships lay at anchor.

The time of the year being too far spent for our purpose, we resolved to sail for Pulo Condore, a knot of small isles on the coast of Cambodia, and to return in May, to lie in wait for the Acapulco ship. Accordingly, February 26, we sailed from Luconia. Coming to  $14^{\circ}$  north latitude, we steered south by west for Pulo Condore; and, in our way thither, got sight of the south end of the Prasel shoals, of three sandy isles, or large spots of sands, standing just above the water, a mile from us. March 13, we came in sight of Pulo Condore, or the isle of Condore, and anchored the 14th on the north side of the isle, in ten fathom, clean hard sand, two miles from the shore. Pulo Condore is the chief of a knot of isles, and the only inhabited one of them, in  $8^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude, forty leagues south by east from the mouth of the river of Cambodia. Two of these isles are pretty high and large, the rest very small. That I speak of, is five leagues long, lying east and west, and three miles broad, but in some places not a mile. The other large isle is three miles long, stretching north and south: betwixt those two, at the west end of the largest, is a convenient harbour, the entrance on the north side, where these two isles lie a mile asunder. On the largest isle grows a tall tree, the trunk three or four feet diameter, which the inhabitants cut horizontally half through, a foot from the ground; and then cutting the other part aslope inwardly down, till it meets with the transverse cut, thence distils a liquor into an hollow made in the semicircular stump; which, when boiled, becomes good tar; and, if boiled still more, perfect pitch, and answers both uses. Such a tree affords two quarts of juice every day for a month together, then dries up, and recovers again. Here are also mango-trees, the fruit whereof they pickle, while they are green, with salt, vinegar, and a little garlick. Grapes grow

grow in this isle on a strait tree, of a foot diameter, in clusters about the body of the tree, like the co-coas; they are both red and white, much like our grapes, and of a pleasant taste. This isle also abounds in wild nutmeg-trees: these are of the bigness of our walnut-trees, and the fruit grows amongst the boughs, like our walnuts. It is smaller than the true nutmeg, but grows like it, and is of the same shape, but without smell or taste. Besides hogs, guanoes, and lizards, these isles have divers sorts of birds, as parrots, parraquetoos, turtle-doves, pigeons, and wild cocks and hens. The sea affords limpets, mussels, and tortoises. They have many fresh-water brooks, running into the sea for ten months in the year, and lie very conveniently for trade with Japan, China, Manilla, Tunquin, Cochinchina, &c.

The inhabitants of the isle of Condore are originally Cochinchinese, of a middle stature, but well-shaped, much darker than the Mindanyans; their hair is straight and black, their eyes of the same colour, but small; and so are their noses, yet pretty high; their lips thin, with a little mouth, and white teeth. They are very civil, but poor, having no other employment but to gather the juice for tar, and draw some oil from the fat of the tortoise, which they transport to Cochinchina. They offer their women to all strangers for a very small matter; a custom used also at Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina and Cambodia; in the East Indies, and on the coast of Guinea, in Africa, and also at Tunquin. They are Pagans, and worship chiefly the elephant and horse, beside other images of birds and fish. But I observed none of human shape.

March 15, we looked for a place to careen in; and, having met with one, we entered the same the 16th, where we staid till the 6th of April, when we went hence to the place where we anchored before, on the north side of the great isle, to fill fresh water; which being accomplished by the 21st, we sailed again

again from Pulo Condore, our course west by south, with an east north-east wind, for the bay of Siam. The 24th, we entered the bay of Siam, which is very deep; and went in among the isles, at the bottom of the bay. In one of these we found a small village, inhabited by fishermen, but no fish: so we turned back; but, being becalmed, did not return to Pulo Ubi till May 13, where we cast anchor on the east side, and were detained by tempests till the 20th. The 21st, we sailed thence back for Pulo Condore, where we came to an anchor the 24th: here five or six of our men, going aboard a Malayan vessel, were stabbed by the ship's crew.

June 4, being provided with fuel and fresh-water, we sailed from Pulo Condore, with a south-west wind, intending to make Manilla; but the wind soon turning east and south-east, and continuing so for ten days, we were forced to alter our course, and steer for the isle of Prata, a small low island, inclosed with rocks, in the way betwixt Canton (a Chinese seaport) and Manilla, in  $20^{\circ} 4'$  north latitude; but the east winds continuing for five or six days longer with great violence, we saw ourselves obliged to alter our resolution once more, and to obey the wind, which brought us near the Chinese shore the 25th of June, where we came to an anchor on the north-east end of the isle of St. John, lying on the sea-coast of Quantung or Canton, in China, in  $22^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. The inhabitants live, for the most part, by cultivating their grounds, which produce rice. Whilst we lay at anchor here, a Chinese Junk lay near us: she was flat both at the head and stern, with little huts on her deck of three feet high, covered with palmetto-trees. She had a large cabin with an altar, and lamp burning in it. The hold was divided into several partitions, each of them so tight, that, if a leak should spring in one, the goods in the next would receive no damage. Every merchant has his particular room, where he stows his goods, and

and sometimes lodges in it himself. These junks have no more than two masts, viz. a main-mast and fore-mast: the last has a square sail and square yard; but the main-mast has a sail narrow aloft like a sloop's sail. In fair weather they use also a top-sail, which they hail down on the deck in foul weather, yard and all. The main-mast of the biggest junks are as big as any of our third-rate men of war, but not pieced, being all of one tree.

As we saw the forerunners of an approaching tempest, we weighed anchor, not to want sea-room. It was not long before we found our guests too true; for the next day, being the 4th of July, the wind coming to the north-east, we were surprised by the most violent tempest I ever remember; which lasted, by intervals, till the 6th. We refitted our ship; but our men, being terrified to the highest degree by the last storm, and dreading the approaching full-moon, resolved to steer towards the Pescadores, or Fisher Isles, in  $23^{\circ}$  north latitude.

These are a good number of islands, lying betwixt the isle of Formosa, and the continent of China. Betwixt the two eastermost is a good harbour; and, on the west side of the eastermost, is a large town and fort, defended by a Tartar garrison of about three hundred men. The houses were low, but neatly built. On the island, on the west side of the harbour, near the sea-side, we saw another small town, inhabited by Chinese; and most of the other isles have some Chinese (more or less) living in them. We came to an anchor in the harbour July 20, and, sending our boat ashore, were civilly received by the Tartarian governor, who sent us some presents, (among the rest a heifer, the finest I ever eat in my life) but would not allow us either to trade there, or come ashore on that isle. In return for which Mr. Read (now our captain) sent him a silver-hilted sword, a carbine, and a gold chain.

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## CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER. 111

We sailed from hence the 29th with a south-west wind, steering for certain islands we had pitched upon, that lie betwixt Formosa and Luconia, being known by no other names than the Five Isles. We sailed by the south-west end of Formosa, a large isle situated betwixt  $21^{\circ} 20'$ , and  $25^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude, from south to north. Its longitude is from  $142^{\circ} 5'$  to  $143^{\circ} 16'$  east from the peak of Teneriff. It was formerly well inhabited by the Chinese, and frequented by the English; but the Tartars have since spoiled the harbour, for fear the Chinese should fortify themselves there. August 6, we came to an anchor on the east side of the northermost of the Five Isles in fifteen fathom water: they lay in  $20^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude; and their longitude, according to the charts, is  $141^{\circ} 50'$ . Contrary to our expectations, we found, on the isle near which we anchored, three or four large towns. The westernmost isle is the biggest: this the Dutch among us called the Prince of Orange Isle, being seven or eight leagues long, and two broad, stretching north and south. There are two more large isles; the northermost we called Grafton Isle: it stretches four leagues in length north and south, and is one league and an half broad: unto the third great isle we gave the name of Monmouth Isle, lying to the south of Grafton Isle, three leagues long north and south, and one broad: the other two isles, lying east and west, betwixt Monmouth and the south end of Orange Isle, are called the Bashee, (from a certain liquor we drink there) and the Goat isles.

Orange island is the largest, but uninhabited, being rocky and barren, and no anchorage near it. Monmouth and Grafton isles are hilly, but well inhabited. The Goat and Bashee isles are flat and even, and the first has one town in it. The hills of all these isles are rocky, but the vallies fertile in grass, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pompions, sugar-canes, potatoes, and some cotton; and are well watered with

with brooks of fresh-water. They are also well stored with goats and hogs, but scarce any fowl, either wild or tame.

The natives are short and thick, round-visaged, with low foreheads, and thick eye-brows; their eyes of an hazel colour, and small, but much bigger than the Chinese; their noses are both low and short; their lip and mouth middle-sized, with white teeth, and thick, black, lank hair, cut short to their ears; their complexion is of a dark copper-colour. They go always bare-headed; and the greatest part have no cloaths, but a clout about the middle: some have jackets of plantain-leaves, as rough as a bear-skin. The women have a short petticoat of coarse calico, (of their own making) which reaches a little below the knees. Both sexes wear ear-rings made of a yellow metal, having the weight and colour of true gold, but something paler: whether it were such in effect or no, I am not able to say; for it looks of a fine colour at first, but afterwards fades; which made us suspect it; and therefore our people did not purchase much of it. We observed the natives to besmear it with red earth, and then, putting it into a quick fire till it was red-hot, brought it to its former colour again.

Their houses are small, and scarce five feet high. They inhabit in villages, built on the sides of rocky hills, three or four rows one above another. These rocky precipices are framed by nature into different degrees, or, as it were, deep steps or stories, upon each of which they build a row of their houses, communicating together gradually, by ladders set from each of these rows up to one another in the middle of it; which if they remove, there is no coming at them. They are also very expert in building their boats, (for the men live mostly by fishing) much like our Deal yauls. They have also larger vessels, managed with twelve or fourteen oars, two men on one bank. They never kill any goats or hogs themselves, but

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but feed upon the guts or entrails; and their skins, which they broil, after they have singed the hair off. They make also a dish of locusts, which come at certain seasons to devour their potatoes. They take them with nets, and broil or bake them in an earthen pan. This dish eats well enough. Their ordinary drink is water; but, besides this, they boil a sort of liquor out of the juice of sugar-canes, mixed with black-berries: this they put afterwards into jars, and let it work four or five days. After it is settled, it becomes clear, and affords a strong and pleasant liquor, in taste and colour not unlike English beer. The natives call this liquor Bashee; whence our crew gave this name to one of the isles.

What language they speak, I know not, as not having any affinity either with the Chinese or Malayan languages. The only arms they use are lances, headed with iron; and they wear a kind of armour of a buffalo's hide, without any sleeves, which reaches down below the knees, where it is three feet wide, and as stiff as a board, but close about their shoulders. I could not perceive them worship any thing; neither saw I any idols, or any government or precedence among themselves, except that the children were very respectful to their parents. However, it is likely, they have some ancient customs instead of laws; for we saw a young lad buried alive, as we supposed, for theft.

They have but one wife, and she and the children are very obedient to the head of the family; the boys are educated to fishing, and the girls to work with their mothers in the plantations, which are in the vallies, where every man plants his own ground according to the bigness of his family. For the rest, they are a sort of civil quiet people, not only to strangers, but also among themselves; for all the time we were here, whilst they came frequently aboard us, they used to exchange their yellow metal, their goats and fruit, for iron. During our stay here, we

had provided ourselves with seventy or eighty fat hogs, and plenty of potatoes, for our intended voyage to the isle of Manilla: but, September 25, being again surprised with a most violent tempest, which forced us out to the sea, we were every moment in danger of being swallowed up by the waves till the 29th, when the fury of the winds being somewhat allayed, we made the best of our way back to the isle, of which we got sight the 30th, but could not come to an anchor in the same place where we were before, till the 1st of October. This last storm so disheartened our men, that they all resolved to lay aside their design of cruising before Manilla; but, by the persuasion of captain Read, and captain Teat the master, they resolved to go to cape Comorin, and thence into the Red Sea. As the eastern Monsoon was at hand, our nearest and best way had been to pass through the streight of Malacca; but captain Teat persuaded them to go round on the east side of the Philippine isles, and so, keeping south of the Spice isles, to pass into the Indian ocean, about the isle of Timor.

We sailed October 3, from the isles to the south, intending to pass through the Spice islands: we sailed on the east side of Luconia, and the other Philippine islands, coasting to the south.

We arrived, November 9, at the island Celebes, where we anchored at the north-east end. The isle extends itself from north to south, in  $7^{\circ}$  latitude, and in breadth  $3^{\circ}$ . It lies under the line, the north end at  $1^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and the south end at  $5^{\circ} 80'$  south latitude. At the south end of the isle is a gulph, eight leagues wide, and fifty long, running directly north into the country, having divers small islands in the middle of it. Near the south end, at the west side of the isle, is seated Macassar, a rich and strong town belonging to the Dutch. By reason of the strong current setting to the West, we had

much ado to get to the east side of the isle; and the 22d, being at  $1^{\circ} 20'$  south, we saw a large opening like a creek; and, six leagues to the south of it, a range of large and small isles, and many shoals, betwixt which and the isle of Celebes we passed, not without trouble, and came to an anchor half a mile from the great island, in eight fathom sandy ground, in  $1^{\circ} 50'$  south latitude. We staid there till the 29th, and the 30th steered away south betwixt two shoals, at  $3^{\circ}$  south latitude, ten leagues from the isle of Celebes. Toward the evening, we saw two or three spouts: a spout is a piece of a cloud, hanging down, seemingly sloping, and sometimes bending like a bow, but never perpendicular; after which the sea begins to foam, and you see the water move gently round, till, increasing in a whirling motion, it flies upward, a hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, but lessening gradually to the smallness of a spout, through which the sea-water appears to be conveyed into the clouds, as is manifest by the increase of the bulk and blackness thereof: then you see immediately the cloud (which was immoveable before) drive along, and the spout keeping the same course for half an hour, till the sucking is over, and then breaking off, all the water that was below the spout, or pendulous cloud, falls again into the sea, with a terrible noise and clashing; however, these spouts are more terrible than dangerous.

December 1, steering south, with a south south-east wind, at  $3^{\circ} 34'$  south latitude, we got sight of the isle of Bouton, about ten leagues south-west of us: the 5th, we got close to the north-west end of Bouton Isle, but the harbour is at the east side of it, in  $4^{\circ} 54'$  south latitude. This island stretches twenty-five leagues in length south-west, and north-west four leagues from the south-east end of the isle of Celebes; its breadth is ten leagues: within a league of the harbour, and half a mile from the sea, is a long town

called Callasufung, seated on the top of a small hill, in a pleasant plain, inclosed with a walk of cocoa-trees, and about these with a strong stone wall. The inhabitants are not unlike the Mindanayans, but neater, are Mohammedans, and speak the Malayan language. The 6th, they brought us eggs, fowls, potatoes, &c. aboard; and the sultan came afterwards in person in a boat, guarded by ten or twelve musqueteers. We staid here till the 12th; and then, steering to the south-east, we passed near four or five small isles,  $5^{\circ} 40'$  south latitude, six leagues from Callasufung harbour. The 28th, we saw the north-west point of Timor, distant eight leagues south-east by east. The isle of Timor is high and mountainous, stretching in length seventy leagues north-east and south-west, its breadth sixteen leagues, the middle of it in  $9^{\circ}$  south latitude. The 29th, we stood off south toward New Holland, part of the Terra Australis incognita.

The 31st, we stood to the south wind at west, in  $12^{\circ} 20'$  latitude; at night we stood in the north for fear of a shoal, laid down in the charts, at  $23^{\circ} 50'$ , bearing south by west from the east end of Timor: in the morning we saw the shoal, being a spot of land appearing above the surface of the water, with divers rocks about it, ten feet above the water. It is of a triangular form, each side one league and a half long. This shoal is represented in our charts sixteen or twenty leagues from New Holland; but we ran at least sixty leagues afterward due south before we fell in with it.

January 4, 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland, at  $16^{\circ} 50'$  latitude; and, running along to the east twelve leagues, came to a point of land, three leagues to the east of which is a deep bay. We anchored a league to the east of this point, January 5, two miles from the shore, in 29 fathom, hard sand and clean ground.

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## CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER. 117

New Holland is a vast track of land, that neither joins to Asia, Africa, or America \*. It was even low and sandy ground, the points only excepted, which are rocky, and some isles in this bay. This part had no fresh-water, except what was dug, but divers sorts of trees, and, among the rest, the dragon-tree, which produces the gum-dragon, or dragon-blood: we saw neither fruit-trees, nor so much as the track of any living animal, except one, which seemed to be the footstep of a beast, of the bigness of a large mastiff-dog. The inhabitants are the most miserable wretches in the universe, having no houses or covering but the heavens; no garments, except a piece of the bark of a tree, tied like a girdle round the waist; no sheep, poultry, or fruits, but feed upon a few fish, cockles, mussels, and periwinkles; without religion or government, but cohabit promiscuously: for the rest, their bodies are strait, thin, and strong-limbed, with great hands and eye-brows, and round foreheads: Their eye-lids are constantly half-closed, to keep the flies out, which are excessive troublesome here: they have large bottle-noses, thick lips, and wide mouths. Both men and women, old and young, want the two fore-teeth of the upper-jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no beards, but black short curled hair, like the African negroes, and are as black as those. Their weapons are a sort of wooden cutlasses; instead of a lance, they have a strait pole, sharpened and hardened at the end. Of their language I can say nothing, but that they speak pretty much in the throat. We landed several times, and at last brought them to something of a familiarity with us, by giving them some old cloaths; but could never prevail with them to give us the least assistance in carrying

\* See Tasman's Voyage for discoveries to the southward: in the 2d vol.



water, or otherwise, they being very averse to working.

March 12, we sailed hence, taking our course north. April 7, we got sight of the isle of Sumatra, bearing north, being then at  $7^{\circ}$  south latitude; and, the 8th, saw the west end of that isle, being at  $6^{\circ}$  south latitude. May 1, we ran down by the north-west end of Sumatra, directing our course to the Nicobar islands; we got sight of them the 4th, a cluster of islands lying south of the Audeman isles; but the most southerly of them is properly called the Nicobar, lying four leagues north north-west from the north west end of Sumatra. The inhabitants trade promiscuously with all the European nations; their chief commodities being ambergris, and fruits. May 5, we anchored in a small bay, at the north-west end of the isle of Nicobar, properly so called, in eight fathom water; its length is twelve leagues, the breadth three or four, in  $7^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. It produces plenty of cocoas and mallories, a fruit of the bigness of the bread-fruit at Guam (before-mentioned) which the natives boil in water in covered jars. The inhabitants here are strait-limbed, long-visaged, with black eyes, and well-proportioned noses; their hair is lank and black, their complexion of a copper-colour; the women have no eye-brows; I suppose they pulled them out, because the men did not like them: the men wear only a kind of sash round their middle. And the women nothing but a petticoat from the waist to the knees: their language had some words of Malayan and Portuguese in it; their habitations were built upon posts near the sea-side. but I could find no settled government among them. Mr Hall, Mr. Ambrose, and I, being desirous to leave the unruly crew we sailed with, were set ashore on this isle, with an intent to go hence to Achin.

Accordingly we left this isle May 5, with four Malaysans and a Portuguese, in a Nicobar canoe, not much

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much bigger than our below-bridge London wherries; we rowed to the south four at a time, by turns. The 7th we looked out for Sumatra, supposing we were within twenty leagues of it; but, instead thereof, saw Nicobar at eight leagues distance; at noon we found  $6^{\circ} 55'$  latitude. The 18th, the wind increasing upon us, we were forced to run before the wind and sea; the tempest was so violent, that we expected every moment to have been swallowed by the sea waves. The 19th, to our great joy, one of our Malayan friends cried out Pulo Way, i. e. the Isle of Way, situated near the north-west end of Sumatra, which, about noon, we discovered to be the very isle of Sumatra. The high land they had mistaken for the isle of Way, proved the Golden Mountain of Sumatra. The 20th, we steered with a west wind for the shore; and, in the afternoon, anchored near the mouth of the river Passange Ionca (in the isle of Sumatra) thirty-six leagues to the east of Achin, and six leagues to the West of Diamond Point. As we were half dead with the fatigues of this voyage, we were carried to a small fisher-town near the river, where we were kindly treated by the inhabitants, and staid till June, when we left this place; and, in three days sail, arrived at Achin. In July following, I went with captain Welden to Tonquin, and returned to Achin in April 1689, where I staid till September; when, making a short voyage to Manacca, I came thither against Christmas 1690. Soon after, I went to Fort St. George; whence, after a stay of five months, I came back to Bencoolen, an English factory on the west coast of Sumatra. An Indian prince, whose name was Ieoly, was purchased by one Mr. Moody at Mindanao, together with his mother: Mr. Moody and I went together to Bencoolen; where, at parting, he gave me half the share in this painted prince, and his mother, and left them in my custody. They were born in the isle of Meangis, abounding in gold, cloves, and nutmegs, as

himself told me: He was curiously painted down to the breast, and betwixt his shoulders behind, but most of all on the thighs before, after the nature of flower-work. By what I could understand, this painting was done by pricking the skin, and rubbing in it a certain gum of a tree, called Damurer, used instead of pitch in some part of the Indies. As to his captivity, he said, that, as one day, he, his father and mother, were going in a canoe to one of the two adjacent isles, they were taken by some Mindanayan fishermen, who sold them all to the interpreter of Raja Laut, with whom he and his mother lived as slaves five years, and then were sold for sixty dollars to Mr. Moody. Some time afterward, Mr. Moody presented me also with his share in them, but the mother died not long after, and I had much ado to save the son's life.

During my stay at Bencoolen, I served in the quality of a gunner of the fort; but, my time being expired, I got aboard captain Heath, in the *Defence*, with my painted prince, in order to my return for England. January 25, we sailed in company of three ships more; but had not been long at sea, before a fatal distemper raged aboard us, which we attributed to the badness of the water taken in at Bencoolen during the land-floods, which is often impregnated with the tinctures of poisonous roots or herbs: the best remedy we had, was to mix some tamarinds with the rice we eat, which I believe preserved the lives of many of our men, having scarce so many men left as were able, but with great difficulty, to bring us to the Cape of Good Hope, where we came to an anchor the beginning of April, by the assistance of a Dutch captain and his men.

After a stay of six weeks here, we sailed, May 3, towards St. Helena, an isle seated in  $16^{\circ}$  south latitude, where we arrived June 20. It is about nine leagues long; and, though 400 leagues from the continent, enjoys a serene air, (except in the rainy season)

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## CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER. 121

son) and a temperate and healthy climate; which, together with the refreshing herbs this island produces, is the reason that our East India ships touch here to recover their seamen from the scurvy, which they do in a little time. This isle, after its first discovery by the Portuguese, was possessed by the Dutch; but these relinquishing it for the Cape of Good Hope, the English settled here till 1672, when they were beaten out of it by the Dutch, who were forced, soon after, to surrender it again to the English, under captain Monday. We have now a fort there, with a garrison, and a good number of great guns, to defend the common landing-place, being a small bay, not above 500 paces wide: within this bay stands a small English town; the inhabitants having their plantations deeper into the country, which furnish them with potatoes, plantains, bananas, hogs, bullocks, cocks, and hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, in vast plenty. July 2, 1691, we left this isle, steering our course for England. We took the mid-way, betwixt Africa and the American continent, still to the north of the line; and came to an anchor in the Downs, September 16, following. After my arrival in the Thames, being in want of money, I sold, at first, part of the property I had in the before-mentioned prince Ieoly, and by degrees all the rest. I understood afterward, that he was carried about for a sight, and shewn for money; and that at last he died of the small-pox at Oxford.

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## T H E

VOYAGE of Capt. WOODES ROGERS  
in the DUKE, and Capt. STEPHEN  
COURTNEY in the DUCHESS, round the  
WORLD.

**I**T has been universally allowed by those who are proper judges of such expeditions, that there never was any voyage of this nature so happily adjusted, so well provided for in all respects, or in which the accidents, that usually happen in privateers, were so effectually guarded against as in this: which was chiefly owing to the personal abilities of the gentlemen at Bristol, who charged themselves, not only with the expences of this expedition, but with the care of all things relating to it. Their first concern was the choice of proper officers, in which they were very fortunate: captain Woodes Rogers, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active, indefatigable officer, one that would not give up his opinion too readily to others, and who was not to be flattered by other peoples giving up their opinions to him. He had been a large sufferer by the French, and was naturally no great friend to that nation; but his most singular quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this command, was a peculiar art he had of maintaining his authority over his seamen, and his readiness in finding out expedients in the most difficult conjunctures. Captain Stephen Courtney was a man of birth, fortune, and of very amiable qualities: he contributed considerably to the expence of the voyage,

voyage, and took a share in it, that he might see how it was managed, and be able either to prevent miscarriages, or, at least to make a faithful report of them. Captain Thomas Dover, who was third in command, was a proprietor also, and went for the same reason. He was by profession a physician, and, toward the decline of his life, made a noise in the world, by recommending the use of crude mercury. He was a man of a rough temper, and could not easily agree with people about him: but his untoward disposition had one good effect, which was this; that it hindered his making any party to support him in his ill humours. As for captain Edward Cooke, who was second to captain Courtney, he had been twice taken by the French, once by four Dunkirk privateers, and again by two men of war of fifty guns. The pilot, in the larger ship, was captain William Dampier, who was now to proceed for the fourth time into the south seas, where his name was very well known, and, from his exploits, terrible to the Spaniards; and they were also extremely careful in the choice of their inferior officers, and, as far as it was possible, even of their private men.

The proprietors, in the next place, undertook to lay down rules for the conduct of the voyage; which were digested and signed by a committee of the proprietors, and styled, very properly, The Constitution.

We have two accounts of this voyage, one by captain Rogers, the other by captain Cooke, and both in the manner of a Journal. That of captain Rogers will be principally regarded; but, where it is necessary, explanatory circumstances and descriptions will be borrowed from captain Cooke. To proceed therefore: all things necessary being provided, says Mr. Rogers, we were first to sail for Cork, in order to make up our complement of men; our force standing thus: the Duke, burden about 300 tons, 30 guns, and 170 men, captain Woodes Rogers

gers commander, captain Thomas Dover second captain, with three lieutenants, &c. and the *Duchefs*, captain Stephen Courtney commander, captain Edward Cooke second captain, with three lieutenants, burden 270 tons, 26 guns, and 151 men: both ships had legal commissions from his royal highness prince George of Denmark, Lord high admiral of England, to cruise on the coasts of Peru and Mexico, in the South Seas, against her majesty's enemies, the French and Spaniards; and to act jointly, as belonging to the same owners, merchants in Bristol. On the 15th of June, 1708, we towed down from Hong-road to King-road, in order to fit our ship, and the better to keep our seamen on board; where we continued till Monday August the 1st; and then, at eleven in the forenoon, unmoored; and at two weighed, with our consort the *Duchefs*, eight sail of other ships, and two sloops.

On the 5th of August, we had sight of the Irish shore; and, about eight in the evening, we weighed with the flood, a small gale at east: we had a Kinsale pilot on board, who endangered our ship, it being dark and foggy. Before day, he would have turned us into the next bay to the westward of Cork, had not I prevented it; which provoked me to chastise him for undertaking to pilot a ship, since he understood his business no better. We spent the time till the 27th of August, in adjusting all things, and taking on board our fresh men provided for us at Cork, and in discharging several we had brought from Bristol, and whom, by experience, we knew not to be fit for our purpose. We had now above double the number of officers usual in privateers, and a large complement of men to each ship. We took this method of doubling our officers, to prevent mutinies, which often happen in long voyages; and that we might have a large provision for a succession of officers in each ship, in case of mortality. Our ship was now so full, that we sent our sheet-cable, and

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other new store-cordage, to Mr. Noblet Rogers, at Cork, to make room for our men and provisions, having three cables beside, and being willing rather to spare that, than any thing else we had on board. Our crew were continually marrying while we staid at Cork, though they expected to sail immediately. Among others, there was a Dane coupled by a Romish priest to an Irish woman, without understanding a word of each other's language, so that they were forced to use an interpreter; yet I perceived, that this pair seemed more afflicted at separation than any of the rest: the fellow continued melancholy for several days after we were at sea. The rest, understanding each other, drank their cans of flip till the last minute, concluded with a health to our good voyages, and their happy meeting, and then parted unconcerned. Most of us, the chief officers, embraced this design of privateering round the world, to retrieve the losses we had sustained by the enemy. Our complement of sailors in both ships was 333, of which above one third were foreigners from most nations; several of her majesty's subjects on board were tinkers, taylors, hay-makers, pedlars, fiddlers, &c. one negro, and about ten boys. With this mixed crew we hoped to be well manned, as soon as they had learned the use of arms, and got their sea-legs, which we doubted not soon to teach them, and bring them to discipline.

On the first of September we took sailing orders, the better to keep company with the Hastings and fleet; after having agreed with our consort captain Courtney, on signals between us, and appointed places of rendezvous, in case of separation, and how long to lie for each other at every place. About ten in the morning we came to sail with the Hastings, and about twenty merchant ships bound to the southward and westward. On the 4th it blew fresh in the morning: captain Paul made a signal for me, captain Courtney, and captain Edwards, commander

mander of the Scipio; and, after speaking with him, he sent his boat for us, being larger than ours: we, with Mr. Dover and Mr. Vanbrugh, went in her, and found captain Paul aboard his ship. He proposed to me and consort, when he left the fleet, which would be very soon, to cruise a few days together off cape Finister. After having asked us what we wanted, that he could supply us with, he gave us scrubbers, iron scrapers for the ship-bottom, a speaking-trumpet, and other things that we had not: but would accept nothing from us, because our voyage would be long; but told us, he should be well pleased, if our owners returned him the same necessities for his ship when he came back. About six in the evening we returned to our own ship, and having called all our crew upon deck, we acquainted them whither we were bound, and what our designs were, that, in case any disputes had arisen, we might have sent the mutineers home in her majesty's ship of war; but there was nobody at all dissatisfied, except one poor fellow, who was to have been tything-man that year, and was apprehensive his wife would be obliged to pay forty shillings for his default; but, when he saw every body else easy, with strong hopes of plunder, he likewise grew quiet by degrees, and drank as heartily as any body, to the good success of the voyage.

On the 10th, about six in the morning, we saw a sail, to which we immediately gave chase: about three in the afternoon we came up with her, and then she bore downright upon us, shewing Swedish colours: I fired twice at her, before she brought to; then went aboard her with my yaul, captain Courtney's boat being just before me. We examined the master, and found he came round Scotland and Ireland; we suspected he had contraband goods on board, but we found it difficult to prove she was a prize; and not being willing to hinder time by carry-

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ing her into any harbour, to examine her farther; we let her go without the least embezzlement.

While I was on board the *Swede*, our men mutinied; the ring-leaders being our boatswain, and three other inferior officers. This morning, the chief officers having kept with me in the after-part of the ship, we confined the authors of this disorder, in which there was not one foreigner concerned: we put ten of the mutineers in irons.

This mutiny would not have been easily laid, were it not for the number of our officers, which we began to find very necessary to bring our crew to order and discipline; which is always very difficult in privateers, and without which it is impossible to carry on any distant undertaking like ours. The next day I discharged the prisoners out of irons, on their humble submission, and most solemn promises of dutiful behaviour for the future: such among them as were petty officers, we restored to their commands, and all on board were forbid to disobey or reproach them, on account of any past errors in their conduct; so that now we were all quiet again, and the crew in exceeding good humour, things having ended much beyond their expectations, there not being a man in irons who would not willingly have compounded for a whipping; and were therefore excessive brisk and diligent to shew their gratitude for having escaped it.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, we saw a sail right a-head, between *Fuerteventura* and *Grand Canary*: we chased, and at ten came up with and took her. She was a small Spanish ship, bound from *Teneriff* to *Fuerteventura*, with several men and women passengers, and laden with sundry sorts of goods. The next day, at eight in the morning, bore away for *Oratavia road*, where we stood off-and-on, and sent away the prize's boat, with one of the owners agents, a priest, and the master of the prize, to treat about ransoming the vessel; and to get wine, provisions, and other necessaries, for both ships.

About

About eight in the morning, of the 20th, a boat came from the town, with a letter from the English merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making a prize of the bark, alleging, that there was a free trade agreed to in those islands, between her majesty of Great Britain, and the kings of France and Spain, so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an English ship, taken there by a French privateer, to be restored: and farther, representing the danger that might arise to themselves, living upon permission in the enemy's country, if the said bark were not immediately given up, for which reprisals would be made on them; as also, that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled commerce. Captain Rogers, and captain Courtney, immediately returned an answer; importing, that, having no instructions relating to the Spanish vessels trading among those islands, they could not justify parting with the bark on their bare opinions, without some order or proclamation of her majesty; the English being protected there only on anchoring-ground, and the bark being taken at sea: that, in case Mr. Vanbrugh were not restored, they would carry away all the prisoners they had; and, if they apprehended any detriment to the factory, they might ransom the bark, and seek their redress in England. They desired dispatch, there being no time to lose; and, upon sending back Mr. Vanbrugh, they would release their prisoners.

At night another letter came in answer to this, from Mr. William Poulden, the consul; the effect whereof was, That the English men of war were civilly received there, and never committed hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any Spaniards, who were never made prisoners in England, or elsewhere: and the governor there delivered up to him any English prisoners that were brought in by privateers; wherefore he  
desired

desired those in our custody might be dismissed; and the bark discharged, excepting a present of wine in return. With this, from the aforesaid consul at the city of Laguna, came another from the above-mentioned merchants at Oratavia port, much to the same purport with the others, only offering to pay the value of 450 pieces of eight, the sum demanded for the bark, in wine, brandy, sugar, oil, barley, and greens; to prevent incensing the natives against them, not questioning but reparation would be made them in England. The captains Rogers and Courtney replied at the same time, threatening to cruise among the islands, to make amends for their lost time, and to cannonade the town of Oratavia, unless they received satisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the morning, we stood in for the shore, making a clear ship; but, soon after, we saw a boat coming, with our owners agent, and Mr. Cross, one of the English merchants, bringing five butts of wine, and other refreshments. We lay by off the town, took the goods out of the prize, sold the bark to Mr. Cross for 450 dollars, and put the prisoners aboard her. Thus ended this troublesome affair, and we were once more at liberty to mind our own concerns, and to think of prosecuting our voyage, which we did, after first holding a committee, where the whole of the late transaction was candidly examined, and unanimously approved; which method, for every body's security, we steadily pursued through the whole voyage; and felt the happy effect of it on our return, when every transaction appears in its proper light to our owners.

On the last of September we ran by Santa Lucia, one of the cape de Verd islands; and, by eight in the morning, being very near the west end of the island of St. Vincent, we bore away between it and the island of St. Antony, and then into the harbour of St. Vincent; and, about eleven a clock, came to an anchor in ten fathom water, within the rock: then seeing several men ashore, and knowing the

island not to be inhabited, captain Cooke went in the pinnace armed, to see what they were, and found them to be Portuguese, come from the island of St. Antony to catch sea tortoise, or, as the seamen call them, turtles; who told him, we might wood and water here. This island lies in latitude of  $16^{\circ} 55'$  north, and  $25^{\circ} 36'$  longitude from the meridian of London. There are on it great plenty of Guinea hens, some hogs and goats; and, in the road, we caught plenty of fish. In the woods there are abundance of large spiders, as big as small walnuts; and their webs very troublesome to get through, being as strong as ordinary threads, and very many of them. While we lay here, new disturbances arose amongst the men in relation to plunder; for here we had an opportunity of purchasing things, and therefore every man wished, that he had something to purchase with. The effects taken in the late prize occasioned these heart-burnings; to put an end to all which, and to fix the people in a firm resolution of doing their duty, we determined to settle this affair at once, by framing such articles, as, without giving our owners any ground of complaint, might inspire the seamen with courage and constancy, and make them as willing to obey, as their officers were ready to command. It cost some trouble to adjust and settle these articles; but that was thoroughly compensated, by our finding, that they effectually answered our purpose; and that, among such a number of people, there was not one who refused to comply.

We were at this time under some difficulties upon another account; we had sent our linguist on shore to get refreshments, and after staying two days, in which time we heeled and cleaned our ships, and got wood and water on board, our boat returned with nothing but limes and tobacco, and no news of our linguist: but, soon after, there came another boat, belonging to that part of the island where the go-

vernor



vernor lives, with his deputy governor, a negro, who brought limes, tobacco, oranges, fowls, potatoes, hogs, bananas, musk, water-melons, and brandy, which we bought of him, and paid in such prize-goods as we had left of the bark's cargo, cheap enough. They are poor people, and will truck at any price for what they want, in such payments as they can make. We were now ready to sail, and, therefore, called a council, to consider what was to be done with respect to our linguist, who had promised the deputy governor to wait for him at the water-side, but was not so good as his word; and, therefore, as this appeared to be intirely his own fault, the officers of both ships came unanimously to a resolution, that we had better leave him behind, than suffer two ships to wait for one man who had disobeyed his orders. We were the more inclined to do this, in order to set a proper example, that other people might learn, when sent ashore, to comply with their instructions, and come on board directly when they had done their business; without flattering themselves, that fine words, and fair excuses, would atone for breach of orders, and the delay of the voyage, to gratify the humours and fancies of private men. It was, indeed, but a very indifferent place to leave him in; but, on the other hand, as he knew the language, was well acquainted with the people among whom he was left, and might easily find a passage home, we persisted in our resolution, and gave the necessary directions for sailing as soon as possible, that we might not lose the advantage of the season, or be obliged to double Cape Horn at a wrong time of the year.

On the 8th of October, at seven in the evening, after putting the deputy governor on ashore, where he must lie in an hole of the rocks, there being no house on that part of the island, we sailed; our consort having got before us, and lying with a light for us. There were several negroes on the island,



that came from St. Nicholas, and St. Antonio, to make oil of turtle, there being very good green turtle at this time of the year, which I sometimes allowed our men to eat; they have likewise wild goats, but in no great plenty, wild asses, Guiney hens, kerlews, and abundance of sea fowl. Captain Dampier, and others aboard our ships, that had formerly put in at St. Iago, another of these Cape de Verd islands, told us, that though this island is not often frequented by ships, yet it is preferable to St. Iago, for such as are outward-bound; because it is a much better road for ships, and more convenient for water and wood, and has better landing. The island is mountainous and barren; the plainest part lies against this sandy bay, where we rode. The wood that grows in it is short, and fit for no use but firing. The heats were excessive to us, who came newly from Europe; so that several of our men began to be sick, and were blooded. Some of our officers, that went ashore to hunt, could meet no game, but a wild ass, which, after a long chase, they got within shot, and wounded; yet he afterwards held out so as to tire them, and they returned empty and weary. These islands are so well known, that I need not say much of them\*. In our passage toward the coast of Brasil, some new disputes arose amongst the men; and, after various consultations, it was resolved, that one Page, who was a second mate on the *Duchess*, should be sent to serve on board the *Duke*, from whence Mr. Ballet was to remove on board the *Duchess*. Captain Cooke was sent to execute this order; but Page refused to obey it; upon which a dispute followed, that ended in blows: however, Page was at last brought on board our ship, where, being charged with mutiny, he desired to go to the head to ease himself, before he made his defence; which being permitted, he jumped over-

\* See Robert's voyage to these islands, in vol. ii.

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board, in hopes of getting back to the *Duchess*, while both the captains were absent; but he was taken up, brought on board again, and punished, which put an end to this dissention.

On the 18th of November, we anchored before the island of Grande in eleven fathom water. While we lay here, there were new quarrels, and things had certainly come to a great height on board the *Duchess*, if captain Courtney had not put eight of the ring-leaders immediately into irons; which frightened the rest, and, in all probability, prevented an attempt to run away with the ship: yet it did not quite free us from ill humours; for, on the 25th, in the afternoon, two Irish land-men stole into the woods, thinking to get away from us, though two such sparks ran away the 23d from the *Duchess*, and in the night were so frightened with tygers, as they thought, but really by monkeys and baboons, that they plunged into the water, hallooing to the ship, till they were fetched aboard again. About four next morning, the watch on the quarter-deck spied a canoe, and called her to come on board; but they not answering, and striving to get away, made our people suspect they had either got our men that ran away, or were coming, by agreement, to fetch them off the island which was uninhabited. We immediately sent the pinnace and yawl after them; the pinnace, coming up near the canoe, fired, to stay them, but to no purpose; at last, they wounded one of the Indians that rowed in the canoe. He that owned and steered her was a friar, and had a quantity of gold, which he got at the mines, I suppose by his trade of confessing the ignorant. The friar had just run the canoe ashore on a little island, full of wood, as our boats landed; and afterward told us he had gold there. A Portuguese, that would not run away with the father, because he had no gold to hide, knew our people to be English, and called the father back. The man that was wounded could not move, and

was brought by our men, with the father and several slaves, that rowed the large canoe, on board our ship, where our surgeon dressed the wounded Indian, who died in two hours time. I made the father as welcome as I could; but he was very uneasy at the loss of his gold, and the death of his slave; and said, he would seek for justice in Portugal or England. The next day, both our men were taken and put in irons; and the last day of this month we left this place, of which I shall give the reader a short description.

The island Grande is remarkably high land, with a small cliff and a tip standing up on one side, in the middle of the highest land, easy to be seen, if clear. And there is a small island to the southward without it, which rises in three little hummocks: the nearest hummock to the island is the least; as we came in-and-out we saw it, and it appears alike on both sides. There is also a singularly round white rock, that lies on the larboard side nearest to Grande, between it and the main at the entrance going in. On the starboard side there are several islands, and the main is much like islands, till you get well in. The best way, when you open the coves that are inhabited on the starboard side going in, is to get a pilot to carry you to the watering cove within Grande; otherwise send in a boat to the fresh-water cove, which lies round the inner westermost point of the island, and near a league in the passage is between small islands, but room enough, and bold: it is the second cove under the first high mount, and round behind the first point you see when you are in between the two islands. This is the cove where we watered; there are two other coves very good, with some shoal-banks between them, but no shoal-ground before we come to this cove. We founded all the passage in, and seldom found less than ten fathom water, but had not time to know or sound the rest of the coves. The town bears north-east about three leagues distant from this cove.

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The island of Grande is near about nine leagues long, high land, and so is the main within: all you see near the water-side is thick, covered with wood. The island abounds with monkeys, and other wild beasts; has plenty of good timber, fire-wood, and excellent water, with oranges and lemons, with guavas growing wild in the woods. The necessaries we got from the town were rum, sugar, and tobacco, which they sell very dear, though not good to smoke, it is so very strong. We had also fowls and hogs, but the latter are scarce; beef and mutton are cheap, but no great quantity to be had. Indian corn, bananas, and plantains, guavas, lemons, oranges, and pine-apples, they abound with, but have no bread, except cassada, (the same sort as is eaten in our West Indies) which they call faranada pan, bread of wood; they have no kind of salading. We had fine pleasant weather most of the time we were here, but hot like an oven, the sun being right over us. The winds we did not much observe, because they were little and variable, but commonly between the north and the east. I had Newhoff's account of Brasil on board; and, by all the inquiry and observation I could make, found his description of the country, its product, and animals, to be just \*. We continued our voyage, coasting very far to the south, where we endured great cold, which affected our men extremely, insomuch that a third part of both ships companies fell sick; and this induced us to bear away for the island of Juan Fernandez; which we, however, did not find very easily, on account of its being laid down differently in all the charts; and captain Dampier likewise was at a loss, though he had been here so often, and though he had a map of the island in his head, that agreed exactly with the country when we came to see it: which ought to induce sea-officers to prefer what is

\* See Nieuhoff's account of Brasil, in our first volume.

properly their business to idle amusements; since, with all this knowledge, we were forced to make the main-land of Chili in order to find this island, and did not strike it without difficulty at last \*.

On February 1, 1709, we came before that island, having had a good observation the day before, and found our latitude to be  $34^{\circ} 10'$  south. In the afternoon, we hoisted out our pinnace; and captain Dover, with the boat's crew, went in her to go ashore, though we could not be less than four leagues off. As soon as the pinnace was gone, I went on board the *Duchess*, who admired our boat attempting going ashore at that distance from land. It was against my inclination; but, to oblige captain Dover, I let her go: as soon as it was dark, we saw a light ashore. Our boat was then about a league from the island, and bore away for the ships as soon as she saw the lights: we put our lights aboard for the boat, though some were of opinion, the lights we saw were our boat's lights: but, as night came on, it appeared too large for that: we fired our quarter-deck gun, and several musquets, shewing lights in our mizen and fore-shrouds, that our boat might find us whilst we were in the lee of the island: about two in the morning our boat came on board, having been two hours on board the *Duchess*, that took them up astern of us; we were glad they got well off, because it began to blow. We were all convinced the light was on the shore, and designed to make our ships ready to engage, believing them to be French ships at anchor, and we must either fight them, or want water. While we were under these apprehensions, we stood on the backside of the island, in order to fall in with the southerly wind, till we were passed the island; and then we came back to it again, and ran close aboard the land that begins to make the north-east side. We still continued to reason upon this mat-

\* See this island particularly described in Anson's voyage.

ter; and it is in a manner incredible, what strange notions many of our people entertained from the sight of the fire upon the island. It served, however, to shew peoples tempers and spirits; and we were able to give a tolerable guess how our men would behave, in case there really were any enemies upon the island. The flaws came heavy off the shore, and we were forced to reef our top-sails when we opened the middle bay, where we expected to have found our enemy; but saw all clear, and no ships, nor in the other bay next the north-east end. These two bays are all that ships ride in, which recruit on this island; but the middle bay is by much the best. We guessed there had been ships there, but that they were gone on sight of us.

We sent our yawl ashore about noon, with captain Dover, Mr. Fry, and six men, all armed: mean while we and the *Duchess* kept turning to get in, and such heavy flaws came off the land, that we were forced to let go our top-sail sheet, keeping all hands to stand by our sails, for fear of the winds carrying them away: but when the flaws were gone, we had little or no wind. These flaws proceeded from the land, which is very high in the middle of the island. As our boat did not return, we sent our pinnace with the men armed, to see what was the occasion of the yawl's stay; for we were afraid, that the Spaniards had a garrison there, and might have seized them. We put out a signal for our boat, and the *Duchess* shewed a French ensign. Immediately our pinnace returned from the shore, and brought abundance of cray-fish, with a man cloathed in goat-skins, who looked wilder than the first owners of them. He had been on the island four years and four months, being left there by captain Ströddling in the *Cinque-ports*; his name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotsman, who had been master of the *Cinque-ports*, a ship that came here last with captain Dampier, who told me, that this was the best man in her. I immediately agreed

agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship: it was he who made the fire last night when he saw our ships, which he judged to be English. During his stay here, he saw several ships pass by, but only two came in to anchor: as he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them; upon which they shot at him: had they been French, he would have submitted; but chose to risque his dying alone on the island, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards in these parts; because he apprehended they would murder him, or make a slave of him in the mines; for he feared they would spare no stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Seas. The Spaniards had landed, before he knew what they were; and they came so near him, that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they made water, and killed several goats just by, but went off again without discovering him.

He told us that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here, was a difference between him and his captain; which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay here, than to go along with him at first; and, when he was at last willing to go, the captain would not receive him. He had been at the island before to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months, till the ship returned, being chased thence by two French South Sea ships. He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but, for the first eight months, had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place.

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## CAPTAIN WOODS ROGERS. 139

He built two huts with pimento-trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being almost spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of pimento wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals; and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that he said, he was a better christian, while in this solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again. At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt: nor did he go to bed, till he could watch no longer; the pimento wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for fire and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but would not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness, except cray-fish, which are as large as our lobsters, and very good: these he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours: he kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear, and let go.

When his powder failed, he took them by speed of feet; for his way of living, continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours; so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull dog, which we sent, with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life; he

he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he catch-  
ed hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he  
was not aware, the bushes hiding it from him; so  
that he fell with the goat down the precipice, a great  
height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall,  
that he narrowly escaped with his life; and, when  
he came to his senses, found the goat dead under  
him: he lay there about twenty-four hours, and was  
scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a  
mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days. He  
came at last to relish his meat well enough without  
salt or bread; and, in the season, had plenty of good  
turneps, which had been sowed there by captain  
Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres  
of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from  
the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the  
fruit of the pimento-trees, which is the same as Ja-  
maica pepper, and smells deliciously: he found also  
a black pepper, called Malageta, which was very  
good to expel wind, and against griping in the guts.  
He soon wore out all his shoes and cloaths by run-  
ning in the woods; and, at last, being forced to  
shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he  
ran every where without difficulty; and it was some  
time before he could wear shoes after we found him;  
for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled,  
when he came first to wear them again.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he di-  
verted himself sometimes with cutting his name on  
the trees, and the time of his being left, and conti-  
nuance there. He was at first much pestered with  
cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers, from  
some of each species, which had got ashore from ships  
that put in there to wood and water: the rats gnawed  
his feet and cloaths whilst asleep, which obliged him  
to cherish the cats with his goats flesh, by which  
many of them became so tame, that they would lie  
about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from  
the rats: he likewise tamed some kids; and, to divert  
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himself, would now-and-then sing and dance with them, and his cats: so that, by the favour of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came, at last, to conquer all the inconveniencies of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his cloaths were out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together, with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle, but a nail; and, when his knife was worn to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of some iron hoops, that were left ashore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen-cloth by him, he sewed him some shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him in the island\*.

At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language, for want of use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals. He could give us an account of no other product of the island, than what we have mentioned, except some black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the trees, which bear them, growing on high mountains and rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we saw some of sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton-trees higher, and near four fathom round in the stock. The climate is so good, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year round. The winter lasts no

\* When Mr. Selkirk came to England, he put his papers into the hands of the famous Mr. Daniel Defoe, to digest for publication: but that industrious gentleman converted the materials into his well known history of Robinson Crusoe, and returned Mr. Selkirk his papers again; after thus defrauding him of the emolument he was so justly entitled to hope from them, by this piece of craft.

longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being only a small frost, and a little hail; but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate; and there is not much thunder, or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other sort of beasts, but goats, the first of which had been put ashore here, on purpose for a breed, by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who settled there, with some families, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, capable, however, of maintaining a good number of people, and being made so strong, that they could not be easily dislodged from thence.

February 3, we got our smith's forge on shore, set our coopers to work, and made a little tent for me to have the benefit of the air. The Ducheſs had also a tent for their sick men; so that we had a small town of our own here; and every body employed, a few men supplied us all with fish of several sorts, all very good, in such abundance, that, in a few hours, we could take as many, as would serve 200. There were sea-fowls in the bay, as large as geese; but eat fishy. The governor (as we called Selkirk) never failed of procuring us two or three goats a day for our sick men; by which, with the help of the greens, and the wholesome air, they recovered very soon of the scurvy; so that captain Dover and I both thought it a very agreeable seat, the weather being neither too hot, nor too cold. We spent our time, till the 10th, in refitting our ships, taking wood on board, and laying in water, that which we brought from England and St. Vincent, being spoiled by the badness of the casks. We likewise boiled up about eighty gallons of sea-lions oil, as we might have done several tons, had we been provided with vessels. We refined it for our lamps, and to save candles. The sailors sometimes use it to fry their meat, for

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want of butter, and find it agreeable enough. The men, who worked on our rigging, eat young seals, which they preferred to our ship's victuals, and said, it was as good as English lamb, though I should have been glad of such an exchange. We made what haste we could to get all the necessaries on board, being willing to lose no time; for we were informed at the Canaries, that five stout French ships were coming together to these seas.

On February 13, we held a consultation, in which we made several regulations for preserving secrecy, discipline, and strict honesty, on board both vessels; and, on the 17th, we settled another matter of as great importance, which was, that two men from on board the Duke should be put on board the Duchefs, and two men from on board the Duchefs on board the Duke, in order to see, that justice was reciprocally done by each ship's company to the other. On the 28th, we hoisted both pinnaces into the water, to try them under sail, with a gun fixed in each of them, and whatever else was requisite to render them very serviceable small privateers. We found the nights very cold, and the days not near so warm as might have been expected in that latitude, where there never falls any rain, but such dews in the night, as are equivalent to it, though the air is, generally speaking, serene. On May 15, in the evening, we saw a sail: our consort, being nearest, soon took her. She was a little vessel, of sixteen ton, from Payta, bound to Cheripec for flour, with a small sum of money to purchase it; the master's name Antonio Heliagos, a Mestizo, or one begotten between an Indian and a Spaniard; his crew eight men, one of them a Spaniard, one a negro, and the rest Indians. We asked them for news; and they assured us, that all the French ships, being seven in number, sailed out of these seas six months ago; and that no more were to return: adding, that the Spaniards had such an aversion to them, that, at Callao, the sea-port for Lima, they

they killed so many of the French, and quarrelled so frequently with them, that none were suffered to come ashore there for some time before they sailed from thence. After we had put men on board the prize, he haled off close on a wind for Lobos, having shot within it; and, had we not been better informed by the crew of the prize, might have endangered our ships, by running in farther, because there are shoals between the island and the main. There is a passage for boats to windward to come into the road, which is to the leeward of these islands, in a sound between them. It is not half a mile broad; but above a mile deep; has from ten to twelve fathom water, and good anchor ground. There is no coming in for ships, but to leeward of the islands. We went in with a small weather-tide, though I never perceived it to flow above three feet whilst we lay here. The wind commonly blows southerly, veering a little to the eastward. On the eastermost island (which was on our larboard side as we lay at anchor in the sound) there is a round hummock, and behind it a small cove, very smooth, deep, and convenient enough for a ship to careen in. There we haled up, and fitted our little frigate. The highest part of the island appears, in the road, not much higher than a large ship's top-mast-head. The soil is an hungry, white, clayish earth, mixed with sand and rocks. There is no fresh water, or green thing, on the islands: Here is abundance of vultures alias carrion-crows, which looked so like turkeys, that one of our officers, at landing, blessed himself at the sight, and hoped to fare deliciously here. He was so eager, that he would not stay till the boat could put him ashore; but leaped into the water with his gun, and, getting near enough to a parcel, let fly at them: but, when he came to take up his game, it stunk insufferably, and made us merry at his mistake. The other birds here are, penguins, pelicans, boobies, gulls, and a sort of fowls like a teal, that nestle in holes on the land. Our men

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men got loads of them, which they skinned, and praised them for very good meat. We found abundance of bulrushes, and empty jars, that the Spanish fishermen had left ashore. All over this coast they use jars instead of casks for oil, wine, and all other sorts of liquids. Here is abundance of seals, and some sea-lions. The seals are much larger than at Juan Fernandez; but the fur not so fine. Our people killed several, with a design to eat their livers; but one of our crew, a Spaniard, dying suddenly after eating them, I forbade the use of them. Our prisoners told us, they accounted the old seals very unwholesome. The wind always blowing fresh over the land, brought an ugly noisome smell aboard from the seals shore, which gave me a violent head-ach; and every body else complained of this nauseous smell. We found nothing so offensive at Juan Fernandez. Our prisoners told us, they expected the widow of the late viceroy of Peru would shortly embark for Acapulco, with her family and riches, and from Payta to refresh, or sail near in sight, as customary, in one of the king's ships of thirty-six guns; and that, about eight months ago, there was a ship with 200,000 pieces of eight aboard, the rest of her cargo liquors and flour, which had passed Payta for Acapulco. Our prisoners added, that they left seignor Morel in a stout ship, with dry goods, for Lima, recruiting at Payta, where he expected in a few days a French built ship belonging to the Spaniards, to come from Panama richly laden, with a bishop aboard. Payta is a common recruiting place to those who go to or from Lima, or most parts to windward, in their trade to Panama, or any part of the coast of Mexico. Upon this advice, we agreed to spend as much time as possible cruising off of Payta, without discovering ourselves, for fear of hindering our other designs.

On April 1, we took a galleon, by which I mean no more than a ship built in that manner, commanded



by two brothers, whose names were Joseph and John Morel. She was of the burden of 500 ton, laden with dry goods and negroes. The next day we took another prize; and, on the 7th, Mr. Vanbrugh was removed from the council. But here our authors differ: captain Rogers says, that captain Dover accused him of great insolence to him; but captain Cooke says, that it was captain Rogers himself that accused him, for offering to vote with him, right or wrong, upon all occasions. It was a great pity these disputes happened at that time, when all things were preparing for action, and a resolution taken to attack the town of Guiaquil, however provided; in order to which, it was determined to send the Duke and the Beginning to Payta, the latter to go in and take a view of the harbour, to see if there were any ships in it, and afterwards to cruise with thirty men, in hopes of falling in with the aforefaid bishop. This was a season of great consultation, which was soon succeeded by action. On April 11, there was a grand council held on board the Duke, wherein all things were fully considered, the conquest of Guiaquil resolved on, and a paper, in the nature of instructions from the committee to the commanders in chief was prepared; which, however formal it might seem, was undoubtedly a very right method, and kept, as well as taught, every man in his duty.

On April 12, it was resolved in a committee, not to send the Beginning prize into Payta, as had been agreed on, for fear of being discovered; but to attempt the town of Guiaquil, the enterprize to be conducted by the three captains Dover, Rogers, and Courtney; the first to command a company of marines of seventy men; the second a company of officers and sailors, of seventy-one men; the third, such another company of seventy-three men; captain Dampier with the artillery; and, for a reserve, upon occasion, twenty-two men: in all, 238. Captain Edward Cooke to command the *Duchess*, with forty-

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two men; captain Robert Fry, the Duke, with forty men: total, 320 men: the blacks, Indians, and prisoners, were about 266 more. On the 13th, we haled in for cape Blanco. and at noon it bore east south-east, distant ten leagues. A committee being held, certain articles relating to plunder were agreed on, for the encouragement of officers and men.

On the 15th, in the morning, we saw a sail near the shore; and, having little wind, the Duke's boat, commanded by captain Fry, and the Duchess's, by captain Cooke, rowed directly for her, going off in such haste, that neither of us had the swivel guns we used to carry in the boats, nor our full complement of men, only ten musquets, four pistols, and not much powder and shot, nor any water; and rowed very hard to come with the ship for the space of six leagues; the Duke's boat coming first near her, she put out Spanish colours, fired a gun at them, and hoisted a Spanish flag at the main top-mast-head: the Duke's boat then lay by for us to come up; we saw she was French built, and, by the account the prisoners had given us before, concluded it must be the ship we had been so long cruising for, which was to carry the bishop. Our ships being almost out of sight, and the Spaniards so near the coast, and making the best of her way to run ashore in a sandy bay, we resolved to lay her aboard in each bow, and accordingly made the best of our way, I being then on her weather quarter, and captain Fry on her lee: we designed to have told them we were friends, till got out of the way of their stern-chace; but the Duke's men, thinking the Spaniards had been going to give us a volley, poured in their shot among them, then we laid in our oars, and fell to it: the dispute was hot for a long time, we keeping a constant fire, and the enemy answering; who killed two of captain Fry's men, and wounded one of his, and two of mine. One of the dead men was captain John Rogers, our second lieutenant, and brother to

captain Rogers, who behaved himself very well during the action. The Duke's boat, finding the enterprize too difficult, bore away; and some time after we did the like. Captain Fry having put some of his men aboard us, given us some powder and shot, and taken in our wounded men, stood away for the ships, whilst I made again for the enemy, resolving to keep her from the shore, and, rather than fail, to clap her aboard; the Spaniards, perceiving what we designed, edged off to sea, and we after them. Our ships came up apace, and we kept close to the Spaniard, sometimes firing at him. The Dutchess being come up, fired a shot or two at him; and then he struck, and we clapt him aboard. The men begged for good quarter; and we promised them all civility imaginable. This ship came from Panama, and was bound for Lima, to be fitted out for a man of war, the captain having his commission accordingly. There were seventy blacks, and many passengers, with a considerable quantity of pearls aboard; the lading, bale-goods; and something belonging to the bishop; but they had set him on shore, with several passengers, where they touched last. The vessel was about 270 ton burden, commanded by Don Joseph Arizabella, who told us, the bishop had been landed at point St. Helena, and gone by land to Guiaquil. We found several guns in the hold, for the ship would carry twenty-four, but had only six mounted. Many of the passengers were considerable merchants at Lima, and the briskest Spaniards I ever saw. When the French had this vessel, she was called *la Lune d'Or*, the Golden Moon. Captain Cooke (whose account we follow) remained aboard her, sending the captain and prisoners to our ships.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, in the morning, the Beginning was sent a-head towards point Arena, on the island of Puna, for fear of any danger; but she found there only an empty vessel riding close under the point:  
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she proved to be a new Spanish bark, that had been sent to load salt; but the men having sight of us, thought proper to abandon her: all apprehensions were now totally removed, and, at five in the afternoon, the transports rowed for the town of Guiaquil, and at eleven saw a light in the town; whereupon we rowed as easy as could be, for fear of discovery, till within a mile of it; then heard a centinel call to another, and bid him bring fire. Perceiving we were discovered, we rowed over to the other side, against the town, saw a fire made where the centinels talked, and, soon after, many lights all over the town; and, at the water-side, heard them ring the alarm-bell, fire several volleys, and light a fire on the hill where the beacon was kept, to give the town notice that we were come up the river. Hereupon the boats came to a grappling, and such an hot dispute arose among some of our officers, that they were heard ashore; but the Spaniards, not understanding what they said, fetched an Englishman, and conducted him along the shore, to interpret what they heard. However, before he came, the dispute was over. This account we had from that very Englishman, who afterward came over to us, and proceeded in the voyage.

A council was held in the stern of one of the boats, to resolve, whether we should land immediately, or stay till day-break; and the officers differing in their opinions, it was agreed, since we did not know the ground, and the barks were not come up, which had near half the men and the artillery, to stay till daylight, when it was hoped the barks would join. We fell a little way down the river to meet them. hearing several musquet-shots in our way, which, at first, we thought might be from the Spaniards along the shore. On the 22d, at break of day, we saw one of our barks at anchor close under the shore, within a mile of the town, and at flood, the other coming up the river; we then rowed back to the bark which had

fired those musquets at some fishermen passing by, whom we took. When all our forces were joined, we held a council in the pinnace, proceeded up the river, and sent a flag of truce with the captain of the French built ship, the governor of Puna, and another prisoner; then towed up the barks a-breast against the town, and came to an anchor. When the captain of the French built ship came to the corregidor, or mayor of the town, he asked our number, which the captain magnified. The corregidor answered, they were boys, and not men: and the captain replied, he would find they were men; for they had fought him bravely in their open boats, though he had killed one of the commanders brothers, and wounded and killed others; and, therefore, advised him to agree for the ransom of the town; for, though he had 3000 men, he would not be able to withstand them: to which the corregidor replied, my horse is ready.

On the 23d, having towed the barks close up before the town, and brought them to the pinnace, we went up the river after some vessels, and brought six of them to an anchor by our barks: we also took possession of two new, of about 400 ton each; then went ashore with a flag of truce, and the governor came on board one of the prizes, to agree about the ransom of the town and ships; but it could not be then concluded. He promised to meet the captains again at seven in the evening; yet he was not so good as his word. The boats went up the river again to see for more ships, and returned without finding any: however, we took several canoes, with some plate on board. On the 24th, in the morning, the governor came off again to treat: our captains thought to have seized him, because he had forfeited his word in not returning over night, and for sending word that morning, that he had more people come into the town: but he, alledging that it was contrary to a flag of truce, was set on shore again, and had

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had an hour's time given him to get his men ready. However, the boat went and came two or three times with the flag of truce; but the governor and captains not agreeing, all things were made ready, and we towed nearer the shore, wearing our union-jack at our main top-mast-heads.

At four in the afternoon the men landed, with so much bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their first volley, and fled, our people pressing them and pursuing them to their cannon, which they soon gained, the gunner only, who was an Irishman, standing by them till he was wounded in four places, whereof he died soon after; as we were informed by some prisoners we took. Our men marched in a body through both towns, driving out the enemy, placed three guards in the three churches, and set fire to five or six houses in the old town, that stood adjoining to the wood, lest the Spaniards should have any cover from them to annoy our guard, which was within pistol-shot. All this night they kept firing out of the woods at our centinels, or any other that stirred out of the guard, yet did no harm; several parties of horse and foot came down, without making any attempt: in the mean while the Duchess's pinnace, which was commanded by lieutenant Connely, with twenty-two men, went up the river, landed at every house, took their plate, and what else of value they found, and had some skirmishes with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded. On the 25th, the enemy appeared thick in the woods, sometimes coming out; and our guards had some skirmishes with them, in which one man was wounded, so that they expected to be attacked.

On the 26th, in the morning, captain Courtney marched to his guard again, to cover the men who were getting down provisions, &c. Several prisoners were taken, and brought to the main guard. Messengers, with a flag of truce, came about ransom-  
soming the town, but could not agree: in the af-



ternoon brought one boat of provisions aboard the barks; and at three returned to ransom the town, which was at last agreed on for 30,000 dollars; we to have three hostages, and to stay at Puna till they could raise the said sum, the people having carried their money out of town, and being so dispersed, that there was no raising it whilst we were there, the inhabitants of the adjacent country having withdrawn all their effects. On the 27th, in the morning, the hostages for ransom were put on board, as was a boat's lading of brandy: we took down our union flag, and hoisted a flag of truce, firing a gun for a signal, that the Spaniards might come into the town, and that no hostilities should be committed on either side, during the time we had agreed to stay for the money, having before concerted with the Spaniards, to make the said signal for them to come in to secure what we had left, that the Indians and blacks might not rob: and, I am apt to believe, they had plundered as much as we had taken; for we took several, as we went the rounds, laden with goods, which they owned they had stolen; and were afterwards informed, that, in the hurry, the inhabitants had given plate and money to blacks to carry out of the town, which they could never hear of after.

On the 29th, in the morning, the barks weighed, and got down to Puna, where they anchored off the town. Captain Rogers, in the Duke's pinnace, came on board, and gave an account, that they had taken, plundered, and ransomed the town of Guiaquil; that three of our men had been killed; two by our own people, and one by the Spaniards; and four wounded: that the inhabitants, while treating, had carried off their money and plate, retiring to the woods, and leaving their guns; four whereof were taken, with a considerable quantity of meal, pease, sugar, brandy, and wine, which was coming down in the barks. What we killed and wounded of the enemy

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enemy could not be known, because they carried them off.

Having, from the ship's side, discovered a sail standing up the river, with the tide of flood, we sent both ships boats after her, and, at four in the afternoon, she struck to the boats. They brought her in at night. She was a small Spanish bark from Cheripe, and bound up to Guiaquil, having on board 330 bags of meal; and 140 arrobas, that is, 35 hundred weight of sugar; some onions, quince, and pomegranates: this, with the six barks, and two great ships ransomed with the town of Guiaquil, makes fourteen prizes taken in those seas. Captain Woodes Rogers, in his relation, blames captain Courtney for being in a hurry to quit the place, though he acknowledges, that his lieutenant Mr. Streton was shot by accident in his leg, his own pistol going off unluckily, which rendered it necessary to send him instantly on board the small craft; and that most of their men were grown careless, weak, and heartily weary of their new trade of being foldiers. One circumstance he mentioned, which deserves notice for its singularity. As he was marching out of the town, he happened to miss one John Gabriel, a Dutchman, who served in his own company; and took it for granted, that he was either taken or killed. But the poor fellow had a better time of it: he happened to take up his quarters in a certain house, where there was some excellent brandy, which the Dutchman attacked so often, that, at last, it laid him on the floor; and in this condition he was, when captain Rogers and his men quitted the place. A little after, the master of the house returned, and found the Dutchman stretched at his full length, and so fast, that it was a difficult matter to distinguish whether he was dead or asleep. The Spaniard resolved to make the experiment; but, first of all, called in his neighbours, who advised him to secure the Dutchman's arms; which being done without any difficulty,

ty, they next raised him up, and set him on his feet; when, after a little tottering, he opened his eyes, and began to stare about him, being sensible that he was not asleep, and not very well satisfied to find himself awake, and in such company. His landlord, however, soon set his heart at rest, by restoring him his arms, and advising him to make all the haste he could to join his companions, who were not yet embarked. There did not need many entreaties to set the Dutchman forward; he moved with all the alacrity imaginable, and got safely aboard. If this story be a little strange, captain Rogers adds an observation that is still stranger, which is, that, of all the men who landed on this occasion, there was not a soul that drank a cup too much but this poor Dutchman; which, if true, the town of Guiaquil had the honour to be plundered by the soberest set of people that ever were of their profession. But it is now time to come to the forms of capitulation, which the Spaniards, as persons most deeply interested in it, desired might be drawn up in proper form: and so they were, with the omission only of a single circumstance; viz that the place was taken by force of arms, which the Spaniards insisted should be particularly specified, to demonstrate that they had been beaten before they consented to treat. To this the English very willingly yielded, which produced the following scheme of articles, which satisfied both parties, procuring one the money they wanted, and satisfying the other as to the point of honour; a thing no Spaniard ever willingly gave up.

Contract for the ransom of the town of Guiaquil.

- **W** Hereas the city of Guiaquil, lately in subjec-  
 • tion to Philip V. king of Spain, is now  
 • taken by storm, and in the possession of the cap-  
 • tains Thomas Dover, Woodes Rogers, and Stephen  
 • Courtney, commanding a body of her Majesty of  
 • Great

‘ Great Britain’s subjects; we the underwritten are  
 ‘ content to become hostages for the said city, and  
 ‘ to continue in the custody of the said captains Tho-  
 ‘ mas Dover, Woodes Rogers, and Stephen Court-  
 ‘ ney, till 30,000 pieces of eight shall be paid to  
 ‘ them for the ransom of the said city, two new ships,  
 ‘ and six barks; during which time no hostility is to  
 ‘ be committed on either side between this and Pu-  
 ‘ na; the said sum to be paid at Puna, in six days  
 ‘ from the date hereof; and then the hostages to be  
 ‘ discharged, and all the prisoners to be delivered  
 ‘ immediately: otherwise the said hostages do agree  
 ‘ to remain prisoners, till the said sum is discharged  
 ‘ in any other part of the world. In witness where-  
 ‘ of, we have voluntarily set our hands this 27th day  
 ‘ of April, O. S. and the 7th of May, N. S. in the  
 ‘ year of our Lord 1709.’

The plunder took here, exclusive of the ransom received for the town, was very considerable; for we found there 230 bags of flour, beans, pease, and rice; fifteen jars of oil; 160 jars of other liquor; some cordage, iron ware, and small nails; with about four half jars of powder; about a ton of pitch and tar; a parcel of cloathing and necessaries; and, as I guess, about 1200*l.* in plate, ear-rings, &c. and 150 bales of dry goods, four guns, and about 200 Spanish ordinary useless arms and musquet-barrels; a few packs of indico, cocoa, and anotto; with about a ton of loaf-sugar. We left abundance of goods in the town, beside liquors of most sorts, and sea-stores, with several warehouses full of cocoa, divers ships on the stocks, and two new ships unrigged, upwards of 400 ton, which cost above 80,000 crowns; and then lay at anchor before the town. We were also to deliver four barks ashore, and leave two here to bring down the ransom. By this it appears the Spaniards had a good bargain; but this ransom was far better for us, than to burn what we could not carry off. The hostages informed us, that, during the treaty, 80,000  
 I pieces

pieces of eight of the king's money were sent out of the town, beside their plate, jewels, and other things of the greatest value; so that it is certain, that if we had landed at first, and given them no time at all, we had been much greater gainers than we were; and I have great reason to believe that we might, in that case, have made 200,000 pieces of eight in ready money, plate, and jewels; and yet the place had never been so poor for forty years past, as at the time we took it, there having been a fire about a year and an half before, which had burnt down bell part of the town, and occasioned a very great expence in rebuilding it. As it was, we thought ourselves very happy; and all imaginable care was taken, that every man concerned in the expedition should find his account in it; by which the expediency of the articles before-mentioned fully appeared: and our people were so perfectly satisfied with the usage they received on this occasion, that they expressed the greatest alacrity in the execution of every enterprize that was afterward undertaken. To say the truth, this is a matter of the utmost importance with privateers, for, if the men have the least jealousy of their being ill-treated, such disputes arise, as do infinitely more mischief than the value of what can be gotten by such practices can repair: but to proceed.

When May 2 came, which was the last day appointed to wait for the money, and no boat arriving, we began to be very uneasy. At length, however, a boat arrived, and brought us 22,000 pieces of eight; which we received; and dispatched the boat back again, telling them we designed to leave the place the next morning, and would carry away the hostages if they did not come time enough to prevent it. We staid, however, till the 6th; and then captain Courtney was resolved to depart, being apprehensive that we should be attacked by the French and Spanish Squadron. I endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him, that as yet we were not in any dan-

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ger of being attacked; because it was not possible that the French and Spaniards could have received notice by this time at Lima, and have fitted out a force sufficient to engage us. We sailed however, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon, a few leagues before point Arena.

The next morning, about two o'clock, we were preparing to sail, when Mr. Morel, and a gentleman from Puna, related to our prisoners brought us 3500 pieces of eight more towards the ransom. This put us in so good an humour, that, in the afternoon, we discharged all our prisoners, except the Morels, the three hostages, and three or four more. The gentleman that came from Guiaquil had a gold chain, and some other things of value, with which he bought our bark the Beginning, which was now of no farther use. We gave the captain of the French ship three negro women; Mr. Morel another; and to most of the prisoners their wearing apparel; so that we parted very good friends. They told us, that one Don Pedro Cienfuegos, whom we put ashore at Puna, and who was a man of great credit, had got together a considerable sum of money, and designed to buy goods of us; for which purpose he would be down in twelve hours time: but the majority of our officers would not believe them; but conceiving this to be a scheme for detaining us till the French and Spanish fleet came, were in so much the greater hurry to get away. But, before we proceed, let me give you a short description of the town of Guiaquil, as we found it.

Guiaquil is divided into two parts, called the Old and the New Towns; both of them together consisting of about 500 houses, joined by a long wooden bridge, for people to pass over on foot, above half a mile in length, with some houses on each side at a distance. It is situated in a low boggy ground, so dirty in winter, that without this bridge there would be scarce any going from one house to another: there

there is but one regular street along the river-side to the bridge, and from it along the Old Town. Before the church of St. Iago is a very handsome parade; but the church itself lies in ruins. There are, in all, four churches, viz. St. Iago, or St. James the Apostle, which, as I said, is destroyed; St. Augustin, St. Francis, and St. Dominic; and before this last another parade, with an half-moon, on which six guns may be planted; but there were none when we came. Beside these, there is a chapel, and there had been a church of St. Ignatius, belonging to the Jesuits, but burnt down. They were all decently adorned with altars, carved work, pictures, an organ in that of St. Augustin; but the plate belonging to them was carried away, the priests and students being all gone into the woods: some of the houses were of brick, particularly about the parade, before the fire; the rest of timber, or bamboes split, and some of them decently furnished. In the merchants store-houses there were great quantities of meal, brandy, sugar, cloathing, cordage, and iron. The inhabitants had some calashes; but I know not of what use they could be, unless to carry them a stone's-throw to church; especially in winter, all about being so foul and boggy, that there could be no road made for them. This morass ground was full of the largest toads I ever saw, some of them as big as an English two-penny loaf.

There were 2000 inhabitants of all sorts, including Indians, Mulattoes, and blacks. This town is well situated for trade, and for building of ships, as lying fourteen leagues from point Arena, and seven from Puna, up a large river, which receives several small ones that fall into it; with many villages and farm-houses round about. The water is fresh for four leagues below it; and all along the banks grows abundance of mangroves and sarsaparilla; and, on account of this latter, the water is accounted good for the French disease: however, when the floods

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come down from the mountains, the water is not reckoned so wholesome, by reason it brings along several poisonous plants and fruits, among which is the Manchinilla venomous apple, whereof all birds that taste die; and we saw hundreds of them dead on the water whilst we were there. They have great plenty of beeves, goats, sheep, hens, ducks, Mulcovy ducks, and some sorts unknown to us in England; as also horses, and great numbers of carrion-crows, which the Spaniards will not suffer to be killed, preserving them to devour all carrion. The ships here are built under sheds, to shelter the men from the sun. The town is governed by a corregidor, being the supreme magistrate appointed by the king. The accounts which have been given of this place by the French buccaneers are so false, that there is not the least degree of truth in them; insomuch that, from their descriptions, it scarce appears to be the same place, had they not left infamous marks of their having been here: for when they took the town of Guaiquil, about twenty-two years ago, they discovered little or no bravery in the attack, (though they lost a great many men) and committed a deal of barbarity and murder after they had the place in their power, which was above a month here and at Puna. The seasons here are improperly called winter and summer: the winter is reckoned from the beginning of December to the last of May; and all that season is sultry hot, wet, and unhealthy: from the latter end of May to December is serene, dry, and healthy, but not so violently hot as what they call winter. Their cocoa is ripe, and mostly gathered between June and August; and of the other fruits natural to those climates, some are ripe, and others green, all the year. But, as our prisoners furnished us with a very full and exact account of all the adjacent country dependent on the government of Guaiquil, I have judged it requisite to add to this account of the town, a view likewise of the province, that the reader may perfectly apprehend



hend the condition of the Spanish inhabitants therein; and judge from thence, as from a sample, of the state of this great empire of Peru, at the time that we were thus engaged in attacking its ports and coast; where we acted as became men who had legal commissions, and did nothing that was not justified by the law of arms, which, in time of war, is the law of nations.

The city or town of Guiaquil is the metropolis of a province of that name in Peru, governed by a president, with five or six oidors, which make a royal Audiencia, or chief court of Judicature, accountable only to the viceroy in military affairs; every province has a government of the same nature. The governors are commonly appointed, or, to speak more properly, purchase their offices, in Old Spain for life, or good behaviour; and in case any die or misbehave themselves, the viceroy may name another during his time, which ought to be but five years; but sometimes he gets these offices of his own placing confirmed by an order from Spain, which is a considerable part of the viceroy's unknown profits. The late viceroy continued fourteen years, several new ones having died by the way. The king of Spain himself scarcely lives in more splendor than his viceroy in the city of Lima, where the chief courts of judicature are kept, and appeals are brought thither from all courts and provinces of this extensive kingdom. The trade to and from Mexico is forbidden here, under the severest penalty; especially transporting quicksilver from Peru thither, because quantities are brought from Old Spain, which is imposed on the refiners at great rates. Here are many ships employed coasting in this kingdom; but a trade is so severely prohibited between them and Mexico, that all the commodities, with silver and gold in returns, may have little other circulation in these vast countries, but by the flota and galleons to and from Old Spain. Yet, notwithstanding the severity used against private traders by the

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viceroys and corregidors, there are some who run the risk. These have no mercy shewn them if detected; all trade being carried on in the king's name, though his majesty has little or no share in it.

All English and Dutch goods, except what comes by the galleons, are prohibited; so that private traders, after they have by stealth purchased them in the North Seas, must vend them in like manner all over Peru. And if the wholesale merchants have not good certificates from the commerce of Seville, that their commodities come by the flota or galleons; whenever the goods are questioned, they must discover them, for fear of punishment; unless they have a good interest in the viceroy, which costs dear to purchase and preserve: so that the trader makes little profit but where the chief officers have a feeling. Yet though those mercenary viceroys are so severe on others, they themselves employ the corregidors to negotiate a trade for them by a third hand, which cannot be done to the purpose without being publicly known; so that ships are constantly employed on their account, and carry quick-silver, and all manner of prohibited goods to and from Mexico, out of bye-ports. Thus, being their own judges, they get vast estates, and stop all complaints in Old Spain by bribes. The goods they trade for have a free passage, and sail through the continent; whilst others, if they do but offer at it, are punished. Their other ways of getting money unjustly are too many; but in short, in my opinion, there is no country naturally more rich, nor any people more terribly oppressed.

The Spaniards say, that a viceroy, after purchasing his place with all that he has, and quitting old Spain as poor as Job, comes hither like an hungry lion, to devour all that he can; and that every officer under him in the provinces (who are ten times more than necessary) are his jackals to procure prey for him, that they may have a share of it themselves.

The province abounds with several sorts of good timber, which makes it the chief country of Peru for building and repairing of ships; there are seldom less than six or seven at a time on the stocks before the city of Guiaquil. The chief commodity this city, and its chief province afford, is cocoa, which is so plentiful as to supply most places of the South Sea; they say, there is never less exported in a year than 30,000 cargaus, each cargau 81 pound weight, and sometimes double the quantity: it was purchased generally at half a rial per pound, but now much cheaper, so that the cargau may be bought for two pieces of eight and a half. Their coasting trade is for salt and salt-fish from point Santa Helena, and most vended at Quito, and other distant places within land: a vast quantity of timber is laden here for Truxillo, Chana, Lima, and other sea ports, where it is scarce. It pays a great freight, and is a profitable trade. They export also from hence, rice, cotton, and some dried jerked beef. There are no mines of silver or gold in this province, but plenty of all sorts of cattle, and very cheap, especially on the island Puna, where we supplied ourselves with what we could conveniently. Here is no other corn but Indian; so that all their flour is brought from Truxillo, Cheripe, and other places in the windward parts: it blows here always southerly. They are also supplied with several sorts of woollen cloth, and very strong good bays made at Quito. Their wines, brandy, oil, olives, and sugar, &c. come from Piçola, Nasca, and other places to windward: all sorts of European goods come hither from Panama, whither they are brought over land from Porto-Bello out of the North Seas: so that the number of ships that come and go from hence, without including coasters, are no less than forty sail every year; which shews that the port of Guiaquil is no mean place of trade in this part of the world. A market is also kept on bark-logs and boats in the river,

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every day, before the town, with all that the country affords, in great plenty. The other towns of the province are governed by lieutenants, deputed by the corregidor; above half of them border on the same river, and its branches; so that they can join these of the capital in two tides, though at several leagues distance. Few of those prisoners that fell into our hands were healthy and sound; near half of the Spaniards discovered publicly to our doctors their malady, in order to get physic from them against the French disease, of which they make very light. All the Spaniards allow, that this rich country is not a tenth peopled, nor are half the Indians, far within land, civilized; though they affirm their king has, in the West Indies, more subjects of several colours, than in all Spain, or the rest of his dominions in Europe; which may be true.

On May 11, we had a strong gale at south south-west. We bore away for the Gallopagos islands; and in a very melancholy condition we were: for we had upwards of twenty men taken ill on board the Duke, and near fifty on board our consort, seized with a malignant fever, contracted, as I suppose, at Guayaquil, where I was informed, that about a month or five weeks before we took it, a contagious disease which reigned there, swept off ten or twelve persons every day for a considerable time. So that the floors of all the churches (which are their usual burial-places) were filled so fast, that they were obliged to dig a large deep hole, of about a rood square, close by the great church, where I kept guard; and this hole was almost filled with bodies half-putrified. The mortality was so very great, that many of the people had left the town; and our lying so long in the church, surrounded with such unwholesome scents, was enough to infect us too. About this time captain Courtney was taken ill; and captain Dover went on board to prescribe for him. In twenty-four hours we had fifty

men down, and the *Duchefs* upwards of seventy; and in the following twenty-four hours, there were ten men more down in each ship.

On the 17th we discovered land; and on the 18th, at day-break, we were within four leagues of two large islands, almost joining together, having passed the other that we saw yesterday. We sent our boat ashore to look for water, and agreed with our consort where to meet, in case of separation. They turned toward the windward, and left us to try this island for water. All our prizes were to stay near us under sail, by a remarkable rock. But, in the afternoon, the boat returned with a melancholy account, that no water was to be found, the prizes we expected lying to windward for us by the rock, about two leagues off shore; but Mr. Hatley in a bark, and the *Havre de Grace* turned to windward, after our consort the *Duchefs*; so that only the galleon, and the bark that Mr. Selkirk was in, staid for us. We kept plying to windward all night, with a light out; which they followed. At five in the morning we sent our boat ashore again, to make a further search in this island for water. In the evening the boat returned, and reported that there was no water to be found, though the people went three or four miles up into the country. They likewise told me, that the island is nothing but loose rocks like cinders, very rotten and heavy; and the earth so parched that it will not bear a man, but breaks into holes under his feet. This makes me suppose there has been a volcano here: for though there is much shrubby wood, and some greens on it; yet there is not the least sign of water, nor is it possible that any can be contained on such a surface. In short, we found these islands very little answered either our expectations, or the descriptions we had of them: and our loss of Mr. Hatley, who, with five of our men, two Spanish prisoners, and three negroes, lost us in a bark, where they were provided only with water for two days, and scarce any other necessities,

necessaries, together with many unlucky accidents, made us wish ourselves from among these islands. Therefore, on May 26, captain Dover and I went on board the *Duchess*, where, after a consultation, it was resolved to run in for the island Plata to water, and so come off again, for fear of meeting with two French ships, one of sixty, and the other of forty-six guns, and the Spanish man of war, who, we were advised, would be suddenly in search of us. But, if we could find no water in any of those islands going in, we designed to fit our ships there, and not go near the main, our ships being out of order, and our men sickly and weak, and several also having been buried. We sailed on the 27th; and, on the 30th, we held another council on board the *Duchess*, where it was agreed to go first to Gorgona, to see if there were any English ships there, and afterward to Mangla, Malaga, or Madulinar, where are some Indians, enemies to the Spaniards, who, as the pilots informed us, seldom came thither, nor could thence get intelligence of us; and if we could trade with the Indians, might have swine and fowls, good bananas, plantains, and other refreshments.

In this course, the *Duchess* took a prize, which proved to be a vessel of burden of ninety ton, bound from Panama to Guiaquil, called the *St. Thomas de Villa Nova*, Juan Navarro Navaret commander. There were about forty people aboard, including eleven negro slaves; but little of European goods, except some iron and cloth. The next we made the island of Gorgona; and, on the 8th, our boats brought in another prize, which was a small bark, of about fifteen tons, called the *Golden Sun*. She belonged to a creek on the main, and was bound for Guiaquil, Andros Enriguis master, with ten Spaniards and Indians, and some negroes; no cargo, but a very little gold-dust, and a large gold chain; together about 500 l. value, which were secured aboard the *Duchess*. On June 19, in the evening, there was a con-



sultation on board the ship above-mentioned, at which some of my officers and captain Dover assisted. Being discomposed, I was not with them; but resolved to act in consortship, according to their agreement. After they had examined the prisoners, they resolved to go to Malaga, an island which had a road, where we designed to leave our ships, and, with our boats, row up the river for the rich gold mine of Barbacore, called also by the Spaniards, the Mines of St. Juan, from a village about two tides up the river of that name. There we designed to surprize canoes, as fitter than our boats to go against the stream; for this time of the year being subject to great rains, which make a strong fresh down the river, our pilot, an old Spaniard, did not propose to get up to the mines in less than twelve days. I had often suspected his knowledge; but, according to their resolutions on board the *Duchess*, we made sail about twelve o'clock that night, and steered north-east for the place.

In the morning, I discoursed captain Morel, as I had done several times before, and all the rest of the prisoners, who agreed, that this island called Malaga was an unfrequented place, and not fit for ships, that ever they heard of. I had also two prisoners on board, that were taken in the last prize, who had been at the said island very lately. I examined them separately, and they agreed that a ship could not be safe there; and that the place being so narrow, it was impossible to get in but with the tide; which ran very strong; that the entrance was full of shoals, and had not water enough but at spring-tides, for our ships to get out or in: beside that, if a ship gets loose, (as we must moor head and stern) she would turn all a-drift, and very much endanger the whole. They added, that the river was so narrow, before we could get to the mines, that the Indians and Spaniards might fell trees across, and cut off our retreat, there being thick woods on the banks of the river, from whence the Indians would gall us with their poisoned arrows; for  
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those about the mines were at amity with the Spaniards, and a bold and very numerous people.

Upon this information, I was surprised, that the council had not informed themselves better, before they resolved on going to this place; and immediately sent Mr. White our linguist, with the two prisoners, on board the *Duchess*, to undeceive captain Courtney, and his officers, and to desire his company, with some of the rest, without loss of time, that we might agree how to act for our safety and interest, and not to proceed farther on this hazardous enterprize. On a solemn consultation, this was accordingly resolved; and, in compliance of that resolution, we came back to Gorgona, our condition being so bad at this juncture, that, if we had been attacked, we should scarce have been in a condition to have defended ourselves.

On the 13th of June, about four in the morning, we anchored in forty fathom water, and resolved to careen the *Duchess* first, and then the *Duke*: our sick we removed aboard the galleon, and the sick officers on board the *Havre de Grace*, where they had all the conveniencies we could afford them. We likewise set up a tent ashore for the use of the armourer, and cooper's crew, and directed a place to be cleared for our sick mens tents; all which was performed with such diligence, that, by the 28th, we got our provisions on board, and mounted all our guns: having in fourteen days caulked our ships all round, careened, rigged, and stowed them again both fit for the sea; which was great dispatch, considering what we had to do was in an open place, with few carpenters, and void of the usual conveniencies for careening. The Spaniards, our prisoners, being very dilatory sailors, were amazed at our expedition; and told us, they usually take six weeks, or two months, to careen one of the king's ships at Lima, where they are provided with all necessaries, and account it good dispatch. On the 29th, we set up a

tent on shore for the sick, who were, even by this time, much better than when we came to the island, notwithstanding the Spaniards represented it as extremely sick and unwholesome; but the bare lying ashore, having their doctors with them, and an opportunity of walking about when they grew a little better, had so good an effect, that, while our sound men were employed in fitting our ships for sea, our sick men gathered strength enough to return to their duty. Our Spanish prisoners went into the woods with us, shewed us timber that was proper to be cut, and gave us every other kind of assistance in their power. We now set out ground for a rope-yard, erected a tent for a smith, another for a block, the third for a sail-maker; and each had his crew to act under him, for the better dispatch of business. It is not to be supposed, that these people were all excellent in their professions; but, however, they made a shift to carry on things very well for our work, necessity and practice having taught them many resources, which the ablest man, in their branches of business, would never have thought of, or, perhaps, could have been brought to believe practicable, if they had been told of them by others.

By this method of acting, we had settled a plantation, on the little island of Gorgona; and, as every officer had his charge, and surveyed a particular sort of artizans, we had business enough upon our hands, and were all thoroughly and pleasantly employed. Our Spanish prisoners looked on with amazement at our working from break of day till night in that climate, and in that manner; and, what most of all surprised them, was our finding out some new expedient, when pressed by new difficulties, and when, in the judgment of our Spaniards, it was impossible for us to proceed any further; so that our diligence and success raised our credit with them prodigiously. The natives of Old Spain are accounted  
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but ordinary mariners; but here they are much worse, all the prizes we took being rather cobbled, than fitted out for the sea; so that, had they such weather as we often meet with in the European seas in winter, they could scarce ever reach a port again.

While we were here, we agreed together to fit out the Havre de Grace with twenty guns, and put men out of each ship aboard her under captain Cooke's command, resolving to carry her home with us, and to make a third ship to cruise in our company whilst we were in these seas. This was the great work on which we were employed from the 29th of June to the 9th of July, when she was completely finished; and we gave her the name of the Marquis, having provided a good entertainment: we saluted each of the other ships with three huzzas from on board her, distributed liquor among the company, drank her majesty's and our owners healths, and to our own success, in conjunction with our new consort. We soon after sent two of our main-deck guns on board the Marquis; the Duchess did the like; which, with four taken at Guiaquil, and twelve that were in the ship, made twenty very good ones; the carriages all new, or so well repaired, that they were as good and strong, as if mounted in England. The next thing to be considered was, how to provide her with men: this was very soon settled; for I agreed to put thirty-five on board her, and captain Courtney twenty-six, so that her complement was sixty-one white men, and twenty negroes, captain Edward Cooke, commander, and our second lieutenant, Mr. Charles Pope, to command under him. We agreed, that the captain, with his officers and men, should have equal wages with ours in the like posts, to encourage them.

The next thing of consequence was to get rid of our prisoners, who began to be a burden upon us, and of no use at all. It was therefore determined, that they should be all set ashore, after trying every method possible to engage them in a scheme for trading

trading with us. We had several times discoursed the two Morells, and Don Antonio, about ransoming the goods, and were in hopes of selling them to advantage, but deferred coming to particulars till now; because we plainly saw, that unless they could have the cargoes under a quarter value, they would not deal with us. I proposed going to Panama, and lying six days as near it as they pleased, till they brought the money we should agree for, at a moderate rate. provided they left hostages on board us, whom, on failure, we would carry to England. To this they would have agreed, provided we would take 60,000 pieces of eight for all the prize-goods. Then I proposed their ransoming the galleon, and putting a great part of the goods aboard her, provided one of those three, and another they could procure, would be hostages for the sum. They answered, that neither of them would go hostage to England for the world. I mentioned delivering the galleon and cargo to them here, provided two of them would be hostages to pay us the money at any other place but Panama or Lima, in six days, if they would give us 120,000 pieces of eight, being the lowest price we would take for all the prizes and goods, negroes, &c. They told us, that trading with strangers, especially the English and Dutch, was so strictly prohibited in those seas, that they must give more than the prime cost of the goods in bribes, to get a licence to deal with us; so that they could not assure us of payment, unless we sold the goods very cheap: therefore, not finding it worth our time, and knowing the danger we must run in treating with them, we desisted, and ordered them all ashore, still hoping this would compel the Morells and Navarre to get money for us, and prevent our burning the ships we could not carry away. Some of our people were for keeping several others when they were first taken, but they were over-ruled: though now every body seemed to confess, that had been a better

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method, because it would have given us a greater opportunity of trading, and of ridding our ships of those goods which were of no value to us here, and served only to hinder our sailing.

But to proceed: on the 10th of July, we put seventy-two prisoners on board the bark, and, with our two pinnaces, she sailed for the main. On the 11th in the morning, these vessels returned from landing our prisoners, and brought off seven small black cattle, twelve hogs, and six goats, some limes and plantains, which were very welcome to us. They met with little else of value in the village they were at; and, the others being far up the river, they did not think it worth while to visit them. The country where they landed was so poor, that our men gave the prisoners five negroes, some bays, nails, &c. to purchase themselves subsistence. The inhabitants ashore had notice of our taking Guiaquil, and were jealous of our being at this island, because they heard our guns when we fired, in order to scale them after careening. According to the report of our people, our prisoners were not extremely well pleased with the change of their situation, or even with the recovery of liberty, in such a place; and seemed to regret the advantages they enjoyed on board us.

To say the truth of the matter, I verily believe, that Don Antonio, the Fleming, sig. Navarre, and the Morells, did not expect to part with us so suddenly; but, by continuing with us, and knowing we could not carry away all the prizes and goods, they hoped we should of course have freely given them what we could not keep. They begged we would delay burning the ships, and promised to raise what money they could, and return within the time to satisfy us. One of the chief prisoners we now parted with, was Don Juan Cordoso, designed governor of Baldivia, a brisk man, of about thirty-five years of age: he had served as a colonel in Spain, had the misfortune to be taken in the north seas by an English

lish privateer near Porto-Bello, and carried to Jamaica, from whence he was sent back to Porto-Bello. He complained heavily of the usage he met with from the Jamaica privateer; but we parted very good friends, and he returned us hearty thanks, and a stone ring for a present to one of the Ducheſs's lieutenants, that had lent him his cabin while he was ſick on board. We allowed liberty of conſcience on board our floating commonwealth to our priſoners; for, there being a prieſt in each ſhip, they had the great cabin for their maſs, whiſt we uſed the church of England ſervice over them on the quarter-deck.

On the 15th of June, came on board, in a ſmall canoe, one Michael Kendall, a free negro of Jamaica, who had lived for ſome time as a ſlave in the village our people had plundered: he happened not to be there then; but, as ſoon as he had an account of it, he fairly ventured his life to get away to us. From him we received the following remarkable account of an attempt made upon the gold mines, in which he was himſelf concerned. His relation was to this effect: That, when war was declared at Jamaica, he embarked under the command of one captain Edward Roberts, who was joined in commiſſion from the governor of Jamaica, with the captains Raſh, Golding, and Pilkington. They had 106 men, and deſigned to attempt the mines of Iago, at the bottom of the gulph of Darien. There were more commanders and men came out with them, but did not join in this deſign. They had been about five months out, when they got near the mines undiscovered. They ſailed fifteen days up the river in canoes, and travelled ten days by land afterward: by this time, the Spaniards and Indians, being alarmed, laid ambuſcades, and ſhot many of them. The enemy having aſſembled at leaſt 500 men, and the Engliſh being diminiſhed to about ſixty, including the wounded, the Spaniards ſent them a flag of truce, and offered them their lives, after a ſmall ſkirmiſh, wherein the Engliſh

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lost four, and the enemies about twelve men. The English, being in want of provisions, quite tired out, and not knowing their way back, agreed to deliver their arms, on condition to be used as prisoners of war. Having thus yielded, the Spaniards and Indians carried them in canoes three days up the river that leads to the same mines they designed to attempt, treated them very well, and gave them the same food that they eat themselves. But the fourth day, when they came to a town beyond the mines, and thought all danger had been past, an order came from the chief Spanish officer to cut them all off, which the Indians and Spanish troops did, as those poor disarmed wretches sat at victuals; so that in this barbarous manner they were all massacred in a few minutes, except a Scots, a French, and an English boy, with twelve free negroes, which, at the intercession of a priest, they kept for slaves.

This man, being one of them, happened to be sold first to the mines, where, he says, he cleared at least three pieces of eight a day for his master; and from thence he was sold to this place. We took notice of this to the Moreells, who came the next morning with money to ransom what they could of us, putting them in mind of the different treatment they had from us, and how grateful they ought to be for it; which they seemed very readily to acknowledge, and, indeed, behaved, upon all occasions, with much honour. We sold them good bargains, 'tis true; but, on the other hand, they ran great hazards in trading with us, and trusted us always with their persons and money, at the same time that we had the effects in our hands they came to purchase.

On the 1st of August, the officers we appointed to appraise the plunder, met on board the galleon, and valued the clothing, in order to divide it amongst the officers and men of each, according to their respective shares. On the 3d in the afternoon, they made an end of appraising the cloths, at a very low rate,  
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amounting to four hundred pounds; and the silver-hilted swords, buckles, snuff-boxes, buttons, and silver plate in use aboard every prize we took, and allowed to be plunder, at four shillings and sixpence per piece of eight, amounted to 743l. 15 s. besides 3 lb. 12 oz. which was in rings, gold snuff-boxes, ear-rings, and gold chains, taken about prisoners. This I believe an exact account.

Early next morning we had like to have had a mutiny amongst our men: the steward told me, that several of them had last night made a private agreement; and that he heard some ringleaders, by way of encouragement, boast to the rest, that sixty men had already signed the paper. Not knowing what this combination meant, or how it was designed, I sent for the chief officers into the cabin, where we armed ourselves, secured two of those mutinous fellows, and presently seized two others: the fellow that wrote the paper we put in irons: by this time, all hands were upon deck, and we had got their agreement from those who were in the cabin: the purport of which was, to oblige themselves not to take their plunder, nor to move from thence, till they had justice done them, as they termed it.

There being so many concerned in this design, the captains Dover and Fry desired I would discharge those in confinement, upon their asking pardon, and faithfully promising never to be guilty of the like, or any other combination, again. I used all the arguments I could offer, shewed them the danger and folly of combinations, and exhorted them to believe, they would have justice done them in England, should any thing seem uneasy to them now, or in the whole course of the voyage. With these, and other healing arguments, all appeared easy and quiet, and every man seemed willing to stand to what had been done, provided the gentlemen, that were officers, and not sailors amongst us, had not such large shares, which they alledged were unreasonable; and that they could not possibly,

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possibly, in a privateer, deserve what they were allowed, in proportion to the ship's company. This we did in part yield to, in order to appease these malecontents; for disputes about plunder are the common occasion of privateers quarrelling amongst themselves, and ruining their voyages. Another paper was drawn up, for every man to swear what cloaths, goods, &c. he had received of the agents, and to restore whatever he had taken without the agents knowledge, in order to a just distribution of the plunder; and every one was to oblige himself in a penalty of twenty shillings for every shilling value that should be found about him concealed, besides the former penalty agreed on, of losing his share of any prize or purchase, for concealing above the value of half a piece of eight. And, for the encouragement of discoveries, the informer was to have half the penalty, and the protection of the commander. This paper was objected to by several of the officers, who insisted, that there ought to be a greater latitude allowed them to advantage themselves, since they had ventured their lives thither on so difficult an undertaking. This made us defer signing it till a better opportunity; for, unless such agreements as these had been constantly promoted, as occasion required, the temptation of interest would have made us fall into irrecoverable confusions aboard, which generally end in a separation, or worse.

Some time after this, I proposed another thing, which, I thought, would prove very advantageous for our owners, and the common interest; and this was, the sending captain Cooke, in the Marquis, with a cargo of our prize-goods, to the Brasils; which commission he would have executed. By this I proposed to save our provisions, since he would not have required any great stock for that voyage, and, consequently, might have remained longer in the South Seas. In the next place, I proposed profit; for these goods would have come to an extraordinary market at

the Brasils, and have yielded twice or thrice as much as we could make of them any other way : and, lastly, after securing, in this manner, so considerable an advantage on our voyage, as we must have reaped from the produce of these goods, our ships had been sufficiently provided for attacking the Acapulco ship. But my consorts did not understand, or at least would not approve, these reasons ; and so the project fell to the ground, which they, however, repented afterward, when it was too late.

On the 7th, we gave sig. Morell and Navarre their ships, and all the goods we could not carry away, for what money our agents received of them. As for the effects in the bark, we agreed for 12,000 pieces of eight, which, with 3000 there remained of the old debt for the ransom of Guiaquil, made 15,000 in the whole, and which were to be brought in twelve days. Captain Cooke valued the money now on board, for the use of the owners, 20,000 pounds, and the goods at 60,000 pounds. We gave these gentlemen a paper, which might serve to protect them, in case they fell into the hands of the Spaniards ; and we intended to have taken an acknowledgment under their hands, as to the particulars of the bargain ; but the bark sailed away from us in the night.

I cannot help taking notice here of the honourable behaviour of our crew during the time these prisoners were on board, in order to shew how much they regarded the credit of their commission, and of their country. Amongst our prisoners taken on board sig. Navarre's ship from Panama, there was a gentlewoman, and her family ; her eldest daughter, a pretty young woman, of about eighteen, was newly married, and had a husband with her. We assigned them the great cabin aboard the galleon ; and none were suffered to intrude amongst them, or to separate their company : yet the husband (I was told) shewed marks of jealousy, the Spaniards epidemic disease. But, I hope, he had not the least reason for it amongst us.

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We had notice these ladies had concealed treasure about them, and ordered a female negro, that we took, and who spoke English, to search them narrowly; and she found some gold chains, and other things, cunningly hid under their cloaths. We gave them most of their wearing-apparel and necessaries, with three female mulatto slaves, and parted very friendly. They confessed to our people, who put them on shore, that we had been much civiller than they did expect, or believed their countrymen would have been in the like case; and sent back the husband with gold, to purchase some goods and two slaves of us.

Gorgona lies in  $3^{\circ}$  north latitude, about six leagues from the main, and is about 3 leagues in length, but narrow. At a distance it appears like three hills. It is full of wood and tall trees, among them is the Palma Maria, of which the Spaniards make masts, and from it a balsam issues, that is esteemed efficacious in several diseases. It has a variety of trees and plants peculiar to these hot climates. The animals found here are monkeys, Guinea-pigs, hares, lizards, and lion-lizards, which change their colours, and are fine creatures.

August 11, we sailed, and the next morning came up the bark which created so much uneasiness; and put Mr. Selkirk and his crew on board her. As our ships were but very thinly manned, and there was likely to be more actions than since we had been in these seas, it was therefore thought adviseable to recruit a little; which, considering where we were, will seem a little extraordinary: but the mystery will be very soon explained, by my telling the reader, that, on the 16th, we mustered the negroes on board the Duke, and found them thirty-five, strong able fellows, fit for service. When they were together, I told them, that, if they would behave bravely, and act faithfully, their slavery was at an end; on which thirty-two of them engaged, and desired they might be improved in the use of arms, which some of them

already understood; adding, that, if I would allow them arms and powder, these would teach the rest. Upon this, I made Michael Kendall, the Jamaica free negro, who deserted from the Spaniards to us at Gorgona, their leader; and charged him to be continually exercising them, because I did not know how soon we might meet with an enemy. I took down the names of those that had any; and those that wanted, I bestowed names on them; and, to confirm our contract, I made them drink a dram all round, to our good success. At the same time, I gave them bays for cloaths; and told them, they must look upon themselves as Englishmen, and no more as negro slaves to the Spaniards; at which they expressed themselves highly pleased.

The next morning, we saw a sail; and both the *Duchess* and we gave chase, and took her in an hour's time. She was a vessel of seventy tons, and had four-and-twenty negroes, men and women, in her. After this, we stood over to the bay of Jecames, where the Indians are free; and, with much-ado, by the help of a priest, entered on trade with them. On the 27th, we began to heel and clean our ships bottoms; and sent several of our best sailors, and two carpenters, to assist the Marquis ashore. Our men kept one half at arms, while the rest loaded the boats, lest the Indians, who are generally treacherous, should watch an opportunity to fall on them. Our people, that came off the shore, took particular notice, that the red paint, with which the Indians were first daubed, was a declaration of war; and, after we had amicably treated with them, they rubbed it off; but still kept their arms. We sent them three large wooden Spanish saints, that we had out of *Morell's* ship, to adorn their church; which they accounted a great present: and I sent a feathered cap to the chief Indian's wife; which was likewise very well accepted: and I had a present of bows and arrows in requital. In the mean time, our linguist and prisoner managed  
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their business beyond expectation, selling very ordinary bays at one piece of eight and an half per yard, and other things in proportion; so that we had provisions very cheap.

On September 1, we sailed from thence; and, on the 6th, captain Courtney, captain Cooke, and captain Dampier, dined on board of me, when captain Cooke complained of his ship being crank; and that we need not have tacked so near the shore, since we might easily have fetched the Gallapagos without tacking. All agreed to this, except our pilot, Dampier, who was positive of seeing other lands about 100 or 110 leagues from the main, under the equinox. He told us, he was at them formerly, and has described them in one of his voyages; and that those islands we were at, lay to the west of them: but we judged him mistaken, or we had seen them in the last runs to and from these islands. On the 8th, we ran over and beyond where our pilot affirmed the islands were; so that we all agreed, that the islands he was at, when a bucanneering, could be no other, but those we were at, and were going to now, the nearest part of them lying 165 leagues to the westward of the main-land.

The same day, we made one of the Gallapagos islands; and, the next day, hoisted out our pinnace: captain Dover and Mr. Glendall went in for the shore. The Ducheſs's pinnace returned very soon, laden with turtles. In the mean time, we came to an anchor in about thirty fathom water, about two miles off shore, being rocky at bottom. In letting go the anchor, the buoy-rope was immediately cut off, and our ship drove; so that we thought our cable was also cut: but, after driving about half a mile, the ship rode very well. We sent our yawl and some men ashore, to turn some turtles in the night: but to no purpose; because we afterward found, they only came ashore in the day.



On the 13th, the Ducheſs's people having informed us where they got their land turtles, I ſent our pin-nace, which, at night, returned with thirty-ſeven, and ſome ſalt they found in a pond; and the yawl brought twenty ſea turtles: ſo that we were very full of them. Some of the largeſt of the land turtles are about 100 pounds weight; and thoſe of the ſea upwards of 400. The land turtles laid eggs on our deck. Our men brought ſome from the ſhore, about the bigneſs of a goole's egg, white, with a large thick ſhell, exactly round.

Theſe creatures are the uglieſt in nature; the ſhell not unlike the top of an old hackney-coach, as black as jet; and ſo is the outſide ſkin, but ſhrivelled, and very rough. The legs and neck are long, and about the bigneſs of a man's wrift; and they have club-feet, as big as one's fiſt, ſhaped much like thoſe of an elephant, with five thick nails on the fore-feet, and but four behind; and the head little, and viſage ſmall, like ſnakes; and look very old and black. When at firſt ſurpriſed, they ſhrink their neck, head, and legs, under their ſhell. Two of our men, with lieutenant Stratton, and the trumpeter of the Ducheſs, affirm they ſaw vaſt large ones of this ſort, about four feet high. They mounted two men on the back of one of them, which, with its uſual ſlow pace, carried them, and never regarded the weight. They ſuppoſed this could not weigh leſs than 700 lb. I do not affect giving relations of ſtrange creatures, ſo frequently done by others; but where an uncommon creature falls in my way, I cannot omit it. The Spaniards tell us, they know of none elſewhere in theſe ſeas; but they are common in Braſil.

On the 15th, we had a fine breeze, came up to the reſt, and agreed to lie by, with our heads to the eaſt-ward, till midnight, being in ſight of the rock, where we loſt poor Hatley, when laſt here. On the 16th at four o'clock in the afternoon, we ſent our yawl  
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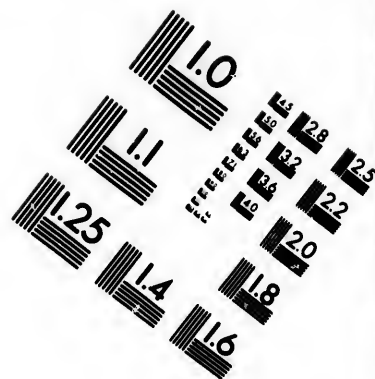
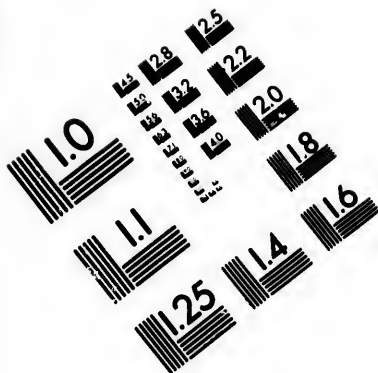
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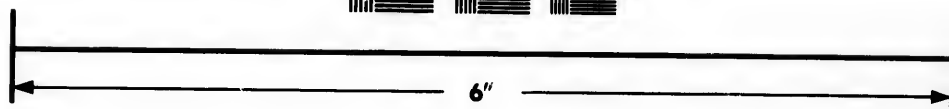
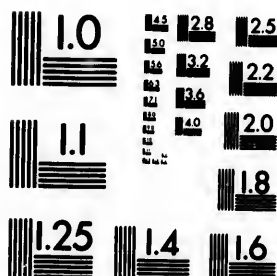
for captain Cooke and captain Courtney, with whom we agreed to bear away, seeing so many islands and rocks to the westward, we did not care to incumber ourselves among them in the night. By six, we found the remedy worse than the disease, and, at mast-head, could see all low rocks, almost joining from island to island, that we seemed land-locked for three points of the compass, and no way open, but to the south-east, from whence we came; so we resolved to return that way, and made short trips all night, keeping continual sounding, for fear of shoals, and had from forty to sixty fathom water. In the morning, we had got far enough to windward to return. We could have no observation, the sun being in our zenith, tho' we found the weather here much colder, than in any latitude within ten degrees of each side the equator. The Duchess (not being so well provided with turtle as we) sent her boat ashore on another island, where they got her lading of excellent turtle, leaving a vast number on shore that they could not bring away. We had as many aboard as we had room for. At seven we all joined, and agreed to lie by till two in the morning, whence we continued our course, with an easy sail, till break-day: we were abreast of the Thoroughfare, where we tried for water the last time.

I ordered a gun to be fired at a venture, to see if it were possible Mr. Hatley could be there alive, and then seeing, or hearing us, might make a smoke on shore, as a signal; but we had no such good luck; so that our hopes for him were all vanished, and, we finally concluded, that we could do no more for him, than we had done already. The 18th and 19th, we saw several more islands, one of them a large one, which we supposed reached near the Equinoctial, and abundance of small islands betwixt us. The 19th at noon, we had an indifferent good observation, latitude  $2^{\circ} 2'$  north. We saw in all (some that we searched, and others that we viewed at a distance at both times) no less than fifty, but none that had the





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least appearance of fresh water. Sig. Morell tells me, that a Spanish man of war, employed to cruise for pirates, was once at an island that lies by itself in latitude  $1^{\circ} 10'$  or  $30'$  south; they called it St. Maria del Aquada, a pleasant island, and good road, full of wood, and plenty of water, and turtle of both sorts, with fish, &c. lying about 140 Spanish leagues west from the island of Plata; but, I believe, it is at least thirty leagues more, and that it is no other but the same island where captain Davis, the English bucanneer, recruited; and all the light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the westward of these islands he was at with the other bucanneers, which, as I have before examined, can be no other than these islands we had been twice at. We had no occasion to look for this island the second trip, though, I believe, it is easy to find it out without farther directions.

Here are most sorts of sea-birds among these islands, and some land-birds, particularly hawks of several sorts, and turtle-doves, both so very tame, that we often hit them down with sticks. I saw no sorts of beasts; but there are guanas in abundance, and land-turtle almost on every island. It is strange how the latter got here; because they cannot come of themselves, and none of that sort are found on the main. Seals haunt some of these islands, but not so numerous, nor their fur so good, as at Juan Fernandez: a very large one made at me three several times, and, had I not happened to have a pike-staff, pointed with iron, in my hand, I might have been killed by him; I was on the level sand when he came open mouthed at me, out of the water, as quick and fierce as the most angry dog let loose: I struck the point into his breast, and wounded him all the three times he made at me; which forced him at last to retire, with an ugly nose, snarling, and shewing his long teeth at me out of the water. This amphibious beast was as big as a large bear.

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## CAPTAIN WOODES ROGERS. 183

On the first of October we made the main land of Mexico. Our business now was, to look for the islands called Tres Marias, to procure some refreshments; and found this a work of difficulty, being very uncertain as to their situation. On the 4th in the afternoon, Cape Corientes bore east north-east about ten leagues: the next morning, being very clear weather, we discovered two islands at the distance of fourteen leagues, one bearing north by west, the other north by east. At noon we had an observation, and found ourselves in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 45'$  north. The sight of these islands was very satisfactory; for, though our men had their fill of land and sea-turtle, which kept them from the scurvy, yet I found them weak, it being but a faint sort of food, except they had enough bread or flour with it; whereas they had but a pound and a quarter of bread or flour for five men a day; which was done to prolong our stock of bread against we came to live wholly on our salt provisions, and should be then forced to allow more.

On the 6th, we sent lieutenant Fry, in the pinnace, on shore, on the eastermost island, to try whether there was any good road or conveniency for us to recruit there. At nine they returned, and told me, the island had foul ground near half a mile from the shore, bad anchorage, worse landing, and no fresh water, but wood enough. A melancholy fate to us, our water growing short. We haled on a wind for the middle island, which captain Dampier, I believe, can remember he was at, when he belonged to captain Swan, and found water. Having little wind, we sent our boat towards the island, to view it, before we could get up thither with the ship. The Duchess's people, and our pinnace, had been ashore at several places on the south-east side of the island, and found better water at every place. On the 8th, those that had been on the island reported, they saw no sign of any people having been lately there, but found a hu-

man skull above ground; which we supposed to be one of the two Indian captains Dampier tells us were left here by captain Swan about twenty-three years ago: for victuals being scarce with these bucanneers, they would not carry the poor Indians any farther; but, after they had served their turns, left them to make a miserable end on a desolate island.

We kept a light out all night, and a fire in the island, that, if the Marquis and bark, who had left company, saw it, and had a gale, they might come into anchor-ground: but, having no sight of them at day-break, I went on board our consort, and proposed my going out to look after them; but they made light of it, and thought it needless, believing they would be in after us without any assistance. The recruit of cattle, hogs, and plantains, at Fecames, held to the Gallapagos; and we fed on the turtle ever since, excepting those two last days. This accidental stock of fresh food was some refreshment to our men, and prolonged our stock of European provisions. On the 9th, I sent lieutenant Glendall to view the other side of the island; and he told me, on his return, that it was much better than this, had several sandy bays, in which he saw the track of many turtle. Upon this intelligence, I sent back the boat thither in the evening, and next morning they came aboard with a full load of turtle, and left another behind them ready turned; and, which was of much greater consequence, they found tolerable good water; whereas what we had hitherto drank was physical, and purged excessively. As we wooded, watered, and furnished ourselves with fresh provisions here, and as these are places very little known, I shall describe them.

The islands of Tres Marias lie north-west, in a range, about four leagues asunder. The largest island is the westernmost, which appears to be high double land, and above five leagues in length; the middle island about three leagues the longest way;

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and the eastermost scarce two leagues: these are also high lands, and full of trees. Near the least island are two or three small, broken, white islands. One of the outermost of these appeared so much like a ship under sail at a distance, that we gave the usual signal for a chase, but soon found our mistake. These islands have abundance of different sorts of parrots, pigeons, doves, and other land birds, of which we killed great numbers, with excellent hares, but much less than ours: we saw abundance of guanacs, and some raccoons; the latter barked and snarled at us like dogs; but were easily beat off with sticks. I think the water more worthy of remark than any thing we saw here; because we found but two good springs, which ran down in large streams near others, that were very bitter and disagreeable, which, I suppose, might proceed from shrubs and roots that grow in the water, or from some mineral.

The turtle here are very good, but of a different shape from any I have seen; and, though vulgarly there are reckoned but three sorts of turtle, we have seen six or seven different sorts at several times; and our people have eat of them all, except the very large whooping or loggerhead turtle, (as they are called) found in Brasil in great plenty, and some of them above 500 lb. weight: we did not eat of that sort, because then our provisions were plentiful. Those at the Gallapagos islands, both male and female, I observed, came ashore in the day time, and not in the night, quite different from what I have seen or heard of the rest. All that we caught in this island, was by turning them in the night, and were females which came ashore to lay their eggs in the dry sand; one of these had 800 eggs in its belly, 150 of which were ready for laying.

I could not imagine, that turtle were six weeks in hatching, as some authors write, considering the sun makes the sand so very hot where-ever those eggs are found; and that instead of a shell, they have nothing

thing but a very thin film: in order therefore to be better informed, I ordered some of our men on shore to watch carefully for one, and suffer her to lay her eggs without disturbance, and to take good notice of the time and place. Accordingly they did so, and assured me, they found the eggs addled in less than twelve hours; and, in about twelve hours more, they had young ones in them, completely shaped, and alive: had we staid a little longer, I might have given myself, and others, thorough satisfaction in this quick production of tortoises: from whence I am inclinable to credit the report of divers of our sailors, who assert, that where they have found eggs in the sand, and looked for them in three days time after, in the same place, they found nothing but films: this shews, that the young ones are hatched within that time. They assured me also, that they had observed, more than once, that the young brood run out of the sand every day, directly for the sea, in great numbers, and quicker than the old ones. There was little fish about the shores of this island, and of the same sorts mentioned at other places in these seas; but the plenty of turtle, at this time, supplied the defect. We found good anchor-ground about this middle island, and gradual soundings, from twenty to four fathom water, close by the shore. Between this and the least island, it is about the same depth, as where we were. Between them I found no shoal, but what was visible; as a rock off the south-west point, and a shoal off the north-east point of the same, with another at a great distance from that point of the least island, but neither runs above half a mile from the shore.

On the 1st of November we saw high-lands, which proved the point of California, or that head-land which the sailors call Cape St. Lucas. It was now necessary to put in execution the rules we had formerly laid down for cruising; as also to settle our regulations about plunder, and against gaming; all which was done on the eleventh. According to our agreement,

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mine was to be the outermost ship, the *Duchess* in the middle, and the *Marquis* next the land; the nearest ship to be six leagues at least, and nine at most, from the shore; the bark to ply to-and-fro, and carry advice from ship to ship. By this agreement, we could spread fifteen leagues, and see any thing that might pass us in the day within twenty leagues of the shore; and, to prevent the ships passing in the night, we were to ply to windward all day, and drive all night. On the fifth of November we changed our situation, and the *Duchess* was next the shore, and the *Marquis* in the middle. It gave us great satisfaction, to consider, that in this very place, and about this very day, Sir Thomas Candish took the *Manilla* ship.

On the 16th, we sent the bark to look for water on the main; and the next morning they returned, having seen wild Indians, who paddled to them on bark-logs: they were fearful of coming near our people at first, but were soon prevailed with to accept of a knife or two, and some bays; for which they returned two bladders of water, a couple of live foxes, and a deer's-skin. Till now, we thought the Spaniards had missionaries among these people; but they being naked, having no sign of European commodities, nor the least word of Spanish, we concluded they were quite savage. We dispatched the bark and boat a second time with trifles, in hopes to get some refreshment from them.

On the 18th, before sun-set, we could perceive our bark under the shore; and, having little wind, she drove most part of the night, to be near us in the morning. We sent out our pinnace, and brought the men aboard, who told us, that their new acquaintance were grown very familiar, but were the poorest wretches in nature, and had no manner of refreshment for us: they came freely aboard to eat some of our victuals, and by signs, invited our men ashore. The Indians swam ashore to guide the bark-logs that our men were on, there being too much sea to land  
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out of our boat. After they got safe on shore, the Indians led each of our men betwixt two of them, up the bank, where there was an old naked gentleman, with a deer skin spread on the ground, on which they kneeled before our people, who did the like, and wiped the water off their faces without a cloth. These that led them from the water side, took the same care of them for a quarter of a mile, and led them very slowly, through a narrow pass, to their huts, where they found a dull musician, rubbing two jagged sticks across each other, and humming to it, to divert and welcome their new guests. After these ceremonies were over, our people sat on the ground with them, eat broiled fish, and were attended back in the same manner, with the Indian music. The savages brought a sample of every thing they had, except their women, children, and arms, which we find are not common to strangers. Their knives, made of sharks teeth, and a few other of their curiosities, our people brought aboard to me, which I preserved, to shew what shifts may be made.

On the 28th in the afternoon, we heard the Marquis fire a gun, which was answered by the Duchefs, who had the middle birth. We tacked immediately, and made all possible sail, supposing they had seen a stranger. The Marquis stood to us, toward the shore, and we soon met here: by four o'clock I was aboard them, and inquired into the cause of the alarm; was surprised to hear they took us for the Manilla ship, and the gun they fired, was to alarm the Duchefs to give chase, as she had done all the day, though not regarded by us, who knew the Marquis, and admired they could mistake the Duke. Immediately each ship returned to his station. Soon after our main tie gave way, and our main yard came down at once, but did no other damage. Next morning we saw the bark coming off shore, where she had been becalmed: being longer wanting than usual, we were afraid they were cut off by the Indians.

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On the 9th of December, Mr. Duck, the master of the bark, came aboard, and presented me with some dolphins he had from the Indians. I ordered our master to go with him, and endeavour, if possible, to discover the shore along to the northward, to find out a better harbour than that where the Indians lived; and, if they met with the Duchefs, to tell captain Courtney, I thought it convenient for one of the ships to go into the bay we had already discovered, and there to take in water and wood, &c. so to fit our ships by turns, to save time, and, consequently, provisions, which began now to grow short with us. We were also something dubious of seeing the Manilla ships, because it was near a month after the time they generally fall in with this coast where we were cruising for them; but, what embarrassed us most was, the impossibility of procuring any intelligence which might deliver us from this perplexity. To act with judgment and spirit in so nice a conjuncture, it was resolved on the 4th, that the Marquis should go into the harbour, in order to refit; that I and the duke should keep the outward birth, and the Duchefs remain between us and the shore. It was likewise fixed, that we should cruise but eight days longer in hopes of this Manilla ship.

On considering our provisions, we found the bread on board all the ships, at our present short allowance, for about seventy days at most. Our run to Guam, one of the Ladrones, could not possibly be performed in less than fifty days; which added to the time we were still to remain here, made it evident, that, on our arrival there, we should have bread only for eleven days: and, even then, we ran two hazards; the first, that our voyage might be longer, and, in that case, our bread must fail, before we arrived at Guam; the other, that, in case we had such a remainder of bread when we came there, it was not quite certain, that we should obtain a supply. Yet, at all events, we were obliged to resolve upon this

this course, because it was simply impossible for us to go round by Cape Horn, and so to the Brasils, where we might have sold our goods to vast advantage, and made our voyage back to Great Britain in much less time.

The thoughts of all these difficulties naturally made us a little melancholy: however, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, we bore away for the port where the Marquis was refitting; but, about nine in the morning, the man at the mast-head cried out, that he saw a sail, besides the *Duchess* and bark, distant about seven leagues from us. We hoisted our ensign immediately, and bore away after her; the *Duchess* did the like; but, it falling calm, I ordered the pinnace to be manned, and sent out, to make what she was. In the mean time, our ship's company were strangely divided in their opinion: some were very positive, that it was the Marquis come out of port; and, to confirm this, they asserted, that the sail had no fore-top-mast; upon which we recalled the pinnace, put a cap aboard her for the Marquis, and then sent her away again; and by this time it was noon. All the rest of the day we had very little wind, so that we made no great way; and the boat not returning, kept us in a languishing condition, not being able to determine, whether the sail was our consort the Marquis, or the *Acapulco* ship. Our pinnace was still in sight, and we had nothing to do but to watch her motions: we could see, that she made towards the *Duchess's* pinnace, which rowed to meet her: they lay together some time, and then the *Duchess's* pinnace went back to their ship, which gave us great hopes.

In order to obtain some certainty, I ordered Mr. Fry on board the *Duchess*, in our yawl, to know what that ship was, and to agree, if she was not the Marquis, how to engage her: as soon as the yawl was gone, we hoisted French colours, and fired a gun, which the stranger answered; and this in some measure, cleared the doubt. Mr. Fry, however, quickly

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quickly returned, with the joyful news, that this was really the Manilla ship, for which we had waited so long, and of seeing which we began now to despair. This revived all our courage, and every body was as active in preparing for the engagement, as we could possibly desire. The thoughts of being made at once, dispersed all our melancholy reflections on the shortness of our provisions, and our long run to Guam.

We had now nothing in our heads, but being masters of the mighty treasure on board this India ship; and every moment seemed an hour, till we came up with her. We agreed the two pinnaces should tend her all night, and keep shewing false fires, that we might know whereabouts they and the chace were; and if we were so fortunate as to come up with her together, we agreed to board her at once. We made a clear ship before night, had every thing in readiness to engage her at day-break, and kept a very good look-out all night for the boat's false fires, which we saw, and answered frequently. At day-break we saw the chace upon our weather-bow, about a league from us, the Duchefs a-head of her to leeward, near about half as far. Towards six our boat came aboard, having kept very near the chace all the night, and received no damage; but told us, the Duchefs passed by her in the night, and she fired two shot at them; but they returned none. We had no wind, but got out eight of our ship's oars, and rowed above an hour; then there sprung up a small breeze.

I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company (having no spirituous liquor to give them); then we went to prayers, and, before we had concluded, were disturbed by the enemy's firing at us. They had barrels hanging at each yard-arm, that looked like powder-barrels, to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'clock we began  
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to engage her by ourselves; for the *Duchess*, being to leeward, and having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her stern-chace upon us first, which we returned with our fore-chace several times, till we came nearer; and, when close aboard each other, we gave her several broadsides, plying our small arms very briskly; which they returned as thick for a while, but did not ply their great guns half so fast as we. After some time, we shot a little a-head of them, lying thwart her hawse, close aboard; and plied them so warmly, that she soon struck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the *Duchess* came up, and fired about five guns, with a volley of small shot; but the enemy, having submitted, made no return.

We sent our pinnace aboard, and brought the captain, with the officers, away; and, having examined them, found there was another ship come out of *Manilla* with them, of larger burden, having about forty brass guns mounted, and as many pattereroes; but, they told us, they lost her company three months ago, and reckoned she was got to *Acapulco* before this time, she sailing better than this ship. This prize was called by the swelling name of *Nuestra Señora de la Incarnacion Difenganio*, sir John Pichberty commander; she had twenty guns, twenty pattereroes, and 193 men aboard, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with powder.

We engaged them about three glasses; in which time, we had only myself and another man wounded. I was shot through the left cheek; the bullet struck away great part of my upper jaw, and several of my teeth, part of which dropt down upon the deck, where I fell: the other, William Powell, an Irish landman, was slightly wounded in the buttock. They did us no great damage in our rigging, but a shot disabled our mizen-mast. I was forced to write what I would say, to prevent the loss of blood, and because of the pain I suffered by speaking.

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On the 23d of September, after we had put our ships to rights, we stood in for the harbour, which was distant about seven leagues to the north-east. Our surgeons went on board the prize, to dress their wounded men. About four in the afternoon we came to anchor, and received the compliments of all on board the Marquis, on our sudden and unexpected success, and which afforded us no small satisfaction: we found that ship in good condition, ready to sail, and all the men on board her very brisk, and eager for action. At eight in the evening, we had a consultation on the two great points; first, what should be done with the hostages; and, next, how we should act with respect to the other Manilla ship, which we thought there was at least a great probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. We agreed that it would be best, since we had good reason to believe the hostages from Guiaquil, and the commander of the Manilla ship, who was a French gentleman, viz. the chevalier Jean Pichberti, brother to the famous Mr. du Cas, to be men of strict honour; to make the best terms possible, and then set them at liberty. As to the other, we met with greater difficulty. I was very desirous of going out with the Duches to cruise for the other Manilla ship; but there having been some reflections cast, on account of the Duches not engaging our last prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, captain Courtney was absolutely bent on going out with the Marquis: and the officers of both ships voting for this in the committee, my proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the harbour against our will. It was, however, agreed, that we should put ten of our best hands on board the Duches, that she might be the better able to attack the Acapulco ship, if she saw her; and, on Christmas-eve, she and the Marquis sailed. As soon as they were gone, we put part of the goods aboard the bark into the prize, in order to send away our prisoners. The agreement we

made with them was this: as there were still 4000 pieces of eight due for the ransom of Guaiquil, we agreed to sell them the bark and cargo for 2000 more; and to take the chevalier Pichberti's bills, payable in London, for the round sum of 6000 pieces of eight; which he very readily gave us, and an acknowledgment under his hand, that he thought it a good bargain.

On Christmas-day we posted two centinels on the top of an hill, from whence they had a fair view of the sea, with instructions, whenever they saw three sail of ships in the offing, to make three wafts with their colours, that we might have time enough to secure our prisoners, and to get out to the relief of our consorts; which indeed we expected, as having certain intelligence that this was a much stronger ship than the other, better manned, and better provided in all respects; so that, if she was carried, it must prove very hard work on both sides, for which we were to prepare. On the 26th, in the afternoon, the centinels made three wafts, and we immediately sent the yaul to them for better satisfaction, and found there were three sail out at sea: upon which we instantly put all the prisoners aboard the bark, taking away her sails, and fetched our men aboard, leaving only twenty-two hands belonging to us aboard the prize, to keep, assist, and look after them. The prisoners, who were about 170, being secured aboard our bark, without arms, rudders, sails, or a boat, and moored near a mile from our prize, a few more of our men than was sufficient to give them victuals and drink, might have guarded them very safely; yet for the more security, we left a lieutenant of each ship, and the above men well armed, aboard our prize, and immediately weighed, in order to go and assist our consorts to attack the great ship when she came in sight. Captain Dover thought fit to go on board the prize, and exchange posts with one of the  
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lieutenants that guarded the prisoners, and sent him to us in his stead.

I was in so weak a condition, and my head and throat so much swelled, that I yet spake in great pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any distance; so that all the rest of the chief officers, and our surgeons, would have persuaded me to stay in the harbour in safety aboard our prize. We weighed our anchors, and got under sail at seven o'clock; we saw lights several times in the night, which we took to be our consort's boats making false fires.

In the morning, at day-break, we saw three sail to the windward of us; but were so far distant, that we could not make which were our consorts, and which the Chace, till about nine o'clock, when we saw the Dutchess and Chace near together, and the Marquis standing to them with all the sail she could croud. We made what sail we could, but were to leeward of them three or four leagues, and having a scant wind, made little way. At noon, they bore south-east of us, being right to windward about three leagues. In the afternoon, we saw the Marquis come up with the Chace, and engage her pretty briskly; but soon fell to leeward out of cannon-shot, and lay a considerable time, which made us think she was some way or other disabled. I ordered the pinnace to be manned, and sent away to her; and, if what we suspected proved true, and we had no wind to get up with them before night, our boat might dog the Chace with signals till the morning, that she might not escape us and the other ships; but before the boat could get up with them, the Marquis made sail, and came up with the Chace; and both went to it again briskly for four glasses and upward. Then the ship, which we took to be the Dutchess, steered a-head to windward of the enemy, I suppose to fix her rigging, or stop her leaks. Meanwhile the other ship kept her in play, till she bore down again; and each firing a broadside or two, left off because it was dark. They

then bore south of us, which was right in the wind's eye, distant about two leagues.

By midnight we were pretty well up with them, and our boat came aboard, having made false fires, which we answered. They had been aboard the *Duchefs* and the *Marquis*, and told me the former had her fore-mast much disabled, and the ring of an anchor shot away, with several men wounded, and one killed, having received a shot in the powder-room, and several in their upper works, but all stopt: they engaged the ship by themselves the night before, which was what we took to be the boats lights, being out of the hearing of the guns. At that time they could perceive the enemy was in disorder, her guns not being all mounted, and consequently their netting-deck and close-quarters unprovided; so that, had it been my good fortune in the *Duke*, to accompany the *Duchefs*, as I desired, we all believed we might then have carried this great ship; or if they in the *Duchefs*, had thought of taking most of the men out of the *Marquis*, who did not sail well enough to come up to their assistance at first, they alone, very probably, might have taken her, by boarding at once, before the Spaniards had experienced our strength; being afterward so well provided, as encouraged them to lie driving, and give us all opportunity to board them when we pleased. Captain Cooke sent me word, that the *Marquis* had fired near all her shot and powder; but had escaped very well, both in masts, rigging, and men. I sent our boat with three barrels of powder, and shot in proportion, and lieutenant Fry, to consult our consorts how to engage the enemy to the best advantage at break of day. The *Chace* had made signals to our ship all the day and night, because she took us for her consort, which we had in possession; and, after it was dark, had edged away to us, otherwise I should not have been up with her, having very little wind, and that against us.

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In the morning, as soon as it was day, the wind veering at once, put our ship about, and the Chace fired first upon the Duchefs, who, by means of the wind's veering, was nearest the enemy: she returned it smartly: we stood as near as possible, firing as our guns came to bear: but the Duchefs being by this time thwart the haws, and firing very fast, those shot that missed the enemy, flew from the Duchefs over us, and betwixt our masts; so that we ran the risk of receiving more damage from them than from the enemy, if we had lain on her quarters and cross her stern, as I designed, while the enemy lay driving there: this forced us to lay along-side, close aboard her, where we kept firing round-shot, and did not load with any bar or partridge, because the ship's sides were too thick to receive any damage by it; and no men appearing in sight, it would have been a clog to the force of our round-shot.

We kept close aboard her, and drove as she did, as near as possible: the enemy kept to their close-quarters; so that we did not fire our small arms till we saw a man appear, or a port open; when we fired as quick as possible. Thus we continued for four glasses, about which time we received a shot in the main-mast, which much disabled it: soon after, the Duchefs and we firing together, came back close under the enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her: so that we could make little use of our guns. Then we fell a-stern in our birth along-side, where the enemy threw a fire ball out of one of her tops, which lighting upon our quarter-deck, blew up a chest of arms and cartouch-boxes, all loaded, and several cartridges of powder in the steerage; by which means Mr. Vanburgh our agent, and a Dutchman, were very much burnt. It might have done more damage, had it not been quenched soon. After we got clear of each other, the Duchefs stood in for the shore, where she lay braced to, mending her rigging, &c. The Marquis fired several shot, but

to little purpose, her guns being small: we were close aboard several times afterwards, till at last we received a second shot in the main-mast, not far from the other, which rent it miserably, and the mast settled to it; so that we were afraid it would drop by the board: and, having our rigging shattered very much, we steered off and brought to, making a signal to our consorts what to do: in the interim, we got ordinary fishes for a support to the main-mast, and fastened it as well as we could, to secure it at present.

Captain Courtney and captain Cooke came aboard with other officers; where we considered the condition the three ships were in, their masts and rigging being much damaged, in a place where we could get no recruit; that if we engaged her again, we could propose to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great hurt; beside, our ammunition was very short, having only enough to engage a few glasses longer: all this being seriously considered, and knowing the difficulty we should have to get masts, and the time and provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to forbear attempting her further, since our battering her signified little, and we had not strength enough to board her: therefore we agreed to keep her company till night, then to lose her, and make the best of our way into the harbour; to secure the prize we had already taken.

We engaged first and last about seven hours, during all which time we had, aboard the Duke, but eleven men wounded, three of whom were scorched with gun-powder. I was again unfortunately wounded in my left foot with a splinter, just before we blew up on the quarter-deck; so that I could not stand, but lay on my back in a great deal of misery, part of my heel-bone being struck out, and all under my ankle cut above half-through; which bled very much, and weakened me before it could be dressed and

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and stopped. The *Duchess* had about twenty men killed and wounded: three of the latter and one of the former were my men. The *Marquis* had none killed or wounded, but two scorched with powder.

The enemy's was a brave lofty new ship, the admiral of Manilla, and this the first voyage she had made. She was called the *Vigonia*, of about 900 tons, and could carry sixty guns, about forty of which were mounted, with as many pattereroes, all brass; her complement of men on board, as we were informed, was above 450, beside passengers: they added, that 150 of the men on board this great ship were Europeans, several of whom had been formerly pirates, and having now got all their wealth aboard, were resolved to defend it to the last. The gunner, who had a post in Manilla, was an expert man, and had provided the ship extraordinary well for defence, which made them fight so desperately. These large ships are built at Manilla, with excellent timber, that will not splinter; they have very thick sides, much stronger than they build in Europe.

Thus ended our attempt on the biggest Manilla ship, which I have heard related so many ways at home, that I thought it necessary to set down every particular circumstance of it, as it stood in my journal. Had we been together at first, and boarded her, we might probably have taken this great prize; but after the enemy had fixed her netting-neck and close quarters, they valued us very little. I believe also we might have burnt her with one of our ships; but that was objected against by all the officers, because we had goods of value on board all our ships. The enemy was the better provided for us, because they had heard at Manilla, from our English settlements in India, that there were two small ships fitted from Bristol, that designed to attempt somewhat in the South Seas, and that captain Dampier was pilot; which was the reason they had so many Europeans aboard the great ship, most of whom having, as I

said, their wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmost; and having agreed to pay no freight there, had filled up all between the guns with bales, to secure the men.

On January 1, 1710, we returned again into port; and as we were now determined to make as quick dispatch as possible, in our passage to the East Indies, we immediately parted with our prisoners, giving them the bark, with water and provisions sufficient for their voyage to Acapulco. Then we applied ourselves to settling our own affairs. We spent our time to the 7th in refitting, wooding, and watering; and very satisfactory it was for us to find as much bread on board the prize, as, with our old stock, might supply us in our long run to Guam.

About this time, captain Courtney, and his officers, with those on board the Marquis, were too willing to compliment captain Dover with the chief command of the prize, which, till now, I thought he would not have accepted, his posts already being above a commander of any of our prizes; but I and my officers were against it, because we believed captain Fry, or others, were fitter persons to take charge of her.

After a long dispute, Mr. Fry and Mr. Stretton were appointed both to act in equal posts, to take charge of the navigating the ship, though under captain Dover, almost in the same manner I proposed at first; only he had the title of chief captain in that ship, which was so small a difference, where titles were so common, that we all consented to it: and at the same time they chose officers, agreeing, that we should put thirty men aboard her, the Duchess twenty-five, and the Marquis thirteen, which, with thirty-six Manilla Indians, called lascars, and other prisoners we had left, made her complement about 110 men: so that all our differences about this affair were at an end, and we drank to our safe arrival in Great Britain. In the morning, we put thirty-five good hands aboard her: the Duchess and Mar-

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quis put no more than their share. The captains Courtney and Cooke, and two or three more of the committee came to me, where we signed a paper for captain Dover and the two commanders, recommending peace and tranquillity amongst them; and that, in case of separation, the place of rendezvous was to be Guam, one of the Ladrone islands, where we designed to touch.

As I have not filled this work with a variety of descriptions, so, before I quit America, it may not be amiss to give the reader some account of California; the rather because most of what I relate I was eye witness of, and therefore it deserves the greater credit. I have heard from the Spaniards, that some of their nation had sailed as far betwixt California and the main as  $42^{\circ}$  north latitude, where, meeting with shoal water, and abundance of islands, they durst not venture any farther; so that, if this be true, in all probability, it joins to the continent a little farther to the northward: for shoal water and islands are a general sign of being near some main land. But the Spaniards, having more territories in this part of the world than they know how to manage, are not curious after further discoveries. The Manilla ships, bound to Acapulco, often make this coast in the latitude  $40^{\circ}$  north; and I never heard of any that discovered it farther to the northward. What I can say of it from my own knowledge is, that the land where we were is, for the most part, mountainous, barren, and sandy, and had nothing but a few shrubs and bushes, which produced fruit and berries of several sorts. Our men, who went in our bark to view the country, about fifteen leagues to the northward, say, it was there covered with tall trees. The Spaniards tell us of several good harbours in this country; but we found none of them near this cape. We frequently saw smoke in several places; which made us believe the inhabitants were pretty numerous. The bay where we rode, had but very indifferent

ferent anchoring-ground in deep water, and is the worst recruiting-place we met with since we came out. The wind, at this time of the year, generally blowing over land, makes it good riding on the star-board-side of the bay, where you anchor on a bank that has from ten to twenty-five fathom water: but the rest of the bay is very deep; and, near the rocks, on the larboard side, going in, there is no ground. During the time of our stay, the air was serene, pleasant and healthful; and we had no strong gales of wind, very little rain, but great dews fell by night, when it was very cold.

The natives we saw here had large limbs, were very straight, tall, and of a much blacker complexion than any other people that I had seen in the South Seas; their hair long, black, and straight, which hung down to their thighs: the men stark-naked; and the women had a covering of leaves or little clouts made of silk-grass, or the skins of birds and beasts, round their waists. All of them that we saw were old, and miserably wrinkled. We suppose they were afraid to let any of their young ones come near us; but needed not: for, beside the good order kept among our men in that respect, if we judge by what we saw, they could not be very tempting. The language of the natives was as unpleasant to us, as their aspect; for it was very harsh and broad, and they pronounced it so much in their throat. I designed to have brought two of them away with me, in order to have had some account of the country, when they had learnt so much of our language as to enable them to give it; but being short of provisions, I durst not venture it.

Some of them wore pearls about their arms and necks, having first notched each pearl round, and fastened it with a string of silk-grass; for, I suppose, they knew not how to bore them. The pearls were mixed with little red berries, sticks, and bits of shells, which they looked upon to be so fine an ornament,

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that, though we had glass beads of several colours, and other toys, they would accept none of them. They coveted nothing we had but knives, and other cutting instruments; and were so honest, that they did not meddle with our coopers or carpenters tools; so that, whatever was left ashore at night, we found in the morning. We saw nothing like European furniture or utensils about them. Their huts were very low, and made of branches of trees and reeds; but not sufficiently covered to keep out rain. They had nothing like gardens or provisions about them. They subsisted chiefly on fish while we were here, which, with the miserableness of their huts, that seemed only to be made for a time, made us conclude they had no fixed habitation here, whatever they might have elsewhere; and that this was their fishing-season.

We saw no nets or hooks, but wooden instruments, with which they strike the fish very dextrously, and dive to admiration. Some of our sailors told me, they saw one of them dive with his instrument, and, whilst he was under water, put up his striker with a fish on the point of it, which was taken off by another that watched by him in a bark-log. The reader may believe of this what he pleases; but I give it the more credit, because I myself threw some rusty knives over-board, on purpose to try the divers, who seldom missed catching a knife before it could sink three or four fathom, which I took to be an extraordinary proof of their agility. Instead of bread, they used a little black seed, which they ground with stones, and eat by handfuls. Some of our men thickened their broth with it, and said, it tasted somewhat like coffee. They have some roots that eat like yams; a sort of seeds that grow in cods, and taste like green pease; a berry, which resembles those of ivy, and being dried at the fire, eats like parched pease. They have another, like a large currant, with a white tartish pulp, a stone and a kernel. This sort  
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of fruit they seem to value much. They have also a fruit, which grows on the prickly-pear-tree, tastes like gooseberries, and makes good sauce. They have many other seeds and plants unknown to us; but I was not in a condition to view and describe them.

They seem to have an hunting-season, by the skins of deer we saw among them. They paid much respect to one man, whose head was adorned with feathers, made up in the form of a cap. In other respects, they seemed to have all things in common; for, when they exchanged fish with us for old knives, of which we had plenty, they gave the knives to any that stood next; and, after they had enough, we could get no fish from them. They appeared to be very idle, and seemed only to look after a present subsistence. They observed our men very attentively, while they cut wood, and filled water; but did not lend us a hand at either, or indeed in any thing that required hard labour. Their arms are bows and arrows, with which they can shoot birds flying. Their bows are about seven feet long, and of a tough wood, unknown to us, with strings of silk-grass; their arrows about four feet and an half, made of cane, and pointed with fish-bones, that they shape for the purpose. Most of their knives, and other cutting instruments, are made of sharks teeth. I saw two or three large pearls in their necklaces and bracelets; and the Spaniards told me, they had quantities of them from the inner part of the gulph of California, where they have missionaries planted among them.

Our men told me, they saw heavy shining stones ashore, which looked as if they came from some mine; but they did not inform me of this till we were at sea; otherwise I would have brought some of them, to have tried what metal could have been extracted out of them. The Spaniards likewise informed me, that the country in general within, on the main-land of Mexico, is pleasant and abounds with cattle and provisions of all sorts. The natives grew very fami-

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liar with us, and came frequently aboard to view our ships, which they mightily admired. We saw no boats or canoes among them, or any craft, but bark-logs, which they steered with paddles at each end. We gave one of the natives a shirt; but he soon tore it in pieces, and gave it to the rest of his company to put the seeds in, which they used for bread. We saw no utensils for cookery amongst them; nor do I suppose they have any; for they bury their fish in an heap of sand, and make a fire over it, till they think it fit for eating. There were in this bay all the fish usual in these seas. The entrance into the harbour may be known by four high rocks, which look like the Needles of the isle of Wight, as you come from the westward; the two westernmost in form of sugar-loaves; the innermost has an arch like a bridge, through which the sea makes its way. Here you ride land-locked from east to north back to the south-east by east: yet it is but an ordinary road, if the wind should come strong out of the sea, which it never did while we lay there.

I have now done with California, of which the Spaniards would know very little, but for these annual vessels that sail from Manilla to Acapulco. As I have mentioned these ships, I shall take occasion to observe, that, generally speaking, those that come from Manilla are much richer than our prize; for she waited a long time for the Chinese junks to bring silk; which not arriving, she came away with a cargo mixed with abundance of coarse goods. Several of the prisoners assured me, that it was a common thing for a Manilla ship to be worth 10,000,000 pieces of eight; so that, had it not been for this accident, we had taken an extraordinary prize indeed. After my return into Europe, I met, in Holland, with a sailor, who had been on board the large ship when we engaged her; and let us into the secret, that there was no taking her; for the gunner kept constantly in the powder-room, declaring that he had taken the  
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sacrament to blow the ship up if we boarded her; which made the men exceedingly resolute in her defence. I was the more ready to credit what this man told me, because he gave a regular and circumstantial account of the engagement.

January 10, we weighed from port Seguro, but were becalmed under the shore till the 12th in the afternoon, when there sprung a breeze, which ran us out of sight of the land. We took our departure from cape St. Lucas, which bore north by east, at twelve o'clock, distance fifteen leagues: we were forced to go with little or no refreshment, having but three or four fowls, and a very slender stock of liquor: several of our men were in a weak condition, beside myself, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the rest that were wounded. We were forced to allow but one pound and an half of flour, and one small piece of meat to five men in a mess, with three pints of water a man, for twenty-four hours, for drink and dressing their victuals. We struck down ten of our guns into the hold, to ease our ship. On the 16th, the Batchelor made a signal to give us some bread, they having found a good quantity of bread and sweet-meats on board her, but little of flesh-kind. We had one thousand weight of bread for our share, the Ducheſs as much, and the Marquis five hundred weight; in lieu of which, we sent back to the prize two casks of flour, one of English beef, and one of pork, they having but forty-five days provisions aboard in flesh. On the 26th in the morning, the water was very much discoloured, at which being surprized, we immediately sounded, but found no ground. We spoke with the Ducheſs, and agreed to go away west south-west, till we got into the latitude of  $13^{\circ}$ , because our Spanish pilot told us, it was dangerous going into  $14^{\circ}$ , by reason of islands and shoals, where a Spanish vessel was lost some time ago. Ever since, the Manilla ship, in her return from Acapulco, runs in latitude  $13^{\circ}$ ; and keeps the parallel, till they make the

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the island of Guam. On the 28th, the steward missing some pieces of pork, we immediately searched, and found the thieves: one of them had been guilty before, and forgiven, on promise of amendment; but was punished now, lest forbearance should encourage the rest to follow this bad practice, provisions being so short, and our runs so long, which might prove of ill consequence: I ordered them to the main-jeers, and every man of the watch to give them a blow with the cat-of-nine-tails; and their mess-mates, being privy to the theft, were put in irons.

March the 11th, we had sight of both islands, the northermost bearing north north-west, distant about seven leagues; and the body of the westernmost west south-west five leagues. The Spaniards say, there is a great shoal between these islands, but nearest to Serpana. We ran along the shore, being satisfied it was the island of Guam, from whence there came several flying proas to look at the ships; they ran by us very swift, but none would venture on board. At noon, the westernmost part of the island bore west; and at the same time, we made a low small island, joining to Guam, with a shoal between it and Guam. The island appeared green, and very pleasant: Off it there runs a spit of sand to the southward; but, keeping it a good birth from you, as you come near it, there is no danger, being gradual soundings to the shoal. After we were clear of it, we sprung our loof, and stood in for the harbour, which lies midway betwixt this and the north part of the island; and got to an anchor in the afternoon in twelve fathom water, about half a mile off shore, where there was a little village. The small island to the south bore south of us, distant about three leagues; and another small one to the northward bore north-north-west, about two leagues.

The necessity of our stopping at these islands to get a refreshment of provisions was very great, our  
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sea-store being almost exhausted; and what we had left was very ordinary, especially our bread and flour, which was not enough for fourteen days, at the shortest allowance. In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get some of the natives aboard, that were in the proas to keep them as hostages, in case of sending any of our men to the governor. One of them, as we were turning into the harbour with Spanish colours, came under our stern: There were two Spaniards in the boat, who, on our assuring them that we were friends, came on board; and, soon after, came a message from the governor, to whom we wrote a very respectful letter, and the next day received a civil answer to it, with a generous offer of any thing the island afforded; which made us very easy. On the 13th an entertainment was provided on board the Batchelor for the Spanish gentlemen, to which I was carried, being not able to move myself, but was hoisted in a chair out of the ship into the Batchelor; where we agreed, that a deputation should be sent from each ship, to wait on the governor with a handsome present, in acknowledgement for his great civility, and the readiness he expressed to supply us. On the 15th, there was another entertainment on board the Marquis, to which I was carried as to the former; and, after which, a committee was held, in which our former resolution was confirmed.

On the 16th, our pinnace went with several of our officers to the governor's ashore, who received them with all imaginable friendship and respect, having near 200 men drawn up in arms at their landing, and the officers and clergy of the island, to conduct them to the governor's house, which was a very handsome seat, considering where we found it. They entertained them with at least sixty dishes of several sorts, the best that could be got in the island; and when they took their leaves, each fired a volley of small arms. They presented the governor, ac-

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cording as we had agreed, with two negro boys dressed in liveries, twenty yards of scarlet cloth-  
 serge, and six pieces of cambric; which he seemed wonderfully pleased with, and promised to assist us in whatever lay in his power. The next day we got our dividend of provisions. On the 18th, there was an entertainment aboard us, where we had most of our officers, and four Spanish gentlemen from the governor. I made them as welcome as time and place would permit, diverting them with music, and our sailors dancing till night, when we parted well pleased on both sides. We got some more bullocks on board, being small lean cattle, but what we gladly accepted. It was agreed to make an handsome present to the governor's deputy, who got our provisions together, wherein he used all possible dispatch. We gave him, and the rest of the gentlemen, what they esteemed double the value of what we received of them; which they certified under their hands, and that we had been very civil to them: we also gave them the like certificate, signed by all our officers, to shew to any English that might have occasion to recruit there, and parted very friendly. Having finished that affair, it was agreed that we should steer from hence a west by south course, to go clear of some islands that lie in our way; and then thought it proper to steer directly for the south-east part of Mindanao, and from thence the clearest way to Ternate. In the mean time I put an old Spaniard ashore, called Antonio Gomes Figuero, whom we took in the first bark in the South Seas, and kept in order to carry him to Great Britain, to condemn all our prizes taken there; but he being now not likely to live, we agreed to dismiss him, he giving us a certificate, that he saw us attack and take several prizes, all subjects to Philip V. king of Spain, &c. I gave him some cloaths, and other things to help him in his sickness; then put him ashore to the deputy governor, and the rest of the Spanish officers, who gave us a certificate, that they received such a

person. The governor presented us with one of their flying proas or prows, which the Spaniards told me would run twenty leagues in an hour, which I think exceeds the truth; but, by what I saw, I verily believe they may run twenty miles or more in the time; for, when they viewed our ships, they passed by us like a bird flying\*.

As soon as the boat returned from landing signior Figuero, we put under sail, having a fine breeze of wind at east north-east. April 14, in the afternoon, we made land, which bore west north-west, distant about ten leagues; and supposed it to be the north-east part of Celebes. We saw three water-spouts; one of which had like to have broken on the Marquis, but the Duchess, by firing two shot, broke it before it reached her. We saw a very large tree afloat, with a multitude of fish about it, and two large islands, the southermost bearing south-west, distant about eight leagues, and the northermost west north-west, seven leagues, both being the same land we saw the day before; and the latter we then supposed to be the south east part of Moratay; and the other, the north part of Gilolo. In this condition, we sailed till towards the latter end of the month: with this additional vexation, that our ship was so leaky, that it was as much as four men were able to do to keep her free half an hour.

Captain Dampier discouraged us very much: he had been twice here, and therefore what he said amongst the seamen passed without dispute; and he laid it down as a thing certain, that if we could not reach Ternate, or find the island of Tula, it was impossible for us to get any refreshment, there being nothing to be met with on the coast of New Guinea. There were, in the mean time, great heart-burnings on board all the ships about the reduction of our allowance, so that we were obliged to enlarge it again;

\* See the construction of these proas accurately described in Anson's voyage.

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so little is reason able to prevail against hunger. On the 18th of May, we passed between the high-land of New Guinea and the low-land of Gilolo : and, on the 20th, we made another high island, which we took to be Ceram.

On May 24, being in the latitude of the island of Bouro, we expected to make that land, which is about twenty leagues to the south-west of Ceram, and near the same distance, in a parallel with Amboyna, which we designed to have touched at, if the wind had proved favourable : but, as the south-east monsoon was now set in, we were out of hopes of reaching it ; and, notwithstanding the skill of captain Dampier, we were still very doubtful, whether the island we passed by last was Ceram or Bouro. By an observation we had at noon, it appeared that we were in  $4^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude, and  $237^{\circ} 29'$  longitude west from London. As we were now in the latitude of the southern part of Bouro, we imputed our not seeing it to the currents setting us to the westward of it. The next day we came to a resolution not to spend any more time in searching for Bouro ; as also to drop our design of going to Amboyna, and to make the best of our way for the streights of Bouton ; where, if we arrived safely, we might get provisions sufficient to carry us to Batavia.

In pursuance of this agreement, we haled away south-west by south for them, having a fresh gale of wind at east ; but by two in the morning, we fell in with a parcel of islands to the eastward of Bouton ; and had certainly been ashore on one of them, had not the weather cleared up at once. We made a shift, and wore : the ships then stood off north-east from the land till day-break, when we saw it trending from south by east, to south-west by south, about six leagues distance, which made a fine large bay ; but as we stood in, we perceived an opening, and that there were two islands, with three lying thwart the outlet to the southward of both : we hoisted out



our pinnace, and sent her ashore; the Ducheſs did the ſame, from whence they brought off ſome cocoa-nuts, of which there were plenty there; and told us there were Malayan inhabitants, who ſeemed to be very friendly. Up the bay we ſaw ſeveral boats, houſes, and abundance of the native Malayans walking along the ſhore: we ſent in our boats for provisions and pilots, and myſelf and the Marquis turned up very near to the town; but ſounding ſeveral times, found no ground. The natives informed us, there was a bank oppoſite to the town, where we might anchor.

Abundance of people came off with Indian wheat, cocoa-nuts, yams, potatoes, papas, hens, and ſeveral ſorts of birds, to truck with us for cloaths, knives, ſciſſars, and other toys, being very civil to all appearance. They are Mohammedans, of a middle ſtature, and tawny; but the women are ſomewhat clearer than the men; having very long black hair, their mouths, lips, noſes ſmall: they wear a linen waſtcoat, which reaches only to the lower part of their breſts; and about their waſt a piece of cloth, three or four yards wide, and a yard deep, which they wrap about them inſtead of a petticoat. The men that came off were all naked, having only a cloth rolled about their middle; ſome of the better ſort of people had a looſe ſort of waſtcoat, and a piece of linen rolled about their heads, with a cap of palm-tree-leaves, to keep the ſun from ſcorching. They brought off ſeveral cicatoes and parrots, very fine birds. Along the ſhore-ſide we ſaw ſeveral weirs they had to catch fiſh. In turning up, we found the current very ſtrong againſt us, and the prize loſt ground conſiderably; wherefore, in the evening, the Ducheſs fired a gun; we ran out, and drove all night. The names of theſe two iſlands are Cambava and Wanſhut: theſe iſlands lie in latitude  $5^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $238^{\circ}$  weſt from London.

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We stood from those islands to the westward, and ran along-shore, as near as we durst, to weather the westernmost point of land, where we expected to find an harbour; but, as we neared it, found a long track of high-land trending to the southward, as far as south west and by south: we agreed in opinion, that was the island Bouton, but that we had overshot the straits. We made sail to see if we could discover any land farther to the southward; but finding none, we sailed on, keeping the wind as near as possible, because of the current, which sets strong to the south-west. By two a clock in the morning we were near a small island, that bore south south-west of us about two leagues; but having clear weather, we stood from it till day-break, there being no other land near it that we saw, except that we came from, which we had opened five points farther to the westward. I was unwilling to act any longer without the consent of the committee: so the major part of us met aboard the *Duchess*, where we agreed to stand back, and make the land plain, so as to be fully satisfied what it was, and withal to find a recruit of water and wood before we proceeded any farther, being in want of every thing, being then in south latitude  $5^{\circ} 50'$ , longitude  $238^{\circ} 38'$  west from London.

In pursuance of this agreement, we stood back the next day, and made little or no sail all night: In the morning, we had very fine clear weather, and made the land exceeding plain, which was very high, with islands under it. It looked most of it as if inhabited, being pretty thick of wood, and promising us, in other respects, plenty of refreshments; but our misfortune was, that we could not meet here with any ground that would hold our anchors; and the next day, the *Duchess* standing over to the other side of the bay, had no better fortune, but was forced to return, without anchoring, to us again. A little before she came back, our boat, which we had sent on shore, returned; the people on board having, by

presents, engaged some of the Malayans to come on board with them; in which they certainly judged right, though we could make no use of their intelligence for want of an interpreter; I sent to the Bachelor, who had one; but captain Dover refused to let him come to me, notwithstanding he had no use for him: then I sent a second time, that I might know the best anchoring-place for our ships; and treated the people with sweetmeats, and other things they fancied, but could not keep them, or send them aboard the Bachelor to secure her, seeing white shoal-water near us; but they passed by us, in danger of running on the shoals, not knowing the best anchoring-place for want of the linguist. At parting, they made signs, and pointed to the land to the northward, which they called Burroo. Our pilot, captain Dampier, says he has been formerly through the streights; and, in his book, tells us of a town near the south-part of them where the king resided; but he knew nothing of it now, except the bare story. Upon this, we agreed to send one of the pinnaces and the linguist along with him, to find out the town, being willing to venture him to wait on his majesty the king of Bouton, to solicit for a supply of provisions, for which we would gladly pay; and, to make the better appearance, we sent Mr. Vanbrugh and Mr. Connely along with him. The water flows here above fifteen feet. There are places near to the town, which lie to the northward six leagues, from whence we rode, where a ship might, on occasion, be laid ashore to refit; and we could have carried the Duke thither to stop her leak, but were not willing to lose time, since we found it did not increase more than one pump could vent, which we had men enough to keep continually going.

On the 30th, in the morning, a proa came from the king, with a nobleman on board, who had neither shoes nor stockings; and a pilot to carry us up to town. The first question this Indian lord asked,

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after he came on board, was, how we durst come to an anchor there, without leave first had and obtained of the great king of Bouton? He brought each commander a piece of Bouton striped cloth, a bottle of arrac, some rice in baskets, &c. as a present from the king; as also a letter from the officers we had sent ashore, giving an account that they had been very well received; and that the town where the king resided is large, walled, and fortified, and had several great guns; another present was returned, and five guns fired by every ship, at the messenger's going off, at which he seemed very well pleased. We wooded and watered at the island Sampo, and several proas came off to us with fowl, Indian corn, pompions, papas, lemons, Guinea-corn, &c. which they trucked for knives, scissars, old cloaths, &c. The people were civil, but sold very dear; yet our officers making a longer stay at the town than was intended, we began to suspect they were detained, those Moors being very treacherous: however, we heard from them every day; and, on June 5, the Duchess's pinnace came down with Mr. Connely, who told us there were four lasts of rice coming, which was bought of the king, and cost 600 dollars, fifty dollars in tale being allowed to make up the weight, because the royals were light; and that Mr. Vanbrugh was detained for the payment. The next morning it came, and was equally distributed among the four ships; some great men coming to deliver it, and receive the money: a Portuguese, sent by the king, was detained till our boat returned, and provisions began to come more plentifully and cheaper.

The town of Bouton is seated on the ascent of an hill; on the top whereof is a fort, inclosed with an old stone wall, on which there are guns and patereroes mounted. The king, and a considerable number of people, live in the said fort, where an herb-market is kept every day. The king has five

wives, beside concubines, and four men, called Pury Bassas, who carry great canes, with silver heads, to manage their affairs. His majesty, on his long black hair, wears a sort of green gauze, strewed with spangles; goes always bare-footed and bare-legged; is sometimes clad like a Dutch skipper; but, when he appears in state, has a long calico gown over his short jacket. In council, he sits on a chair covered with red cloth; is always attended by a serjeant and six men, with match-locks; beside three others, one of which wears a head-piece, and carries a large scimitar in his hand; another holds a shield; and the third a great fan. Four slaves sit at his feet, one of them holding his betel-box, another a lighted match, another his box to smoke, and a fourth his spitting-bason. The petty kings and great men sit on his left-hand, and before him; every one attended by a slave in the council-chamber, where they chew tobacco and betel in the king's presence; and speak to him sitting cross-legged, joining their hands, and lifting them up to their fore-head. The town is very populous; and by it runs a fine river; which, they say, comes down from ten miles up the country, ebbs and flows considerably; and has a bar at the entrance; so that boats cannot come out at low-water. At least, 1500 boats belong to this river, fifty whereof are proas for war, carrying pattereroes, and forty or fifty men each. About fifty islands are tributary to the king, who sends some of his proas, once a year, to gather in the tribute, which consists of slaves, each island giving him ten inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one mosque at Bouton, which is supplied with priests from Moca, the people being Mohammedans. They are great admirers of music; their houses are built upon posts; Dutch money is current here, and Spanish dollars. On the 17th, our pinnace returned, with Mr. Vanbrugh, and all our men, having parted very friendly with his majesty, but could not get a pilot for money: however,

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we resolved to stay no longer, and to trust wholly to Almighty Providence for our future preservation. We dismissed the Portuguese linguist, and began to unmoor our ships. The next day, we made three islands to the northward of Zalayer; and the looming of other land to the westward of all which, we took to be the southermost part of Celebes.

On the 10th, our pinnaces came up with a small vessel; who told them they were bound for Macassar, a Dutch factory on the south part of Celebes. The pinnace took the master of her on board, who promised to pilot us, not only through the streights of Zalayer, but to Batavia, if we could keep it secret, for fear of the Dutch. He sent his vessel to lie in the narrower passage, between the islands, till such time as our ships came up. About four a clock we entered the streight, betwixt the islands that are next to Zalayer, and another little one to the northward of that, being the middlemost of the three; having found a good passage, three leagues over, all deep water, steering through north-west by west, to give the larboard islands a good birth; then we made the southermost part of Celebes. The same morning, the pilot promised to carry us through the channel the great Dutch ships generally went for Batavia, and by that means avoid the shoals, called the Brill and Bunker-ground.

The Brill has very uneven soundings; and in many places, but three fathom water, and less; so we haled away to the northward, keeping the island Celebes aboard, the south-west part of which trends away in low land, with high mountains at the back of it; and off the point there lies a rock, pretty high and remarkable. At four o'clock we came to sounding, and had ten fathom; and came to an anchor under the island, behind the spit of land, in ten fathom water, very good clean ground. The rock of Celebes then bore north-east by north four leagues, the northermost of the keys two leagues, and the middle-

middlemost west south-west three leagues: the other being shut in with the long island, we kept the land going all the way constantly through; and had never less than six fathom, nor more than ten.

As soon as it was day, we weighed, and went betwixt the two small keys, keeping nearest the northernmost sounding all the way, and had no more than ten fathom. The water still deepening, being clear of them, we haled away west, and then south-west, having a fresh gale at south-east, and south-east and by east; no land in sight at noon, but part of the high-land at Celebes, which bore east, distant about twelve leagues. It was very well for us that we met with this pilot; for, having no good charts, nor any one acquainted with those seas, we had run greater hazards. On the 14th, we ran by the island Madura, which is about four leagues long, lying east and west, on the north side of Java, the land we made in the morning being the north-east part of it. In the afternoon, we saw the ships in the road of Batavia, betwixt thirty and forty sail, great and small; and got happily to anchor just after sun-set, betwixt six and seven fathom water, at the long desired port of Batavia, in latitude  $6^{\circ} 10'$  south, longitude  $252^{\circ} 51'$  west from London.

By our reckoning here, we altered our account of time, having, as is customary, lost almost one day in running west so far round the globe.

When we came in sight of Batavia, and especially after some sloop had been aboard us, I found, that after sailing so long with them, I was absolutely a stranger to the humours of our people. A few days before, they were perpetually quarrelling and jangling; a disputed title to a lump of sugar would have created a tumult, which could have been laid by nothing but the prospect of a dram; but now there was nothing but hugging and shaking by the hand, and blessing their stars, and questioning if there was such a paradise upon earth; and all this because

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because they had arrack for eight-pence a gallon, and sugar at a penny a pound : the next minute all together by the ears again ; about who should put the ingredients together ; for the weather being hot, and the materials excessively cheap, labour was now become a very considerable thing.

We anchored here in five fathom water, the ground so soft and oufy, that the anchor sinks above a fathom ; so that it cannot foul : and therefore ships always ride single. The town bore south by east, distant a mile and an half ; and the island Onrest bore north-west by north, distant two leagues and an half. At this island the Dutch clean and careen all their ships, and have two wind-mills on it to saw timber. They hale their ships along-side of a wharf, where there are two cranes to discharge them, and store-houses to lay up the goods. The Duchess fired thirteen guns to salute the Dutch flag ; but it being night, he did not answer : yet the next morning he sent his boat aboard, to beg my pardon for that omission, which he would then repair. Soon after, the Duke fired thirteen guns ; and the Dutch flag answered both our ships gun for gun. Between twelve and one, two English gentlemen came aboard us, the one captain of an English ship, there being three and a sloop in the road, all belonging to Madras. All of us, who were commanders, went ashore, and landed at Bomb-Key, whence we proceeded to the shabander, who conducted us to the castle, before Abraham van Riebeck, general of India, who received us very civilly ; but was very inquisitive, and shewed visibly an intention to find some pretence for denying us what we asked, and had occasion for. To satisfy him effectually, and prevent all disputes, we not only shewed him our commissions, which, in fact, was all he had a right to demand ; but we likewise gratified him with an extract of our journal and proceedings, that he might be convinced that we had acted fairly, and done nothing



thing but what was justified by our commissions. After all, we were forced to bear, not only with his haughty airs, and the natural slowness of Dutch councils, but with many other disagreeable circumstances, that shewed us plainly, we owed little, if any thing, to friendship or good-will.

Soon after our arrival at Batavia, we went about fitting the Marquis; but, being first ordered upon the careen, the shabander having allowed us several Malayan caulkers, when we came down to the bends, we found them, as well as the stern and stern-post, so much worm-eaten and rotten, the ship being very old, and having only a single bottom, that we ordered a survey of carpenters to view her, who all agreed that there was no fitting her in that place for going about the Cape of Good Hope, her condition being extraordinary bad; which obliged us to hire a vessel to take out her lading. Then we applied ourselves to fitting of the other ships, but could not, at any rate, obtain leave of the government to repair to the isle of Ornest; but were allowed to go to the low small island Horn, which is near the other, inhabited by a few Malayan fishermen; and on it was abundance of cocoa-nuts, plantain, papa, guava, and other fruit-trees. The government allowed us a small vessel of that sort they call champans, to careen our ships by. We then hove down the Duke and Duchess, and found their sheathing also very much worm-eaten in some places. When the ships were fitted, we returned again to Batavia road, where we rigged the three, and sold the Marquis, after taking out all the goods, and most of the stores, to captain Opie and captain Oldham. Then all the officers and men were distributed among the other ships, except one Dutchman who ran away.

The weather was extremely hot during our stay; many officers and men fell sick; and I was one of the number. The master of the Duke, the gunner of the Duchess, and several of our men died of the flux.

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## CAPTAIN WOODES ROGERS. 221

Rux. John Read, a young man belonging to the *Duchess*, venturing to swim, had both his legs snapped off by a shark, which, at the second bite, before we could get him on board, took off the bottom of his belly; so that he was dead before we could take him up.

The city of Batavia lies on the north-west side of the famous island of Java, in the latitude of  $5^{\circ} 50'$ . The east and west winds blow all the year along the shore, besides the ordinary land and sea-winds, which exceedingly cool the air, and make it pleasant; otherwise it would be intolerably hot. Their summer begins in May, with continual breezes from the east, and a very clear sky, till the latter end of October, or beginning of November, when the winter begins with hard rains, which hold sometimes three or four days without intermission. In December the west winds blow very violently; so that there is little trade on the coast of Java. In February the weather is changeable, with sudden thunder-storms. In March they begin to sow. June is their pleasantest month. In September they gather in their sugar and rice. And, in October, they have plenty of fruit and flowers, plants and herbs of most sorts. There is a large, fenny, plain country before the city; but this is exceedingly well improved by the Dutch: and, to the east, it is very full of wood and morasses. The city is square, with a river running through it, and fortified by a strong wall, and twenty-two bastions.

About ten years past, there was an earthquake, which overturned part of the mountains in the country, and altered the course of the river; so that the canals in and about Batavia are not near so commodious as they have been, nor the entrance into the river so deep: and, for want of a strong current of water to keep it open, they are forced to employ a large engine to preserve the mouth of the river navigable, for small vessels to come into the canals of the city. It lies in a bay, in which there are seventeen

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or eighteen islands, which so break off the sea, that, though the road is very large, yet it is safe. The banks of the canals through the city are faced with stone on both sides, as far as the boom, which is shut up every night at nine o'clock, and guarded by soldiers. There are channels cut out of the main river for smaller vessels; and every boom pays toll.

All the streets run in straight lines, most of them being above thirty feet broad on each side, clear of the chanel, and paved next the houses with bricks. All the streets are very well built and inhabited, fifteen of which have chanel; and they reckon fifty-six bridges on them, most of them of stone. The country-seats and buildings round the city are generally neat and well-contrived, with handsome gardens for fruit and flowers, fountains, and statues. The vast quantities of cocoa-nut-trees every where afford delightful groves. They have fine structures here; particularly the cross church, built of stone, and the inside very neat. There are two or three churches for the Dutch, and two for the Portuguese protestants, who are a mixt sort of people. There is one church also for the protestant Malaysans. The town-house is built of brick, in a square, about the centre of the city, two stories high, and very finely built; where all courts are held, and all matters relating to the civil government of the city are determined; and the senators and directors of the military affairs meet. There is an inner court, inclosed with an high wall, and a double row of stone pillars, where the officers of justice live.

Here are hospitals, spin-houses, and rasp-houses, the same as in Amsterdam, with all other public buildings, equal to most cities in Europe. The Chinese have also a large hospital in this city for their aged and sick persons; and manage their charity so well; that you never see a Chinese that looks despicable in the street. The Dutch women have greater privileges in India, than in Holland, or any-where else;

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for, on slight occasions, they are divorced from their husbands, and share the estate betwixt them. A lawyer told me at Batavia, he has known, out of fifty-eight causes all depending in the council-chamber, fifty-two of them were divorces. Great numbers of the natives, who are criminals, are chained by pairs, and kept at hard labour, under a guard, perpetually clearing the chanel and moats round the city, or any other work for the public. Three leagues west from the town is the island Onreft, where all the company's ships are refitted. There are magazines of naval stores, defended by platforms of guns.

The castle at Batavia is quadrangular, lies in a level, and has four bastions and curtains, faced with white stone, and provided with watch-houses. In this castle, or rather citadel, the Dutch governor general, and most of the members of the council of India, with the other officers of Batavia, have their residence. The governor's palace is of brick, large and well-built. In this palace is the council-chamber, the secretary's office, and chamber of accounts. The general's hall is hung with bright armour, ensigns, flags, &c. taken by the Dutch here. The governor gives audience to strangers, who are introduced to him by the shabander, who is commissioner of the customs. The garrison on duty is generally about 1000 strong; and all the outworks are said to be furnished with provisions, as well as can be; but the soldiers are kept much under, except the governor's guards, who have large privileges, and make a fine appearance. The governor general lives in as great splendor as a king: he has a train and guard, viz. a troop of horse, and a company of foot, with halbards, in liveries of yellow sattin, richly adorned with silver-lace and fringes, to attend his coach, when he goes abroad. The guards are as well equipped as those of most princes in Europe. His lady has also her guards and train. He is chosen but for three years, out of the twenty-four counsellors, called rads  
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of India, twelve of whom must always reside in the city.

The Chinese have the greatest trade here; farm most of the excise and customs, live according to their own laws, and are allowed their idolatrous worship. They have a chief, that manages their affairs with the company, who allows them great privileges, and particularly a representative in council, who has a vote; when any of the Chinese are tried for life. But these privileges are allowed only to such Chinese as inhabit here; for others are not permitted to stay above six months in the town, or on the island Java. The other strangers, besides Europeans, are Malayans, with some from most parts of India.

The Javanese, or antient natives, are numerous, and said to be barbarous and proud, of a dark colour, with flat faces, thin, short, black hair, large eye-brows and cheeks. The men are strong-limbed; but the women are small. The former have a wrapper of calico three or four times round their bodies; and the latter from their arm-pits to their knees. The men have two or three wives, beside concubines; and the Dutch say, they are much addicted to lying and stealing. Those on the coast are generally Mohammedans; but the others Pagans. The women are not so tawny as the men, and many of them handsome; but, in general, amorous, and unfaithful to their husbands, being very apt to give poison, which they do very cunningly. The town is very populous; but not one-sixth of them Dutch. The Chinese here go all bare-headed, with their hair rolled up, and long gowns, carrying fans in their hands. The Dutch say, they are more industrious and acute in trade, than themselves.

The discipline and order of the Dutch here, both in civil and military affairs, is truly admirable. They have all the necessaries for building and careening ships, as well as in Europe; and their officers as regular as in his majesty's yards; whereas we have no-

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thing like it in India. They keep the natives very much in awe, being perfectly despotic in their government; but they are more tender to the Chinese, because of the great trade they have by their means; and that they pay great rents for their shops, besides large taxes; and from sixteen to thirty per cent. for money, which they frequently borrow of the Dutch. I was told there are here about 80,000, who pay the Dutch a dollar a head each month, for liberty to wear their hair, which they are not allowed to wear at home, since they were conquered by the Tartars. There come hither from China fourteen or sixteen large junks yearly, being flat-bottomed vessels, from 3 to 500 tuns burden. The merchants come along with their goods, which are lodged in different partitions in the vessels, like warehouses, for which they pay a certain price, and not for the weight or measure of the cargo, as we do; so they fill them with what they please. They come in with an easterly monsoon, and generally arrive in November or December, and return the beginning of June; so that the Dutch have all Chinese commodities brought to them, cheaper than they can fetch them: and, being conveniently situated for the spice-trade, they have all in their own hands. Batavia wants no commodities that India affords. They have seldom less than twenty sail of ships at Java, from thirty to fifty and sixty guns each, with men enough for them on all occasions. Their soldiers are very well trained, and there is a company always on duty at every gate of the city and citadel; and they have 7 or 8000 disciplined Europeans in and about the city, who can be assembled and ready for action at a very short warning. It is the metropolis of their Indian settlements, and sends governors and officers to all the rest. The late general, before we came hither, had war with the Indians, which, I was informed, had like to have spoiled their settlements; but, at last, they divided the natives amongst themselves, brought them to a



peace on advantageous conditions, and are now pretty secure of the sea-coasts. There are many pleasant seats about the city, and the adjacent country abounds with rice, sugar-cane-fields, gardens, and orchards, mills for sugar, corn, and gunpowder; so that this is one of the pleasantest cities in the world. I do not think it so large as Bristol; but it is more populous. They have schools for Latin, Greek, &c. and a printing-house. They have lately begun to plant coffee here, which thrives very well; so that, in a little time, they may be able to load a ship or two: but I am told, it is not so good as that in Arabia.

On the 17th of October we arrived at the water-place on the main, having sailed from Batavia on the 14th. On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, we came to an anchor with our best bower, in a bay about a league to the westward of Java head, in fifteen fathom water, on dry ground, about a mile from the shore; sent our pinnace for water, and then our sail-maker, wooders, &c. captain Pike, and Mr. Block, came in a boat from Batavia, the first of them, after his steward, who had concealed himself, unknown to most of us, aboard the Batchelor. In the evening, captain Pike lent us his boat and men; we put into her several of our men, with arms and provisions from each ship; and sent her away to Pepper Bay, to buy fowls, and other fresh provisions, giving them for that purpose knives, and other toys, which the natives there value above money.

In the evening we had much thunder, lightning, and rain, which put us in fear for the men sent to Pepper Bay; continued wooding and watering till the 28th, and sent several men ashore to kill buffaloes, which being extremely wild, they could shoot none, and durst not stay ashore at night, by reason of the many tygers: one of them was very near seizing a man of ours, who, to save himself was obliged to take the water; at least twenty shots were made at the tyger before he went off, and they saw several others

others at people, and what else. They getting them men ashore and a free for our men heard not trusting the tained by evening, with the some men board the but was his comm to pardon

We made with the 70 fathom and shells tude 34°. The same high-land and rump day we and Dutch for seven. V mile off the ed the D ward-bou outward-l the guard 29th, we and top-wind off the fresh betw sixteen f



others at the same time. The Indian king, and his people, dealt friendly with us, trucking fowls, and what else they had to spare, for knives, and the like. They generally came aboard every day, and, we giving them some trifle at parting, they were kind to our men ashore. The wind being commonly at south-east, and a fresh gale, we were under some apprehensions for our men sent to buy fowls in Pepper Bay, having heard nothing of them since their departure, and mistrusting the boat might be overfet, or the men detained by the Javans. But, on the 25th in the evening, the boat returned, to our great satisfaction, with the men, bringing about twelve dozen of fowl, some mangoes, &c. captain Pike's steward came on board the *Duchefs*, hoping we would conceal him; but was immediately sent on board the *Batchelor* to his commander, who gladly received, and promised to pardon him.

We made land the 15th of December, came in with the shore the 18th, and had sounding in 60 and 70 fathom, the ground grey gret with small stones and shells; had a strong southerly current, south latitude  $34^{\circ} 2'$ , longitude  $334^{\circ} 34'$  west from London. The same day we had very hard flaws of wind off the high-land, till we came within sight of the lion's head and rump, two hills over the Cape Town; and this day we arrived in the harbour of the cape, saluted the Dutch fort with nine guns, and were answered by seven. We anchored in six fathom water, about a mile off shore, and found only one English ship, called the *Donegal*, captain Cliff commander, homeward-bound from Mocho, and two Middleburghers, outward-bound for Batavia, in the harbour, beside the guard-ship, and two or three galliots. On the 29th, we moored our ship, and got down our yards and top-masts, to guard against the hard flaws of wind off the table-land, which frequently blow very fresh betwixt east south-east and south-east. We sent sixteen sick men ashore.

On the 1st of February, I offered some propofals, in writing, to captains Dover and Courtney, with the rest of the committee; wherein I told them, it was my opinion, we should lose too much time to stay for the Dutch fleet, in order to have the benefit of her convoy to Holland; which would not only be out of our way, but very tedious and chargeable; and we having large quantities of decaying goods on board, the time we should lose by waiting for the Dutch, might be advantageously employed in Brasil, where we could lie in very little danger of the enemy, and vend them at great rates, and thence get to Bristol through the north channel, having the summer before us, continuing in the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$  or  $56^{\circ}$ , two or three hundred leagues before we got the length of the north of Ireland; and by that means, might avoid the track of the enemy. I earnestly pressed, that, if they could not agree to this, one of our privateers might take this alone, and the other keep with the Batchelor and Dutch fleet. But the majority was against any thing but going home with the Dutch fleet all together; so that all I could do more, was to remind them of examining the goods aboard the Batchelor, and to take out of her so much goods in safe package, as would lie in the like room of European goods, on board the Duchefs; that, if any accident should happen to the Batchelor, we might have part of her value in another bottom. I desired, if any amongst them were not of this opinion, they would give their reasons to the contrary in writing; but we could agree on nothing.

On April 5, at day-break, the flag hoisted a blue ensign, loosed the foretop-sail, and fired a gun, as a signal to unmoor: as we were heaving in our cable, it rubbed against the oakum, which had got into the leak, and occasioned the ship to be as leaky again as ever, she having been indifferent tight for some time, and we were in hopes it would have continued. About noon I came aboard very thin, and in no better health

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health than I was when I went first ashore at our arrival here: presently after I went aboard the flag, there being a signal made for all the English commanders. We had before received our orders, which were very particular, and to be punctually observed. About four in the afternoon, the flag, vice, and rear-admirals, weighed with part of the fleet, and fell down to Robins or Penguin island, where they lay for the rest of the ships. On the 16th, in the afternoon, we all weigh from Penguin island, being sixteen Dutch, and nine English ships, having a fine fresh breeze at south south-east. The Cape of Good Hope has been so often described, that I do not think it necessary to detain the reader with any account of it here\*.

There happened nothing remarkable in our voyage till June 5, when the admiral made a signal for all the English commanders, and some of the Dutch skippers, to come on board; where we found an excellent entertainment; and the good humour of the Dutch admiral soon made all the company understand each other without a linguist, though we had much ado to get one at first meeting: we parted before the sun set, and had a fine day. The 28th, being got into the latitude of  $51^{\circ}$  north, we had thick foggy weather; so that the flag fired two guns every half-hour, and each ship answered with one. This continued several days, which consumed a great deal of powder; but, by the noise of the guns, it was easy to keep company, though sometimes so thick for several hours, that we could not see three ships lengths.

On July 14, we saw two ships in the afternoon; one of which we spoke with, being a Dane, bound for Ireland; she informed us of the Dutch men of war that were cruising for us off Shetland, (being ten sail) whom she saw four or five days ago, and reckoned herself now about forty leagues from the land.

\* See Kolbein's account of the cape and its inhabitants, in vol. ii.

We had sounding then in seventy fathom water, brown gravelly ground. I just had time to send the owners copies of my letters from the Cape of Good Hope; and to let them know, that we were now got so far safe toward the conclusion of a fatiguing voyage.

In the morning, we made Fair Island, and Foul Island, lying off Shetland. Presently after we saw the men of war; but, having little wind, and they a good way distant from each other, we could join but one of them by noon. The next day all the men of war joined us, except one or two, with the fishing-doggers, which were cruising off to the north-east of Shetland. After mutual salutations, both by the English and the Dutch ships, one of the men of war was sent out to see for the missing ships. The inhabitants of those islands came aboard with what provisions they had, being very poor people, who subsist mostly by fishing. On the 17th, I wrote a single letter to the owners in general, by a Scots fishing-boat belonging to Shetland, advising them of our joining the men of war who were ordered with the fleet to the Texel, where we hoped to meet an English convoy. The Dutch India admiral, though but a company's ship, wears his flag; gives signals and orders to the Dutch men of war, which is not suffered among the English; and, in the whole run from the cape, kept an exact discipline in the fleet, not suffering any of the commanders to go out of the ships to visit each other at sea without a signal, or leave.

On the 23d, the weather being close, the commodore made a signal about ten o'clock for seeing land; presently all the fleet answered him with their colours. The pilot-boats coming off aboard the ships, we parted with the Rotterdam and Middleburgh ships, most of the men of war going with them to see them safe in. The flag, and all the English ships, saluted the commodore, and afterward we saluted the flag, to welcome him in sight of Holland; and, as soon as

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they were got over the bar, the Dutchmen fired at their safe arrival in their own country, which they very affectionately called Fatherland.

About eight at night we all came safe to anchor in six fathom water, about two miles off shore. On the 24th, in the morning, the Dutch flag weighed, in order to go up to the unlivering place: as he passed by us, we gave him three huzzas, and nine guns. In the afternoon I went up to Amsterdam, where we had letters from our owners, to direct us how to act, and proceed from hence.

On the 28th, the English East India ships had orders to be in readiness for sailing with the first Dutch convoy for London. We got some provisions aboard from Amsterdam on the 30th. When I came aboard, on the 1st of August, by consent of our council, we discharged what men we shipped at Batavia and the Cape, and afterward went away from Amsterdam. On the 4th, the *Duchess* and *Batchelor* went up the road called the *Vlieter*, being a better road than the *Texel*. In the evening, we had news of some of our owners being at the *Hildar*: Mr. Pope went to wait upon them, and, in the morning, came aboard with them: after a short stay, they went for the *Duchess* and *Batchelor*, designing thence for Amsterdam. We welcomed them with fifteen guns at their coming and going. The English East India ships, and others, bound for England, weighed with the Dutch convoy the same day, having a fine gale at north-east.

On the 6th, we weighed from the *Texel*, and went up to our consorts, it being by a particular order from the owners, for our better security, being obliged to wait here, fearing the India company would be troublesome, although we had dealt for nothing but necessaries in India. In order to obviate this, and convince the world, as well as the East India company, of our honesty and good conduct in this respect, the officers first drew up an affidavit, setting forth there never was any commerce carried on in the

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Indies, or any transactions of buying and selling, but for provisions, and other things, for the ships; and, that no suspicion might remain, an abstract of our journal was drawn up, and the best part of the ship's company voluntarily swore to it. On the 19th in the afternoon, we had news of our convoy lying without the Texel; which was very acceptable to the crews of each ship, who were in the utmost uneasiness at our long stay, being just at home; so that we had much ado to keep the companies aboard, till now we got every thing in readiness, in order for falling down to them.

On the 20th, about five in the afternoon, we got down to the Texel, where we found our convoy at anchor, being the Essex, Canterbury, Medway, and Dulwich men of war. On the 22d in the morning, the wind being at north-east, we weighed from the Texel, and by ten of the clock got clear of the channel. In the afternoon, the commodore took the Batchelor in tow; and next morning, the wind being against us, we bore away again for the harbour; as did likewise four Dutch men of war, that came out with us, bound for London: after seeing us safe in, he stood off to the northward, with the Canterbury and Medway, but came in the next morning. On the 24th, our officers met, where, consulting, that our three ships wanted necessaries to keep the sea, in case we should meet with bad weather, we requested captain Roffey our commodore, that he would please to stay, should the wind be fair, till such time as we could be provided with the said necessaries from Amsterdam; which was granted. On the 30th, at break of day, we weighed, as did likewise four Dutch men of war.

On the 1st of October, about eleven o'clock, we came to an anchor in the Downs, where several of our owners came on board, and, after they had visited every ship, went on shore with some prisoners, to examine them about our capture, &c. At three this morning,

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## CAPTAIN WOODES ROGERS. 233

morning, the *Essex* made a signal to unmoor; and betwixt nine and ten weighed, he being ordered up to the Buoy in the Nore, and we to make the best of our way to the Hope. October 14, at eleven o'clock, we and our consort got up to Eriff, where we came to an anchor, which ends our long and fatiguing voyage.

IT was owing to this expedition of Woodes Rogers, that the spirit of privateering in the South Seas was not totally lost in England, where abundance of art had been used to propagate an opinion, that it was simply impossible for any privateer squadron to act with success, at least for their owners: and that, if any thing was taken, it must be in a bucanneering way, that is, for the sole advantage of the crew. But, in all these respects, this voyage has undeceived us, and plainly shewn, that, under proper command, our people are able to do as great things now, as ever they did in the days of Elizabeth; and, indeed, it is offering the greatest indignity to our seamen to think otherwise. Amongst the rest of the bug bears invented to terrify our people from going into those seas, one was, the dreadful treatment they met with from the Spaniards, when, by any accident, they fell into their hands. As to this, captain Rogers has set the matter in its true light. He deplores the loss of Mr. Hatley in the most affecting terms; probably from an opinion, that he might be starved at sea, or forced to live ashore on some of the barren Gallapagos islands: but he very fairly tells us, that, after that gentleman fell into the hands of the Spaniards, he was very kindly treated, and sent up to Lima as a prisoner of war, which was what he had reason to expect. It is indeed true, that, when he and his boat's company landed at Cape Passao, and surrendered themselves, they were very barbarously used, having their hands tied behind them, hung up by their necks, and almost half-slayed with whips: but then, by whom was this done? by a mixed people, the off-spring of  
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negroes and Indians, who bore an implacable hatred to every man of a white complexion, out of meer aversion to the Spaniards. In this distress they had probably ended their days, but for a priest, who interposed, and preserved them.

The next remarkable thing in this voyage, is the prudence shewn in the œconomy of it, which ought to recommend it as a precedent on all such occasions for the future. This excellent management appeared particularly in the method taken of holding councils before any transactions of importance, to consider the proper means for effecting it: and then, when the thing was fresh in every body's head and memory, to bring the conduct of the affair under examination, so as to procure another resolution of the committee, either approving or disapproving it. By this measure all facts were so effectually settled, that they would admit of no disputes after they came home; and it is very plain, that the debates which happened aboard, were hindered from growing to a dangerous height by this very method: for, as nothing could be absolutely determined while they were aboard, every body was anxious and assiduous in settling properly the papers, upon the testimony of which, the sense of their owners, in regard to their conduct, was to be determined.

A third circumstance that deserves regard, is the weakness of the Spaniards; for it appears plainly, that they were not, at this time, in a much better condition than when Drake and Candish ravaged their colonies: and of this captain Rogers was so sensible, that, in the preface to his book, he lays it down as a thing extremely practicable, not only to plunder the Spanish settlements on the coast, but even to fix garrisons there, which, he thinks, it would not be in the power of the Spaniards to excel, before they received a relief from Britain. It is not easy to say whether at this time, such a scheme as he recommends would be practicable; but this may safely be said, that nothing that has since happened has shewn such a design to be impossible.

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impossible. At the time captain Rogers wrote, he had before his eyes the example of the French carrying on, partly with, and partly without, the consent of the Spaniards, such a commerce in that part of the world, as enabled them to make head against the rest of all Europe: which is a circumstance that deserves to be very well considered. Since, if the wealth of Spain, in the hands of France, may prove the ruin of all her neighbours, it seems to be a natural inference, that it is not only lawful, but absolutely incumbent upon us, to prosecute the only method that can possibly prevent it.

Before this subject is dismissed, we cannot but remark the great utility of voyages to the South Seas, but as these can never be undertaken but when we are at war with the Spaniards, so that opportunity ought never to be let slip: since, otherwise, we are in danger of losing all knowledge of that navigation, to which we have a right in common with the rest of mankind; and which, some time or other, may turn to the infinite advantage of the British nation. All the adventurers who have visited those seas from the days of queen Elizabeth to this time, have intimated the mighty advantages that might be expected from our endeavouring to fix in some part, rather than be continual wanderers in the South Seas. The grand objection has been, that it is very difficult to furnish provisions for so long an expedition, or to keep our ships sufficiently manned, so as to be in a condition of settling when they come hither. But, perhaps, we ought to enquire, whether these difficulties really spring from the design itself, or from our method of managing it.

The accurate voyage which immediately follows, contains so many valuable facts, observations, and just reasoning, of later date, relating to the South Seas; that we may spare any farther remarks than what the judicious compiler of that voyage offers, respecting the proper measures to be taken to turn our knowledge of that remote navigation to a national advantage.

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A B S T R A C T  
OF  
A VOYAGE round the WORLD,

By GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

Afterward LORD ANSON\*,

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships.

As compiled from his Papers, by the Reverend  
Mr. WALTER, Chaplain of the Centurion.

**T**HE squadron under the command of Mr. Anson having undergone many changes in its destination, its force and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final sailing from St. Helens; the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the justification of those who were entrusted with its execution.

When in the latter end of the summer of the year 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of some considerable persons then trusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, was at-

\* He was created lord Anson in 1747, first lord of the admiralty in 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.

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racking that crown in her distant settlements; as by this means it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and should reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace.

In pursuance of these sentiments, George Anson, Esq; then captain of the Centurion, being at that time absent on a cruise, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, and he received orders to return with his ship to Portsmouth, and to attend the board of admiralty. When he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which however would have some connexion with each other: that he, Mr. Anson, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. Cornwall the other: that the squadron under Mr. Anson was to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot: and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea, they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head in the East Indies: that there they were only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, situated on Luconia, one of the Philippine islands: that the other squadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. Anson, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, to range along that coast; and after cruising upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, this squadron in its return was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the squadron under Mr. Anson, where they were to refresh their men, refit their ships, and perhaps receive orders for other considerable enterprizes.

This scheme was doubtless extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public service, and the reputation and fortune of those concerned in its execution: for had Mr. Anson proceeded for Manilla at the time and in the manner proposed by  
Sir

Sir Charles Wager, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and consequently before they had been in the least prepared for the reception of an enemy. The city of Manilla might be well supposed to have been at that time in the same defenceless condition with all the other Spanish settlements, just at the breaking out of the war: that is to say, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon dismounted, or rendered useless by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military stores or provisions, all empty; their garrisons unpaid, and consequently thin, ill-affected, and dispirited; and the royal chests in Peru, whence alone all these disorders could receive their redress, drained to the very bottom. The consequence of this city, and the island it stands on, may be in some measure estimated, from the known healthiness of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extensive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the East Indies and China, and its exclusive trade to Acapulco; the returns for which, being made in silver, are, upon the lowest valuation, not less than three millions of dollars per annum.

On this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that in a few days after this first conference, that is, on November 18, Mr. Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal sloop; and other orders were issued to him relating to the victualling of this Squadron. But Mr. Anson, attending the admiralty the beginning of January, was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that, for reasons with which he (Sir Charles) was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. It may be conceived, that Mr. Anson was extremely chagrined at the losing the command of so infallible, so honourable, and, in every respect, so desirable an enterprize;

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especially too, as he had already, at a very great expence, made the necessary provision for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reason to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this disappointment in some degree more tolerable, informed him, that the expedition to the South Seas was still intended, and that he (Mr. Anson) and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service. And, on the 10th of January, he received his commission, appointing him commander in chief of the forementioned squadron, which (the Argyle being in the course of their preparation changed for the Gloucester) was the same he sailed with above eight months after from St. Helens. On this change of destination, the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever; and the victualling, and whatever depended on the commodore, was soon so far advanced, that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. At last, on the 28th of June 1740, the duke of Newcastle, principal secretary of State, delivered to him his majesty's instructions, dated January 31, 1739, with an additional instruction from the Lords justices, dated June 19, 1740. On the receipt of these, Mr. Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his difficulties were now at an end. For, though he knew by the musters, that his squadron wanted three hundred seamen of their complement (a deficiency which, with all his assiduity, he had not been able to get supplied) yet, as Sir Charles Wager informed him, that an order from the board of admiralty was dispatched to Sir John Norris, to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But, on his arrival at Portsmouth, he found himself

greatly



greatly mistaken and disappointed in this persuasion: for, on his application, Sir John Norris told him, he could spare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable and a very considerable delay; for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied, and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation. For admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead, after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of three hundred sailors, which Mr. Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron a hundred and seventy men only, of which thirty-two were from the hospital and sick quarter.

But the commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended that colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies, of a hundred men each, should embark as land-forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed; and all the land-forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids, to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea college. Mr. Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepid detachment allotted him; for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of them would perish long before they arrived at the scene of action, since the delays he had already encountered, necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. Instead of having five hundred, however, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine: for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth, deserted; leaving behind them such only as were literally *invalids*. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene, than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans, thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour

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of their minds, were any way proportioned; and this too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service.

And here it is necessary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this squadron. It was proposed to Mr. Anson, after it was resolved that he should be sent to the South Seas, to take with him two persons, under the denomination of agent victuallers. Those who were mentioned for his employment had formerly been in the Spanish West Indies, in the South Sea company's service; and it was supposed, that, by their knowledge and intelligence on that coast, they might often procure provisions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. These agent victuallers, were for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000*l.* in merchandize on board the squadron: for they had represented, that it would be much easier for them to procure provisions with goods, than with the value of the same goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this scheme, it was difficult to persuade the generality of mankind, that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they proposed to carry on upon that coast. Mr. Anson from the beginning objected both to the appointment of agent victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron; for he conceived, that in those few amicable ports where the squadron might touch, he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coast, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless, which he was resolved not to comply with, the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the government ought to have done on this occasion, was to put on board to the value of 2 or 3000*l.* only of such goods, as

the Indians, or the Spanish planters in the less cultivated part of the coast, might be tempted with: since it was in such places only, that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions; and, in these places, it was sufficiently evident a very small cargo would suffice.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the Wager store-ship, and one of the victuallers; no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But, when the commodore was at St. Catharine's, he considered, that, in case the Squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions, for want of a cargo to truck with; and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men of war. He left the remainder principally on board the Wager, where it was lost; and more of the goods perishing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, no part of them being disposed of upon the coast; the few that came home to England did not produce, when sold, the fourth part of the original price. So true was the commodore's judgment of the event of this project, which had been by many considered as infallibly productive of immense gains. But to return to the transactions at Portsmouth.

To supply the place of the invalids which deserted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board, two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments. These were raw and undisciplined men; for they being just raised, had scarcely any thing more of the soldier than their regimentals; none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of August, and on the 10th the Squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a fair wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays already suffered had not yet spent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a season of the year, when the westerly winds are usu-

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ally very constant, and very violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by admiral Balchen, and the expedition under lord Cathcart. As we made up in all twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty four sail of merchantmen and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the channel with so large a number of ships, without the continuance of a fair wind for some considerable time. This was what we had every day less and less reason to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; so that our golden dreams, and our ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures, grew each day more faint: and the difficulties and dangers of the passage round Cape Horn, in the winter season, filled our imaginations in their room. It was forty days, from our arrival at St. Helen's, to our final departure from thence; and even then, having orders to proceed without lord Cathcart, we tided it down the channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the displeasing fatigue of often setting sail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been sometimes undergone in surrounding the globe. On the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St. Helen's, after one of these fruitless efforts, the wind blew so fresh, that the whole fleet struck their yards and topmasts, to prevent driving: yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no small danger of running foul of the Prince Frederick, a seventy-gun ship, moored at a small distance under our stern; though we happily escaped, by her driving at the same time, and so preserving her distance: but we did not think ourselves secure, till we at last let go the sheet-anchor, which fortunately brought us up. Our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped by a subsequent order, which Mr. Anson received on the 12th of September, and

by which he was required to take under his convoy the St. Alban's, with the Turkey fleet, and to join the Dragon and the Winchester, with the Straits and the American trade, at Torbay or Plymouth; and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convoy gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our voyage to the Maderas. However, Mr. Anson, now having the command himself, immediately sent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care, might be in a readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And at last, on the 18th of September, he weighed from St. Helen's; and, though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the channel in four days.

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this Squadron, it is sufficiently obvious how different an aspect this expedition bore at its first appointment in the beginning of January, from what it had in the latter end of September, when it left the channel; and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success were diminished, by the various incidents which took place in that interval: for, instead of all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able, (which the commodore was at first promised) and having our numbers completed to their full complement; we were obliged to retain our first crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwise made up, than by sending on board a hundred and seventy men, the greatest part composed of such as were discharged from hospitals, or new-raised marines, who had never been at sea before: and, in the land-forces allotted us, the change was still more disadvantageous. But the diminishing the strength of the Squadron was not the greatest inconveniency which attended

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attended these alterations ; for the contests, representations, and difficulties, they continually produced, in which the authority of the admiralty was not always submitted to, occasioned a delay and waste of time; that, in its consequences, was the source of all the disasters to which this enterprize was afterwards exposed.

On the 18th of September 1740, the Squadron, as we have observed, weighed from St. Helen's with a contrary wind; the commodore proposing to tide it down the channel, as he dreaded less the inconveniences he should thereby have to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprize by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The Squadron allotted to this service, consisted of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, Esq; commander; the Gloucester of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Tryal sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander: the two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burdens. These were to attend us till the provisions we had taken on board were so far consumed, as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which, when we had taken into our ships, they were to be discharged. The invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cracherode. With this Squadron, together with the St. Alban's and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. Anson tided it down

the channel for the first forty-eight hours; and, on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram-Head, the Dragon, Winchester, South Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: these we joined about noon the same day, our commodore having orders to see them, together with the St. Alban's and Lark, as far into the sea as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last mentioned fleet, Mr. Anson first hoisted his broad pendant, and was saluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits, and the American trade. Mr. Anson the same day made a signal for all the captains of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all stood toward the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-Head. Being now clear of the land, our commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered captain Mitchel, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues a head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the commodore, they left us: as the St. Alban's and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Straits convoy, did on the 29th. After which separation, there remained in company only our own Squadron and our own victuallers, with which we kept on our course for the island of Madera. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St. Helen's, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a most unpleasing circumstance; since as we had departed from England much later than

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than we ought to have done, we had placed almost all our hopes of success in the chance of retrieving, in some measure at sea, the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St. Helen's. However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madera-Road, in forty fathom water; the Brazen-Head bearing from us east by south, the Loo north north west, and the great church north north east. The next day, the consul of the island visiting the commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This island of Madera, where we were now arrived, is famous through all our American settlements, for its excellent wines, which seem to be designed by providence for the refreshment of the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone. It is situated in a fine climate, in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} : 27'$  north; and in the longitude from London (by our different reckonings) of  $18^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  to  $19^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  west, though laid down in the charts in  $17^{\circ}$ . It is composed of one continued hill, of a considerable height, extending itself from east to west: the declivity of which, on the south-side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards: and, in the midst of this slope, the merchants have fixed their country-seats, which help to form a very agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town in the whole island; it is named Funchiale, and is seated on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. Toward the sea, it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, beside a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. Funchiale is the only place of trade, and indeed the only place where it is possible for a boat to land; and, even here, the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it: so that the commodore did not care to venture the ships long-boats



to fetch the water off, there was so much danger of their being lost. He therefore ordered the captains of the squadron to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. Here, on the 3d of November, captain Richard Norris signified, by a letter to the commodore, his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health. This request the commodore complied with; and thereupon was pleased to appoint captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Gloucester in his room, and to remove captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and captain Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, to be the first place of rendezvous, in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to the island of St. Catharige's, on the coast of Brazil. The water for the squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the island of Madera. But, before we depart, it may be necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr. Anson visited the governor of Madera, he received information from him, that for three or four days, in the latter end of October, there had appeared to the westward of that island seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache, which last was sent every

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every day close in to make the land. The governor assured the commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them; but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to think them Spanish. On this intelligence, Mr. Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them; and, if possible, to discover what they were: but the officer returned, without being able to get a sight of them; so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition; which, had they cruized to the eastward of the island, instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For, as in that case they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw over-board vast quantities of provisions, to clear our ships for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. We afterward in the course of our expedition, were persuaded that this was the Spanish Squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprizes of our Squadron, to which, in strength, they were greatly superior. As this Spanish armament then was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation, and produced in consequence of our equipment; we will give a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain in the year 1740, till the *Asia*, the only ship of the whole Squadron which returned to Europe, arrived at the *Groyne* in the beginning of the year 1746.

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This Squadron (beside two ships intended for the West Indies, which did not part company till after they had left the Maderas) was composed of the following men of war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro. The Asia of sixty-six guns, and seven hundred men; the admiral's ship; 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: with a patache, of twenty guns. These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruized for some days to the leeward of the Maderas, as is before-mentioned, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the river Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January O. S. and coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their admiral Pizarro sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months provisions on board. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of St. Catharine's, of Mr. Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21st of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons (and as some say, his orders likewise) for avoiding our Squadron any where short of the South Seas. He was beside extremely desirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our designs: and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ships, (the patache being disabled

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abled and condemned, and the men taken out of her) after a stay of seventeen days only, and got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. But, notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from St. Catherine's four days before him, and, in some part of our passage to Cape Horn, the two squadrons were so near together, that the Pearl, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and mistaking the Asia for the Centurion, had got within gun-shot of Pizarro before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, as has been already mentioned, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, and as the Spanish sailors, being for the most part accustomed to a fair weather country, might be expected to be very averse to so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation; the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to dispose of in the South Seas: that so the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his venture, might render him less disposed to repine at the hardships and perils he would in all probability meet with, before his arrival on the coast of Peru.

Pizarro with his squadron having, toward the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then stood to the westward, in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, O. S. while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuscoa, the Hermiona, and the Esperanza, were separated from the admiral, and the Hermiona was supposed to founder at sea, for she was never heard

heard of more; and the Guipuscoa was run ashore, and sunk on the coast of Brazil.

The calamities of all kinds which this Squadron underwent, in this unsuccessful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our distresses, which rendered it difficult to decide, whose situation was most worthy of commiseration. For, to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and despondency, which necessarily attend these disasters; there was superadded on board our Squadron the ravage of a most destructive and incurable disease; and, on board the Spanish Squadron, the devastation of famine. For this Squadron, either from the hurry of their outset, their presumption of a supply at Buenos Ayres, or from other less obvious motives, departed from Spain, with no more than four months provision on board, and even that, it is said, at short allowance only. So that, when by the storms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions.

In this dreadful situation they were alarmed, (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines on board the *Asia*, the admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured: for though no less was proposed by the conspirators than the massacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by  
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appropriating the whole ships provisions to themselves. But their designs were prevented, when just upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors: and three of their ring-leaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation; but grew each day more and more destructive. So that, by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped, lost the greatest part of their men: the *Asia*, their admiral's ship, arrived at Monte Vedio, in the river of Plate, with half her crew only; the *St. Estevan* had lost in like manner half her hands, when she anchored in the bay of Baragan: the *Esperanza*, a fifty gun ship, was still more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands, which she brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot perished, except sixty men. But, the reader will conceive a more distinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, from a short account of the fate of the *Guipuscoa*, extracted from a letter, written by Don Joseph Mendinuetta, her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima; a copy of which fell into our hands afterward in the South Seas.

He mentions, that he separated from the *Hermiona* and the *Esperanza* in a fog, on the 6th of March, being, as is supposed, to the south-east of Staten-Land, and plying to the westward; that in the night after, it blew a furious storm at north-west, which split his main-sail, and obliged him to bear away with his fore-sail; that he likewise sprung his main-mast, and the ship made so much water, that with four pumps and bailing he could not free her: that on the 9th it was calm, but the sea continued so high, that the ship in rolling opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt ends of her planking, and the greatest part of her top timbers; the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll; numbers every



every day perishing by the fatigue of pumping; and those who survived, being quite dispirited by labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather, they having two spans of snow upon the decks: that then finding the wind fixed in the western quarter, and blowing strong, and consequently their passage to the westward impossible, they resolved to bear away for the river of Plate: that, on the 22d, they were obliged to throw over-board all the upper deck guns, and an anchor, and to take six turns of the cable round the ship, to prevent her opening: that the ship rolled so much, that the main-mast came by the board; and, in a few hours after, she lost in like manner her fore-mast and her mizen-mast; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were soon obliged to cut away their bowsprit, to diminish, if possible, the leakage at her head: that those who were capable of working at the pumps, (at which every officer without exception took his turn) were allowed only an ounce and half of biscuit per diem; and those who were so sick or so weak, that they could not assist in this necessary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; so that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: that they could not immediately set up jury-masts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitudes of  $32^{\circ}$  and  $28^{\circ}$ , till the 24th of April, when they made the coast of Brazil, at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the southward of the island of St. Catharine's: that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very desirous of proceeding to St. Catharine's: if possible, in order to save the hull of the ship, and the guns and stores on board her; but the crew instantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardships they had suffered, and the numbers they had lost, (there being at that time no less than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck) they all with one voice cried out, ON SHORE, ON SHORE, and obliged the captain to run the ship in directly for the land, where, the 5th day after, she

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sunk with her stores; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared, to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the Guipulcoa, we may form some conjecture of the manner in which the *Hermiona* was lost, and of the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron, which got into the river Plate. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kinds of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any of their neighbouring settlements, Pizarro dispatched an advice-boat with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese. He, at the same time, sent an express across the continent to St. Jago, in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen his squadron, and desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal chests at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ships, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the passage to the South Seas, as soon as the season of the year should be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards as a most extraordinary circumstance, that the Indian charged with this express (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassable on account of the snow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago in Chili, though these places are distant three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are amongst the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this dispatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru was no ways favourable: instead of 200,000 dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that.

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The advice-boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission but imperfectly; for though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet she could not procure either masts or yards: and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he expected from Paraguay. In the October following, Pizarro was preparing to put to sea with two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but the St. Estevan, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a shoal, and beat off her rudder; on which, and other damages she received, she was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro in the Asia proceeded to sea without her. Having now the summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage; but being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, by some misconduct of the officer of the watch, the ship rolled away her masts, and was a second time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great distress.

The Asia having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition, the Esperanza, which had been left behind at Monte Vedio, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuscoa when she was lost. He, in the November of the succeeding year, that is, in November 1742, sailed from the river of Plate to the South Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili; where his commodore Pizarro passing over land from Buenos Ayres, met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round; for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him, insisting, that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under

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no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the president of Chili interposing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obstinate struggle, was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for, when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Vedio the *Asia*, which, near three years before, they had left there. This ship, they resolved, if possible, to carry to Europe, and with this view they refitted her in the best manner they could: but their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining sailors of the squadron, to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board, beside, all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers, which they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been surprized by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew, (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averse to the voyage) Pizarro set sail from Monte Vedio in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745: and the native Spaniards, being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both those, the English prisoners, and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for it was common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat them most cruelly on the slightest pretences, and oftentimes only

to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish, (these Indians having, in time of peace, a great intercourse with Buenos Ayres) he affected to talk with such of the English as understood that language, and seemed very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners 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 proceeded no farther with them, but resolved to trust alone to the resolution of his ten faithful followers. Having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives sharp at the point, which being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring: beside these, they employed their leisure 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 small quarter deck guns. This, when swung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are extremely expert. These particulars being in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself. One of the officers ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupified

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for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage undoubtedly heightened his thirst for revenge, so that, within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their desperate resolves in the ensuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck, indulging in the freshness of the night air; the waste of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the fore-castle was manned with its customary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trousers and the more cumbersome part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew toward the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry used by those savages, which is said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre: for on this they all drew their knives, and brandished their double-headed shot; and the six with their chief, which remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards, who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricaded the door: whilst of the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the fore-castle, where the Indians, placed on purpose, stabbed the greatest part of them as they attempted to pass by; or forced them off the gangways

ways into the waste. Some threw themselves voluntarily over the barricadoes into the waste, and thought themselves fortunate to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds. Though the Indians attacked only the quarter deck, yet the watch in the fore-castle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by those who, not being killed on the spot, had strength sufficient to force their passage, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves almost in an instant of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, and manned with near five hundred hands; and continued in peaceable possession of this post a considerable time. For the officers in the great cabin, amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinueta, the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety; and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering the possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were sensible of the disaffection of their prest hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, they imagined the conspiracy to be general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided;

subsided; for their fears suing them he saw him open the mutiny, he as to a plan it for granting himself and upon they it was imagined great cabin nothing but use. They they were This was at this time cabin were cabin-wind room and but that the E were all safe mutiny: and covered, the and his people solved to any of the ver their and certain this view P cabin, which they had ing now for they lowered dow, into cartridges. nition, and bin door p the Indians



sided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here he took it for granted, he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and with these, it was imagined, they proposed to have forced the great cabin: but on opening the chest, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them, and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of conversing aloud through the cabin-windows and port-holes, with those in the gun-room and between decks, and from hence they learnt that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny: and by other particulars they at last discovered, that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprize, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship by a junction. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, which were no other but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner put a quantity of pistol-cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their pistols, they set the cabin door partly open, and fired several shot amongst the Indians on the quarter-deck, though at first with-



out effect : but at last Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot ; on which his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of further resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where every man perished.

Thus was this insurrection quelled, after the quarter-deck had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro having escaped this imminent peril, steered for Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Gallicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above three thousand hands, and by four considerable ships of war and a patache. Whoever considers the very large proportion, which this squadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will confess, that, had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of ruining so great a part of the sea-force of so dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a sufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an incontestible proof of the service which the nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this summary of Pizarro's adventures, we shall now return again to the narration of our own transactions.

On the third of November we weighed from Madera, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, in case the squadron was separated. But the next day, when we were got to sea, the commodore considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at Jago would create a new delay, he for this reason thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the island of St. Catharine's, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair in case of separation.

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In our passage to the island of St. Catharine's, we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ considerably from what we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators. For though we met with a north-east wind, about the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$  north, yet from the latitude of  $25^{\circ}$  to the latitude of  $18^{\circ}$  north, the wind was never once to the northward of the east, but, on the contrary, almost constantly to the southward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of  $6^{\circ} 20'$  north, we had it usually to the northward of the east, though not entirely, it having for a short time changed to east south-east. From hence, to about  $4^{\circ} 46'$  north, the weather was very unsettled; sometimes the wind was north-east, then changed to south-east, and sometimes we had a dead calm, attended with small rain and lightning. After this, the wind continued almost invariably between the south and east, to the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 30'$  south; and then again, as invariably between the north and east, to the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 30'$  south; then east and south-east, to  $21^{\circ} 37'$  south. But after this, even to the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 44'$  south, the wind was never once between the south and the east, though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compass. But this last circumstance may be in some measure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the Brazils. I mention not these particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of these trade-winds, which are in general sufficiently accurate: but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that such deviations from the established rules do sometimes take place, to guard navigators against such unexpected irregularities.

On the 17th of November, the commodore made a signal for the ships to bring to, and to take on board their shares of the brandy from the *Industry Pink*; and in this the long-boats of the squadron

were employed the three following days, when the *Pink* being unloaded, she parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers of the Squadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ship; but she was afterward unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the Squadron represented to the commodore, that their ships companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion, as well as their surgeons, that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep, they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation, the commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they should least weaken it.

And on this occasion I cannot but observe, how much it is the duty of all those, who either by office or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preservation of the lives and health of seamen. If it could be supposed, that the motives of humanity were insufficient for this purpose, yet policy, and a regard to the success of our arms, and the interest and honour of each particular commander, should naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method, proposed for maintaining a ship's crew in health and vigour.

We crossed the equinoctial with a fine fresh gale at south-east on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of  $27^{\circ} 59'$  west from London: And on the 2d of December, in the morning, we saw a sail but could not come up with her. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice-boat sent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, with notice of our expedition; but we have

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since learnt that it was our East-India company's packet bound to St. Helena.

On the 10th of December, being by our accounts in the latitude of  $20^{\circ}$  south and  $36^{\circ} 30'$  longitude west from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately sounded, and found sixty fathom water, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The Tryal being a-head of us, had at one time thirty-seven fathom, which afterwards increased to 90: and then she found no bottom, which happened to us too at our second trial, though we sounded with a hundred and fifty fathom of line. This is the shoal which is laid down in most charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it; perhaps farther in it may be dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to sixty leagues east of the coast of Brasil. The next day but one we spoke with a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahia del todos Santos, who informed us that we were thirty-four leagues from cape St. Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio; which last bore from us west south-west. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our course, and stood more to the southward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portuguese intelligence. We found a considerable current setting to the southward, after we had passed the latitude of  $16^{\circ}$  south: the same took place all along the coast of Brasil, and even to the southward of the river of Plate, it amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occasioned (as it is most probable) by the running off of the water, accumulated on the coast of Brasil, by the constant sweeping of the eastern trade-wind, over the Ethiopic ocean, then  
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it is most natural to suppose, that its general course is determined by the bearings of the adjacent shore. Perhaps too, in almost every other instance of currents, the same may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of considerable currents being observed at any great distance from land. If this then could be established as a general principle, it would be always easy to correct the reckoning by the observed latitude.

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who as yet continued healthy. When we departed from St. Helen's, we were in so good a condition, that we lost but two men on board the Centurion, in our long passage to Madeira. But in this present run between Madeira and St. Catharine's we were remarkably sickly. The disorders, in general, were such as are common to the hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience, in a greater or less degree. These are those kind of fevers, which they usually call calentures: a disease, which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it. For it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted either with fluxes or tenesmuses. By our continuance at sea, all these complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy we discovered the coast of Brasil on the 16th of December, at seven in the morning\*.

The coast of Brasil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from west to west south-west, and when we first saw it, it was about seventeen leagues distant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing west south west, about ten leagues dis-

\* For an account of Brasil, see Nieuhoff's Voyage to Brasil, in the preceding part of this work.

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tant, which we took to be the island of St. Catharine's. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being north north-west, we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to the leeward of the island; but a little before noon, the next day, the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the north point of St. Catharine's, and the neighbouring island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land, we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing, from thirty-six to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the north-west point of the island of St. Catharine's bearing south south-west, distant three miles; and the island of Alvoredo north north-east, distant two leagues. Here we found the tide to set south south-east, and north north-west, at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the southward. We could, from our ships, observe two fortifications at a considerable distance within us, which seemed designed to prevent the passage of an enemy between the island of St. Catharine's and the main. And we could soon perceive that our squadron had alarmed the coast, for we saw the two forts hoist their colours, and fire several guns, which we supposed were signals for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the commodore immediately sent a boat with an officer on shore, to compliment the governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th, we weighed and stood in, and toward noon the pilot came on board us, who, the same afternoon, brought us to an anchor in five fathom and an half, in a large commodious bay on the continent side, called by the French Bon Port. In standing from our last anchorage to this place, we every where found an ouzy bottom, with a depth of water first regularly decreasing to five fathom, and



and then increasing to seven, after which we had six and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the squadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz and St. Juan. Our soundings now between the island and the main were four, five, and six fathom, with muddy ground. As we passed by the castle of Santa Cruz we saluted it with eleven guns, and were answered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the squadron came to an anchor in five fathom and a half, the governor's island bearing north north-west, St. Juan's castle north-east  $\frac{1}{2}$  east, and the island of St. Antonio south. In this position we moored at the island of St. Catharine's on Sunday the 21st of December, the whole squadron being, as already mentioned, sickly, and in great want of refreshments: both which inconveniencies we hoped to have soon removed at this settlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthiness, and the plenty of its provisions; as well as for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly assistance there given to the ships of all European nations, in amity with the crown of Portugal.

Our first care, after having moored our ships, was to get our sick men on shore, preparatory to which, each ship was ordered by the commodore to erect two tents: one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion; and the other ships, I believe, sent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing; then smoked it between decks, and after all washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary, for correcting the noisome stench on board, and for destroying the vermin.

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Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, caulking our ships sides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn, in so advanced and inconvenient a season. But before these transactions are entered upon, it will not be improper to give some account of this island of St. Catharine's, and of the neighbouring country; both as the circumstances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers, and as these changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reason to expect.

This island is esteemed by the natives to be no where above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length: it lies in  $49^{\circ} 45'$  of west longitude of London, and extends from the south latitude of  $27^{\circ} 35'$ , to that of  $28^{\circ}$ . Although it be of a considerable height, yet it is scarce discernible at the distance of ten leagues, being then obscured under the continent of Brasil, whose mountains are exceeding high: but on a nearer approach it is easy to be distinguished, and may be readily known by a number of small islands, lying at each end, and scattered along the east side of it.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles; the distance from thence to the island of St. Antonio is eight miles, and the course from the entrance of St. Antonio is south south-west  $\frac{1}{2}$  west. About the middle of the island the harbour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and to defend this passage, a battery was erecting on the point of land on the island side. But this seems to be a very useless work, as the channel has no more than two fathom water, and consequently is navigable only for barks and boats, and therefore seems to be a passage that an enemy could have no inducement

ment to attempt, especially as the common passage at the north end of the island is so broad and safe, that no squadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the sea-breeze is made. Besides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The first of these, called St. Juan, is built on a point of St. Catharine's near Parrot Island; the second, in form of a half-moon, is on the island of St. Antonio; and the third, which seems to be the chief, and has some appearance of a regular fortification, is on an island near the continent, where the governor resides.

The soil of the island is truly luxuriant; and the ground is covered over with one continued forest of trees, of perpetual verdure; which, from the exuberance of the soil, are so entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket absolutely impenetrable, except by some narrow pathways, which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. These, with a few spots cleared for plantations along the shore, facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almost without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty. The flesh provisions are however much inferior to the vegetables: there are indeed small wild cattle to be purchased, somewhat like buffaloes, but these are very indifferent food, their flesh being of a loose coarcture, and generally of a disagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabash on which they feed.

The water both on the island and on the opposite continent is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames; for after it has been in the cask a day or two, it begins to purge itself, and is soon covered

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covered over with a green scum, which, in a few days, subsides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as crystal, and perfectly sweet. The French (who during their South Sea trade in queen Anne's reign, first brought this place into repute) usually wooded and watered in Bon Port, on the continent side, where they anchored with great safety in six fathom water; and this is doubtless the most commodious road for such ships as intend to make only a short stay. But we watered on the St. Catharine's side, at a plantation opposite to the island of St. Antonio.

These are the advantages of this island of St. Catharine's; but there are many inconveniencies attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government established there. With regard to the climate, it must be remembered, that the woods and hills which surround the harbour, prevent a free circulation of the air: and the vigorous vegetation which constantly takes place there, furnishes such a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night, and a great part of the morning, a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate it, or it is dispersed by a brisk sea-breeze. This renders the place close and humid, and probably occasioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To these exceptions must be added, that all the day we were pestered with great numbers of muscatoes, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their stings. And at sun-set, when the muscatoes retired, they were succeeded by an infinity of sand-flies, which, though scarce discernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite, raise a small bump in the flesh, which is soon attended with a painful itching. But as the only light in which this place deserves our consideration, is its favourable situation for supplying and refreshing our cruizers intended for

for the South Seas: in this view its greatest inconveniencies remain still to be related.

In the time of Frezier and Shelvocke, this place served only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of Brasil. They did indeed acknowledge a subjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a person among them whom they called their captain, who was considered in some sort as their governor: but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to their captain, seemed to be little more than verbal. In this situation they were extremely hospitable and friendly to such foreign ships as came amongst them. For these ships wanting only provisions, of which the natives had great store; and the natives wanting cloaths, (for they often despised money, and refused to take it) which the ships furnished them with in exchange for their provisions; both sides found their account in this traffick; and their captain or governor had neither power nor interest to restrain it or to tax it. But of late, for reasons which shall be hereafter mentioned, these honest vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongst them a new colony, and to submit to new laws and new forms of government. Instead of their former ragged bare-legged captain, whom however they took care to keep innocent, they have now the honour to be governed by Don José Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal; whose behaviour cannot but be extremely embarrassing to such British ships as touch there in their way to the South Seas. For one of his practices was placing centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from selling us any refreshments, except at such exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary stretch of power was, that he was obliged to preserve their provisions for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. However, this, though sufficiently provoking, was far from being the most exceptionable

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ceptionable part of his conduct. For by the neighbourhood of the river Plate, a considerable smuggling traffic is carried on between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, especially in the exchanging gold for silver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce Don Jose was so deeply engaged, that in order to ingratiate himself with his Spanish correspondents (for no other reason can be given for his procedure) he treacherously dispatched an express to Buenos Ayres in the river of Plate, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our arrival, the strength of our squadron, and every circumstance which he could suppose our enemy desirous of being acquainted with. And the same perfidy every British cruizer may expect who touches at St. Catharine's, while it is under the government of Don Jose Sylva de Paz.

The governor of Rio Grande assured us, that in the neighbourhood of this island there were considerable rivers, which were found to be extremely rich, and which was the reason that a garrison, a military governor, and a new colony was settled there. And as the harbour at this island is by much the securest and the most capacious of any on the coast, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood answer their expectation, that it may become in time the principal settlement in Brasil, and the most considerable port in all South America.

When we first arrived at St. Catharine's, we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, cleansing our ships, and examining and securing our masts and rigging, as has been already observed. At the same time Mr. Anson gave directions, that the ships companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and that they should be victualled with whole allowance of all the kinds of provisions. In consequence of these orders, we had fresh beef sent on board us continually for our daily expence; and what was wanting to make up our al-

lowance, we received from our victualler the *Anna Pink*, in order to preserve the provisions on board our Squadron entire for our future service. The season of the year growing each day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr. Anson was very desirous of leaving this place as soon as possible; and we were at first in hopes that our whole business would be done, and we should be in a readiness to sail in about a fortnight from our arrival: but on examining the *Tryal's* masts, we, to our no small vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a survey, it was found that the main-mast was sprung at the upper wounding, though it was thought capable of being secured by a couple of fishes; but the foremast was reported to be unfit for service, and thereupon the carpenters were sent into the woods, to endeavour to find a stick proper for a foremast. But after a search of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpose. This obliged them to come to a second consultation about the old foremast, when it was agreed to endeavour to secure it by casing it with three fishes: and in this work the carpenters were employed, till within a day or two of our sailing. In the mean time, the commodore thinking it necessary to have a clean vessel on our arrival in the South Seas, ordered the *Tryal* to be hove down, as this would not occasion any loss of time, but might be compleated while the carpenters were refitting her masts, which was done on shore.

On the 27th of December we discovered a sail in the offing, and not knowing but she might be a Spaniard, the eighteen oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her, before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande. And though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to

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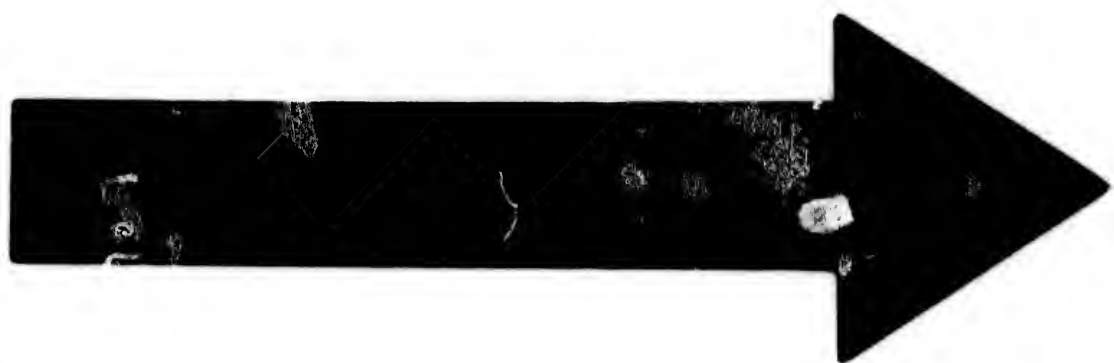
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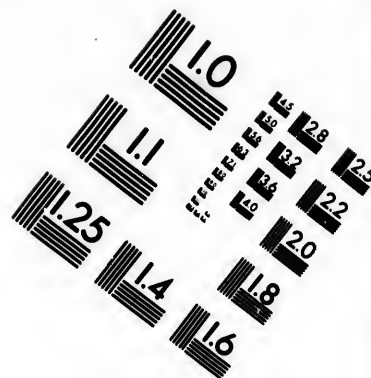
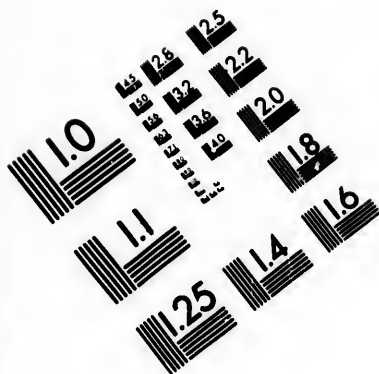


accept a calf, which the master would have forced on him as a present; yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper a cause than Don Jose's insolence; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel, by violence, the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present; we had hence reason to suspect, that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it, than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not so easy for us to determine at that time; but as we afterward found by letters, which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had dispatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at St. Catharine's, as mentioned before; we thence conjectured that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour, only to prevent our visiting the brigantine when she should put to sea again, lest we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour.

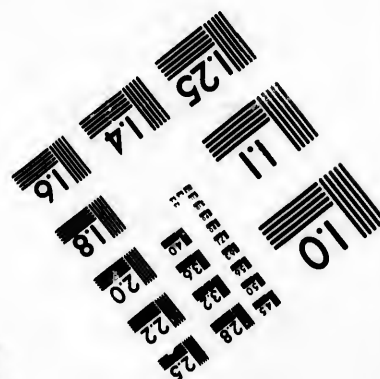
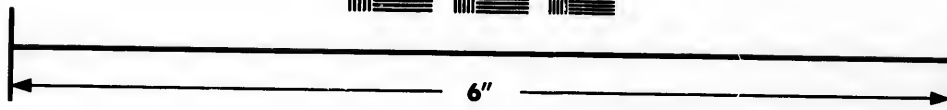
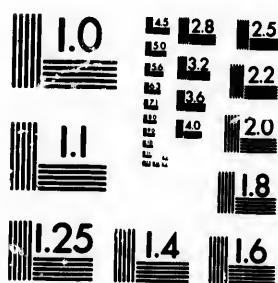
It was near a month before the *Tryal* was refitted; for not only her lower masts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main top-mast and fore-yard were likewise decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ships of the squadron fixed new standing rigging, and set up a sufficient number of preventer shrouds to each mast, to secure them in the most effectual manner. And in order to render the ships stiffer, to enable them to carry more sail aboard, and to prevent their straining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him, to strike down some of their great guns into the hold. These precautions being complied with, and each ship having taken in







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as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at last compleated, and the whole squadron was ready for the sea: on which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been over-rated by former writers; for we found, that though the Centurion alone had buried no less than twenty-eight men since our arrival, yet the number of her sick was in the same interval increased from eighty to ninety-six. When our crews were embarked, and every thing was prepared for our departure, the commodore made a signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of China. And then, on the next day, being the 18th day of January, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea, leaving without regret this island of St. Catharine's; where we had been so extremely disappointed in our refreshments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place, so much celebrated for its hospitality, freedom, and convenience.

In leaving St. Catharine's, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hostile, or at best, a desert and inhospitable coast. And as were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more mischievous nature were likewise to be apprehended, and, as much as possible, to be provided against. Mr. Anson, therefore, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered, that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost; and had given proper direction, that even in

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in that case the expedition should not be abandoned. The orders delivered to the captains, the day before we sailed from St. Catharine's, were, that in case of separation, which they were with the utmost care to endeavour to avoid, the first place of rendezvous should be the bay of port St. Julian; describing the place from sir John Narborough's account of it: there they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in, both for their own use, and for the use of the squadron; and if, after a stay of ten days, they were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through Straits le Maire round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of *Noftra Senora del Socoro*, in the latitude of  $45^{\circ}$  south, and longitude from the Lizard  $71^{\circ} 12'$  west. They were to bring this island to bear east north-east, and to cruize from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmost frugality. And when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring-place; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of  $33^{\circ} 37'$  south. At this island, as soon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruising off the anchoring-place for fifty-six days; in which time, if they were not joined by the commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. With these views their new commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, re-

serving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton on the coast of China, where, having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to England. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our victualler the *Anna Pink*, the commodore gave the master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the same senior officer.

Under these orders the squadron sailed from St. Catharine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as hath been already mentioned. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it soon became fair again, with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships length, so that the whole squadron disappeared. On this a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tack, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately handed the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron, except the *Pearl*, who did not join us till near a month afterward. Indeed the *Tryal* sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her main mast in the squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We therefore bore down with the squadron to her relief, and the *Gloucester* was ordered to take her in tow; for the foul weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then a great swell continued from the eastward, in consequence of the preceding storm.

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As soon of Plate, w the coast of ascertained, position of frequently, tion, the shall recite the latitude ter, with a l thence, to to eighty fa bottom as l tude, and with the fa once or twi ter this, we a degree, h shells, at w not above f the land, v black sand ground wit water to fo to the latitu the shore,

After this accident we stood to the southward with little interruption. And here we experienced the same setting of the current, which we had observed before our arrival at St. Catharine's; that is, we generally found ourselves to the southward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequality, lasted till we had passed the latitude of the river of Plate; and even then we discovered that the same current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not satisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

As soon as we had passed the latitude of the river of Plate, we had soundings which continued all along the coast of Patagonia. These soundings, when well ascertained, being of great use in determining the position of the ship, and we having tried them more frequently, and in greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe hath been done before us; I shall recite our observations as succinctly as I can. In the latitude of  $36^{\circ} : 52'$ , we had sixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey sand; from thence, to  $39^{\circ} : 55'$ , we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had constantly the same bottom as before; between the last mentioned latitude, and  $43^{\circ} : 16'$ , we had only fine grey sand, with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land, and not above seven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after rough ground with stones; but when we had encreased our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of  $46^{\circ} : 10'$ . Thence drawing toward the shore, we had first thirty six fathom, and still



kept shoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of  $47^{\circ} : 10'$ , and longitude west from London  $69^{\circ}$ . This is the most remarkable land upon the coast. Steering from hence south by east nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing toward the shore with a south west course, varying rather to the westward, we had constantly a sandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a sight of land, distant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} : 31'$ . We made this land on the 17th of February, and at five that afternoon we came to an anchor, having the same soundings as before, in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} : 58'$ , the southernmost land then in view bearing south south west, the northernmost north one half east, a small island north west, and the westernmost hummock west south west. In this station we found the tide to set south by west; and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterward, discovered a sail, upon which the *Severn* and *Gloucester* were both directed to give chase; but we soon perceived it to be the *Pearl*, which separated from us a few days after we left *St. Catharine's*, and on this we made a signal for the *Severn* to rejoin the squadron, leaving the *Gloucester* alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprised to see, that on the *Gloucester's* approach, the people on board the *Pearl* encreased their sail, and stood from her. However, the *Gloucester* came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the *Pearl* joined us, and running up under our stern, lieutenant Salt hailed the commodore, and acquainted him, that captain Kidd died on the 21st of January. He likewise informed us, that he

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had seen five large ships the 10th instant, which he, for some time, imagined to be our squadron: so that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly resembling that of the commodore, at the main top-mast head, to come within shot of him before he discovered his mistake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he haled close upon the wind, and crouded from them with all his sail, and standing cross a ripling, where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them to be five Spanish men of war, one of them exceedingly like the Gloucester, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the Gloucester chaced him. By their appearance he thought they consisted of two ships of seventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. It seems the whole squadron continued in chace of him all that day; but at night, finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their course to the southward.

Had it not been for the necessity we were under of resitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St. Julian's; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable; and therefore the same evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, and the high hummock bearing south west by west. And weighing at nine in the morning, we sent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in shore, to discover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast, about the distance of a league from the land. At six o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northermost land in sight bearing north and by east, the southermost south one half east; and the high hummock, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of

Wood's.

Wood's-Mount, west south west. Soon after the cutter returned on board, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the northermost point shutting in upon the southermost, and in appearance closing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the *Tryal*, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The *Tryal*'s main-mast having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again, and the *Wager* was ordered to supply her with a spare main top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the *Tryal*'s mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time, on account of the delay it occasioned, was, in all probability, the means of preserving the sloop, and all her crew. For before this, her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high southern latitudes: so that, had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterward encountered in passing round Cape Horn.

Whilst we staid at this place, the commodore appointed the honourable captain Murray to succeed to the *Pearl*, and captain Cheap to the *Wager*; and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the *Tryal*. But captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the *Centurion*, and it being the opinion of the surgeons, that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the *Centurion*, to act as master and commander of the *Tryal*, during the illness of captain Saunders.

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This being the anchor, being the preparation, and the vessel was Plate to the level to the equality of the Port St. John to the current navigator depends, made to make knowledge, and them.

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Here the commodore too, in order to ease the expedition of all unnecessary expences, held a farther consultation with his captains about unloading and discharging the *Anna Pink*; but they represented to him, that they were so far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had still great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ships were withal so very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the commodore under a necessity of retaining the *Pink* in the service: and, as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish Squadron, in passing the cape, Mr. Anson thought it adviseable to give orders to the captains, to put all their provisions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the *Anna Pink*, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St. Julian, where we are now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in case of separation, for all cruizers bound to the southward, and the whole coast of Patagonia, from the river of Plate to the Straits of Magellan, lying nearly parallel to their usual route, a short account of the singularity of this country, with a particular description of Port St. Julian, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators; as some of them, by unforeseen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make some stay on this coast; in which case the knowledge of the country, its produce, and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmost consequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country usually styled Patagonia. This is the name often given to the southermost part of South America, which is unpossessed by the Spaniards, extending from their settlements to the Straits of Magellan. This country,

try, on the east side, is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe: for, though the whole territory to the northward of the river of Plate is full of wood, and stored with immense quantities of large timber trees; yet, to the southward of the 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 on the whole eastern coast of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any discoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few insignificant shrubs. Sir John Narborough in particular, who was sent out, by king Charles the second, expressly to examine this country, and the Straits of Magellan, and who, in pursuance of his orders, wintered upon this coast, in Port St. Julian and Port Desire, in the year 1670, tells us, that he never saw a stick of wood in the country large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But though the country be so destitute of wood, it abounds with pasture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light dry gravelly soil, and produces great quantities of long coarse grass, which grows in turfs, interspersed with large barren spots of gravel between them. This grass, in many places, feeds immense herds of cattle: for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, having, soon after their first settling there, brought over a few black cattle from Europe, they have thriven prodigiously by the plenty of herbage which they every where met, and are now encreased to that degree, and are extended so far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not considered as private property; but many thousands at a time are slaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing these cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumstantial

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description. The hunters employed on this occasion being all of them mounted on horseback, (and both the Spaniards and Indians in that part of the world are usually most excellent horsemen) they arm themselves with a kind of a spear, which, at its end, instead of a blade, pointed in the usual manner, has its blade fixed a-cross: with this instrument they ride at a beast and surround him, when the hunter that comes behind him hamstring him. And as after this operation the beast soon tumbles, without being able to raise himself again, they leave him on the ground, and pursue others, whom they serve in the same manner. Sometimes there is a second party, who attend the hunters, to skin the cattle as they fall: but it is said, that at other times the hunters chuse to let them languish in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguish, which the animal in the mean time endures, may burst the lymphatics, and thereby facilitate the separation of the skin from the carcase. And though their priests have loudly condemned this most barbarous practice, and have gone so far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate those who follow it; yet all their efforts to put an entire stop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Beside the number of cattle, which are every year slaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already described, it is often necessary, for the uses of agriculture, and for other purposes, to take them alive, without wounding them: this is performed with a most wonderful and almost incredible dexterity, and principally by the use of a machine, which the English, who have resided at Buenos Ayres, generally denominate a lash. It is made of a thong of several fathoms in length, and very strong, with a running noose at one end of it: this the hunters (who in this case are also mounted on horseback) take in their right hands, it being first properly coiled up, and having its end opposite to the noose fastened to the saddle; and thus prepared they ride at a herd of cattle.



cattle. When they arrive within a certain distance of a beast, they throw their thong at him with such exactness, that they never fail of fixing the noose about his horns. The beast, when he finds himself entangled, generally runs; but the horse, being swifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much strained, till a second hunter, who follows the game, throws another noose about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horses (for they are trained to this practice) instantly turn different ways, in order to strain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beast, by their opposite pulls, is presently overthrown, and then the horses stop, keeping the thongs still upon the stretch. Being thus on the ground, and incapable of resistance, (for he is extended between the two horses) the hunters alight, and secure him in such a manner, that they afterwards easily convey him to whatever place they please. They in like manner noose horses, and, as it is said, even tigers; and, however strange this last circumstance may appear, there are not wanting persons of credit who assert it.

The cattle which are killed in the manner already observed, are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which sometimes are added their tongues; but the rest of their flesh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts. The greatest part of this carrion falls to the share of the wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in that country; originally supposed to have been produced by Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of subsisting, left their masters, and ran wild; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though these dogs are said to be some thousands in a company, they hitherto neither diminish nor prevent the increase of the cattle, not daring to attack the herds, by reason

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of the numbers which constantly feed together, but contenting themselves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few stragglers, who by accidents are separated from the main body they belong to.

Beside the wild cattle, which have spread themselves in such vast herds from Buenos Ayres towards the southward, the same country is in like manner furnished with horses. These too were first brought from Spain, and are also prodigiously encreased, and run wild to a much greater distance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value; the best of them being often sold, in the neighbouring settlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a-piece. But, whatever plenty of flesh provisions may be found here, there is one material refreshment which this eastern side of Patagonia seems to be very defective in, and that is fresh water; for the land being generally of a nitrous and saline nature, the ponds and streams are frequently brackish: however, as good water has been found there, though in small quantities, it is not improbable, but, on a further search, this inconvenience may be removed.

To the account already given, must be added, that there are, in all parts of this country, a good number of Vicuñas, or Peruvian sheep; but these, by reason of their shyness and swiftness, are killed with difficulty. On the eastern coast too, there are found immense quantities of seals, and a vast variety of sea-fowl, among which the most remarkable are the Penguins; they are in size and shape like a goose; but, instead of wings, they have short stumps like fins, which are of no use to them, except in the water: their bills are narrow, like that of an albatross, and they stand and walk in an erect posture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough whimsically likened them to little children standing up in white aprons.

The

The inhabitants of this eastern coast appear to be but few, and have rarely been seen more than two or three at a time, by any ships that have touched here. We, during our stay at the port of St. Julian, saw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres, they are sufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troublesome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate yield them a better protection; for in that place the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth; whereas, at Port St. Julian, it is little more than a hundred: so that I conceive the same Indians, who frequent the western coast of Patagonia, and the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this side. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed these southern Indians in number, so they greatly surpass them in activity and spirit, and seem in their manners to be nearly allied to those gallant Chilian Indians, who have long set the whole Spanish power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learnt to be excellent horsemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the use of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very solicitous to keep out of their hands. And, of the vigour and resolution of these Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable instance. Indeed, were we disposed to aim at the utter subversion of the Spanish power in America, no means seem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and assistance given to these Indians, and those of Chili.

Thus much may suffice in relation to the eastern coast of Patagonia. The western coast is of less extent; and by reason of the Andes, which skirt it, and stretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous shore. However, we shall now return to St. Julian; where it must be remembered, that the

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bar at the entrance, is often shifting, and has many holes in it. The tide flows here north and south, and at full and change, rises four fathom.

We, on our first arrival here, sent an officer on shore in order to procure a quantity of salt for the use of the Squadron, Sir John Narborough having observed, when he was there, that the salt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough to fill a thousand ships: but our officer returned with a sample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; possibly the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had destroyed it.

The Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the sole occasion of our stay, the commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas, and the enemy's coasts, to fix the plan of his first operations: and therefore, on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion; at which were present the honourable Edward Legg, captain Matthew Mitchel, the honourable George Murray, captain David Cheap, together with colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land-forces. At this council Mr. Anson proposed, that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili. Mr. Anson informed them, at the same time, that it was an article contained in his majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the Squadron might be careened and refitted. To this proposition made by the commodore, the council unanimously and readily agreed; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains of the Squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to

the island of Neuftra Senora del Socoro, yet (notwithstanding the orders they had formerly given them at St. Catharine's) they were to cruise off that island only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed, and cruise off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of  $40^{\circ}$ , and  $40^{\circ} : 30'$ , and taking care to keep to the southward of the port: and, if in fourteen days they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit station, and to direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandes, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The same directions were also given to the master of the Anna Pink, who was not to fail in answering the signals made by any ship of the squadron, and was to be very careful to destroy his papers and orders, if he should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And, as the separation of the squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to his majesty's service, each captain was ordered to give in charge to the respective officers of the watch, not to keep their ship at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would answer it at their peril: and, if any captain should find his ship beyond the distance specified, he was to acquaint the commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

These necessary regulations being established, and the Tryal sloop completed, the squadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, and stood to sea; the Gloucester, indeed, found a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, and was left a considerable way a-stern, so that in the night we fired several guns as a signal to her captain to make sail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning; when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their best bower behind them. Standing now to the southward, we had great expectation

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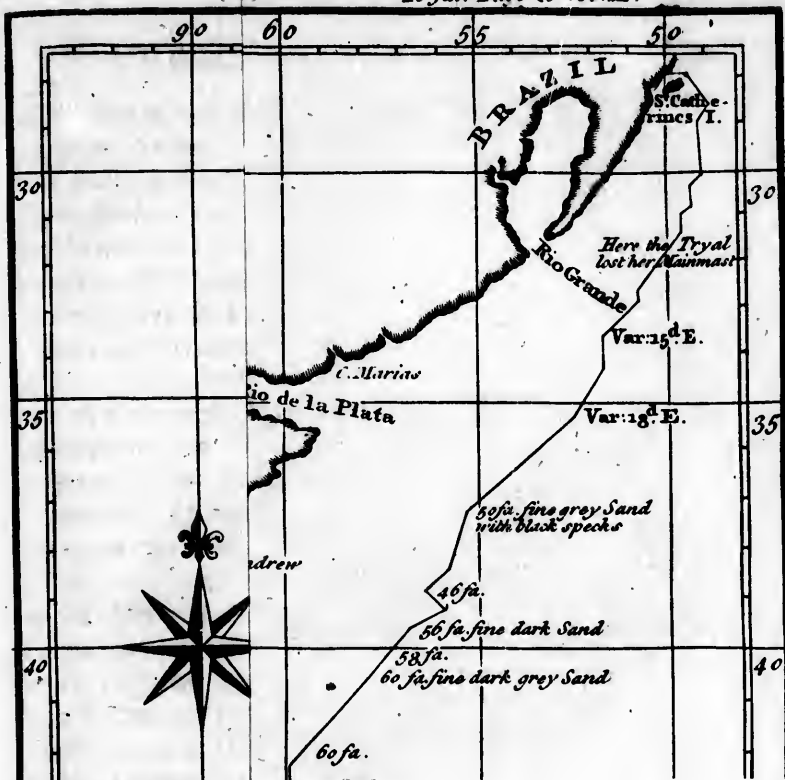
tation of falling in with Pizarro's squadron; for, during our stay at Port St. Julian, there had generally been hard gales between the west north west and south west, so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed, it was the prospect of meeting with them that had occasioned our commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships: for, had we been solely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been, to have ordered each ship to have made the best of her way to rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

On the 4th of March we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant from it. This Cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan; it lies in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} : 21'$  south, and longitude from London  $71^{\circ} : 44'$  west, and seems to be a low flat land, ending in a point. Off this Cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and most of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the commodore: but, while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame, which burst out on board the Gloucester, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information, that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge lighting on some gun-powder and other combustibles, which an officer on board was preparing for use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished, without any damage to the ship.

We here found, what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration,

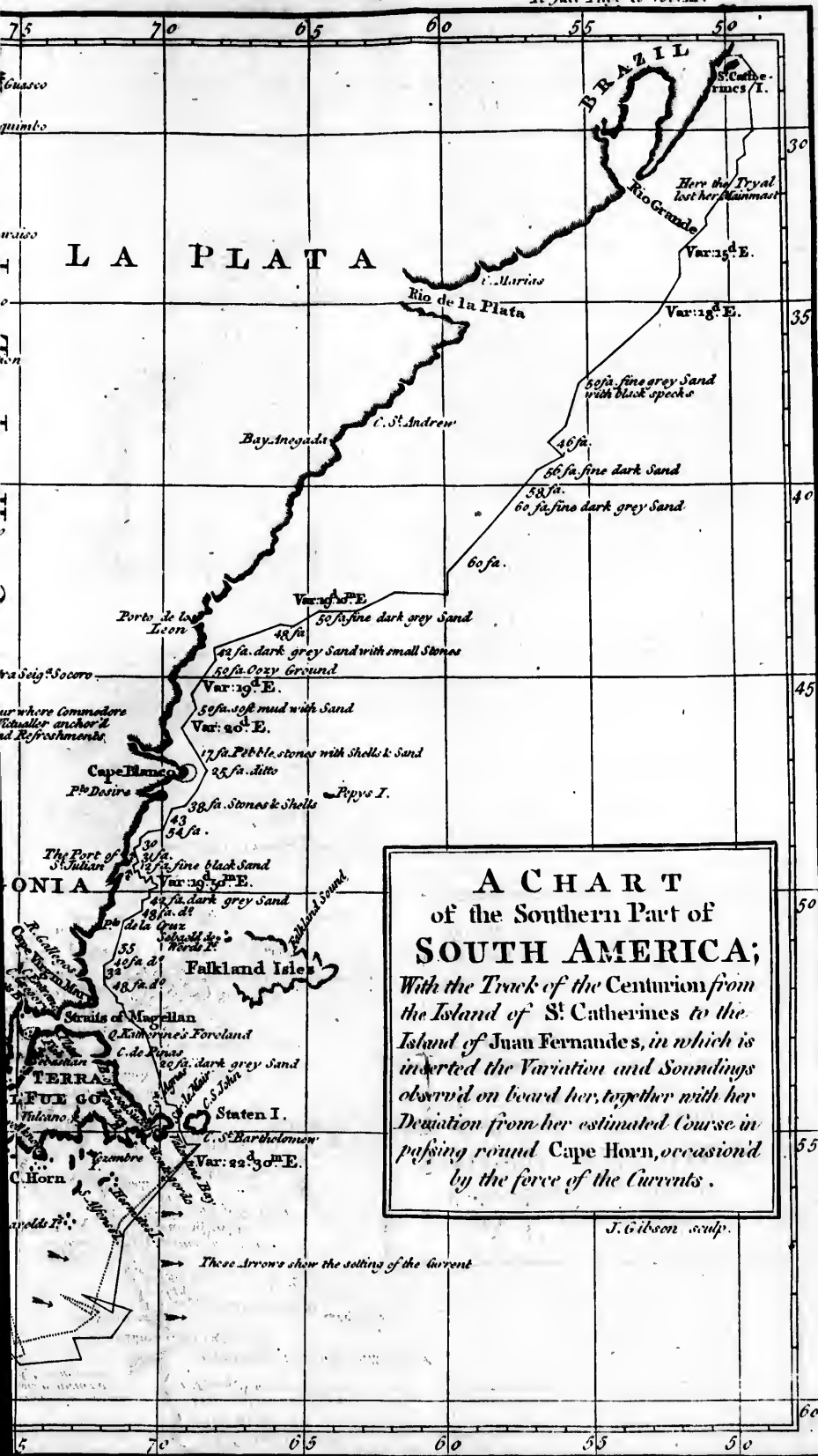
and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm; for the calm and sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night. The wind freshened from the south west as the night came on, and encreased its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard, that we were obliged to bring to with the Squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-seven fathom water, with black sand and gravel: and by an observation we had at noon, we concluded a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Toward midnight the wind abating, we made sail again; and steering south, we discovered in the morning, for the first time, the land called Terra del Fuego, stretching from the south by west to the south east one half east. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered every where with snow. We steered along this shore all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathom, with stones and gravel. And, as we intended to pass through Straits le Maire next day, we lay-to at night, that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in: with this view we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight we saw the land; and soon after we began to open the Straits; at which time Cape St. James bore from us east south east, Cape St. Vincent south east one-half east, the middlemost of The Three Brothers south and by west, Montegorda south, and Cape St. Bartholomew (which is the southermost point of Staten-land) east south east. If we had not happened to have coasted a considerable way along shore, we might have missed the Straits, and have got to the eastward of Staten-land before

we









# A CHART of the Southern Part of SOUTH AMERICA;

*With the Track of the Centurion from the Island of St. Catherine's to the Island of Juan Fernandez, in which is inserted the Variation and Soundings observed on board her, together with her Deviation from her estimated Course in passing round Cape Horn, occasion'd by the force of the Currents.*

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we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ships; particularly, as Frazier mentions, to the Incarnation and Concord, who, intending to pass through Straits le Maire, were deceived by three hills on Staten-land, like The Three Brothers, and some creeks resembling those of Terra del Fuego, and thereby overshot the Straits.

On occasion of this mention of Staten-land, we must remark, that though Terra del Fuego had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this island of Staten-land far surpasses it, in the wildness and horror of its appearance: it seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth, or mould, between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points, which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow: the points themselves are on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often over-hang in a most astonishing manner; and the hills which bear them, are generally separated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks, almost to their very bottoms: so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy, than the whole aspect of this coast. But to proceed:

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Straits le Maire, and soon after, or about ten o'clock, the Pearl and Tryal being ordered to keep a-head of the squadron, we entered them with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these straits are often esteemed to be the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing before us from hence but an open sea,

till we arrived on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centered, we could not help persuading ourselves, that the greatest difficulties of our voyage were now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realised. Thus animated by these flattering delusions, we passed those memorable straits, in fine serene weather, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy.

We had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction: for, before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the Straits, we observed all the presages of an impending storm. Presently the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our top-sails, and reef our main-sail; whilst the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiously against us, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity; so that we were in great anxiety for the *Wager* and *Anna Pink*, the two sternmost vessels. 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 of the currents; so that next day in the morning we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Straits le Maire, which then bore from us north west. The violence of the current, which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the fierceness and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have

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have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness, than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas: but we were now severely convinced, that these censures were rash and ill-grounded.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits le Maire, we had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board; and obliged them to confess, that, what they had hitherto called storms, were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe. It was not without great reason, that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for, had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship rolling incessantly gunwale to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks, or sides of the ship. And though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured.

These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at some times afforded. For though we were oftentimes obliged to lie-to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double-reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to set our top-sails; after which

the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And, that no circumstance might be wanting which could heighten our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle and apt to snap upon the slightest strain. This added greatly to the difficulty and labour of working the ship; benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were endless to enumerate the various disasters of different kinds which beset us during the course of this navigation. The ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water at every seam, so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the sea-water, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare that two nights ever passed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came in upon them.

On the 23d we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and though we handed the main top-sail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung; and soon after the foot-rope of the main-sail breaking, the main-sail itself split instantly to rags, and, in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this the commodore made the signal for the Squadron to bring-to; and the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-sail yard to put the carpenters to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging. After which, having bent a new mainsail, we got under sail again, with a moderate breeze: but, in less than twenty-four hours,

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we were attacked than the former, and reduced our bare poles any of the rest to wear ship the leeward, in danger of being dashed not ventur'd to make our purpose; and manning the ship proved the executioner, and canted overboard standing the ship swam very fast, and we discern that we were lost to him. Indeed our happy fate, and the waves, and the swam, that considerable time, and retrievable situation.

Before this we found two shrouds, broken immediately. For four days, accompanied by a gun frigate, we were obliged to fire at our Squadron by a gun frigate made by her, immediately before we hear of some of it before the yard was broken, and misfortune



we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged, in the afternoon, to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which otherwise we should have been in danger of losing in the night: and, as we dared not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient, which answered our purpose; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds. But though this method proved successful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ablest seamen was canted over-board; we perceived, that, notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he swam very strong, and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him. Indeed, we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he swam, that he might continue sensible, for a considerable time longer, of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.

Before this last mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main-shrouds, and one mizen-shroud, broke; all which we knotted, and set up immediately. From hence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half-hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the commodore. We immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster; but we were apprised of it before we joined her, for we saw that her main-yard was broke in the flings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious

vious it would prove a hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. But our future success and safety was not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as little as possible, the commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Tryal complaining at the same time, that his pumps were so bad, and his sloop made so great a quantity of water that he was scarcely able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the 1st of April, the weather returned again to its customary bias: and on the third there came on a storm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it lasted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset we received a furious shock from a sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter-gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our rigging too suffered extremely from the blow: among the rest, one of the straps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was also a main-shroud and puttock-shroud; so that, to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds, we lowered both our main and fore-yards, and furled all our sails, and in this posture we lay-to for three days, when the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only. But even this we could not do long;

long; for the another hard which obliged wonderful, the we had endured opened to any the Gloucester now no longer morning, several of distress: and the squadron the Wager and of the other lost her mizzen directly bore down arisen from the chain-plates ship's fetching unfortunate time on board the and the weather to return. The squadron that day, a signal and, upon that they had mon of the of having all we were obliged all fast, after And now, rous ills of fantly exposed solation in our fatigues should soon as we should be For, toward vanced by

long; for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightening and rain, which obliged us to lie to again till night. It was wonderful, that, notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's main-yard: but this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three the next morning, several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress: and the commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring-to, we, at day-break, saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships, and soon perceived that she had lost her mizen-mast and top-sail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron-work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return. Nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that suffered in this tempest; for, the next day, a signal of distress was made by the Anna Pink, and, upon speaking with the master, we learnt that they had broke their fore-stay, and the gammon of the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all their masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our sollicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been incessantly exposed for near forty days, we had great consolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply repayed for all our past sufferings. For, toward the latter end of March, we were advanced by our reckoning near  $10^{\circ}$  to the westward of

of the westernmost point of Terra del Fuego; and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought necessary to be taken, in order to compensate the drift of the western current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Ocean, and had therefore been ever since standing to the northward with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent disasters permitted. And on the 13th of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the straits of Magellan; so that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean.

But these were delusions, which only served to render our disappointments more terrible: for the next morning, between one and two, as we were standing to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the *Pink* made a signal for seeing land right a-head; and, it being but two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon suddenly shone out, not a ship amongst us could possibly have avoided: but the wind, which some few hours before blew in squalls from the south-west, having fortunately shifted to west north-west, we were enabled to stand to the southward, and to clear ourselves of this unexpected danger; and were fortunate enough by noon to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the southern outlet described in Frezier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was supposed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed most wonderful, that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength; for the whole

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squadron effected more progress, by longitude, than by distance. And the anxieties related, and more to the southward, the blasts which when we were sick and dying by a long confinement, in the various respects in this the discouragement the strength of this, we lost morning, and about for the more. Full presages, which by our late allowance the western trial, perhaps

The impetuous attempt to be imputed to Terra del Fuego a hundred coast, and, Pacific Ocean to which we were from misfortunes hence proceeded from destruction of Baldivia, a

Squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land : so that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil seas, we were to steer again to the southward, and were again to combat those western blasts which had so often terrified us ; and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling sick and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the discouragement we received by the diminution of the strength of the Squadron ; for, three days before this, we lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning, and though we spread our ships, and beat about for them some time, yet we never saw them more. Full of desponding thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the south-west, prepared by our late disaster to suspect, that how large soever an allowance we made in our westing for the drift of the western current, we might still, upon a second trial, perhaps find it insufficient.

The improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the disappointment of falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourselves above a hundred leagues to the westward of that whole coast, and, consequently, well advanced into the Pacific Ocean ; this unseasonable navigation, I say, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterward encountered. For, from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of our people, the ruin of our project on Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spanish places ;

places; and the reduction of our squadron, from the formidable condition in which it passed Straits le Maire, to a couple of shattered half-manned cruisers and a sloop, so far disabled, that in many climates they scarcely durst have put to sea. To prevent therefore, as much as possible, all ships hereafter bound to the South Seas from suffering the same calamities, we shall insert in this place such directions and observations, as either experience and reflection, or the conversation of the most skilful navigators on board the squadron could furnish, in relation to the most eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn; whether in regard to the season of the year, the course proper to be steered, or the places of refreshment both on the east and west sides of South America.

And first, with regard to the proper place for refreshment on the east side of South America. For this purpose the island of St. Catharine's has been usually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned: but the treatment we met with, and the small store of refreshments we could procure there, are sufficient reasons to render all ships for the future cautious, how they trust themselves in the government of Don José Sylva de Paz. And though future governors should themselves detest so faithless a procedure, yet as ships are perpetually passing from some or other of the Brasil ports to the river of Plate, the Spaniards could scarcely fail of receiving; by this means, casual intelligence of any British ships upon the coast: which however imperfect such intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and interests of those cruisers who were thus discovered.

For the Spanish trade in the South Seas running all in one track from north to south, with very little deviation to the eastward or westward, it is in the power of two or three cruisers, properly stationed in  
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different parts of this track, to possess themselves of every ship that puts to sea: but this is only so long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coast; for the instant an enemy is known to be in those seas, all navigation is prohibited, and consequently all captures are at an end. Since the Spaniards, well apprized of these advantages of the enemy, send expresses along the coast, and lay a general embargo on all their trade; a measure, which they prudentially foresee, will not only prevent their vessels being taken, but will soon lay any cruisers, who have not strength sufficient to attempt their places, under necessity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the Portuguese governors to the Spaniards, in relation to the designs of ships touching at the ports of Brasil.

However, notwithstanding the inconveniencies we have mentioned of touching on the coast of Brasil, it will oftentimes happen, that ships bound round Cape Horn will be obliged to call there for a supply of wood and water, and other refreshments. In this case St. Catharine's is the last place I would recommend, both as the proper animals for a live stock at sea, as hogs, sheep, and fowls, cannot be procured there, (for want of which we found ourselves greatly distressed, by being reduced to live almost entirely on salt provisions) and also because, from its being nearer the river of Plate than many of their other settlements, the inducements and conveniencies of betraying us are much stronger. The place I would recommend is Rio Janeiro, where two of our squadron put in after they were separated from us in passing Cape Horn: for here any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured; and this place being more distant from the river of Plate, the difficulty of intelligence is somewhat enhanced, and consequent-

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ly the chance of continuing there undiscovered, in some degree augmented.

I next proceed to the consideration of the proper course to be steered for doubling Cape Horn. And here, I think, I am sufficiently authorized by our own fatal experience, and by a careful comparison and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which in prudence I think ought never to be departed from: that is, that all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through Straits le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten-land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward, as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavoured to stand to the westward; and that when they are got into that latitude, they should then make sure of sufficient westing, before they once think of steering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically opposite to these have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent to produce reasons for each part of this maxim. And first, as to the passing to the eastward of Staten-land. Those who have attended to the risque we ran in passing Straits le Maire, the danger we were in of being driven upon Staten-land by the current, when, though we happily escaped being put on shore, we were yet carried to the eastward of that island: those who reflect on this, and the like accidents which have happened to other ships, will surely not esteem it prudent to pass through Straits le Maire, and run the risque of shipwreck, and after all find themselves no farther to the westward (the only reason hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the same time, by a secure navigation in an open sea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 south, before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward: the reasons for this precept are, that in all probability

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the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided, and the weather will prove less tempestuous and uncertain. This last circumstance we ourselves experienced most remarkably. The air indeed was very cold and sharp; and we had strong gales, but they were steady and uniform, and we had at the same time sunshine and a clear sky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new strength, and then returned suddenly in the most violent gusts, threatening at each blast the loss of our masts, which must have ended in our certain destruction. And that the currents, in this high latitude, would be of much less efficacy than nearer the land, seems to be evinced from these considerations, that all currents run with greater violence near the shore than at sea, and that at great distances from shore they are scarcely perceptible: indeed the reason of this seems sufficiently obvious, if we consider, that constant currents are, in all probability, produced by constant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a slow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coast that it meets with, must escape along the shore by the endeavours of its surface, to reduce itself to the same level with the rest of the ocean. And it is reasonable to suppose, that those violent gusts of wind which we experienced near the shore, so very different from what we found in the latitude of sixty degrees and upwards, may be owing to a similar cause; for a westerly wind almost perpetually prevails, in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by those immense hills called the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country to the southward as far as Cape Horn, a part of it only can force its way over the tops of those prodigious precipices, whilst the rest must naturally follow the direction of the coast, and must range down the land to the southward,

ward, and sweep with an impetuous and irregular blast round Cape Horn, and the southermost part of Terra del Fuego. However, not to rely on these speculations, we may establish, as incontestible, these matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the western gales, are less sensible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the shore of Terra del Fuego.

But though I am satisfied from both our own experience, and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here insist on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to stand to the westward; yet I would advise no ships hereafter to trust so far to this management, as to neglect another most essential maxim, which is the making this passage in the height of summer, that is, in the months of December and January. Indeed, if the mere violence of the western winds be considered, the time of our passage, which was about the equinox, was perhaps the most unfavourable of the whole year; but then it must be remembered, that independent of the winds, there are, in the depth of winter, many other inconveniencies to be apprehended, which are almost insuperable. As I would therefore advise all ships to make their passage in December and January, if possible; so I would warn them never to attempt the doubling Cape Horn from the eastward, after the month of March.

As to the properest port for cruisers to refresh at on their arrival in the South Seas, there is scarcely any choice; the island of Juan Fernandes being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpose. For though there are many ports on the western side of Patagonia, between the straits of Magellan and the Spanish settlements, where ships might ride in great safety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure some few refreshments; yet that coast is in itself so dangerous, from

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its numerous rocks and breakers, and from the violence of the western winds, which blow constantly full upon it; that it is by no means adviseable to fall in with that land, at least till the roads, channels, and anchorage, in each part of it are accurately surveyed.

To this we may add, that as all our future expeditions to the South Seas must run a considerable risque of proving abortive, whilst in our passage thither we are under the necessity of touching at Brasil; the discovery of some place more to the southward, where ships might refresh and supply themselves with the necessary sea-stock for their voyage round Cape Horn; would be an expedient which would relieve us from this embarrassment, and would surely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Nor does this seem difficult to be effected. For we have already the imperfect knowlege of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose: one of them is Pepy's island, in the latitude of  $47^{\circ}$  south, and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the other is Falkland's isles in the latitude of  $51^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  lying nearly south of Pepy's island. The first of these was discovered by captain Cowley, in his voyage round the world in the year 1686; who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety; that it abounds with fowls, and that as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish. The second place, or Falkland's isles, have been seen by many ships both French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the new Islands. Woodes Rogers, who run along the north-east coast of these isles in the year 1708, tells

us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, interspersed with woods, and not destitute of harbours. Either of these places, as they are islands at a considerable distance from the continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended as the most eligible places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward: but if, on examination, one or both of these places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived, of what prodigious import a convenient station might prove, situated so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn.

And as all discoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to those who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconsiderable expence, since small vessels are much the properest to be employed in this service; it were to be wished, that the whole coast of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-land, were carefully surveyed, and the numerous channels, roads and harbours with which they abound, were accurately examined. The discovery of this coast hath formerly been thought of such consequence, by reason of its neighbourhood to the Araucos and other Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at least on ill terms, with their Spanish neighbours, that sir John Narborough was purposely fitted out in the reign of king Charles II. to survey the straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coast of Patagonia, and the Spanish ports on that frontier; with directions, if possible, to procure some intercourse with the Chilian Indians, and to establish a correspondence with them.

It is true, sir John Narborough did not succeed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promised so many advantages to this nation. However, his disappointment was merely accidental, and his trans-

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transactions upon that coast (beside the many valuable improvements he furnished to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind than any objection against them; and it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme he was sent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences.

But to proceed on our voyage;—after the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, when we esteemed ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it; we stood away to the south-west till the 22d of April, when we were in upward of  $60^{\circ}$  of south latitude, and by our account near  $6^{\circ}$  to the westward of Cape Noir; in this run we had a series of as favourable weather as could be well expected in that part of the world, even in a better season: so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits le Maire to the west coast of America. But on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we lost sight of the other four ships of the Squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clue-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half-flown, every seam in the top-sails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main top-sail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the mast; however, at length some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives; whilst, at the same time, the foretop-sail beat about the yard



with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces: nor was our attention to our top-sails our sole employment, for the main-sail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail, and the fore yard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizen. In this storm, beside the loss of our top-sails, we had much of our rigging broke, and lost a main studding-sail-boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our Squadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes: nor did any two of them, as we have since learned, continue in company together. This total and almost instantaneous separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must indeed be owned, that we had hence room to expect, that we might make our passage in a shorter time than if we had continued together, because we could now make the best of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship; so that if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish: or should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting off again: whereas, with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since one ship at least might escape, and be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day,

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day, since the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the last day of the month, we flattered ourselves with the expectation of soon terminating all our sufferings; for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 13'$ , which being to the northward of the straits of Magellan, we were assured that we had compleated our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the southern ocean; and this ocean being denominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed; for in the succeeding month of May, our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction.

Soon after our passing Straits le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that at the latter end of April there were but few on board who were not, in some degree, afflicted with it; and in that month no less than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. In the month of May we lost near double that number; and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that, after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not at last muster more than six fore-mast men in a watch capable of duty.

This disease, so frequently attending long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects

the human body: its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and it is not easy to compleat the long roll of its various concomitants. It often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains; and sometimes it occasioned an obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing, and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms: at other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, were subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and such a luxuriancy of fungous flesh, as yielded to no remedy. But a most extraordinary circumstance, and what would be scarcely credible upon any single evidence, is, that the scars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent distemper: of this, there was a remarkable instance in one of the invalids on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great number of years past, yet on his being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds, in the progress of his disease, broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed. Nay, what is still more astonishing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been compleatly formed for a long time, was found to be hereby dissolved, and the fracture seemed as if had never been consolidated. Indeed, the effects of this disease were, in almost every instance, wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health, for they eat and drank heartily; were chearful, and talked with much seeming vigour, and with a strong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that too in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their seeming strength, and have resolved to get

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out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck: nor was it an uncommon thing for those who were able to walk the deck, and to do some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any endeavours to act with their utmost effort.

We entertained hopes, that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this, and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. For being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the island of Socro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the Squadron, and where we hoped to have met with some of our companions, we cruised for them in that station several days. But here we were not only disappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least prospect, that in such a case any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. In some places indeed we discerned several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them were generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and had we been driven ashore by the western winds which blew almost constantly here, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ship and of our lives.

This continued peril, which lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had, in some degree, affected almost the whole crew. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation, where we had sufficient sea-room, we should

should certainly have lain to; but in the present exigency we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top-sails in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it passed, marking them in different parts of the body: this flame was attended with a strong sulphureous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time, the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered, seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown-sea took us upon our starboard-quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores too were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale to, for want of sail to steady her: so that we expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for in a day or two after we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced

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enced since our passing Straits Le Maire. And now having cruised in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was resolved to take the advantage of the present favourable season and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet we had the greatest reason to suspect, that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that instead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled crew.

To save time, which was now extremely precious, and likewise to avoid being engaged with a lee-shore, we resolved, if possible, to hit the island upon a meridian. And, on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it: but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the westward; and therefore, though the commodore himself was strongly persuaded, that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some kind of countenance, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward, in the parallel of the island: as it was certain, that by this course we should either fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it; or should at least make the main-land of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterward, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared

peared quite white; what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island: for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased, that there were not above ten fore-mast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, and unable to go aloft: under these disheartening circumstances, we stood to the westward; and, on the 9th of June, at day-break, we at last discovered the long-wished for island of Juan Fernandez.

Though, on the first view, this island appeared to be very mountainous, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight. Because at this place only we could hope to put a period to those terrible calamities we had so long struggled with, which had already swept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at sea, would inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that, out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the island, we 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, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than

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two quarter-masters, and six fore-mast men capable of working; so that without the assistance of the officers, servants, and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island, after we had got sight of it; and even with this assistance they were two hours in trimming the sails. To so wretched a condition was a sixty gun ship reduced, which had passed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging about it, at about two miles distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. Being now nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods; and that between them there were every where interspersed the finest vallies, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades, no valley, of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear. The aspect of this country, thus diversified, would, at all times, have been extremely delightful; but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, (an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea scurvy) it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were then in sight, and particularly the water: for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance a considerable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recal the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs



springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. But at last the night closed upon us, before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night, and to send our boat next morning to discover the road: however, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let go the best bower in fifty-six fathom, not half a mile from the shore. At four in the morning, the cutter was dispatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals too were considered as fresh provisions; but as yet were not much admired, on account of the prodigious quantity of excellent fish, which the people on board had taken, during the absence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: but though, on this occasion, we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us; yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four

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hours before we hove the cable right up and down: after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew toward the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; and then we steered along the shore, till we came abreast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, shifted and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we loosed close in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the Tryal sloop. We immediately sent some of our hands aboard her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from the same calamities which we had so severely felt; for her commander captain Saunders, waiting on the commdoore, informed him, that out of his small complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men; and those that remained were so univerally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails. The Tryal came to an anchor within us, on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her, in order to moor ourselves nearer in shore; but the wind coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended. Indeed our principal attention was employed on business rather of more importance: for we were now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board, and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented, by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for  
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the number of the diseased was so great, and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. Notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we sent them all on shore, amounting to a hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterward in the same manner from the water-side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy, and therefore the commodore, according to his accustomed humanity, not only assisted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hands. The extreme weakness of our sick may in some measure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found, that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recovered most stages of the sea-scurvy; and we flattered ourselves, that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour: yet, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those, who survived, recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Indeed those who were well enough at their first getting on shore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health

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and strength in a very short time; but in the rest, the diseased seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

We shall now proceed to give a distinct account of this island, its situation, productions, and all its conveniencies; particulars we were well enabled to be minutely instructed in, during our three months stay there; and as it is the only commodious place in those seas, where British cruisers can refresh after their passage round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the Spanish coast, Mr. Anson was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great consequence these materials might prove to any British vessels hereafter employed in those seas.

The island of Juan Fernandes lies in the latitude of  $33^{\circ} : 40'$  south, and is a hundred and ten leagues distant from the continent of Chili. It is said to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it, and resided there some time with a view of settling on it, but afterward abandoned it. The island is of an irregular figure; its greatest extent is between four and five leagues, and its greatest breadth somewhat short of two leagues. The only safe anchoring at this island is on the north side, where are three bays; the middlemost, known by the name of Cumberland Bay, is the widest and deepest, and in all respects much the best; for the other two, denominated the east and west bays, are scarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their casks on shore.

As Cumberland Bay is by far the most commodious road in the island; so it is adviseable for all ships to anchor on the western side of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathom water, and be, in a great measure, sheltered from a large heavy sea, which comes rolling in whenever an eastern or a western

wind blows. It is however expedient, in this case, to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or six fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the foulness of the ground.

A northerly wind, to which alone this bay is exposed, very rarely blew during our stay here; and as it was then winter, it may be supposed, in other seasons, to be less frequent. Indeed, in those few instances, when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the high-lands on the southward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reason to suppose, that a few leagues off, it blew with considerable strength, since it sometimes drove before it a prodigious sea, in which we rode fore-castle in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the southern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent gusts and squalls, which however rarely last longer than two or three minutes.

The northern part of this island is composed of high craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, though generally covered with trees. The soil of this part is loose and shallow, so that very large trees on the hills soon perish for want of root, and are then easily overturned; which occasioned the unfortunate death of one of our sailors, who being upon the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to assist him in his ascent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill, and though in his fall he fastened on another tree of considerable bulk, yet that also giving way, he fell amongst the rocks, and was dashed to pieces. Mr. Brett likewise met with an accident only by resting his back against a tree, near as large about as himself, which stood on a slope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a considerable distance, though without receiving any injury. Our prisoners (whom, as will be related in the sequel, we afterward

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afterward brought in here) remarked, that the appearance of the hills in some part of the island resembled that of the mountains in Chili, where the gold is found: so that it is not impossible but mines might be discovered here. We observed, in some places, several hills of a peculiar sort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which, perhaps, on examination, might prove useful for many purposes. The southern, or rather the south west part of the island, is widely different from the rest, being dry, stony, destitute of trees, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the island is never frequented by ships, being surrounded by a steep shore, and having little or no fresh water; and beside, it is exposed to the southerly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter solstice very hard.

The trees of which the woods on the northern side of the island are composed, are most of them aromatics, and of many different sorts: there are none of them of a size to yield any considerable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largest on the island, and supplied us with all the timber we made use of; but even these would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular, as if it had been clipped by art; it bears on its bark an excrescence like moss, which in taste and smell resembles garlic, and was used by our people instead of it. We found here too the pimento-tree and likewise the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty. And, beside a great number of plants of various kinds, which we were not botanists enough either to describe, or attend to; we found here almost all the vegetables, which are usually esteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders, which are contracted by salt diet and long voyages. These vegetables, with the fish and flesh we got here,



were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long course of salt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewise of the most salutary consequence to our sick, and of no mean service to those who were well.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual use, I must add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover.

The excellence of the climate and the looseness of the soil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radishes; Mr. Anson therefore having with him garden-seeds of all kinds, and stones of different sorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should hereafter touch here, sowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach stones: and these last he has been informed have since thriven to a very remarkable degree.

This may in general suffice as to the soil and vegetable productions of this place: but the face of the country, at least of the north part of the island, is so extremely singular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular consideration. I have already taken notice of the wild, inhospitable air with which it first appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landscape as we drew nearer, till we were at last captivated by the numerous beauties we discovered on the shore. And must now add, that we found, during the time of our residence there, that the inland parts of the island did no ways fall short of the sanguine prepossessions which we first entertained in their favour. For the woods, which covered most of the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices,

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pices, in the northern part of the island, necessarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic vallies; most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, that tumbled in cascades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a sudden sharp descent: some particular spots occurred in these vallies, where the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination. I shall finish this article with a short account of that spot where the commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own residence, though I despair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he chose was a small lawn, that lay on a little ascent, at the distance of about half a mile from the sea. In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the sea-side, which sloping to the water with a gentle descent, opened a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle sweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the slope on which the wood stood, rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself; though not so much, but that the hills and precipices within land towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, beside, two streams of crystal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards distance, and were shaded by the trees which skirting the lawn on either side, completed the symmetry of the whole.

Former writers have related, that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats, and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances; one of a Musquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left there by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Duchess privateers of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage\*. His manner of life, during his solitude, was in most particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumstance he relates, which was strangely verified by our own observation. He tells us, amongst other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the island. Now it happened, that the first goat that was killed by our people at their landing had its ears slit, whence we concluded, that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island, we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age.

But the Spaniards being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the provisions which goat-flesh here furnished them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpose, they put on shore great numbers of large dogs, who

\* See p. 137 of this volume.

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have increased apace, and have destroyed all the goats in the accessible part of the country; so that there now remain only a few amongst the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. By this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, which we all agreed much resembled venison, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds, and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they scarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole island. These dogs, who are masters of all the accessible parts of the island, are of various kinds, some of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They sometimes came down to our habitations at night, and stole our provisions; and once or twice they set upon single persons, but assistance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any mischief. As at present it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young seals; and indeed some of our people had the curiosity to kill dogs sometimes and dress them, and it seemed to be agreed that they had a fishy taste.

Goats-flesh being scarce, and our people growing tired of fish, they at last condescended to eat seals, which by degrees they came to relish, and called it lamb. The seal, numbers of which haunt this island, hath been so often mentioned by former writers, that it is unnecessary to say any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a sea-lion, that bears some resemblance to a seal, though it is much larger. This too we eat under the denomination of beef; and as it is so extraordinary an animal, it well merits a particular description. They are in size, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference: they are extremely fat, so that after cut through the skin, which is about an inch in thick-

ness, there is at least a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of some of the largest afforded a butt of oil. They are likewise very full of blood, for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance: and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we shot one first, and then cut its throat, and measuring the blood that came from him, we found, that besides what remained in the vessels, which to be sure was considerable, we got at least two hogheads. Their skins are covered with short hair of a light dun colour, but their tails and their fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black; and are divided at the ends like fingers; the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these fingers is furnished with a nail. They have a distant resemblance to an overgrown seal, though in some particulars there is a manifest difference between them, especially in the males. These have a large snout or trunk hanging down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw; which the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female easy to be distinguished from each other; and besides, the males are of a much larger size. These animals divide their time equally between the land and sea, continuing at sea all the summer, and coming on shore at the setting in of the winter, where they reside during the whole season. In this interval they bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth; which they suckle, being at first about the size of a full-grown seal. During the time these sealions continue on shore, they feed on the grass which grows near the banks of the fresh-water streams; and, when not employed on feeding, sleep in herds in the most miry places they can find out. As they seem to be of a lethargic disposition, and are not easily awakened, each herd was observed to place some of their

their males and who never failed to molest. They were very capable of distance and of difference and at other. They often, with each. We were on two animals, all we had. They proved. ing each other with blood: superiority, usually lay furnished. no other male required that tests, of various scars v body. We larly for the exceeding g of bullocks. ing them, for resisting; can be com are moving skins. How ployed in sh whence he ed, and ge teeth scored and thereby all possible days.

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their males at a distance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm, whenever any one attempted to molest, or even to approach them: and they were 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. They often, especially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females. We were one day extremely surprized by the sight of two animals, which at first appeared different from all we had ever observed; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two sea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood: one of them, whom, from his size and superiority, the seamen used to call the Bashaw, generally lay surrounded with a seraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach; and he had not acquired that pre-eminence without many bloody contests, of which the marks still remained in the numerous scars which were visible in every part of his body. We kill many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks: in general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of escaping or resisting; as their motion is the most unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their skins. However, a sailor one day being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea-lion, the female, from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, she with her teeth scored his skull with notches in many places, and thereby wounded him so desperately, that, though all possible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

These are the principal animals which we found upon the island: for we saw but few birds, and those chiefly

chiefly hawks, blackbirds, vls, and humming birds. We saw not the *Paroquia* which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here; but as we often met with their holes, we supposed that the dogs had destroyed them, as they have almost done the cats: for these were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we saw not above one or two during our whole stay. However, the rats still keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troublesome to us, by infesting our tents nightly.

But that which furnished us with the most delicious repasts at this island, remains still to be described. This was the fish, with which the whole bay was most plentifully stored, and with the greatest variety: for we found here cod of a prodigious size; and by the report of some of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not in less plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that island. We caught also cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver fish, congers of a peculiar kind, and above all, a black fish which we most esteemed, called by some a chimney sweeper, in shape resembling a carp. Beside the fish we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world: this was sea cray fish; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds apiece, were of a most excellent taste, and lay in such abundance, near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often struck into them, in putting the boat to and from the shore.

Having thus given the reader some idea of the site and circumstances of this place, which was to be our residence for three months; I shall now proceed to relate all that occurred to us in that interval.

The arrival of the *Tryal* sloop at this island, soon after we came there ourselves, gave us great hopes of being

being speedily we were for expectation of night being appeared, we again; as we much longer perished.

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being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were for some days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed, without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that, had our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should every man of us have perished.

But on the 21st of June, some of our people from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon; and they, at the same time, particularly observed, that she had no sail abroad except her courses and her main topsail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days after, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people might be in the utmost distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness, as not to be able to ply up to windward; so that we feared that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would notwithstanding perish at sea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we discerned a sail in the north-east quarter, which we conceived to be the very same ship that had been seen before, and our conjectures proved true: and about one o'clock she approached so near, that we could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them; for our apprehensions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a  
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more distressed situation. They had already thrown over-board two thirds of their complement, and of those which remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of 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 the supply we sent them, they must soon have died of thirst. The ship plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the next day; but as she had no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the wind and currents shifted; the commodore repeated his assistance; sending to her the Tryal's boat manned with the Centurion's people, and a farther supply of water and other refreshments. Captain Mitchel, the captain of the Gloucester, was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews, he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalizing situation the Gloucester continued, for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at some times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July, we observed her stretching away to the eastward at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her once more on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind, still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, captain Mitchel made signals of distress, and our long-boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish, and other refreshments.

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refreshments. And the long boat being not to be spared, the cockswain had positive orders from the commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all. However, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; on which we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, who towed her along side in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long-boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learnt that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us: and, numbers of their sick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. These calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day her situation grew more desperate than ever, for after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we again lost sight of her; so that we in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place and of those circumstances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time

time when we least expected it; for after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasingly surprised, on the morning of the 23d of July, to see her open the north east point of the Bay with a flowing sail; when we immediately dispatched what boats we had to her assistance, and in an hour's time from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we so often sent them, and how impossible it would have been for a man of them to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants. For notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them to navigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithstanding this indulgent care of the commodore, they yet buried above three fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to anchor, our first endeavours were to assist them in mooring, and our next to send their sick on shore: these were now reduced by deaths to less than fourscore, of which we expected to lose the greatest part; but whether it was, that those farthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those which remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectation, that their sick were in general relieved and restored to their strength, in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

After thus giving an account of the principal events, relating to the arrival of the Gloucester, in one continued narration, I shall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna Pink, who came in about the middle of August.

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Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the *Centurion*, was cleansing our ship and filling our water. The first of these measures was indispensably necessary to our future health; as the numbers of sick and our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome. The filling our water appeared not less essential to our security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which would oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning. For some appearances we had discovered on shore upon our first landing, gave us grounds to believe, that there were Spanish cruisers in these seas, which had left the island but a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return thither again. The circumstances, which gave rise to these reflexions were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, which appeared to be fresh broken: we saw too, many heaps of ashes, and near them fish-bones and pieces of fish, beside whole fish, which were but just beginning to decay. These were certain indications that there had been ships at this place but a short time before we came there\*; and as all Spanish merchant-men are instructed to avoid the island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded those who had touched here to be ships of force: and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Callao, we were under some concern for our safety. For notwithstanding the rank of our ship, which would only have aggravated our dishonour, there was scarcely a privateer sent to sea, that was not then an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary.

Whilst the cleaning our ship and the filling our water went on, we set up a large copper-oven on

\* See these appearances accounted for, in Ulloa's voyage, at the latter end of our first volume.

shore near the sick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ship's company; for being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and fresh fish, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reason to endeavour at the augmenting our present strength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless situation: of this, we had a troublesome instance the 30th of June; for at five in the morning, we were astonished by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship, and we were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we should be driven to sea in this wretched condition. However, we sent the boat on shore, to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind, soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with reinforcement. With this additional strength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we suspected had received some damage from the foulness of the ground before it parted; and, agreeable to our conjecture, we found that seven fathom and an half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the ship's side; and the next morning, July 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the eastermost point now bearing from us east one half south; the westermost north west by west; and the bay as before, south south west; a situation in which we remained secure for the future.

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future. However, we were much concerned for the loss of our anchor, and swept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having sunk at the very instant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now as we advanced in July, some of our men being tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were put upon cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-side; this they performed, some of them with the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next sent the forge on shore, and employed our smiths, who were but just capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and other broken and decayed iron work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not junk enough to make spun-yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Gloucester, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might dispatch as fast as possible in our refitting, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sail-makers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old sails, and making us new ones. These occupations, with our cleaning and watering the ship, the attendance on our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay. And then captain Mitchel waiting on the commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Mafa-Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandes; and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore there for water, of which he could observe several streams, but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether use-



less, for his people returned with a boat load of fish. This island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock; but captain Mitchel assured the commodore, that it was almost every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length: and added, that it appeared to him far from impossible, but some small bay might be found on it, which might afford sufficient shelter for any ship desirous of refreshing there.

As four ships of our squadron were missing, this description of the island of Mafa Fuero gave rise to a conjecture, that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and might have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. This suspicion was the more plausible, as we had no draught of either island that could be relied on: and therefore, Mr. Anson determined to send the *Tryal* sloop thither, as soon as she could be fitted for the sea, in order to examine at all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. It was the 4th of August before the *Tryal* was in readiness to sail, when, having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore: captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay; where she anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeded on her cruise with a fair breeze.

And now, after the *Gloucester's* arrival, we were employed in earnest in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the stripping our foremast, we were alarmed by discovering it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. The spring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; however, the carpenters on inspecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fishing it with two leaves of an anchor-stock, would render it as secure as ever. But, beside this defect in our mast, we had other difficulties

in refitting, for though we had the necessities of both, the continued blowing of such a cold wind were driven to our junk and other baggage, we were at length obliged to run into running rigging, and the remnants of our stores could only make

Toward the end of the month differently received their sick tents, and the crew themselves; as it was found that it would be much better to recover their strength by a time particular of a gun from the water-side. either the procuring of wood, or the making of sea-lions. This burning in lambship's sides, or to supply the use to give the ship too were occupied two Newfoundland commodore sent a quantity of salt little of it was as productive of provisions.

I have before mentioned an oven on shore opened that the of the squadron the *Tryal* sloop



in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both, than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with, had occasioned such a consumption of these stores, that we were driven to great straits: as after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at last obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging. And with all the canvas, and remnants of old sails that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Toward the middle of August our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves; as it was imagined, that by living apart, they would be much cleaner, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner: but at the same time particular orders were given, that on the firing of a gun from the ship, they should instantly repair to the water-side. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments; the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the sea-lions. This oil served us for several purposes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ship's sides, or, when worked up with wood-ashes, to supply the use of tallow (of which we had none left) to give the ship boot-hose tops. Some of the men too were occupied in salting of cod; for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the *Centurion*, the commodore set them about laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea-store, though very little of it was used, as it was afterward thought to be as productive of the scurvy, as any other kind of salt provisions.

I have before-mentioned, that we had a copper-oven on shore to bake bread for the sick; but it happened that the greatest part of the flour, for the use of the squadron, was on board the *Anna Pink*: but the *Tryal* sloop, at her arrival, informed us, that on

the 9th of May she had fallen in with our victualler, not far distant from the continent of Chili; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us some room to hope that she was safe, and that she might join us; but all June and July being past without any news of her, we then gave her over for lost; and at the end of July the commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only, that we feared a deficiency; for since our arrival at this island, we discovered that our purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the commodore had expressly ordered him to receive; so that the supposed loss of our victualler, was on all accounts a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday, the 16th of August, about noon we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the *Centurion*, to call off the people from shore; who readily obeyed the summons, repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And being now prepared for the reception of this ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations about her: at first, many imagined it to be the *Tryal* sloop returned from her cruise; though as she drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by observing she was a vessel with three masts. Then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the *Severn*, others the *Pearl*, and several affirming that it did not belong to our squadron: but about three in the afternoon our disputes were ended, by an unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler the *Anna Pink*. This ship, though, like the *Gloucester*, she had fallen in to the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the greatest joy; for each ship's company was immediately restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now

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freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short, before we could reach some amicable port; a calamity, which in these seas is of all others the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us; and the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune which she afterwards met, are matters worthy of a separate narration.

On the first appearance of the Anna Pink, it seemed wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress: but this difficulty was soon solved when she came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in a harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes: so that their sufferings (the risque they had run of shipwreck only excepted) were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. It seems, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues distant, in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 15'$  south. On the first sight of it they wore ship, and stood to the southward, but their foretop sail splitting, and the wind being west south-west, they drove toward the shore; and the captain at last, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast, with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight. The Pink had the good fortune to come to anchor to the eastward of the island of Inchin; but as they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of that island, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five; and still continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their sheet-anchor. This, though it brought them

up for a short time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment, in a place where the coast was so very high and steep too, that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo: as there was no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, apprehending, that if any of them, by some extraordinary chance should get on shore, they would, in all probability, be massacred by the savages on the coast: for these, knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty, which they had so often and so signally exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances, the *Pink* drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore; but at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, that led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its water, may perhaps compare with any in the known world.

Here she continued for near two months, and here her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded. As this place may prove of the utmost importance to future navigators, who may be forced upon this coast by the westerly winds, which are almost perpetual in that part of the world, I shall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the *Pink*, give the best account I could collect of this port, its situation, conveniencies, and pro-

productions. rial point, is no observation or within a posed that it and the large renders this u of Inchin ly one of the isl in the Spanish coast, and a barbarous pe Spaniards, a nation as hav several fine r into the harb that the cask hose. The in this port v &c. (which a devoured wi store of gees though it w markably rig the country summer mar side these her there. Wit far removed known to t reason to sup might conti is moreover ing the islan is accessible secure this p could muste circumstance more accur

productions. Its latitude, which is indeed a material point, is not well ascertained, the Pink having no observation either the day before she came here, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is supposed that it is not very distant from  $45^{\circ} 30'$  south, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour, renders this uncertainty of less moment. The island of Inchin lying before the bay, is thought to be one of the islands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spanish accounts, as spreading all along that coast, and are said by them to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to such of that nation as have fallen into their hands. There are several fine runs of excellent fresh water, which fall into the harbour, some of them so luckily situated, that the casks may be filled in the long-boat with an hose. The principal refreshments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, &c. (which after so long a continuance at sea, they devoured with great eagerness) shell fish and good store of geese, shags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous; nor the trees, or the face of the country destitute of verdure; whence in the summer many other species of fresh provision, beside these here enumerated, might doubtless be found there. With all these advantages, this place is so far removed from the Spanish frontier, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that there is reason to suppose, that by proper precautions, a ship might continue here undiscovered a long time. It is moreover a post of great defence,; for by possessing the island that closes up the harbour, and which is accessible in very few places, a small force might secure this port against all the strength the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world. All these circumstances seem to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped,

that the important uses which this rude account of it seems to suggest, may hereafter recommend it to the attention of those who are more immediately entrusted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

As to the people belonging to the *Pink*, being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on distant searches; so that their excursions were generally confined to that tract of land which surrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ship. Though had they at first known how little foundation there was for their fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was so grown up with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate: whence no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who have represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people: for they were certain that no such inhabitants were there to be found, at least during the winter season; since all the time they continued there, they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a *Periagua*, about a month after the arrival of the *Pink*, and consisted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife and two children, one three years of age, and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the *Pink*, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yaul, who brought them on board; and fearing lest they might discover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill usage or violence: for

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in the day-time they pleased locked up in the same manner often indulged greatly to rest were much distressed as the master a shooting, (when the master treated them perceived, that and cheerful at his confinement good natural versing with signs, was shewed great himself under gacity was after being the scuttle of family were locked unnailed, and dark and stout and children over the ship being pursued own *periagua* immediately with so much discovered that ter he had escape; and to pursue him Indian too, his liberty, had confined involved in



in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the fore-castle. As they were fed in the same manner with the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation; especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a shooting, (who always seemed extremely delighted when the master killed his game) and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was soon perceived, that though the woman continued easy and chearful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts, and though not capable of conversing with the Pink's people, otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive; and shewed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood. But the strongest proof his sagacity was the manner of his getting away; for, after being in custody on board the Pink eight days, the scuttle of the fore-castle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side, into the yaul; and to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing a-stern, and immediately rowed a-shore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that he was not discovered till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent or to pursue him, their boats being all a-drift. The Indian too, by this effort, beside the recovery of his liberty, was in some sort revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loss of their boats, and by the

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terror he threw them in at his departure: for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried out, The Indians! the whole ship was in the utmost confusion, believing themselves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

As it was supposed that he still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food, as they thought would be most agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reason to conjecture, that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him; for, on visiting the place some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were satisfied that this Indian still continued near them; yet others would needs conclude, that he was gone to the island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprize the Pink. On this occasion the master of the Pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered, (and there is a particular reason hereafter for attending to this circumstance) that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This, he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the Pink was always on her guard; but it being now represented to him, that his great security was his concealment, and that the evening gun might possibly discover him, and serve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on to omit it for the future: and his crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to

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sea, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandes; where he arrived on the 16th of August, as hath been already mentioned.

The remaining ships of the squadron were the *Severn*, the *Pearl*, and the *Wager* store-ship: the *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir; and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the *Brafsils*: so that of all the ships which came into the South Seas, the *Wager*, captain Cheap, was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board a few field-pieces mounted for land-service, together with some cohorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery stores, and pioneers tools, intended for the operations on shore: therefore, as the enterprize on *Baldivia* had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that these materials, which were in his custody, might be ready before *Baldivia*; that if the squadron should possibly rendezvous there, (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor disappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilst the *Wager*, with these views, was making the best of her way to her rendezvous off the island of *Socoro*, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the squadron there) she proposed to steer directly for *Baldivia*, she made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of  $47^{\circ}$  south; and the captain exerting himself upon this occasion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and dislocated his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land; insomuch that the next morning, at day break, she struck on a sunken rock, and after bilged, and grounded between two small islands, at about a musket-shot from the shore.

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In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, 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 greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them falling down between decks, were drowned, as the water flowed into the wreck; being incapable of raising themselves up and retreating from it. The captain therefore having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave the mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and such as he had been able to prevail on: but he did not fail to send back the boats, to persuade those who remained, to have some regard to their preservation; though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land: but it seems their madness had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a four pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, against the hut where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shot, which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place when they at last got all on shore. For the men conceived, that by the loss of the ship, the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got, except what should be saved out of the wreck,

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this was another since the working the provisions, future exigencies care that what violence might be were matters no pline and subordination of the people, immediate hunger for this purpose continual concealment of each man's private animosity, infinite feuds and ungovernable.

Beside these violence and hunger which set the crew against the captain in opinion, on present exigency: possible, to fit could, and to Since having health, and had munition from could master a with in those of meeting with or Baldivia, intended to pro nandes. He on no prize by easily carry that, however the generality with the distrust through, they terprize farth

this was another unfurmountable source of discord ; since the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care that what was necessary for their present subsistence might be sparingly and equally distributed, were matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination. This mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual : so that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests, and rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Beside these heart burnings occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency: for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. Since having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could master any Spanish vessel they could encounter with in those seas : and he thought he should not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes. He farther insisted, that should they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them thither. But this was a scheme, that, however prudent, was no way relished by the generality of his people ; for, being quite jaded with the distresses and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved so disastrous.

astrous. The common resolution therefore was, to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the rest of the boats to steer to the southward; to pass through the straits of Magellan, and to range along the east side of South America, till they should arrive at Brasil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy. So that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obstruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat: this he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation, as that to the coast of Brasil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him; to which likewise the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midshipman whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted, but there were some violent measures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader: for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly

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kept themselves on their guard. One day the purser, having, by the captain's order, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterness; and grossly insulted the purser, who was then delivering out provisions, just by the captain's tents, and was himself sufficiently violent. The purser, enraged by this scurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out, A MUTINY, adding, THE DOG HAS PISTOLS; and then himself fired a pistol at Cozens, which however mist him: but the captain, on this outcry, and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head without farther deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However this incident, though sufficiently displeasing to the people, did yet, for a considerable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority: but, at last, when towards the middle of October, the long-boat was nearly compleated, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them, by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens, as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them: and therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him and the few who chose to take their for-

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tunes with him, no other embarkation but the yaul, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ship was wrecked, there were alive on board the *Wager* near an hundred and thirty persons; of these above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the southward: so that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen persons, which however were as many as the barge and the yaul, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the 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: and on the 29th of January following, they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brasil: but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining, when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itself was a most extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provision, being only what they had saved out of the ship, was extremely slender: they had this additional misfortune beside, that the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was staved to pieces; so that when their provisions and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

After the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain, and those who were left with him, proposed to pass

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pass to the northward in the barge and yaul: but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months from the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to sea. It seems, the place where the Wager was cast away was not a part of the continent, as was first imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which afforded no other sort of provision but shell-fish and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had gotten from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea-provisions remained, for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated Wager's Island, they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was some little relief to their necessities, and at another season might perhaps have been greater; for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these savages might resort thither to fish.

On this occasion it is much to be lamented, that the Wager's people had no knowledge of the Anna Pink being so near them on the coast; for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the Wager was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, it is probable she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated; for several of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which could be no other than the evening gun fired from the Anna Pink. But to return to captain Cheap:

Upon the 14th of December, the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yaul, in order

to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions over-board, to avoid immediate destruction: and to add to their distress, about a fortnight after, the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned. As the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. Notwithstanding these disasters, they still kept on their course to the northward, though greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned, and constantly struggling with a series of the most unfortunate events: till at last, it was unanimously resolved, finding the difficulties insurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to Wager Island, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return, they had the good luck to meet with several pieces of beef, which had been washed out of the wreck, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them after the hardships they had endured: and to complete their good fortune, there came, in a short time, two canoes of Indians, amongst which was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish; and the surgeon, who was with captain Cheap, understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he should have her, and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but after having proceeded for a few

days, the captain being on shore, the Indian remained on board and did not

By this means Cheap, Mr. Mountrable Mr. and Mr. Elliot, that their difficulties were incapable of flexion, that the dismaying that being left on board or the means were persuaded that they perceived a change that of the Indians to Chiloe, he made no change. He had left captain to go a fishing party, and them to the captain had carried to shore, and for missing, he was in difficulty being murdered; yet that was given to the Spanish well skilled in provisions by

About the four who were Indian having gotten many people. Soon the surgeon died, of the whole complicated passage

days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to sea, and did not return again.

By this means there were left on shore captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton lieutenant of Marines, the honourable Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell, midshipmen, and Mr. Elliot the surgeon. One would have thought that their distresses had long before this time been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflexion, that their present situation was much more dismaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast without any provision, or the means of procuring any. But when they were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for it seems he had left captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fishing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. When he came on shore, and found the barge gone, and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; yet being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling) to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March captain Cheap and the four who were left with him set out for Chiloe, the Indian having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot the surgeon died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, captain Cheap,

Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, arrived in the beginning of June at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr. Hamilton did not get there till two months later. Thus, was it above a twelvemonth from the loss of the *Wager*, before the fatiguing peregrination ended: and not till, by a variety of misfortunes, the company was diminished from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low, that, had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived. After some stay at Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were sent to Valparaíso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year: but on the advice of a cartel being settled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship. The other midshipman, Mr. Campbell, having changed his religion, whilst at Jago, chose to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterward to Spain on board the *Asia*; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British navy. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the *Anna Pink*, and the catastrophe of the *Wager*, I shall again resume the thread of our own story.

About a week after the arrival of our victualler, the *Tryal* sloop, that had been sent to the island of Maza-Fuero, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandes, having been round that island, without meeting any part of our squadron. The following is the account given of this place, by the officers of the *Tryal* sloop.

The Spaniards having generally mentioned two islands under the name of Juan Fernandes, styling them

them the great island where the island we a more distant guished by sloop found des west by distant. It been general was a place the north s inconvenient is steep too, ships must and there lie one: and b there is also point of t though the because they ing over t vantage bey abounds wi be disturbed ger, till the the whole, was not th at, yet, in of shelter, to a single a superior f

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them the greater and the less; the greater being that island where we anchored, and the less being the island we are now describing, which, because it is more distant from the continent, they have distinguished by the name of *Mala-Fuero*. The *Tryal* sloop found that it bore from the greater *Juan Fernandes* west by south, and was about twenty-two leagues distant. It is a much larger and better spot than has been generally reported. They found too, that there was a place where a ship might come to an anchor on the north side of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is steep too, and has very deep water upon it, so that ships must come to an anchor very near the shore, and there lie exposed to all the winds but a southerly one: and besides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is also a reef of rocks running off the eastern point of the island, about two miles in length; though there is little danger to be feared from them, because they are always to be seen by the seas breaking over them. This place has at present one advantage beyond the island of *Juan Fernandes*; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accustomed to be disturbed, were no ways shy or apprehensive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at: and, upon the whole, they seemed to imagine, that though it was not the most eligible place for a ship to refresh at, yet, in case of necessity, it might afford some sort of shelter, and prove of considerable use, especially to a single ship, who might apprehend meeting with a superior force at *Fernandes*.

The latter part of the month of August was spent in unloading the provisions from the *Anna Pink*; when we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, groats, were decayed, and unfit for use. And now, as we had no farther occasion for her service, the commodore, pursuant to his orders from the board of admiralty, sent notice to Mr. Gerard, her master, that he

discharged the Anna Pink from attending the Squadron; and gave him, at the same time a certificate specifying how long she had been employed. But the master representing it as his opinion, that it was impossible to proceed to sea with her before she had been thoroughly refitted; he therefore requested the commodore, that the carpenters of the Squadron might be directed to survey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this desire, Mr. Anson immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and strict survey of the Anna Pink; pursuant to which, the carpenters immediately set about the examination, and the next day made their report: the amount was, that in consequence of the defects and decays they certified, in their opinion she could not depart from the island without great hazard, unless she was first of all thoroughly refitted. But as the repairs proposed by the carpenters were, in our present situation, impossible to be complied with; the commodore therefore agreed with Mr. Gerard to purchase the whole together for 300 l. The Pink being thus broken up, Mr. Gerard, with the hands belonging to the Pink, were sent on board the Gloucester; as that ship had buried the greatest number of men, in proportion to their compliment.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September, and our people by this time were so far recovered of the scurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at present; and therefore I shall now sum up the total of our loss since our departure from England, the better to convey some idea of our past sufferings, and of our present strength. We had buried on board the Centurion since our leaving St. Helen's, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality: but yet on board the Gloucester it had been much greater; for out of a  
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much smaller number, and It might be slaughter was decks were but it happened favourably the two, and had havock of the valids and the Centurion marines, the ing officers Gloucester, eight marines count it appeared from one men on six were dead of our remaining tributed and than three a number Centurion the three, and vigour was still the certain of the

In the battle ready men recovered; and climate destroying all of all hands ture, we, ing, espied, nued to a with the great hope



much smaller crew than ours they had lost the same number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the *Tryal*, the slaughter would have been the most terrible, as her decks were almost constantly knee deep in water; but it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the rest, since she only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines than on the sailors; for on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines: and on board the *Gloucester*, every invalid perished; and out of forty-eight marines, only two escaped. From this account it appears, that the three ships together departed from England with nine hundred and sixty-one men on board, of whom six hundred and twenty-six were dead before this time; so that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be distributed amongst three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys; a number greatly insufficient for the manning the *Centurion* alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was still the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's Squadron.

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the season for navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourselves in getting all our ships in readiness for the sea. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the north-east, which continued to approach us, till her courses appeared even with the horizon. Whilst she advanced, we had great hopes she might prove one of our own Squadron;



dron; but as at length she steered away to the eastward, without haling in for the island, we thence concluded she must be a Spaniard. It was resolved to pursue her, and the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got under sail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was, lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on, we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we; though her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary; as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the mast-head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly. We continued on this course all that day and the next, and then, not getting sight of our chase, we gave over the pursuit; but on the 12th, at day-break, we were agreeably surprized with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. We immediately crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, shewing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to her consort; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly loosed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great briskness; and as the chase appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man of war, and probably one

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of Pizarro's to order all and thrown and provision that we had ment. About discover that so much as hour after t distance of rigging; on bore down to top-gallant winds: this their sheets. After which rage enough soon as the modore order quarter, and Saumurez, the prize. them, they r est tokens were all of the twenty-five i der the great severe and voured, with assuring the less. The Centurion in Nuestra Señer commanded by sisted chiefly cloth made sembling ou rior to the some tobacco

of Pizarro's squadron: this induced the commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown over-board, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engagement. About ten o'clock we were near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tier of guns. At half an hour after twelve, being got within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shot amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails, and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant sails and stay-sails all fluttering in the winds: this was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards just as we fired at them. After which, not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft to take them in. As soon as the vessel came within hale of us, the commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoisted out the boat, and sent Mr. Saumurez, his first lieutenant, to take possession of the prize. When Mr. Saumurez came on board them, they received him at the side, with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, who were twenty-five in number) 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 fright, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless. The prisoners who were sent on board the Centurion informed us, that our prize was called Nuestra Señoral del Monte Carmelo, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broad-cloth, but inferior to them; with a few bales of cotton, and some tobacco; which, though strong, was not ill flavoured.

flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her; but we found beside, what was to us much more valuable than the rest of the cargo; this was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three serons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 pounds averdupois. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso in the kingdom of Chili, and proposed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Calloa they convert into large rope. Our prize had been built upward of thirty years; yet, as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they esteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewise her sails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unserviceable, their carriages being scarcely able to support them: and there were no small arms on board, except a few pistols belonging to the passengers. The prisoners informed us, that they left Callao in company with two other ships, whom they had parted with some days before, and that at first they conceived us to be one of their company.

After this short account of the ship and her cargo, it is necessary to relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the prisoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here first learnt with certainty the force and destination of that Squadron, which cruised off the Madeiras at our arrival there, and afterwards chased the Pearl, in our passage to port St. Julian. We had, at the same time too, the satisfaction to find, that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loss of two of his largest ships: and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which, considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence,

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telligence, we farther learnt, to our great satisfaction, that though an embargo had been laid upon all shipping in these seas by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, yet it now no longer subsisted. For on the account sent over land by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew we must have encountered, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St. Catharine's, they were fully satisfied that we were either perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again; as it was conceived impossible for any ships to continue at sea during so long an interval.

We also learnt from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he dispatched to the viceroy of Peru, had intimated to him, that if any of the English Squadron did arrive in those seas, it must be in a very defenceless condition; he therefore advised the viceroy, to send what ships of war he had to the southward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreshment; in which case, he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice: and as he had already fitted out four ships of force from Callao; one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro when he arrived on the coast of Chili: the viceroy now stationed three of these off the port of Concepcion, and one of them at the island of Fernandes, where they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June; and then not seeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the seas so long, they quitted their cruise and returned to Callao, fully persuaded that we had either perished, or at least had been driven back. We also were told, that these Spanish ships sent out to intercept us, had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid

laid up; and that whenever intelligence was received at Lima, of our being in these seas, it would be at least two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we, in our reduced circumstances, could wish for. And now we were no longer at a loss, as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish-bones, which we had observed at our first landing at Juan Fernandes, these things being doubtless the reliëts of the cruisers stationed off that port. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the Centurion most of the prisoners, and all the silver, we, at eight in the evening, made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning discovered the island of Fernandes, where, the following day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident, which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the rest of the Squadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been sufficiently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were greatly surprised that we had ever surmounted them: but when they saw the Tryal sloop at anchor, they were still more astonished, that after all our fatigues we had the industry (beside refitting our other ships) to complete such a vessel in so short a time, they taking it for granted that we had built her upon the spot. Nor was it without great difficulty they were at last prevailed on to believe that she came from England with the rest of the Squadron; they long insisting, that it was impossible such a bauble as that could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back.

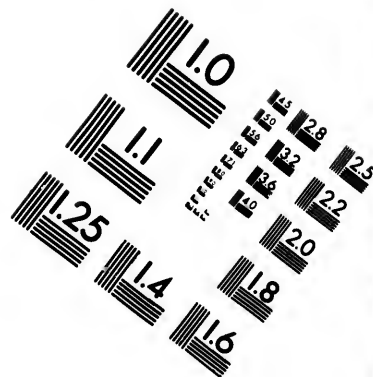
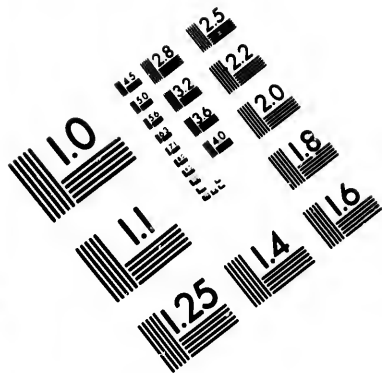
By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: and it appearing from them, and from the

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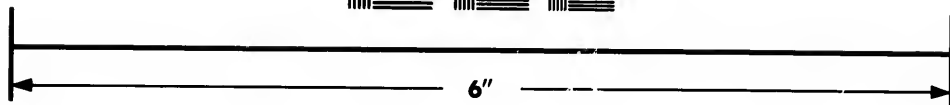
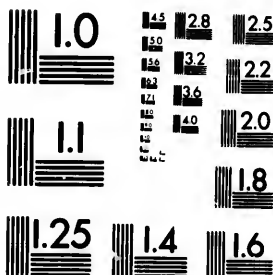
the accounts of our prisoners, that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr. Anson dispatched the Tryal sloop the very next morning, to cruise off the last-mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ship. He likewise resolved to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruises; as he thought that by this means we should increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run a less risque of alarming the coast, and of being discovered. And now the spirits of our people being greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated by this earnest of success, they forgot all their past distresses, and resumed their wonted alacrity, labouring indefatigably in compleating our water, and in preparing to take our farewell of the island. But as these occupations took us up four or five days, with all our industry, the commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the Anna Pink, being four six-pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the Carmelo, our prize: and having sent on board the Gloucester six passengers, and twenty-three seamen to assist in navigating the ship, he directed captain Mitchel to leave the island as soon as possible, the service demanding the utmost dispatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees south, and there to cruise off the high land of Paita, at such a distance from shore, as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he was joined by the commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr. Anson's receiving any other intelligence, that should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the captain of the Gloucester, and all our business compleated, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed anchor







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chor in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the island of Juan Fernandes, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the Tryal sloop, in her station off Valparaíso.

On the 24th, a little before sun-set, we saw two sail to the eastward; on which our prize stood directly from us, to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruisers, whilst we made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered with all our canvas toward the two ships we had discovered. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broad-side ready to pour into her; but as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr. Anson, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the master to hale the ship in Spanish; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, answered us in English, and informed us that she was a prize, taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the Tryal herself, disabled in her masts. We were soon after joined by the Tryal, and captain Saunders, her commander. He acquainted the commodore, that he had taken this ship the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours chase before he could come up with her; that for some time he gained so little upon her, that 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, the Tryal's hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the Tryal neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and recommending themselves to the blessed Virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. Indeed their success was very near doing honour

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nour to their Ave Marias ; for altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping ; but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual ; for through this crevice, the people on board the Tryal perceived a light, which they chased till they arrived within gun-shot, and then captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach : however, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad ; and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them ; but, just as the Tryal was preparing to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burthen, and was called the Arranzazu. She was bound from Callao to Valparaíso, and had much the same cargo with the Carmelo we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about 5000 l. sterling.

But to ballance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the Tryal had not now a mast left on which she could carry sail, and the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and consequently could have no communication with her ; so that we were obliged to lie to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation.

The weather proving somewhat more moderate on the 27th, we sent our boat for the captain of the Tryal, who, when he came on board us, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, beside being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was necessary to ply the pumps constantly,

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and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather, they must all inevitably perish; and therefore they petitioned the commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the resisting of the *Tryal* at present exceeded our power. The commodore therefore had no choice left him, but was under a necessity of taking out our people and destroying her. When this was resolved on, Mr. Anson gave orders to captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop every thing that could be of any use to the other ships, and then to scuttle and sink her. After captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate, to be called the *Tryal Prize*, now mounting twenty guns, and to cruise off the highland of Valparaíso, keeping it from him north-north-west, at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ships bound from Valparaíso to the northward steer that course, Mr. Anson proposed by this means to stop any intelligence that might be dispatched to Callao, of two of their ships being missing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The *Tryal's* prize was to continue on this station twenty-four days; if not joined by the commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast to Pisco or Nasca, where she would be certain to meet with Mr. Anson. The commodore likewise ordered lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the *Centurion's* prize, to keep company with captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also that by spreading in their cruise, there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being dispatched, the *Centurion* parted from the other vessels at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a

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view of cruising for some days to the windward of Valparaiso.

By this distribution of our ships, we flattered ourselves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we possibly could with our small force; for, as we might suppose, the Gloucester by this time to be drawing near the highland of Paita, we were enabled, by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never insure its certainty: since those chances, which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberation, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus in the present case, the distress of the Tryal, and our quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to Valparaiso, to reach that port without molestation, during this unlucky interval. So that, after leaving captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon, yet in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort: and then having lost all hopes of meeting with better fortune by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes: but when we arrived off the highland where they were directed to cruise, we did not find them, though we continued there for four or five days. We supposed that some chace had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the highland of Nasca, which was the second rendezvous where captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21st, and were in great expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels, as both the accounts of former voyagers, and

the information of our prisoners assured us, that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail till the 2d of November, when two ships appeared in sight together: we immediately gave them chase, and soon perceived that they were the *Tryal's* and *Centurion's* prizes. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruise than we were; for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us.

The little success we all had, and our certainty, that, had any ships been stirring in these seas for some time past, we must have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy, on missing the two ships we had taken, had laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended that they might, by this time, be sitting out the men of war at Callao; as it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions determined the commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join captain Mitchel, who was stationed off Paita, as soon as possible, that our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore, that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence: for we knew that all the country ships were commanded, under the severest penalty, not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet  
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the Spaniards took on board which he now stands came on, he Gallan, who about seven latitude of five miles Morro Viejo this island and larly, because tion on that hereabout and the northward land.

On the 5th had the satisfaction to see a sail. She immediately gave chase, but was much out of sight, however, notwithstanding, we, about 10 o'clock, were in sight of her, at last Mr. A. took the wind, to his course; chase would be was uncertain whether thought prudent by this means than to chase continued through the dark, so imagining that but at length we really discovered her on board-bow, 1



the Spanish squadron, in our route, the commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now standing to the northward, we, before night, came on, had a view of the small island called St. Gallan, which bore from us north north-east,  $\frac{1}{2}$  east, about seven leagues distant. This land lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees south, and about five miles to the northward of a highland, called Morro Veijo, or the Old Man's Head. I mention this island and the highland near it, more particularly, because between them is the most eligible station on that coast, for cruising upon the enemy; as hereabout all ships bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the southward, run well in with the land.

On the 5th of November, in the afternoon, we had the satisfaction so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase; but the Centurion so much outailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about seven o'clock, lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last Mr. Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course; for though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night, yet, as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than to change it on conjecture. Thus then we continued the chase about an hour and an half in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails right a-head of us; but at length Mr. Brett, our second lieutenant, did really discover her, about four points on the larboard-bow, steering off to the seaward: we imme-

diately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her; and in less than an hour came up with her; and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was sent in the boat, with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This vessel was named the Santa Teresa de Jesus, built at Guaiacuil, of about three hundred tons burthen, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer; she was bound from Guaiacuil to Callao; her loading consisted of timber, cacao, coco-nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread, (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass) Quito cloth, wax, &c. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than 170 l. sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it: but the Spaniards having strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods that we took in these seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us to consider, that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and the despoiling them was no contemptible branch of that service, in which we were now employed by our country.

Beside our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spanish parents, together with three black slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of those years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible

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terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions too were in the present instance strengthened by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors, who had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves upon our officers coming on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light: however, he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his assurance of their future security and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. Nor were these assurances of the officer invalidated in the sequel: for the commodore being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of the same apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation whatever: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them, as their guardian and protector. By this indulgent behaviour of the commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us.

At the beginning of this chase the Centurion, as has been observed, ran her two consorts out of sight. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; for, taking up some of the water

in a wine-glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. At present having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun-stock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to encrease their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

As we stood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days; though we spread our ships in such a manner, that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy could escape us. In our run along this coast we generally observed, that there was a current which set us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees south latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brasil. But it is remarkable, that on the east side of South America they extended to a much higher latitude than they do the west side; for we did not lose them on the coast of Brasil, till we approached the southern tropic. The reason for this diversity is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of that continent.

The comparison of the heat and cold of various climates, has as yet been very imperfectly considered. However, enough is known safely to determine this position, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe; as many of those within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold, to which their situation should seem to subject them: that is to say, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances, than upon

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upon its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This proposition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this sense it cannot be denied, that the city of London, for instance, enjoys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's bay, which is nearly in the same latitude with it; but where the severity of the winter is so great, that it will scarcely permit the hardiest of our garden plants to live. And if the comparison be made between the coast of Brasil and the western shore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be still more considerable; for though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Seas in the same latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since in ranging along it, we did not once meet with so warm weather, as is frequent in a summer's day in England: which was still the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refresh and cool the air.

If this matter be examined by means of the thermometers, which in respect to the absolute degree of heat and cold are doubtless the most unerring evidence; the result will be indeed most wonderful. Since it will hence appear, that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Peterburgh for instance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto observed between the tropics; and that even at London in the year 1746, there was the part of one day considerably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ship of Mr. Anson's Squadron, in running from hence to Cape Horn and back again, and passing twice under the sun.

If it should be asked, how it comes to pass that the heat in many places between the tropics is esteemed so violent and insufferable, when it appears by these instances, that it is sometimes exceeded in very high latitudes, the answer must be, that the estimation

tion of heat ought not to be founded upon that degree which may now and then obtain, but is rather to be deduced from the medium observed in a whole season, or perhaps in a whole year: and in this light it will easily appear, how much more intense the same degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For instance, in comparing together St. Catharine's and Peterburgh, we will suppose the summer heat at St. Catharine's to be  $76^{\circ}$ , by Farenheit's thermometer, and the winter heat to be twenty divisions short of it. Upon this supposition then, the medium heat all the year round will be  $66^{\circ}$ , and this perhaps by night as well as by day, with no great variation: now those who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would by the generality of mankind be stiled violent and suffocating. But at Peterburgh, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be considerably greater than at St. Catharine's, yet, as at other times the cold is immensely sharper, the medium for a year, or even for one season only, would be far short of  $66^{\circ}$ .

Besides this estimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a considerable time together, there is another circumstance which will still augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminish that of the colder. The measure of absolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the sensation of heat with which human bodies are affected. For as the perpetual succession of fresh air is necessary to respiration, so there is a species of tainted or stagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which never fails to excite in us an idea of sultriness and suffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone, supposing it pure and agitated, would occasion. Hence it follows, that the mere

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inspection of the heat which and hence it between the and uneasy, in a high latitude the tropical with a multitude removed, but those parts place to place the higher latitude in smaller distance of the the air being same degree that uneasy vice in generation.

In this climate could make in other countries summer, rather either for rains are not parts of the rarely appears a dark gloomy ful grey sky out obscured with an uniform of the day nor is the the air, with rains; but breezes from It is reason plexion of neighbour



inspection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cause; and hence it follows too, that the heat in most places between the tropics must be much more troublesome and uneasy, than the same degree of absolute heat in a high latitude: for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of steams and vapours not easily removed, by reason of the regularity of the winds in those parts; which only shift the exhalations from place to place, without dispersing them. Whereas in the higher latitudes these vapours are probably raised in smaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently disperse them; so that, the air being in general pure and less stagnant, the same degree of absolute heat is not attended with that uneasy and suffocating sensation. This may suffice in general with respect to the present speculation.

In this climate every circumstance concurred, that could 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 happy climate the sun rarely appears: not that the heavens have at any time a dark gloomy look; for there is constantly a cheerful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, without obscuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleasant hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad; nor is there wanting that pleasing refrigeration of the air, which is produced in other climates by rains; but is here brought about, by the fresh breezes from the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast hills, called the Andes, which



which running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small distance from it, 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 the summit, all kinds of climates may, at all seasons of the year, be found. These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds, which generally blow over the continent of South America, by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping beside a large portion of the atmosphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the snows with which they are covered; these hills, thus 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. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where these mountains left us, and had nothing to screen us to the eastward, but the high lands on the isthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes, we then soon found that in a short run we had totally changed our climate, passing in two or three days from the temperate air of Peru, to the sultry burning atmosphere of the West Indies. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of November we were three leagues south of the southermost island of Lobos, lying in the latitude of  $6^{\circ} : 27'$  south: there are two islands of this name; this called Lobos de la Mar; and another, which is situated to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance; and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierre. We were now drawing near to the station appointed to the Gloucester; for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning at day-break, we saw a ship in shore, and to windward, plying up the coast: she had passed by

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us with the favour of the night, and we soon perceiving her not to be the Gloucester, got our tacks on board, and gave her chase; but it proving very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the commodore ordered his barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase, and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about nine o'clock, and running alongside of her, he fired a volley of small shot between the masts, just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with the greatest part of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was got within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous the commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learnt, that the prize was called *Neustra Senora del Carmin*, of about two hundred and seventy tons burthen; she was commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three marines: she was deep laden with steel, iron, pepper, cedar, planks, snuffs, rosaries, European bale goods, powder blue, cinnamon, Romish indulgencies, and other species of merchandizes: and though this cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet with respect to the Spaniards, it was the most considerable capture we made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost, at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage, to take in a recruit of water and provisions, having left that place not above twenty-four hours, before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. Brett had received some important intelligence. The first person he learnt it from was one John Williams an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled all over the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar: he pretended, that by this business he had once got 4 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stript of every thing he had. He was indeed at present all in rags, being but just got out of Païta gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanor; he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately told them, that, a few days before, a vessel came into Païta, where the master of her informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English Squadron: this we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterward found. The governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima to acquaint the viceroy therewith: and the royal officer residing at Païta, apprehensive of a visit from the English, had, from his first hearing of this news, been busily employed in removing the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. We further learnt from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money belonging to some merchants of Lima, now lodged in the custom-house at Païta: and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel, then in the port of Païta, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonsonate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manilla ship. As the vessel in which the money was to be shipped was esteemed a prime sailer,

sailer, had just bottom; and be able to sail they gave of her our ship, which could have and we once suffered fore, as we were be soon alarmed any longer would resolved having first made and condition, was little danger attempt.

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sailer, had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and might, in the opinion of the prisoners, be able to sail the succeeding morning; the character they gave of her, left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. Therefore, as we were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose; the commodore resolved to endeavour to surprize the place, having first minutely informed himself of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied, that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt.

The town of Paita is situated in the latitude of  $5^{\circ} : 12'$  south, on a most barren soil: the extent of it but small, containing in all less than two hundred families. The houses are only ground-floors; the walls built of split cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves: these edifices, though extremely slight, are abundantly sufficient for a climate, where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years: so that it is said, a small quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and as it were melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black slaves, or at least a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteem the best on that part of the coast; and is indeed a very secure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequently by all vessels coming from the north; since here only the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonate, Realeijo and Panama, can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao: and the length of these voyages (the wind for the greatest part of the year being full against them) renders it impossible to perform them without calling upon the coast

coast for a recruit of fresh water. It is true Paita is situated on so parched a spot, that it does not itself furnish a drop of fresh water, or any kind of greens or provisions, except fish and a few goats: but there is an Indian town called Colan, about two or three leagues distant to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c. are conveyed to Paita on balzas or floats, for the conveniency of the ships that touch here; and cattle are sometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. This port of Paita, besides furnishing the northern trade bound to Callao, with water and necessaries, is the usual place where passengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, disembark; for, as it is two hundred leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the passage by sea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerable good road parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

Mr. Anson having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered; yet not so far, but that by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships long before day-break: however, the commodore prudently considered, that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships, being such large bodies, might be easily seen at a distance, even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen oared barge, our own and the Tryal's pinnaces on that service; and having picked our fifty-eight men to man them, well furnished with arms and ammunition, he intrusted the command of the expedition

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to lieutenant Brett. And the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and from the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place, two of the Spanish pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant; and that we might have the greater security for their behaviour on this occasion, the commodore took care to assure our prisoners, that they should all of them be released, and set on shore at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully; but in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry the rest of the Spaniards, who were on board him, prisoners to England.

On this occasion I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in this business. It seems, as we afterward learnt, he had been taken by captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprize of Truxillo, a town within land to the southward of Paita, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was carried and pillaged. Now that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he too a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an accident very extraordinary. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood toward the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; though no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people, on board a vessel riding at



at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, *THE ENGLISH, THE ENGLISH DOGS, &c.* by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street, the fort being one side of the square, and the governor's house another. The huzzas of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least three hundred; by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were much more solicitous about the means of flight than resistance: so that though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the

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governor's house, abandoned, who were in the parade.

On this first day, the governor, with two parties, marched to the governor's house, contrary to the opposition; and done it, a By this means, than a quarter of the day, and with killed on the

Lieutenant succeeded, at the governor's house, all the afternoon, surprize from the place from his next care, the treasure, inhabitants remain, what farther, but he soon were no word of them (because) had run away, had not given. In this general, secure himself, ing his wife, of age, to wait four days, ward carried, nels, just at house, arrived

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governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

On this success lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and, if possible, to secure the governor, whilst he himself at the head of the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their escape over the walls: By this means the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, and with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded.

Lieutenant Brett, when he had thus far happily succeeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprize from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house, where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was necessary to take; but he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprized) had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their cloaths. In this general rout the governor was not the last to secure himself, for he fled betimes 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, behind him; though she too was afterward carried off in her shift by a couple of centinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it. This escape of the gover-

nor was an unpleasing circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to lieutenant Brett to secure his person, if possible; in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place: but it seems his alertness rendered the execution of these orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes which were found in the town; these, instead of being shut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort: however, there was care taken that they should be always attended with a file of musqueteers.

The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus busied, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search of private pillage: where the first things which occurred to them, being the cloaths that the Spaniards in their flight had left behind, and which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced; our people eagerly embraced these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets; not forgetting at the same time, the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the cloaths; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it. But those, who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's cloaths sufficient to equip themselves, were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress. So that when a party of them thus ridiculously metamorphosed first appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely surprized at the grotesque sight,  
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These were the transactions of our detachment on shore at Paita the first night: but to return to what was done on board the Centurion in that interval. After the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then supposing our detachment to be near landing, we made an easy sail for the bay. About seven in the morning we began to open the bay, and soon after had a view of the town: and though we had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprize, yet it was with great joy that we first discovered, by means of our perspectives, an English flag hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort, which to us was an incontestable proof that our people was in possession of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off shore, would permit us: and at eleven, the Tryal's boat came on board us, loaden with dollars and church-plate; when the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's transactions, as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we anchored in ten fathom and a half at a mile and a half distance from the town, and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption: but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill, at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance. For amongst the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented; being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate us, in hopes that we might be induced to abandon the place before the pillage was

completed. But we were not so ignorant as to believe, that this body of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in streets and amongst houses, even had their numbers been three times as large; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the day-light lasted, in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, &c. which we found here in great abundance. However, at night, to prevent any surprize, the commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the passages leading to the parade; and for their further security, traversed the streets with barricadoes six feet high: but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and sending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what consequence it would have been to us, had fortune seconded the prudent views of the commodore, by permitting us to have secured the governor. For as we found in the place many store-houses full of valuable effects, which were useless to us at present, and such as we could not find room for on board: had the governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for the ransom of this merchandize, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues distant; he was so far elated with his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he seemed not to trouble himself much about the fate of his government. So that though Mr. Anson sent several messages to him by some of the inhabitants, whom he had taken prisoners, offering to enter into a treaty for the ransom of the town and goods, giving him, at the same time, an intimation

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mation that we should be far from insisting on a rigorous equivalent; and threatening too, that if he would not condescend to treat, we would set fire to the town, and all the ware-houses: yet the governor was so imprudent and arrogant, that he did not deign even to return the least answer to them.

On the second day of our being in possession of the place, several negroe slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our service: one of these was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. We now learnt that the Spaniards without the town were in extreme want of water, for many of their slaves crept into the place by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill: and though some of them were seized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirst among the enemy was so pressing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this second day we were assured; both by the deserters and by these prisoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scots papist, and captain of a ship in those seas, was to have the command of this enterprize. However, we, notwithstanding, continued sending off our boats, and prosecuted our work without the least hurry or precipitation till the evening; when a reinforcement was again sent on shore by the commodore, and lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes: and our posts being connected by the means of centinels placed within call of each other; and the whole being visited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum; these marks of our vigilance, and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed this second

night with as little molestation as we had done the former.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before; so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed 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, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches under a strict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. Brett was at the same time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches (which by good fortune stood at some distance from the houses) and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. These orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work, to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles, into houses in different streets of the town; so that, the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be more violent and sudden; and the enemy, after our departure, not be able to extinguish it. When these preparations were made, he, in the next place, commanded the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then setting fire to those houses which were most to the windward, he collected his men, and marched toward the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. As that part of the beach whence he intended to embark was an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. To this end a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out, as I suppose, for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolu-

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son; so that, had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their prowess, we might have imagined, that now we were on the open beach with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed (and we were not mistaken) that this was mere ostentation. For, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they at first came on with, Mr. Brett no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopped and dared not to advance a step further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time retarded, by missing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him. But when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were just putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in: the place was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely discover him, tho' they heard his voice. However, the lieutenant instantly 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 frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enraged enemy. On enquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed at first opening his eyes, to see the houses all in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him to a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape



the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst, for he could not swim, before he ventured to look back.

It ought to be observed, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and spirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have so far neglected his duty, as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were ashore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from sailors who had been so long confined to a ship: and though part of this prudent demeanor must doubtless be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent discipline to which they had been constantly inured on board the commodore; yet it was no small reputation to the men, that they should generally refrain from indulging themselves in those liquors, which they found ready to their hands at almost every warehouse.

By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way to the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and had got such hold, both by means of the combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire; that it was sufficiently apparent, no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein.

Our detachment under lieutenant Brett having safely joined the squadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. He found, when he first came into the bay, six vessels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ship, which, according to our intelligence, was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and which, as we were persuaded she was a good sailer, we resolved to  
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take with us: the others were two snows, a bark, and two row-gallies of thirty-six oars a-piece. These last, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the same kind built at divers ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao: for the Spaniards, on the first intelligence of our squadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The commodore, having no occasion for these other vessels, had ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away at his first arrival; and on his leaving the place they were towed out of the harbour, scuttled, and sunk: and the command of the remaining ship, called the *Solidad*, being given to Mr. Hughs the lieutenant of the *Tryal*, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron, toward midnight, weighed anchor, and sailed out of the bay, being at present augmented to six sail; that is, the *Centurion*, and the *Tryal's* prize, together with the *Carmelo*, the *Teresa*, the *Carmin*, and our last acquired vessel the *Solidad*.

It has been already observed, that all the prisoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were here put on shore, and discharged; amongst whom there were some persons of considerable distinction, especially a youth of about seventeen years of age, son of the vice-president of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful use the ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of English cruelty; we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. Particularly this youth, who having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country; of all which he was fully persuaded he had taken his last farewell: believing that he was now devoted, for the

the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel servitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface these terrifying impressions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there were room for, should dine at his table by turns; and giving the strictest orders too, that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated with the utmost decency and humanity. But notwithstanding this precaution, it was generally observed, that the first day or two they did not quit their fears, suspecting the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought-of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our sincerity, they grew perfectly easy in their situation, and remarkably chearful; so that it was often disputable, whether or no they considered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth abovementioned, who was near two months on board us, had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, and seemed so much pleased with a manner of life, totally different from all he had ever seen before; that it is doubtful whether, if his own opinion had been asked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the *Centurion*, to the being set on shore at *Paita*, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This uniform conduct of the commodore to his prisoners gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewise to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson before the capture of the *Teresa*, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct toward those women, whom he took in that vessel: for the leaving them in the possession of their apartments, the strict orders given to prevent

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all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to stay with them as their guardian, were measures that seemed so different from what might be expected from an enemy and an heretic; that the Spaniards on board, though they had themselves experienced his beneficence, were surprized at this new instance of it, and the more so, as all this was done without his ever seeing the women, though the two daughters were both esteemed handsome, and the youngest was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themselves too were so sensible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Païta, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in person. Indeed, all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A jesuit in particular, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastical of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he should consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice at all times. He added, that his usage of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgot, and such as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occasions: but that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character, would be scarcely sufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterward informed, that he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head; but had, both at Lima and at other places, given the greatest encomiums to our commodore; the jesuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense that article of his church, which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

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When we got under sail from the coast of Paita, we stood to the westward, and in the morning the commodore gave orders, that the whole squadron should spread themselves, to look out for the Gloucester. For as we then drew near the station where captain Mitchel had been directed to cruise, we hourly expected to get sight of him; but the whole day passed without seeing him.

And now a jealousy, which had taken its rise at Paita, concerning the appropriation of the plunder, between those who had been commanded on shore for the attack, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it necessary to interpose his authority to appease it. These contests amongst our men, were carried on with great heat on both sides: and though the plunder in question was a very trifle, in comparison of the treasure taken in the place, yet as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck; where, addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion: but then representing to them the reasons urged, by those who had continued on board, for an equal distribution of the plunder, which he said he thought very conclusive; he therefore insisted, that not only the men, but all the officers likewise, who had been employed in taking the place should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission: and to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the commodore added, that as an encouragement

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ment to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troublesome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with mischievous consequences, was by the commodore's prudence soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company.

This important business employed the best part of the day, after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no sight of the Gloucester, the commodore ordered the squadron to bring to, that we might not pass her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, at ten saw a sail, to which we gave chase; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to discover her to be the Gloucester, with a small vessel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learnt that captain Mitchel, in the whole time of his cruise, had only taken two prizes; one of them being a small snow, whose cargo consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000 l. in specie; and the other a large boat or launch, which the Gloucester's barge came up with near the shore. The prisoners on board this last vessel alleged, that they were very poor, and that their loading consisted only of cotton; though the circumstances in which the barge surprized them, seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be: for the Gloucester's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pye, served up in silver dishes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened several of the jars on board, to satisfy his curiosity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the prisoners gave him: but the cargo being taken on board the Gloucester, and there examined more strictly, they were agreeably surprized to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of false package; and that there was concealed amongst



amongst the cotton, in every jar, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount on the whole of near 12,000 l. This treasure was going to Païta, and belonged to the same merchants who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money we had taken there: so that had this boat escaped the Gloucester, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Beside these two prizes which we have mentioned, the Gloucester's people told us, that they had been in sight of two or three other ships of the enemy which had escaped them; and one of them, we had reason to believe from some of our intelligence, was of immense value.

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that we should stand to the northward, and make the best of our way either to Cape St. Lucas on California, or to Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico. Indeed the commodore, when at Juan Fernandes, had determined with himself to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get some correspondence over-land with the fleet under the command of admiral Vernon. For when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portsmouth, which was intended to be sent to the West Indies, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements. And Mr. Anson taking it for granted, that this enterprize had succeeded, and that Porto Bello perhaps might be then garrisoned by British troops, he hoped, that on his arrival at the isthmus, he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side. So that Mr. Anson flattered himself, that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men, and that by settling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the West Indies, might have taken even Panama itself. This would have given to the British nation the possession of that isthmus, whereby we should have been in effect masters of all the treasures of Peru, and should have had

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Such were the projects which the commodore revolved in his thoughts at the island of Juan Fernandes, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. But in examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the first prize we took, we learnt that our attempt against Carthagea had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterprize, which would at all facilitate this plan.

The only feasible measure which was then left us, was to steer as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent parts of Mexico, there to cruise for the Manilla galeon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco; and we doubted not to get on that station time enough to intercept her. This ship does not usually arrive at Acapulco till toward the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November; and not conceiving that our passage thither would cost us above a month or five weeks, we imagined we had near twice as much time as was necessary for our purpose. Indeed there was a business which we foresaw would occasion some delay, but we flattered ourselves that it would be dispatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of prisoners we had entertained on board, since our leaving the island of Fernandes, had so far exhausted our stock, that it was impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of Mexico, till we had procured a fresh supply: especially as at Paita, where we had some hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our consumption during our stay there. It was for some time a matter of deliberation, where we should take in this necessary article; but

but by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama: nor was it but on good grounds that the commodore conceived this to be the properest place for watering the squadron. Indeed, there was a small island called Cocos, which was less out of our way than Quibo, where some of the buccaneers have pretended to find water; but none of our prisoners knew any thing of it: and beside, by going to Quibo we were not without hopes that some of the enemy's ships bound to or from Panama, might fall into our hands.

Determined therefore by these reasons for Quibo, we directed our course northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing south south east, one half east, seven miles distant. This cape lies in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 15'$  south, and is always made by ships bound either to windward or to leeward; so that off this cape is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. By this time we found that our last prize, the *Solidad*, was far from answering the character given her of a good sailer; she and the *Santa Teresa* delaying us considerably. The commodore therefore commanded them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and to be burnt: and having given proper instructions, and a rendezvous to the *Gloucester* and the other prizes, we proceeded in our course for Quibo; and on the 22d in the morning, saw the island of Plata, bearing east, distant about four leagues. At three in the afternoon point Manta bore south east by east, seven miles distant; and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, capt. Mitchel took this opportunity of sending away several of his prisoners from the *Gloucester* in the Spanish launch. The boats were now daily employed in distributing

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provisions on board our prizes, to complete their stock for six months: and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and foretops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns.

On the 25th we had a sight of the island of Gallo, bearing east south east and one half east, four leagues distant; and from hence we crossed the bay of Panama with a north west course, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the island of Quibo. But we afterward found that we ought to have stood more to the westward; for the winds in a short time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult to gain the island. After passing the equinoctial, (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and standing more and more toward the isthmus, where the communication of the atmosphere to the eastward and the westward was no longer interrupted; we found in very few days an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For instead of that uniform temperature, where neither the excess of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for several days together close and sultry weather, resembling what we had before met with on the coast of Brasil, and in other parts between the tropics on the eastern side of America. We had beside frequent calms and heavy rains; which we at first ascribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all seasons of the year; but observing that it attended us to the latitude of seven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe, that the stormy season, or, as the Spaniards call it, the vandevals, was not yet over.

On the 27th, captain Mitchel having finished the clearing of his largest prize, she was scuttled, and set on fire; but we still consisted of five ships, and were fortunate enough to find them all good sailers; so

that we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long disused to, we found it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of December we had a view of the island of Quibo; the east end of which then bore from us north north west, four leagues distant, and the island of Quicaro west north west, about the same distance. Here we struck ground sixty-five fathom of line, the bottom of grey sand, with black specks. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it adviseable to stand off till the morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. But the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, about three in the afternoon we entered the Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. This Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, is at least six miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half distance of the breakers: though, in all probability, if it had been necessary, we might have ventured much nearer, without incurring the least danger. At seven in the evening we anchored in thirty-three fathom muddy ground; the south point of the island bearing south east by east, a remarkable high part of the island west by north, and the island Sebaco east by north.

The next morning, after our anchoring, an officer was dispatched on shore to discover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the same time we weighed and stood farther in with our ships. At two we came to an anchor in

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twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken shells, the watering place now bearing from us north west one half north, only three quarters of a mile distant.

This island of Quibo is 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 we were little more than two days laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole island is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It consists of a continued wood spread all over the whole surface of the country, which preserves its verdure the year round. Amongst the other wood, we found there abundance of cassia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared singular to us, that, considering the climate and the shelter, we should see no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of these last there were prodigious flights. Next to these birds, the animals we found in most plenty were monkeys and guanas, and these we frequently killed for food; for notwithstanding there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; so that though we saw them often, we killed only two during our stay. Our prisoners assured us, that this island abounded with tigers; and we did once discover the print of a tiger's paw upon the beach, but the tigers themselves we never saw. The Spaniards too informed us, that there was frequently found in the woods a most mischievous serpent, called the flying snake, which they said darted itself from the boughs of trees on either man or beast that came within its reach; and whose sting they believed to be inevitable death. Beside these dangerous land-animals, the sea thereabout is infested with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary size; and we often observed a large kind of flat-fish, jumping a considerable height out of the water, which we supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl di-

vers, by clasping them in its fins as they rise from the bottom: and we were told that the divers, for their security, are now always armed with a sharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they stick into the belly of the fish, and thereby disengage themselves from its embraces.

Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. And in the places where they put on shore in the course of this expedition, they generally found the soil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular near the north east point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind, which human art or industry hath hitherto produced. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood; and even the huge masses of rocks which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the commodore, with those accompanying him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight, as it were still to heighten and animate 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: so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eastern side of the island, though they discovered no inhabitants, yet they saw many huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells of fine mother of pearl scattered up and down in different places: these were the remains left by the pearl-fishers from Panama,

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who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the pearl oysters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of Panama, do so abound at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the sea, you might stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large, and out of curiosity we opened some of them with a view of tasting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned these oysters and the pearl fishery, I must beg leave to recite a few particulars relating to that subject.

The oysters most productive of pearls are those found in considerable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near shore, are of the same species, yet the pearls they contain are few in number and very small. It is said too, that the pearl partakes in some degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyster is lodged; so that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill coloured.

The taking up oysters from great depths for the sake of their pearls, is a work performed by negro slaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coast formerly kept vast numbers, which were carefully trained up to this business. These are said not to be esteemed complete divers, till they have by degrees been able to protract their stay so long under water, that the blood gushes out from their nose, mouth, and ears: and it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehension either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally stopping of itself, or that there is any probability of their being ever subject to it a second time. But to return from this digression.

Though the pearl oyster, as hath been said, was incapable of being eaten, yet that defect was more than repaid by the turtle; a dainty which the sea at this place furnished us with in the greatest plenty and perfection,



perfection. There are generally reckoned four species of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the logger-head, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill (which affords the tortoise-shell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally esteemed, by the greatest part of those who are acquainted with its taste, to be the most delicious of all eatables. At this island we caught what quantity we pleased with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on shore to lay their eggs, which they generally deposit in a large hole in the sand, just above the high-water-wark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the sun, we usually dispersed several of our men along the beach, whose business it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leisure. By this means we not only secured a sufficient stock for the time we stayed on the island, but we carried a number of them with us to sea, which proved of great service both in lengthening out our store of provision, and in heartening the whole crew with an almost constant supply of fresh and palatable food. For the turtles being large, they generally weighing about 200 l. weight each, those we took with us lasted near a month: so that before our store was spent, we met with a fresh recruit on the coast of Mexico, where in the heat of the day we often saw great numbers of them fast asleep, floating on the surface of the water. Upon discovering them, we usually sent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver: and as the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to raise close upon it, when seizing the shell near the tail, and pressing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to strike with its claws, which motion supported both it and the diver till the boat came up and took them in.

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By this management we never wanted turtle for the succeeding four months in which we continued at sea. In the whole seven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandes to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole squadron than two men; a most incontestable proof that the turtle, on which we fed for the last four months of this term, was at least innocent, if not something more.

Considering the scarcity of other provisions on some part of the coast of the South Seas, it appears wonderful that a species of food, so very palatable and salubrious as turtle, should be proscribed by the Spaniards as unwholesome, and little less than poisonous. Perhaps the strange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this superstitious aversion, of which we had many instances during the course of this navigation. I have already observed, that we had taken in our prizes some Indian and negro slaves; we did not dismiss them with their masters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to assist in navigating our ships. These poor people were astonished at our feeding on turtle, and seemed fully persuaded that it would soon destroy us: but finding that none of us suffered in our health by this diet, they at last got so far the better of their aversion, as to be persuaded to taste it, to which the absence of all other kinds of fresh provisions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very sparingly, that they first began to eat of it: but the relish improving upon them by degrees, they at last grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the luxurious and plentiful repasts it would always be in their power to procure, when they should again return back to their country. Those who are acquainted with the manner of life of these unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of spi-

rituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greatest joy they know, and consequently the discovering the means of being always supplied with what quantity they pleased, of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and masters could indulge in, was doubtless a circumstance which they considered as the most fortunate that could befall them.

In three days time we had compleated our business at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coast of Mexico, to intercept the Manilla galeon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, which we did through the same channel by which we entered, we were obliged to keep hovering about the island, in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester, who was separated from us on our first arrival. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to sea; continuing to the southward of the island, looking out for the Gloucester, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, discerned a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jesu Nazareno. She had nothing on board but some oakum, about a ton of rock-salt, and between 30 and 40 l. in specie, most of it consisting of small silver money, intended for purchasing a cargo of provisions at Cheripe, an inconsiderable village on the continent.

And on occasion of this prize I cannot but observe, for the use of future cruizers, that, had we been in want of provisions, we had, by this capture, an obvious method of supplying ourselves. For at Cheripe there is a constant store of provisions prepared for the vessels who go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly supplied from thence: so that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might easily have seized

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a large quantity without any hazard, since Cheripe is a place of no strength. As provisions are the staple commodity of that place and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumstance may be of great use to such cruisers as find their provisions grow scant, and yet are desirous of continuing on that coast.

On the 12th of December we were at last relieved from the perplexity we had suffered, occasioned by the separation of the Gloucester; for on that day she joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the southward, on our first arrival, she had sprung her fore-top-mast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. And now we scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno the prize we took last; and having the greatest impatience to get into a proper station for intercepting the Manilla galeon, we stood altogether to the westward, leaving the island of Quibo, notwithstanding all the impediments we met with, about nine days after our first coming in sight of it.

On the 12th of December we stood from Quibo to the westward, and the same day the commodore delivered fresh instructions, appointing the rendezvouses, and the courses to steer in case of a separation. And first, the vessels were directed to use all possible dispatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence to beat up the coast at eight or ten leagues distance from the shore, till they came a-breast of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 20'$ . After they arrived there, they were to continue cruising on that station till the 14th of February, when they were to depart for the middle island of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 25'$ , bearing from Cape Corientes north-west by north twenty-five leagues distant. And if at this island they did not meet the Commodore, they were there  
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to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the island of Macao, on the coast of China. These orders being distributed to all the ships, we had little doubt of arriving soon upon our intended station; as we expected upon the increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either by tempestuous weather from the western quarter, or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a sultry air: so that it was the 25th of December before we saw the island of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make so little way, that we did not lose sight of it again in five days.

This island we found to be in the latitude of  $5^{\circ} 20'$  north. It has a high hummock toward the western part, which descends gradually, and at last terminates in a low point to the eastward. From the island of Cocos we stood west by north, and were till the 9th of January in running an hundred leagues more. We had at first flattered ourselves, that the uncertain weather, and western gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent; from which, as we got more distant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eastern trade-wind: but as our hopes were so long baffled, and our patience quite exhausted, we began at length to despair of succeeding in the great purpose in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galeon. This produced a general dejection amongst us, as we had at first considered the project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our despondence was at last somewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of January, a gale sprung up the first time from the north-east, and on this we took the Carmelo

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melo in tow, as the Gloucester did the Carmin, making all the sail we could to improve the advantage, because we still suspected that it was only a temporary gale which would not last long; though the next day we had the satisfaction to find that the wind did not only continue in the same quarter, but blew with so much briskness and steadiness that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. As we now advanced a-pace toward our station, our hopes began again to revive, and our former despair by degrees gave place to more sanguine prejudices; insomuch that though the customary season of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco was already elapsed, yet we were by this time unreasonable enough to flatter ourselves that some accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her passage beyond its usual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 50'$ , but on that day it shifted to the westward of the north: this change we imputed to our having haled up too soon, though we then esteemed ourselves full seventy leagues from the coast; whence, and by our former experience, we were fully satisfied that the trade-wind doth not take place, but at a considerable distance from the continent. After this the wind was not so favourable to us as it had been: however, we still continued to advance; and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making land.

When, on the 26th of January, we stood to the eastward, we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; yet though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sight of it at sun-set; and therefore we continued our course, not doubting but we should see it by the next morning. About ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard-



board-bow, bearing from us north north-east. The Tryal's prize too, who was about a mile a-head of us, made a signal at the same time for seeing a sail: as we had none of us any doubt but what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manilla galeon, which had been so long the object of our wishes: and what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one; for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ship, for a direction to her consort. We immediately cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forward with all our canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manilla ship, whose wealth, and that of her supposed consort, we now estimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were most strangely and vexatiously disappointed, by finding that the light which had occasioned all this bustle and expectancy, was only a fire on the shore. It must be owned, the circumstances of this deception were extraordinary; for, by our run during the night, and the distance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we first discovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us; and yet, no person on board doubted of its being a ship's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for several days afterwards; however, it was not a vulcano, but rather, perhaps, a tract of stubble or heath, set on fire for some purpose of agriculture.

At sun-rising, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off the land, which

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which extended from the north-west to east,  $\frac{1}{2}$  north. On this land we observed two remarkable hummocks, such as are usually called paps, which bore north from us: these a Spanish pilot and two Indians, who were the only persons amongst us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coast; for we found these paps to be in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 56'$ , whereas those over Acapulco are said to be 17 degrees only; and we afterwards found our suspicions of their skill to be well grounded.

Being now in the track of the Manilla galeon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether she was or was not arrived: but examining our prisoners about it, they assured us, that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us, that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was yet at sea; it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this reasoning of our prisoners, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her for some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner, that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved. However, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect that she had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation, gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our present cruise with cheerfulness if she was not. With this view the commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly,

larly, resolved to send a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manilla ship was there or not. To execute this enterprize, the barge was dispatched the 6th of February, carrying a sufficient crew and two officers. Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anson, that, agreeable to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spanish pilots had at first asserted Acapulco to lie; that after they had satisfied themselves in this particular, they steered to the eastward, in hopes of discovering it, and had coasted along shore thirty-two leagues; that at the end of their run they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which from their appearance and their latitude they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of Acapulco. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port; the commodore being determined to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprize, when we were arrived within a moderate distance. Accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was again dispatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the 13th we espied a high land to the eastward, which was first imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneio, where there is a small harbour, of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited six days, from the departure of our barge, without any news of her, so that we began to be uneasy for her safety; but, on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of February she returned: when the officers informed the commodore, that they had discovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they esteemed to bear from us east south-east, at least fifty leagues distant:

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distant : that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spanish pilot, nor the Indian could give them any information where they then were ; but that while they were lying upon their oars in suspense what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light near the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible toward it, they found it to be in a fishing canoe, which they surprized, with three negroes that belonged to it. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against the face of a rock, where it would be inevitably dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea : this they did to deceive those who perhaps might be sent from the town to search after the canoe ; for upon seeing several remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned.

On examining these negroes, we found that we were indeed disappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arriving at Acapulco ; but we learnt other circumstances which still revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already lost : for though our negroe prisoners informed us, that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coast ; yet they at the same time told us, that the galleon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and provisions in order to return ; and that the viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N. S. This last news was most joyfully received by us, since we had no doubt but she must certainly fall into our hands, and it was much more eligible to seize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival ;

rival; as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be prodigiously more to be esteemed by us than the cargo itself; great part of which would have perished on our hands, and none of it could have been disposed of by us at so advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean. But since all our future projects will be in some sort regulated with a view to the possession of this celebrated galleon, and since the commerce which is carried on by means of these vessels between the city of Manila and the port of Acapulco, is perhaps the most valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world; I shall endeavour to give some account of the particulars relating thereto.

Though Spain did not acquire the property of any of the spice islands, yet the discovery of the Philippines, made by Magellan, was thought too considerable to be neglected; since these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and were very well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India. A communication therefore was soon established, and carefully supported between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru: when the city of Manila, (which was built on the island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) became in a short time the mart for all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the South Seas, to be there vended on their account. The returns of this commerce to Manila being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent, and its trade so far increased as to engage the attention of the court of Spain,

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Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in which navigation the trade-wind continually favoured them; so that notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet 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 lasted above a twelvemonth; which, if they pretend to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at. Indeed, though it is asserted, that in their first voyages they were so imprudent and unskilful as to attempt this course; yet that route was soon laid aside by the advice, as it is said, of a Jesuit; who persuaded them to steer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then by the favour of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of California. This, we know, hath been the practice for at least a hundred and sixty years past; as Sir Thomas Cavendish, in the year 1586, engaged off the south end of California, a vessel bound from Manila to the American coast. 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, where it continues fixed to this time.

Such were the early regulations of this commerce; but its present condition being a much more interesting subject, it will be proper to give 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  $15^{\circ}$  north, is esteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon

it is 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 be carried thither first from Spain: it is very well seated 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, great part of it entirely land-locked. On the east side of this bay stands the city of Manila, which is large and populous; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence consisting in a small fort, which was almost surrounded on every side by houses; but they have lately made considerable additions to its fortifications \*. The port, peculiar to the city, is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the southward; and in this port all the ships employed for the Acapulco trade are usually stationed.

The city of Manila itself is in a healthy situation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country: but as the principal business of this place is its trade to Acapulco, it lies under some disadvantage, from the difficulty there is in getting to sea to the eastward; for the passage is among islands and through channels, where the Spaniards, by reason of their unskilfulness in marine affairs, waste much time, and are often in great danger.

The trade carried on from this place to 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 I have heard that no less than fifty thousand pair were the usual number shipped in each

\* This city was taken by the English at the close of the late war; and restored at the ensuing peace.

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cargo; vast quantities of Indian stuffs, as calicoes and chints, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as goldsmiths work, &c. which is principally wrought at the city of Manila itself by the Chinese; for it is said, there are at least twenty thousand Chinese who constantly reside there; either as servants, manufacturers, or brokers. All these different commodities are collected at Manila, thence to be transported annually in one or more ships to the port of Acapulco, in the kingdom of Mexico.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations, somewhat analogous to those by which the trade of the register ships from Cadiz to the West Indies is restrained. 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 amongst the convents at Manila, but principally to the jesuits, as a donation to support their missions, for the propagation of the catholic faith. The convents have thereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manila ship, as the tonnage of their bales amount to; or if they chuse not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others: nor is it uncommon, when the merchant to whom they sell their share is unprovided of a stock, for the convents to lend him considerable sums of money on bottomry.

The trade is, by the royal edicts, limited to a certain value; which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spanish manuscripts mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly surpass this sum: and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many comparisons, the return cannot be much short of three millions of dollars.



As it is sufficiently obvious, that the greatest share 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 generally esteemed it good policy to keep their American settlements in an immediate dependence on their mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers; these considerations have occasioned many remonstrances to be presented to the court of Spain against this Indian trade, allowed to the kingdom of Mexico. Don Joseph Patinho, who was formerly prime minister, and an enemy to the Jesuits, about the year 1725, resolved to abolish this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spanish ports in the West Indies, except such as were brought thither by the register ships from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the Jesuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

- This trade from Manila to Acapulco, and back again, is usually carried on in one, or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco on the December, January, or February following; and having there disposed of their effects, return for Manila some time in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year.
- For this reason, though there is often no more than one ship freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manila is 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 described as little less than one of our first rate men of war; and indeed she must be an enormous size, as it is known, that when she was employed with other ships from the same port, to cruise for our China trade, she had

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had no less than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout large vessels, of the burthen of twelve hundred ton and upward; and usually carry from three hundred and fifty, to six hundred hands, passengers included, with fifty odd guns. As these are all king's ships, commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one amongst the captains stiled general, and he carries the royal standard of Spain at the maintop gallant-mast-head, as we shall more particularly observe hereafter.

And now having described the city and port of Manila, and the shipping employed by its inhabitants, it is necessary to give a more circumstantial detail of the navigation from thence to Acapulco. 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. The getting through the channel called the Bocacadero, to the eastward, is a troublesome navigation, and in fact, it is sometimes the end of August before they compleat it. When they have cleared this passage, and are disentangled from the islands, they stand to the northward of the east, till they arrive in the latitude of thirty degrees or upward, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they stretch away for the coast of California. It is indeed most 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: so that from the time the Manila ship first 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. 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 ap-

pear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely singular, and deserves a very 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 shipboard, 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, she takes 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. 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 six, or even a three month store of water, could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatever; 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 relief. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40° north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which, whenever the rain descends, they range slopingly against the gunwale, from one end of the ship to the other, their lower edges resting on a large split bamboe; whence all the water which falls on the mats, drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar. And this method of furnishing themselves with water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail them,

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but it hath been 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 inconveniencies 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 (of which alone I would be here understood to speak) is performed with little loss.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution, on pretence of the riches of the vessel: for it is said, that they rarely set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. Thus much is certain, that the instructions given to their captains seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies 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, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very absurd restriction; since it can scarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than in the latitude of 30 degrees. Indeed the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure. Since, if instead of steering east north-east, into the latitude of 30 degrees, they at first stood north-east, or even still more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees,

grees, in part of which coast the trade-winds would greatly assist them, I doubt not but by this management they might considerably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it. This may in some measure be deduced from their own journals; since in those I have seen, it appears, that they are often a month or six weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly course, it might easily be done in less than a fortnight. Now 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 at present subjected, only at the expence of a rough sea and a stiff gale. This is not merely matter of speculation; for I am credibly informed, that 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.

However, to return to the actual occurrences of the present navigation. 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 about 100 degrees from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally finds a plant floating on the sea, which, being called Porra by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant, they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward, without endeavouring to approach the coast, till they have run into a lower latitude. 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

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on the coast: and this last circumstance, which is a particular article in the captain's instructions, obliges us to mention the late proceedings of the Jesuits among 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, a most munificent bigot, have fixed themselves upon the place, and have there established a very considerable mission; and being thus occupied in advancing the interest of their society it is no wonder if some share of attention 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 constantly kept in readiness for her; and there is beside 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. 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. If the captain finds 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 toward the middle of January: but this navigation is so uncertain, that it is sometimes a month sooner or later. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern part 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. Acapulco is beside destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from  
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a considerable distance, and is in all respects so inconvenient, that, except while 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 to two trees, and her cargo is delivered with all possible expedition. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manila, taken on board, together with provisions and water, the ship puts to sea with the utmost expedition: 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.

The galeon being fitted in order to her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of  $13^{\circ}$  or  $14^{\circ}$ , and then continues 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, through all the month of June, fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota.

At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galeon. 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 steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals, and more particular intelligence, pursuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct. If there is nothing to fear, he is to pursue his course without interruption, making the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila.

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expressible satisfaction ; as we learnt from our prisoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to sea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March, N. S. that is. to the 3d of March, according to our reckoning at that time.

What related to this Manila ship being the matter to which we were most attentive, it was necessarily the first article of our examination ; but having satisfied ourselves on this head, we then indulged our curiosity in enquiring after other news ; when the prisoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco, of our having plundered and burnt the town of Paita ; and that, on this occasion, the governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken several precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour ; that in particular, he had planted a guard on the island which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumstance that gave us much pleasure, since it seemed to demonstrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet discovered us, but likewise that they had now no farther apprehensions of our visiting their coast.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiscovered, and that the day was fixed for the departure of the galeon from Acapulco, we made all necessary preparations, and waited with the utmost impatience for the important moment. During this interval we were employed in scrubbing and cleansing our ships bottoms, and regulating the orders, signals, and positions to be observed when we should arrive off Acapulco.

It was on the 1st of March we made the highlands, usually called the paps, over Acapulco ; and got with all possible expedition into the situation prescribed by the commodore's orders. The distribution of our squadron on this occasion, both for the intercepting  
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the galeon, and for avoiding any discovery from the shore, was so very judicious that it well merits to be described. It was thus: the Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear north north-east, at fifteen leagues distance, which was a sufficient offering to prevent our being seen by the enemy. To the westward of the Centurion was stationed the Carmelo, and to the eastward the Trial's prize, the Gloucester, and the Carmin: these were all ranged in a circular line, and each ship was three leagues distant from the next; so that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other: and as the galleon could, without doubt, be discerned at six leagues distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of our squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were so connected by our signals, as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line. To render this disposition still more complete, and to prevent even the possibility of the galeon's escaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Gloucester, were both manned and sent in shore, and commanded to lie all day at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where they could not possibly be discovered; but in the night they were directed to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth.

Beside the care taken to prevent the galeon from passing by us unobserved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her: for considering the thinness of our crews, and the vaunting accounts given by the Spaniards of her size and strength, this was a consideration not to be neglected. As we supposed that none of our ships but the Centurion and Gloucester were capable of lying along side of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and Carmin, except what was just sufficient to

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to navigate those ships; and captain Saunders was ordered to send from the Tryal's prize ten Englishmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Gloucester. At the same time, for the encouragement of our negroes, of which we had a considerable number on board, we promised them, that on their good behaviour they should have their freedom.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected, with the utmost impatience, the often mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the succeeding night passed over without any news of the galeon: however, we did not yet despair, but were all heartily disposed to flatter ourselves, that some unforeseen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and suggestions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the viceroy for her sailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico: and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Passion-week, which is observed by the Papists with great strictness, as a total cessation from all kinds of labour; so that no ship is permitted to stir out of port during the whole week; this quieted our apprehensions for some time, and disposed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. At length we began to fear that the enemy had, by some accident, discovered our being upon the coast, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And indeed this persuasion was but too well founded; for we afterward learnt that our barge, when sent on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, had been seen from the shore; and that this circumstance, no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coast, was to them a sufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our squadron; on which they stopped the galeon till the succeeding year.

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The commodore himself, though he declared not his opinion, was yet in his own thoughts apprehensive that we were discovered, and that the departure of the galeon was put off; and he had, in consequence of this opinion, formed a plan for possessing himself of Acapulco; because he had no doubt but the treasure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for the dispatching of the galeon were countermanded.

But as this scheme was formed by the commodore, upon a matter of opinion only; he 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 season for his future passage to China, would give him leave. And therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the squadron did not change its position till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in some pain for them, apprehending they might have suffered either from the enemy or the weather: but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we discovered them though at a great distance, and to the leeward of the squadron. We bore down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their station the day before, without having seen any thing of the galeon; and we found, that the reason of their being so far to the leeward of us, was a strong current which had driven the whole squadron to windward.

By information which was afterward received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruise afforded us no contemptible chance of seizing the treasure on which we had so long fixed our thoughts. For after the embargo was laid on the galeon, the persons interested in the cargo dispatched several expresses to Mexico, to beg that she might still be permitted to depart: it seems they knew, by the accounts sent from Païta, that we had not more than three hundred

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hundred men in all, whence they insisted that there was nothing to be feared. And though the viceroy was inflexible, yet on the account of their representation, she was kept ready for the sea near three weeks after the first order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ships being joined, upon enquiry into our stock of fresh water, it was found to be so very slender, that we were under a necessity to procure a fresh supply. Consulting what place was the properest for this purpose, it was agreed, that the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan being the nearest, was, on that account, the most eligible; so that it was immediately resolved to make the best of our way thither: but that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps, from intelligence of our being employed at Chequetan, might venture to slip out to sea; our cutter, under the command of Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal's prize, was ordered to cruise off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days; that if the galeon should set sail in that interval, we might be speedily informed of it. By the 1st of April we were so far advanced towards Seguataneio, that we thought it expedient to send out two boats to discover the watering-place: they were gone some days, and our water being now very short, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily supplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to salt provisions, we must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate. Indeed we were apprehensive of being soon exposed to a calamity, the most terrible of any that occurs in the long disheartening catalogue of the distresses of a sea-faring life.

But these gloomy suggestions were at length happily ended: for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having, about seven miles to the westward of the rocks of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for our purpose; and which, by the description they gave of it, appeared to be the port of Chequetan,

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mentioned by Dampier; so that on the 7th we stood for it, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom.

Thus, after a four months continuance at sea from the leaving of Quibo, and having but six days water on board, we arrived in the harbour of Chequetan, which lies in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 36'$  north, and is about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco. It is easy to be discovered by any ship that will keep well in with the land, especially by such as range down the coast from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of sand which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the westward, against which the sea breaks so violently, that with our boats it would be impossible to land on any part of it: but yet the ground is so clean, that during the fair season, ships may anchor in great safety, at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of some small eminences there are several look-out towers; so that the face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect. It is a most remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, containing, in appearance, the most populous and best planted district of the whole coast, there should be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fishing, coasting, or for pleasure. This cannot be imputed to the difficulty of landing; because in many parts of Africa and Asia, where the same inconvenience occurs, the inhabitants have provided against it by vessels of a peculiar fabric. It is therefore probable that the government, to prevent smuggling, has prohibited the use of all kinds of small craft in that district.

The beach here described is the surest guide to those who are desirous of finding the harbour of Chequetan; for five miles to the westward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which

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at first makes like an island, and is in shape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan, hereafter mentioned, though much smaller. Three miles to the westward of this hummock, is a white rock near the shore, which cannot easily be passed by unobserved: it is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The west point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan, which, like the forementioned hummock, may be at first mistaken for an island, though it be, in reality, a peninsula, joined to the continent by a low narrow isthmus. The bay of Seguatancio extends from this hill a great way to the westward; and at a small distance from the hill, and opposite the entrance of the bay, there is an assemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. These rocks bear west by north from Petaplan; and about seven miles to the westward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is still more minutely distinguished by a large and single rock that rises out of the water a mile and an half distant from the entrance, and bears south  $\frac{1}{2}$  west from the middle of it. It is to be added, that the coast is no ways to be dreaded between the middle of October and the beginning of May; though in the remaining part of the year there are frequent and violent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales, in all directions of the compass.

The harbour is invironed on all sides, except to the westward, with high mountains overspread with trees. The passage into it is very safe on either side of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eastward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with stones, but within it is a soft mud: and it must be remembered, that in coming to an anchor a good allowance should be made for a large swell, which frequently causes a great fend of the sea; as likewise, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide,



which we observed to be about five feet, and that it set nearly east and west.

As the country hereabout appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to have easily procured from thence some fresh provisions, of which we now stood greatly in need. To facilitate these views the commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to discover some town or village, where they were to attempt to set on foot a correspondence with the inhabitants. Our people were directed, on this occasion, to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to make as little ostentation of hostility as possible; for we were sensible, we could find no wealth in these parts worth our notice. Toward evening, the party returned, greatly fatigued by their unusual exercise, and some of them so far spent, that they were obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a beaten track, where they often saw the fresh dung of horses or mules; till the heat of the day increasing, and finding no water to quench their thirst, they were first obliged to halt, and then resolved to return; for as they saw no signs of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reason to believe that there was any village or settlement near them. However, to leave no means 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, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour to traffic with us, giving them the strongest assurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any provisions they should bring. This was doubtless a very prudent measure; yet it produced no effect.

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cessaries we wanted, we desisted from any more endeavours of the same nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourselves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fish here in tolerable quantities; and here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fish called the torpedo, or numbing fish.

The animals we met with on shore were principally guanias, with which the country abounds, and which are by some reckoned delicious food. We saw no beast of prey here, except the alligator; several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. However, we were satisfied that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them came in sight; for we every morning found the beach, near the watering-place, imprinted very thick with their footsteps: but we never apprehended any mischief from them; since they are by no means so fierce as the Asiatic or African tyger.

The fruits and vegetable refreshments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the best kinds: but yet, upon the whole, it must be owned to be a place of considerable consequence, and that the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruisers. For except Acapulco, which is in the hands of the enemy, it is the only secure harbour in a vast extent of coast.

The next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we sent about ninety of our men well armed on shore; forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we completed the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmin, which we had begun at sea; here too it was agreed, after a mature consultation, to destroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin, whose fate had been before resolved on. Indeed

the Tryal's prize was in good repair, and fit for the sea; but as the whole numbers on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth rate man of war, we found it was impossible to divide them into three ships, without rendering each of those ships incapable of navigating in safety through the tempestuous weather we had reason to expect on the coast of China, where we supposed we should arrive about the time of the change of the monsoons.

During our stay here, there happened an incident which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our safety, which for some time they had despaired of, and were then in doubt about, I shall beg leave particularly to recite. From this harbour of Chequetan there was but one path-way which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and we were thence convinced, that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at some distance beyond the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon the other across the path; and at this barricadoe we constantly kept a guard. This also answered another purpose, which was not in itself less important: which was to hinder our own people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be extremely solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. But notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Leger, who was the commodore's cook: as he was a Frenchman, and was suspected to be a papist, it was at first imagined that he had deserted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise; for it was afterward known, that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred

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to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But this vessel being obliged by some accident to put in to Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was by the British consul sent from thence to England; where he brought the first authentic account of the safety of the commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas.

Toward the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and in short, every one of our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan, were completed: so that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmin, all which we here intended to destroy, were towed on shore and scuttled, a quantity of combustible materials having been distributed in their upper works. The next morning the Centurion with the Gloucester weighed anchor; though as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was dispatched back again to set fire to our prizes, which was accordingly executed. After this a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruise before the port of Acapulco, when we ourselves quitted that station.

Mr. Hughes, the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed, was directed by this letter to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruise 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. This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe, as we afterwards learnt they did; but could not impose on Mr. Hughes, who well knew that the commodore

had no squadron to join, or any intention of steering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound cross the vast Pacific ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coast as soon as possible; since the stormy season was approaching apace. As we had no further views in the American seas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from steering to the westward the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan: and it was no small mortification to us, that our necessary employment there had detained us so much longer than we expected. But now, when we had put to sea, we were further detained by the absence of the cutter, and the necessity we were under of standing toward Acapulco in search of her.

By Sunday the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over as lost, which, besides the compassionate concern for our ship-mates, was in itself a misfortune, which, in our present scarcity of hands, we were all greatly interested in: since the crew of the cutter, consisting of six men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purposely picked out for his service. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. He wrote a letter to the governor of Acapulco, telling him, that he would release all his Spanish and Indian prisoners, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was dispatched in the afternoon by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a good opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of six other prisoners, who gave their parole for their return. We did not doubt but the governor would readily comply with Mr. Anson's proposal, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending

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tending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an answer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday: but both on Monday and Tuesday, we were driven so far off shore, that we could not hope that any answer could reach us; and even on the Wednesday morning we found ourselves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco. However, as the wind was then favourable, we pressed forward with all our sail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon.

Whilst we were thus standing in, the centinel called out from the mast-head, that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south eastward: this we took for granted was the answer of the governor to the commodore's message, and we instantly edged towards her; but as we approached her, we found, to our unspeakable joy, that it was our own cutter. And though, while she was still at a distance, we imagined that she had been discharged out of the port of Acapulco by the governor; yet when she drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed, where by rest, and nourishing diet, they recovered their health and vigour apace. And now we learnt that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks; that when they had finished their cruise before Acapulco, and had just begun to ply to the westward, in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them down the coast to the eastward, in spite of all their efforts to the contrary; that their water being all expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther on to the eastward, in quest of some convenient landing-place, but found every where so large a surf, that there

was not the least possibility of their landing; that at last, giving up all hopes of succour, the heat of the climate too augmenting their necessities, they abandoned themselves to despair, but that a most unexpected shower of rain happily relieved them: and being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined us in less than fifty hours, from that time, after having been absent in the whole full forty-three days.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the sole object of our coming a second time before Acapulco; the commodore determined not to lose a moment's time more, but to run off the coast with the utmost expedition, both as the stormy season on the coast of Mexico was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehensive of having the westerly monsoons to struggle with when we came upon the coast of China: for this reason we no longer stood toward Acapulco, as at present we wanted no answer from the governor. However Mr. Anson resolved not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty which he had promised them; and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches, well equipped with masts, sails, and oars; with a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged 57 persons, the greatest part of them Spaniards, the rest being Indians and sick negroes: indeed as our crews were very weak, we kept the mulattoes and some of the stoutest of our negroes, with a few Indians to assist us; but we dismissed every Spanish prisoner whatever. We have since learnt, that these two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated. It seems the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to our letter, and had at the same time ordered out two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions that were to be procured at Acapulco; which he intended as a present to the

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commodore : but these boats not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions over-board in a storm which threatened their destruction.

Thus, on the 6th of May, we, for the last time, lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, persuaded, that in a few weeks we should arrive at the river of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many English ships, and with numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable well frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences of a civilized life; blessings which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power.

After the recital of the transactions of the commodore, and the ships under his command, on the coasts of Peru and Mexico; it will be no useless digression to examine what the whole Squadron might have been capable of achieving, had it arrived on its destined scene of action in so good a plight as it would probably have done, if the passage round Cape Horn had been attempted at a more seasonable time of the year. To begin then; it will be granted, that in the summer time we might have got round Cape Horn without any material damage to our ships or men. We might doubtless have appeared before Baldivia in full strength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceless state, it was impossible that it could have opposed our force, or that its half starved inhabitants, most of whom are convicts banished thither from other parts, could have had any other thoughts than that of submitting. This would have been a very important acquisition; since when Baldivia, which is an excellent port, had been once in our possession, we should immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of Chili, and should doubtless have awed the most distant parts of the Spanish empire in America. Indeed it is far from improbable, that

that by a prudent use of this place, aided by our other advantages, we might have given a violent shock to the authority of Spain on that whole continent; and might have rendered some at least of her provinces independent. This would certainly have turned the whole attention of the Spanish ministry to that part of the world: and thence Great Britain, and her allies, might have been rid of the numerous difficulties, which the wealth of the Spanish Indies, operating in conjunction with the Gallick intrigues, have constantly thrown in their way.

But that I may not be thought to over-rate the force of this Squadron, by ascribing to it a power of overturning the Spanish government in America, it is necessary to observe, that the conjuncture was the most favourable we could have desired: the Creolian subjects were disaffected, their governors at variance; the country wretchedly unprovided with arms and stores, and they had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garrisons. The Indians on their frontier were universally discontented, and seemed to be watching with impatience some favourable moment when they might take a severe revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under during more than two ages: so that every circumstance concurred to facilitate the enterprises of our Squadron. Of all these articles we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes; none of these vessels having had the precaution to throw their papers over-board.

The ill blood amongst the governors was greatly augmented by their apprehensions of our Squadron; for every one being willing to have it believed, that the bad condition of his government was not the effect of negligence, there were continual demands and remonstrances among them, in order to throw the blame upon each other.

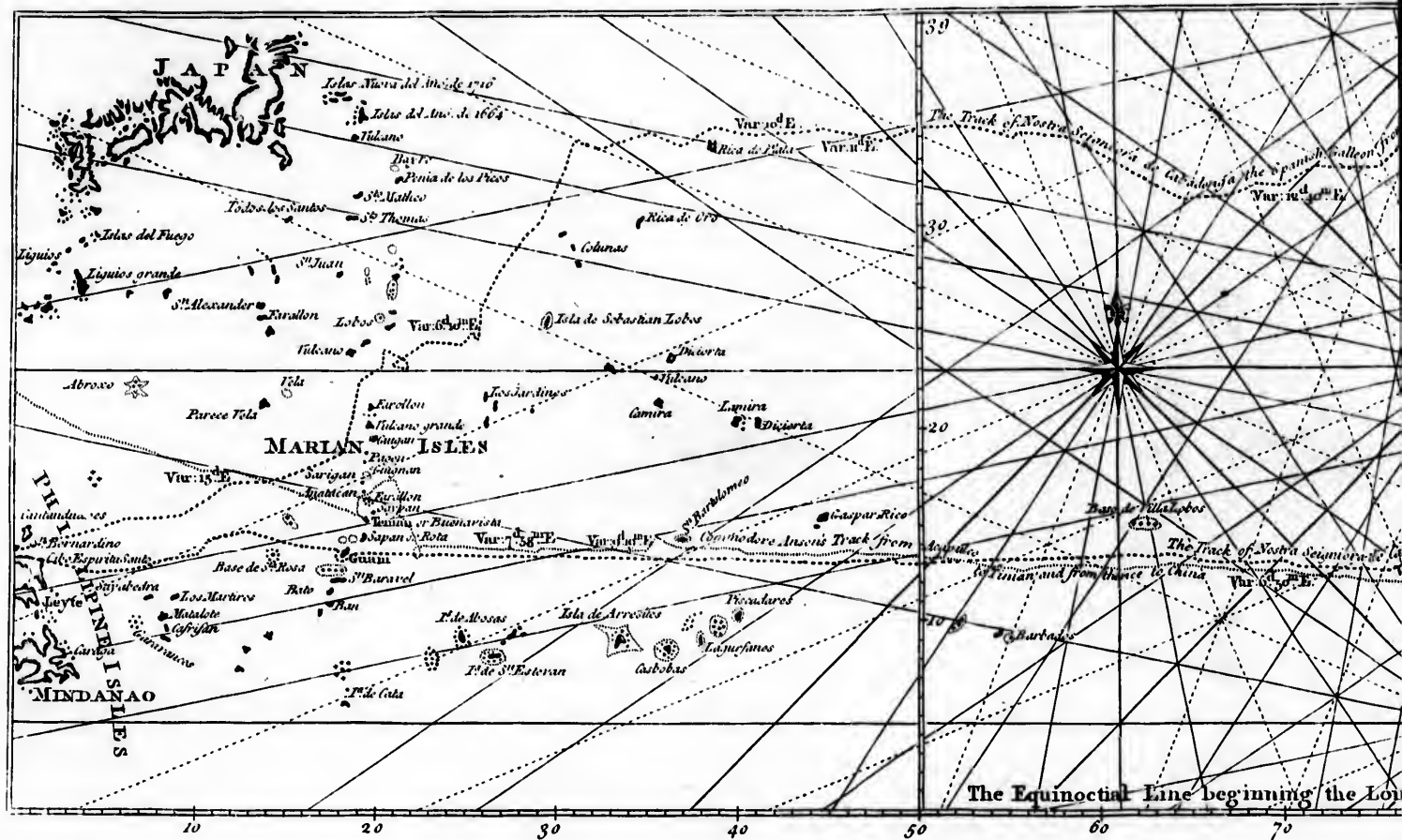
By sea there was no force capable of opposing us; for how soon soever we had sailed, Pizarro's Squadron could

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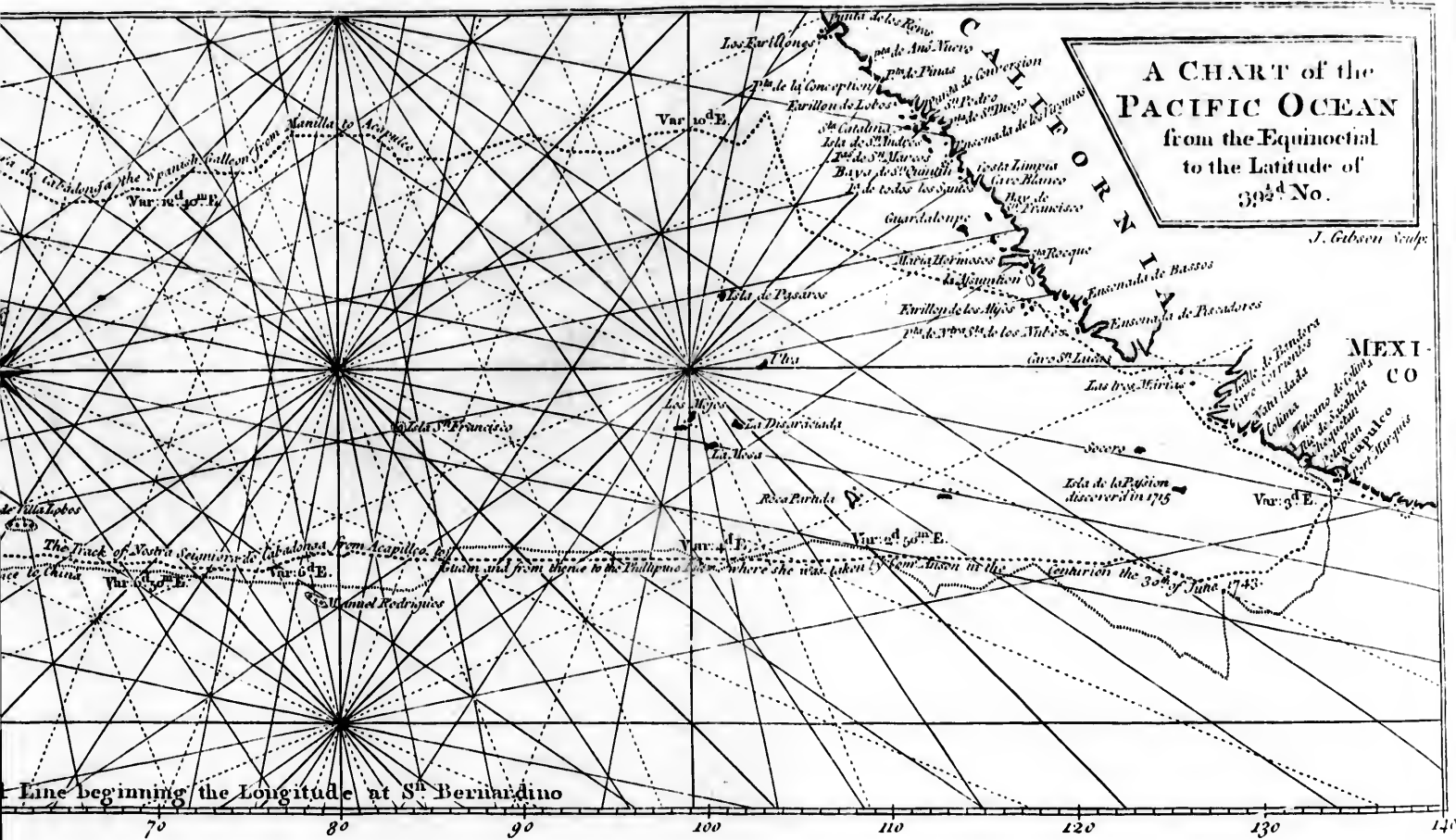
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A CHART of the  
PACIFIC OCEAN  
from the Equinoctial  
to the Latitude of  
30<sup>th</sup> No.

J. Gibson Sculp.





could not have failed sooner than it did, and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with. As we should have been masters of the ports of Chili, we could thereby have supplied ourselves with the provisions we wanted in the greatest plenty; and from Baldivia to the equinoctial we ran no risk of losing our men by sickness, (that being of all climates the most temperate and healthy) nor of having our ships disabled by bad weather. And had we wanted sailors to assist in the navigating of our Squadron, whilst a considerable proportion of our men were employed on shore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers of Indian sailors we pleased in the ports we should have taken, and from the prizes which would have fallen into our hands.

Having thus discussed the prodigious weight which the operations of our Squadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, we will follow the shattered remains of our force across the Pacific ocean.

When, on the 6th of May, 1742, we left the coast of America, we stood to the south west, with a view of meeting the north east trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at seventy or eighty leagues from the land. We had beside another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° north; that being the parallel where the Pacific ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest: this last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the south. But though we were at the same time more distant from the shore, than we had presumed was necessary for the falling in with the trade-wind; yet in this particular we were most grievously disappointed; it was seven weeks, from our leaving the coast, before we got into the trade-wind. This was an interval in which we had at first believed we should well nigh have reached the easternmost parts

of



of Asia; but we were so baffled with contrary and variable winds, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a sufficient mortification; but there were other circumstances attending it, which rendered this situation not less terrible, and our apprehensions perhaps still greater than in any of our past calamities. For our two ships were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not passed before we discovered a spring in the foremast of the *Centurion*, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at least four inches deep. And no sooner had the carpenters secured this mast with fishing it, than the *Gloucester* made a signal of distress, to inform us that she had a spring in her main-mast, twelve feet below the trussel-trees; which appeared so dangerous that she could not carry any sail upon it. Our carpenters, on a strict examination of this mast, found it excessively rotten and decayed; and it being judged necessary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was by this means reduced to nothing but a stump, which served only as a step to the top-mast. These accidents being added to our other distresses occasioned great anxiety about our future safety. For the scurvy now began to make fresh havock amongst our people: and we too well knew the effects of this disease, by fatal experience, to suppose that any thing except a speedy passage could secure the greater part of our crew from being destroyed. Indeed, several amongst us were willing to believe, that in this warm climate, so different from what we felt in passing round Cape Horn, the violence of this disease, and its fatality, might be in some degree mitigated. But the ravage of the distemper, in our present circumstances, soon convinced us of the falsity of this speculation; as it likewise exploded certain other opinions which usually pass current about the cause and nature of this disease.

For it has been generally presumed, that sufficient supplies of water and of fresh provisions, are effectual  
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preventives of this malady; but it happened that in the present case we had a considerable stock of fresh provisions on board, being the hogs and fowls which were taken at Païta; we besides almost daily caught great abundance of bonitos, dolphins, and albicores: the unsettled season, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely rainy; so that we were enabled to fill up our water-casks, almost as fast as they were empty; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day during the passage. But notwithstanding this plenty of water, notwithstanding that the fresh provisions were distributed amongst the sick, and the whole crew often fed upon fish, notwithstanding the great attention paid to cleansing and keeping the ships airy and sweet; yet neither were the sick hereby relieved, or the progress or malignity of the disease at all abated.

However, I would not be understood to assert, that fresh provisions, plenty of water, and a constant supply of sweet air between decks, are matters of no moment: on the contrary, they are all of them extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may in many cases prevent this fatal malady from taking place. What I have advanced, is only to evince, that in some instances, both the cure and prevention of this malady is impossible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made use of at sea. Indeed, when it has got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the sick but carrying them on shore, or at least bringing them into the neighbourhood of the land.

It was at last resolved by the commodore to try the success of the pill and drop of Mr. Ward. For however violent the operations of these medicines are said to have sometimes proved, yet in the present instance, where, without some remedy, destruction seemed inevitable, the experiment at least was thought  
advisable.

adviseable. Out of the numbers who took them, one, soon after swallowing the pill, was seized with a violent bleeding at the nose: he was before given over by the surgeon, and lay almost at the point of death; but he immediately found himself much better, and continued to recover, though slowly, till we arrived on shore, which was near a fortnight after. A few others too were relieved for some days, but the disease returned again with as much virulence as ever. The most remarkable property of these medicines was, that they acted in proportion to the vigour of the patient; so that those who were within two or three days of dying were scarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the disease, the operation was either a gentle perspiration, an easy vomit, or a moderate purge: but if they were taken by one in full strength, they then produced all the forementioned effects with considerable violence, which sometimes continued for six or eight hours together, with little intermission.

When we reached the trade-wind, and it settled between the north and east, yet it seldom blew with so much strength, that the Centurion might not have carried all her small sails abroad without the least danger; so that, had we been a single ship, we might have run down our longitude a-pace, and have arrived at the Ladrões soon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterward perished. But the Gloucester, by the loss of her main-mast, sailed so very heavily that we had seldom any more than our top-sails set, and yet were frequently obliged to lie to for her: and, on the whole we lost little less than a month by our attendance upon her, in consequence of the various mischances she encountered. During all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together without seeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are several islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along, at no very considerable distance from our track.

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The trade-wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of June till toward the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues from the Ladrões, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days time. In one part of these four days the wind flattened to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means the Gloucester's forecap splitting, her fore-top mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the flings. As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were under a necessity to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were continued eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester to assist in repairing her damages: but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our disasters; for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester before we met with a most violent storm from the western board, which obliged us to lie to. At the beginning of this storm our ship sprung a leak, and let in so much water that all our people, officers included, were constantly employed about the pumps: and the next day we had the vexation to see the main-top mast of the Gloucester, which lately had hitherto served her as a jury main mast, come by the board. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprized of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for when the storm abated, which, during its continuance, prevented all communication with them, the Gloucester bore up under our stern; and captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that beside the loss of his masts, which was all that was visible to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been constantly at the pumps for the last twenty-four hours.

This new circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of  
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the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance; which captain Mitchel begged the commodore to afford him: but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preservation, rendered it impracticable for the commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done, was to send our boat on board for a more particular account of the ship's condition; as it was soon suspected that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying her, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, both for the security of their lives and of our men.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by captain Mitchel and all his officers. The commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in the most pressing want: and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular, and it was found, on the strictest enquiry, that the account was in no instance exaggerated. Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken, was the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and the getting out of her as much as we could before she was destroyed. The commodore therefore immediately sent an order to capt. Mitchel to put his people on board the Centurion, as expeditiously as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable; and to take out such stores as he could get at whilst the ship could be kept above water.

Mr. Anson was extremely desirous to have saved two of her cables and an anchor, but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize money, which the Gloucester had taken

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in the South Seas, was secured and sent on board the Centurion.

When she was set on fire, captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: and we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had only a light breeze) that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately continued burning the whole night, so that though her guns fired successively, as the flames reached them; yet it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up.

Thus perished his majesty's ship the Gloucester. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarrassments which her frequent disasters had involved us in, we should have proceeded on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done, by the taking on board the Gloucester's crew. However we were soon taught that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; and that, notwithstanding all we had already suffered, there remained much greater distresses, which we were still to struggle with. For the late storm, which had proved fatal to the Gloucester, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, so that we were now in  $17^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  of north latitude, instead of being in  $13^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ , which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam. As it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrones, though we supposed ourselves not to be far from it; we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them. But when a gale sprung up, our condition was still worse; for it blew from the south west, and consequently was directly opposite to the

course we wanted to steer. However, on the 22d of August we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted; and had set us to the southward. And the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands on the western board; which proved to be Anatacan and Serigan. This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for till then an universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again. By the next morning we were got so far to the westward, that we were in sight of a third island, which was that of Paxaros. This was very small, and the land low, so that we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without observing it. At noon, being then not four miles from the island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no road for a ship to anchor in, the bottom being every where foul ground. They further told us, that when they had landed on the island, they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of coco-nut trees.

The account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island occasioned a general melancholy on board; for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction: and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; when, as we were plying under top-sails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with coco-nuts for the refreshment of our sick; the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore, that we were driven too far to the southward, to venture to send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance that could secure the few which remained alive from perishing, was the accidental falling in with  
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some other of the Ladrone islands, better prepared for our accommodation; but as our knowledge of these islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance.

It was on the 26th of August, 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of the island of Anatacan, dreading that it was the last land we should ever fix our eyes on. But the next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues distant from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately steered toward Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three; but we had so much of calms, that though we were helped forward by the currents, yet on the morrow, at day-break, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten o'clock we perceived a proa under sail to the southward between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security: and endeavoured to prevent the enemy as much as possible from making an advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which we feared they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship. We shewed Spanish colours, and standing toward the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in shore, to find out a proper birth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa put off from the island to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterward found, that we were the Manilla ship. As we saw the cutter returning with the proa in tow, we instantly sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the

people taken in the proa: and the Spaniard being immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian, his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes. For he informed us, that though it was uninhabited, (which in itself, considering our present defenceless condition, was a convenience not to be despised) yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the most cultivated country: and that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison.

This relation was received by us with inexpressible joy: part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island; and we did not any way doubt the rest of his narration; since the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour.

The Spanish serjeant, from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board; we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, since they would certainly have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival. We therefore immediately dispatched the pinnace to secure the bark, as the serjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom. But though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise; yet we were full five hours in furling our sails. It is true, we were somewhat weakened by the crews of  
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the cutter and pinnace which were sent on shore ; but it is not less true, that, including those absent with the boats and some negroe and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which too were incapable of duty, except on the greatest emergencies.

In the morning a party was sent on shore well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing-place, since we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island : we landed however without difficulty ; for the Indians fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents ; one of these huts which the Indians made use of for a store-house was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad : this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef, which had been left in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight ; and it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land.

This island lies in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} : 8'$  north, and longitude from Acapulco  $114^{\circ} : 50'$  west. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much ; it extending from the south south west to the north north east. The soil is every where dry and healthy, and being withal somewhat sandy, it is thereby the less disposed to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation : and hence the meadows and the bottoms of the woods are much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rose in gentle slopes from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the island, though the general course of its ascent was often interrupted by vallies of an easy descent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. The woods consisted

of tall and well spread trees; the lawns were usually of a considerable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, being composed of a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods too were in many places open, and free from all bushes and underwood, so that the neatness of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a considerable distance, under the hollow shade formed by the trees. Hence arose a great number of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, according to the different blendings of these woods and lawns, and their various interfections with each other. Nor were the allurements of Tinian confined to the excellency of its landscapes only; since the fortunate animals, which during the greatest part of the year are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; as they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages; and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much perhaps to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions; which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea scurvy, the disease which had so terribly reduced us. In the woods there were inconceivable quantities of coco-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree: there were besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians Rhymay, but by us the Bread Fruit, for it was constantly eaten by

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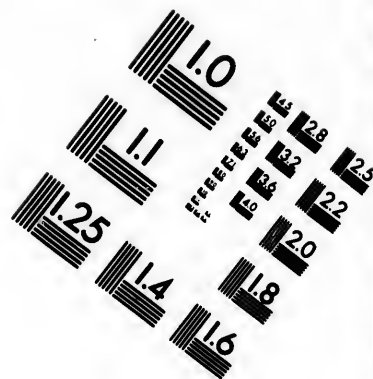
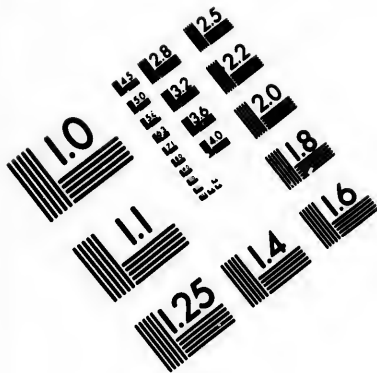
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us during our stay upon the island instead of bread, and so universally preferred to it that no ship's bread was expended in that whole interval. The fruit is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round; is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly, and not in clusters. This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but still green, in which state, after it is properly prepared by being roasted in the embers, its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it becomes softer and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a luscious taste and an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes: it is described in Ray's history of plants.

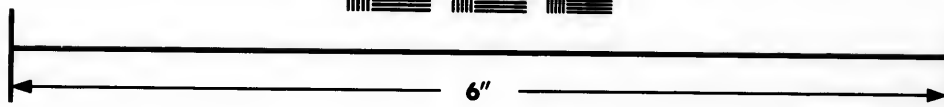
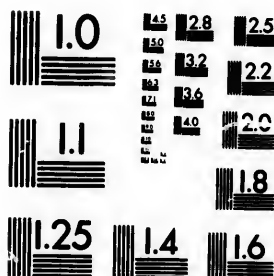
It will easily be conceived from what has been already said, that our cheer upon this island was in some degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who eat of them; but considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl.

It may now perhaps be wondered at, that an island so exquisitely furnished with the conveniences of life, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants; especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which in some measure depend upon this for their support. To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and





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Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls: but a sickness raging amongst these islands which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were extremely diminished by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languishing for their former habitations and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them in a few years died of grief.

It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were banished to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was so considerable as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners, the commodiousness of the island, and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place, which shew it to have been once extremely populous. For there are, in all parts of the island, many ruins of a particular kind: these usually consist of two rows of square pyramidical pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet. The pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a semi-globe, with the flat surface upwards: the whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together, and plaistered over. If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island must indeed have been most extraordinary well peopled; since they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only, who had engaged in some religious vow; monastic institutions being often to be met with in many pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have

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have been considerable; for in many parts of the island they are extremely thick planted.

Having briefly recounted the conveniences of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded; I must now observe that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail, and by the frequent showers which fell there: for these, instead of the heavy continued rains which in some countries render a great part of the year so unpleasing, were usually of a very short and almost momentary duration. Hence they were extremely grateful and refreshing, and were perhaps one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was observed to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This effect was indeed remarkable, since those amongst our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons: for instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarcely satisfied with three, each of them too so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit. And yet our digestion so well corresponded to the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion.

As to the residence upon the island, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vast numbers of muscatos, and various other species of flies, together with an insect called a tick: this, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently fasten upon our limbs and bodies, and raise a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and scorpions, which we supposed were venomous, though none of us ever received any injury from them.

But

But, the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is in some seasons for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burthen is at the south-west end of the island. Here the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, about a mile and a half distant from the shore, opposite to a sandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unsafe anchorage. This is the season of the western monsoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather; when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being even rubbed; so that during all that interval it is as secure a road as could be wished for.

Our first undertaking, after our arrival, was the removal of our sick on shore, as hath been related. Whilst we were thus employed, four of the Indians on the island, being part of the Spanish serjeant's detachment, came and surrendered themselves to us; so that with those we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four who submitted, undertook to shew us the most convenient places for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service: but one of them unwarily trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods. His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade; and therefore begged leave to send

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one of their own party into the country, who, they engaged, should both bring back the arms, and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The commodore granted their request; and one of them was dispatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us, he had found them in a path-way in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: this report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to go any more on shore.

When our sick were well settled on the island, we employed all the hands that could be spared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, several fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks which here abounded. This being compleated, our next occupation was our leak, and in order to raise it out of water, we, on the 1st of September, began to get the guns ast to bring the ship by the stern; and now the carpenters, being able to come at it on the outside, they ripped off what was left of the old sheathing, caulked all the seams on both sides the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new-sheathed the bows to the surface of the water. But this and some farther attempts at securing it proved unavailable; for the water, notwithstanding all their care, continued to force its way in. We, on this, desisted from all farther efforts, being at last well assured that the defect was in the stem itself, and that it was not to be remedied till we should have an opportunity of heaving down.

In the first part of the month of September, several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and, on the 12th of September, all those

those who were so far relieved since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship: and then the commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days to establish his health.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island; we began to send our casks on shore to be fitted up, which till this time could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; beside which they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the service, with a good rounding of a four one half inch halser: and, being persuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmost foresight, we, to all these precautions, added that of lowering the main and fore-yard close down, that in case of blowing weather, the wind might have less power upon the ship, to make her ride a strain.

Thus, effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of September, when riding safe that and the three succeeding days, (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain) we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents; but on the 22d, the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm. All communication with the shore was now absolutely cut off; for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed we were not long expecting this

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this dreadful event, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased, though, notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity as to prevail over it. About eight the tide slackened, but the wind not abating, the best bower-cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. Our sheet-anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathom of line: this was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this pressing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shewn, as signals to the commodore of our distress; and in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gulf, attended with rain and lightening, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us, on the island, Mr. Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen persons.

The storm which drove the *Centurion* to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the commodore or any of the people on shore to hear the guns, which she fired as signals of distress; and the frequent glare of the lightening had prevented the explosions from being observed: so that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them: for much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost; and entreated the commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look after the wreck: and those  
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who believed her safe, had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again : since the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they well knew how poorly she was manned, or provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. In either of these views, their situation was indeed most deplorable : for if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared no possibility of their ever getting off the island ; as they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port ; and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark of about fifteen ton, seized at their first arrival, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the island by the casual arrival of any other ship, was altogether desperate. Nor was this the worst they had to fear ; for they had reason to apprehend that the governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their circumstances, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island : where if he once had them in his power, he would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pyrates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr. Anson, though he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness, had doubtless his share of disquietude. However, he soon projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation : this was to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burthen ; and would enable her to carry them all to China.

This indeed raised their spirits, by shewing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired ; but then, from their confidence in this resource, they grew less apprehensive  
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of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the Centurion would be able to regain the island, and prevent the execution of a scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour. Hence it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at last, being convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they betook themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their commander could desire.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, we shall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much consequence, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Some of the tools were to be made, many of the materials were wanting, and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiencies. Nay, when the hull of the bark should be completed, this was but one article; and there were others of equal weight which were to be well considered: these were the rigging it, the victualling it, and lastly, the navigating it, for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before: and in these particulars such obstacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the whole enterprize would have fallen to the ground.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Gloucester and of the Tryal, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the smith too was on shore, and had with him his forge and several of his tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; so that he was incapable of working. The first attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows; but in this they were for some time puzzled by want of leather: however, as they had hides in suf-

ficient plenty, and they had found a hog'shead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use; they tanned a few hides with this lime; and the leather they thus procured answered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows was completed, a gun-barrel serving for a pipe.

Whilst the smith was preparing the necessary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks; and this being the most laborious task, the commodore wrought at it himself for the encouragement of his people. But there being neither blocks nor cordage sufficient for tackles to haul the bark on shore, this occasioned a new difficulty; however, it was at length resolved to get her up on rollers, since for these the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely well fitted; as its smoothness and circular turn suited it to the purpose with very little workmanship. A number of these trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the insertion of the hand-spikes: in the mean time a dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and ways were laid from thence quite into the sea to facilitate the bringing her up. Neither were these the whole of their occupations, since, beside those who were thus busied in preparing measures toward the future enlargement of the bark, a party was constantly ordered to kill and provide provisions for the rest. And though in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay; yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men might not be the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors: for, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their constant drink; and this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very temperate and orderly.

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The main work now proceeding successfully, the officers began to consider of all the articles which would be necessary to the fitting out the bark for the sea: on this consultation it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well when she was lengthened. And as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which was known not to be ill adapted to that purpose: so that, with respect to her equipment, she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which was her size: for as they could not make her quite forty ton burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her oversetting: but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what expedient to have recourse to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore; their bread-fruit, which would not keep at sea, having all along supplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in. It was at last, however, resolved to put on board as many cocoa-nuts as they possibly could, to prolong to the utmost their jerked beef, and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice. To

furnish themselves with this, it was proposed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the island of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: but as this last measure was to be executed by force, it became necessary to examine what ammunition had been left on shore, and to preserve it carefully; and on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find that all the powder that could be collected, by the strictest search, did not amount to more than ninety charges, which was considerably short of one a-piece to each of the company, and was indeed a very slender stock of ammunition for such as were to eat no grain or bread during a whole month, except what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the most alarming circumstance, and which, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related: this was, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island. At last, after eight days perplexity, in rumaging a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they discovered a small compass, which, though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an invaluable treasure: and a few days after, by a similar piece of good fortune, they met with a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown over-board amongst other lumber belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly seized; but on examination it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore, in its present state, was altogether useless; however, fortune still continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a person, through curiosity, pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on shore, found therein some vanes which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of  
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the place, and upon trial answered to a sufficient degree of exactness.

When now all these obstacles were in some degree removed, the business proceeded very vigorously: the necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timber and planks which, though not the most exquisite performances of the sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose, were all prepared; so that, on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ship, they hauled the bark on shore, and on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder, with the caution not to cut her planks: and her two parts being separated the proper distance from each other, and the materials being all ready beforehand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with no small dispatch in their proposed enlargement of her; whence by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished; and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men being on a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great extasy, The ship, the ship! By five in the evening the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits, she, the next afternoon, happily cast anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately came on board her, and was received with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations.

The Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of



our divided crew; the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprized of the fatigues and distresses to which we, whom the Centurion carried off to sea, were exposed, during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our top-masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main-yards close down, before the hurricane came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board to navigate the ship than a hundred and eight hands, several negroes and Indians included: this was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being but lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all: yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined, that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizen, which

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which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this imminent peril. Urged therefore by this pressing emergency, we immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring with the utmost of our efforts to heave up the main and fore-yards; in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvas, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke; and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. Nor did the terrors of instantly striking and sinking, end but with the day-break; when we with great transport perceived, that the island we had thus dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinnian, did not abate till three days after, and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard; but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; the business of this day was no less than an endeavour to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation; for we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight: but it growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished till the next morning; and then, refreshed by the benefit of a night's rest, we compleated it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

The same day we got up our main-yard; so that having now conquered, in some degree, the distresses

and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvas, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian; since, by our accounts, we were only forty-seven leagues distant to the south-west. Hence, on the 1st day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it: but here we were unhappily disappointed, and were convinced, that a current had driven us considerably to the westward. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a sight of the island of Guam; and hence we computed that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. Being now satisfied of our situation, by this sight of land, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour; for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often. This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, as hath been already related.

When the commodore came on board the Centurion, after her return to Tinian, he resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to compleat our stock of water. But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop, before we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore. These had with them our two cutters; but as they were too many for the cutters

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cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them; and at the same time made a signal for all that could embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were busied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, remained behind. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival, we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis: for those on shore, despairing of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress.

These people we had left behind informed us, that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but, on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away, and were presently out of sight. And, on this occasion, I must mention an incident, which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It hath been already observed, that a part of the detachment sent to this island under the command of the Spanish serjeant, lay concealed in the woods: indeed we were the less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us, that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea, and left the commodore on shore, he one day, at-

tended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island: in this expedition, being on a rising ground, they observed in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket, which, by attending to more nicely, they found had a progressive motion: this at first surprised them; but they soon perceived that it was no more than several large cocoa bushes, which were dragged along the ground by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the serjeant's party; and therefore the commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat. The Indians, remarking that they were discovered, hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it, which had been contrived for the conveniency of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted sparibs of pork, which were excellent; and it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast, considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner too which plainly evinced, that with them a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The commodore having in vain searched after the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their present hunger; after which they returned back to their old habitation.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, compleated it to fifty tons, which we supposed would be sufficient during our passage to Ma-

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cao, we, on the next day, sent one of each mess on shore to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island, as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and their messmates when at sea. And these purveyors returning on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away toward the south end of the island of Formosa, and taking our leaves, for the third and last time, of the island of Tinian.

And now, postponing for a short time our run to Formosa, and thence to Canton, I shall interrupt the narration with a description of that range of islands, usually called the Ladrões, or Marian islands, of which this of Tinian is one.

These islands were discovered by Magellan in the year 1521; and from the account given of the two he first fell in with, it should seem that they were those of Saypan and Tinian; for they are described as very beautiful islands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of north latitude. These characteristics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleasing appearance of Tinian hath occasioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenavista; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 22'$  north, affords no contemptible prospect when seen at sea.

There are usually reckoned twelve of these islands; but if the small islets and rocks are counted, their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly, most of them, well-inhabited; but now Guam alone can properly be said to be inhabited. This island of Guam is the only settlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garrison, and here the Manila ship generally touches for refreshment, in her passage from Acapulco to the Philippines. The Spanish troops employed at this island consist of three companies of foot, betwixt forty and fifty men each; and this is the principal strength

strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of both fire-arms and lances.

The rest of these islands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreshment and provision; but here is no good harbour, or road amongst them all: of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; since it is not uncommon for the Manila ship, though she proposes to stay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to sea, and to leave her boat behind her.

From what has been said it appears, that the Spaniards on the island of Guam are extremely few, compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the disproportion was still greater, as may be easily conceived from the account given of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. These Indians are a bold, strong, well-limbed people; and, as it should seem from some of their practices, are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas in particular, which, during ages past, have been the only vessels employed by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dextrous and acute. As former navigators, though they have mentioned these vessels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and as, beside their curiosity, they may furnish both the ship-wright and seaman with no contemptible observations; I shall here insert a description of the built, rigging, and working of these vessels, which I am the better enabled to perform, as one of them fell into our hands on our first arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, that he might delineate its fabric and dimensions with greater accuracy.

The name of flying proa, appropriated to these vessels, is owing to the swiftness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards assert such stories, as must ap-

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pear altogether incredible to one who has never seen these vessels move; nor are they the only people who recount these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to enquire at Portsmouth dock, about an experiment tried there some years since, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have related. However, from some rude estimations made by us, of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, while we lay at Tinian; with a brisk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour.

The construction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the rest of mankind. For as it is customary to make the head of the vessel different from the stern, but the two sides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different: the side, intended to be always on the lee-side, being flat; whilst the windward is built rounding, in the manner of other vessels: and, to prevent her oversetting, which from her small breadth, and the straight run of her leeward side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is formed of two pieces joined end-ways, and sewed together with bark, for there is no iron used in her construction: she is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one. On the middle outrigger the mast is fixed; and is supported by a shroud, and by two stays. The sail is of matting, and the mast, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo: the heel of  
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the yard is always lodged in a socket, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when she alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind, then by easing the halyard, and raising the yard, carrying the heel of it along the lee-side of the proa, they fix it in the opposite socket; whilst the boom at the same time, is shifted into a contrary situation to what it had before, and that which was the stern of the proa, now becomes the head, and she is trimmed on the other tack. When it is necessary to reef or furl the sail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries six or seven Indians; two of which 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 steerfman; the other Indians are employed either in bailing out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail. From the description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious, how dextrously they are fitted for ranging this collection of islands called the Ladrões: since as these islands bear nearly north and south of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind; the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatness of their lee side, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage, which no vessels that go large can ever pretend to; that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps sometimes greater than what the wind blows with. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in similar instances on shore: since it is well known, that the sails of a wind-mill often move faster than the wind; and one great superiority of common wind-mills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to

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move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the case we have mentioned of a vessel upon a wind and before the wind : for the sails of an horizontal wind-mill, the faster they move, the more they detract from the impulse of the wind upon them ; whereas the common wind-mills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind, when they are in motion, as when they are at rest.

Some obscure resemblance to these vessels are to be met with in various parts of the East Indies, but none of them to be compared with those of the Ladrões, either for construction or celerity.

On the 21st of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the island of Tinian, steering the proper course for Macao in China. The eastern monsoon was now, we reckoned, fairly settled ; and we had a constant gale blowing right a-stern : so that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much : whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which by this time was grown very rotten : however, our people were now happily in full health ; so that all went through their attendance on every duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Before we left Tinian we swept for our best and small bower, and employed the Indians to dive in search of them ; but all to no purpose : hence except our prize-anchors, which were too light to be depended on, we had only our sheet-anchor left. However, two of our largest prize-anchors being fixed into one stock, placing between their shanks two four pounders, served as a best bower : and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined to our stream-anchor, with guns between them, made us a small bower : so that, beside our sheet-anchor, we had

again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be Botel Tobago Xima: but on our nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented; and about an hour after we saw another island, five or six miles farther to the westward. The next morning, by eleven, we got a sight of the southern part of the island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the first a small islet or rock, lying five or six miles due east of it, not mentioned in any of our books or charts.

When we had made the island of Formosa, we steered west by south, in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not discover till two in the afternoon. To give these rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up south by west, and so left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reason to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ship's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all sides, and there is a shoal stretching from them at least a mile and a half to the southward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The south end of Formosa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of  $21^{\circ}:50'$  north, and, according to our most approved reckonings, in  $23^{\circ}50'$  west longitude from Tinian. From Formosa we steered west north west, and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco; as the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao: but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom and a bottom of gray sand mixed with shells. About midnight we got sight

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sight of the main land of China, bearing north by west four leagues distant. We then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sunrise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach, most of them manned with five hands, and none of those we saw with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing vessels peculiar to that spot; for as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them by shewing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I presume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted. But what surprised us most was the inattention and want of curiosity, which we observed in this herd of fishermen. A ship like ours had doubtless never been in those seas before; and perhaps there might not be one, amongst all the Chinese, employed in that fishery, who had ever seen any European vessel; so that we might reasonably have expected to have been considered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their boats came close to us, yet they did not appear to be at all interested about us, nor did they deviate in the least from their course to regard us. Which insensibility, especially of maritime persons, in a matter relating to their own profession, is scarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chinese, in other instances, furnish us with continual proofs of a similar turn of mind.

Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao,

Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment. And for the assistance of future navigators, it may be observed, that beside the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is  $22^{\circ} 18'$ , and the depth of water, which to the westward of that rock is almost every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumstance which will be greatly assistant in judging of the position of the ship: this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had constantly a sandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to soft and muddy, and continued so quite to the island of Macao; only while we were in sight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had for a short space a bottom of greenish mud, intermixed with sand.

Pedro Blanco is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, resembling a sugar-loaf, both in shape and colour, and is about seven or eight miles distant from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breast of a chain of islands, which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the islands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are, in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; but there are, beside, many more between them and the main land of China. Being still surrounded by fishing boats, we once more sent the cutter on board some of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but we could not prevail; however, one of the Chinese directed us by signs to sail round the westernmost of the islands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom.

After having continued at anchor all night, we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our cutter to sound the channel, but before the return of the cutter, a Chinese pilot put on board the Centurion, and

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and told us in broken Portuguese, he would carry the ship to Macao for thirty dollars: these were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail. Soon after, several other pilots came on board, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of many European ships they had piloted in, but we still continued under the management of the Chinese whom we at first engaged. By this time we learnt, that we were not far distant from Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English. Our pilot carried us between the islands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor; so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. On the 13th, at ten o'clock, we happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bearing west by north, three leagues distant; the peak of Lantoon east by north, and the grand Ladrone south by east, each of them about five leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years continuance, we once more arrived at an amicable port, and a civilized country; where the conveniencies of life were in great plenty; where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured; where we expected the inexpressible satisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of answering the numerous enquiries we were prepared to make, after the long suspension of our correspondence with our country.

The city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portuguese settlement, situated in an island at the entrance of the river of Canton. It was formerly very rich



and populous, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese governors : but at present, though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and hath a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the suffrance of the Chinese, who can starve the place, and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please. The river of Canton, off the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chinese port frequented by European ships; and is, on many accounts, a more commodious harbour than Macao : but the peculiar customs of the Chinese, solely adapted to the entertainment of trading ships, and the apprehensions of the commodore, lest he should embroil the East India company with the regency of Canton, if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him resolve rather to go to Macao, than to venture into the river of Canton. Indeed, had not this reason prevailed with him, he himself had nothing to fear. For it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleased, and afterward have left it again, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

The commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he dispatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese governor of Macao, requesting his excellency, by the same officer, to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chinese; which, as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty, which the commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty usually paid by ships in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country

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try to submit to this duty in China: and therefore he desired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man of war. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers sent by the governor, who informed the commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct us into another safe harbour called the Typa, and where, in all probability, the above-mentioned duty would never be demanded.

This proposal the commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, and steered for the intended harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao. Here we saluted the castle of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned by an equal number.

The next day the commodore paid a visit in person to the governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anson's business in this visit was to solicit the governor to grant us a supply both of provisions and of such naval stores as were necessary to refit the ship. The governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could; but he, at the same time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly to furnish us with any thing we demanded, unless we first produced an order for it from the viceroy of Canton: since he himself neither received provisions for his garrison, nor any other necessaries, but by permission from the Chinese government; and they took care only to victual him from day to day.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr. Anson resolved himself to go to Canton, to procure a licence from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a

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Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer of Macao, refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The commodore at first endeavoured to prevail with the Hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his interest to the same purpose. But the officer continuing inflexible, Mr. Anson told him, the next day, that if the permit was any longer refused, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats; asking him, at the same time, who he imagined would dare to oppose them in their passage. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the permit was granted, and Mr. Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there, he consulted with the super-cargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the necessaries he wanted: but in this he had reason to suppose, that the advice they gave him, though well intended, was yet not the most prudent: for as it is the custom with these gentlemen, never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, but to transact all matters relating to the government, by the mediation of the Chinese merchants; Mr. Anson was persuaded to follow the same method upon this occasion. Indeed, when the Chinese merchants were spoke to, they readily undertook the management of this business, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing it, they at last, when they were pressed, and measures were taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy, threw off the mask, and declared they neither had made application to the viceroy, nor could they; as he was too great a man, for them to approach on any occasion: and not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the commodore, they now used all their persuasion

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with the English at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; representing to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occasion them a great deal of trouble.

Mr. Anson then told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done, unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him provisions, though they assured him, that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but proposed to manage it by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other provision, on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail; and these were to stop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive them. This article, which the merchants represented as a matter of great favour, being settled, the commodore, on the 16th of December, came back from Canton to the ship.

But Mr. Anson (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-mast was sprung in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased; so that, upon the whole, he was fully satisfied, that though he should lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, yet it would be impossible for him to put to sea without refitting: and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties he had met with, he resolved at all events to have her hove down, before he departed from Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East India company's affairs had occasioned all his perplexity. For he now saw clearly, that if he had at first carried his ship into the river of Canton, and addressed himself to the Mandarines, who are the chief officers of state; he would, in all probability, have had all his requests granted. He had already lost a month by the wrong measures he had pursued, but he resolved

to lose as little more time as possible; therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was commander in chief of a squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships of war, which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his master; that on his way back to England he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ship was repaired, and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted: that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his excellency; but being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience: that therefore he was obliged to apply in this manner, to desire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, that he might be enabled to pursue his voyage to Great Britain. Hoping, at the same time, that these orders would be issued with as little delay as possible, lest it might occasion his loss of the season, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the commodore delivered it himself to the Floppo, or chief officer of the emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many difficulties about it; therefore the commodore, not without some resentment, took back his letter, and told him, he would immediately send it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer positive orders not to return without an answer

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from the viceroy. The Hoppo perceiving the commodore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be entrusted with the letter, and promised to deliver it, and to procure an answer as soon as possible.

And now it was presently seen how justly Mr. Anson had at last judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chinese; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already observed; and on the 19th in the morning, a Mandarin of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janfon, together with two Mandarines of an inferior class, and a considerable retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half galleys furnished with music, and decorated with a great number of streamers, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the Mandarin sent a message to the commodore, telling him that he was ordered by the viceroy of Canton, to examine the condition of the ship. The Centurion's boat was immediately dispatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; in particular a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, against his arrival. When he entered the ship he was saluted by the military music there was on board; and passing the new formed guard, he was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the Mandarin explained his commission, declaring, that he was directed to examine all the articles mentioned in the commodore's letter to the viceroy; that he had every head of enquiry separately wrote down on a sheet of paper, with a void space opposite to it, where he was to insert such information as he could procure by his own observation.

This Mandarin appeared to be a person of considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and

honesty than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the necessary inspections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been described; the Mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive; viewing each part of the ship with extraordinary attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore, observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him all his demands in the most speedy and ample manner. He therefore told the Mandarin, and those who were with him, that, beside the request he made for a general licence, to furnish himself with whatever his present situation required; he had a particular complaint to prefer against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao. That at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board him plenty of fresh provisions for daily use; that though they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, yet the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them; that as they, the Mandarines, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not because he had no power to supply himself, that he desired the permission of the government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of, since he presumed they were convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China: that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other; but it was likewise true, that it was not customary for any nation

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to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports; when those friends had money to purchase necessaries, and only desired liberty to lay it out: that they must confess, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve; but that necessity was superior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses. The first Mandarin acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the commodore, that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival a council of Mandarines would be summoned, of which he was a member, and that, by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the commodore's advocate. That with regard to the commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, this he would undertake to rectify immediately by his own authority. Then desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the expence of the ship during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; which order, from that time forward, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the commodore invited him, and his two attendant Mandarines, to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr. Anson was not apprized of it: this seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three Mandarines completely finished the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarrassed with the

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knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices at drinking. In this part of the entertainment the commodore excused himself, under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief Mandarin clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly 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 still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish; and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drank.

After their departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ship: for he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves in his service, until the permission of the government was first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions, the magistrates never failed of exercising great severity.

A short time before this, captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with dispatches from the commodore; and in the month of December, captain Mitchel, colonel Cracherode, and Mr. Taswel, one of the agent virtuallers, with his nephew Mr. Charles Harriot, embarked on board some of our company's ships; and I, having obtained the commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I must observe too, that whilst we lay at Macao, we were informed by the officers of our Indiamen, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ships of our Squadron

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which had separated from us off Cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coast of Brasil: it was with great joy we received the news of their safety, after the strong persuasion, which had so long prevailed amongst us, of their having both perished.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the Mandarin governor of Janson, at his leaving Mr. Anson, several days elapsed before there was any advice from him; and Mr. Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the intrigues of the French at Canton. Indeed this opposition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice, or a contrariety of political interests; but was in a good measure owing to vanity. For, the French pretending their Indiamen to be men of war, their officers were apprehensive, that any distinction granted to Mr. Anson, on account of his bearing the king's commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chinese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance. And it would have been well if the fear of sinking in the estimation of the Chinese, if the Centurion was treated in a manner different from themselves, had been confined to the officers of the French ships only. However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem, that the representation of the commodore to the Mandarines, of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect: since on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janson, the commodore's advocate, sent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted. Having now the necessary licences, a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board the next day to treat about the work

work they were to do; all which they proposed to undertake by the great.

The commodore next exerted himself to get the most important business of the whole compleated; the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the state of her bottom. The first lieutenant therefore was dispatched to Canton, to hire two junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: whilst at the same time, on one of the neighbouring islands, a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Beside, the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly; partly from the distance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants. And in this interval Mr. Anson had the additional perplexity to discover, that his fore-mast was broken asunder above the upper-deck partners, and was only kept together by the fishes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the Centurion's people made the most of their time, and exerted themselves the best they could; and as, by clearing the ship, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to secure that effectually, whilst the other preparations were going forward. On the 22d of February, in the morning, they hove out the first course of the Centurion's star-board side, and continued heaving down, and often righting the ship from a suspicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of March, when, having compleated the paying and sheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where sound, they, for the last time, righted the ship, to their great joy; since  
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not only the fatigue of careening had been considerable, but they had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilst the ship was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundless; for they learnt afterward, by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards at Manila had been informed that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the governor had summoned his council, and had proposed to endeavour to burn her, whilst she was careening; an enterprise, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger. It was further reported, that a captain of a vessel had actually undertaken to perform the business for forty thousand dollars, which he was not to receive, unless he succeeded: but the governor pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, and insisting that the merchants should advance the money, and they refusing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped.

It was the beginning of April when they had new rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; a point the commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. At length, about the third of April, two Mandarin boats came on board from Macao, to press him to leave their port; and this having been often urged before, Mr. Anson, at this last message, answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not sooner. After this rebuke the Chinese (though it was not in their power to compel him to depart) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care their injunctions should be complied with, that from thence forward nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

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The 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and, by the 15th, she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she passed along: and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and stood to sea.

The commodore was now got to sea, with his ship well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: his crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of them Lascars or Indian sailors, and the rest Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England. But his real design was of a very different nature. He supposed, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore, not discouraged by his former disasters, resolved again to risque the casualties of the Pacific ocean, and to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make at the Philippine islands: and as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views secret; for there being a great intercourse and connexion of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear, that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures would be taken to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands. But being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manila ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant:

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norant: he told them he should choose a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize.

The speech of the commodore was received by his people with great joy. Since no sooner he had ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers: and declared their determination to succeed, or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that the commodore, who had taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, enquiring one day of his butcher, why he had lately seen no mutton at his table, and asking him if all the sheep were killed; the fellow seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the general of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward; and, on the first of May, they saw part of the island of Formosa; and, steering thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee islands, as laid down by Dampier. After getting sight of these islands, they stood between the south and south west for Cape Espiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear south south west, near eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew; the commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the working of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. Indeed this had been

been his practice, more or less, at every convenient season during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompense for all his care and attention. They were also constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and where some little reward was given to the most expert; and the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful.

It was the last of May, N. S. when the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day the month began in which the galeons were to be expected. The commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape, as not to be discovered. But it hath been since learnt, that notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manila, where, though it was at first disbelieved, yet, on repeated intelligence, the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to; who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station. With this view some of these vessels actually weighed; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, so that the enterprise was laid aside.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people were each day increased; and it may easily be conceived how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when the certainty of the arrival of those vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S. being just a month after their gaining their station, they were relieved  
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out of this state of uncertainty ; for, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head, in the south east quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship ; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to descry the other. The commodore instantly stood toward her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck ; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails : this was supposed to be a signal to her consort ; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The commodore was surprised to find, that during all this interval the galeon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him ; for he hardly believed, what afterward appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the commodore was little more than a league distant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement. He picked out above thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectations. And as he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner ; he therefore, on his lower tire fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people, divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns ; and instead of broad-sides, he kept up a constant fire without intermission ; whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages.

Toward one o'clock, the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy ; and the commodore perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their

ship till that time, as he saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to disturb them in their work. Soon after, the Centurion came a-breast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest. On the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen top. This accident, supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads, threw the enemy into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the commodore, lest the galeon should be burnt, and he himself too suffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mats into the sea. All this interval the Centurion kept firing her cannon with great regularity, for at least half an hour; but then the Centurion lost the superiority arising from her original situation, and was close along-side the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer. Yet even in this posture the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, being wounded, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Therefore, after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and the galeon's colours being singed off the ensign staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant mast-head.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the *Nosra Signora de Cabadonga*, and was commanded by general Don Jeronimo de Mentero, a Portuguese, who was the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employ-

ed in that service. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion; had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-six guns mounted for action, beside twenty-eight pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch-rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half-pikes. She had sixty-seven men killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been, for at least eighteen months, the great object of their hope, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: for no sooner had the galeon struck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr. Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was on fire near the powder-room. The commodore 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.

The commodore appointed the Manila vessel to be a post ship in his majesty's service, and gave the command of her to Mr. Saumarez, his first lieutenant; who, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners, except such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galeon. And now the commodore learnt, from some of these prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the prize, as was expected;

had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo.

The commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure, from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, very tempestuous weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurion; which ship, by the presence of the commander in chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless better provided against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galeon: and the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the commodore much trouble and disquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from rising, was by placing all, but the officers and the wounded, in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid any danger that might happen, whilst the Centurion's people might be employed upon deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatch-way on the lower deck and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; these

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funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel guns, loaded with musquet-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a sentinel with lighted match was posted there ready to fire into the hold among them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, who amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabin with a sentinel always over him; every prisoner too was sufficiently apprised, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And, that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer pulled off his clothes when he slept; or, when he lay down, omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome, beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive: it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who expired the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed, that the greatest part of them were strange-

ly metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for when they were first brought on board, they were slightly robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the commodore, as hath been said, stood for the river of Canton; and, on the 11th of July, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

This being the commodore's last prize, it appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of 400,000*l.* independent of the ships and merchandize, which she either burnt or destroyed; and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as 600,000*l.* more: so that the whole damage done the enemy by our squadron, did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which if there be added the great expence of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loss of their own men of war; the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy.

Whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was sent off from the Mandarin, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson informed the officer that his own ship was a man of war belonging to the king of Great Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to shelter himself against the hurricanes which were then approaching, and that as soon as the monsoon shifted he should set sail for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition



munition were on board, a list of which he said was to be sent to the governor of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital; saying, that no ship ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of his force, lest it should too much alarm the regency. After he had finished his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave two custom-house officers behind him; on which the commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind; yet for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and answered, that the emperor's duty must be paid by every ship that came into his ports: and it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot, not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes it necessary, more particularly, to describe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow passage, little more than musquet-shot over, 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 where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, seeming to be four or six pounders; the fort on the larboard side is a large castle, situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six-pounders. These are the defences which secure the river of Canton; and which the Chinese imagined were sufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing through.



But it is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship till he had leave from the forts; yet, as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him, that if the ship ran a-ground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed the poor pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen; for when he came on shore he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anson afterward, to desire of him some recompence for the chastisement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very significant marks about him: Mr. Anson, in commiseration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to have undergone a dozen bastinadoings.

Nor was the pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion; for the commodore soon after seeing some royal junks pass by him from Bocca Tigris toward Canton, he learnt, on enquiry, that the Mandarin commanding the forts was a prisoner on board, that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass.

On the 16th of July, the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter for the viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to his excellency. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should

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be sent to the commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the regency sent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly, by what means they came into Mr. Anson's power. It luckily happened, that on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And being questioned as to their usage on board, they frankly acknowledged that they had been treated by the commodore much better than they believed he would have been treated by them, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they revered the commodore's military force, had yet suspected his morals; and had considered him rather as a lawless free-booter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three Mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore the viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the viceroy, in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the viceroy desired to be excused from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then excessive hot weather; because the assembling the Mandarines and soldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing: but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see both the commodore himself, and the English captain of the other ship that was with him.

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As Mr. Anson knew that an express had been dispatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton; he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's instructions, on this unusual affair.

When the Mandarines had delivered their message, they began to talk to the commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them, that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only: adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbade him from paying any acknowledgment for his ship's anchoring in any port whatever.

The Mandarines being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galeon: for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his master, might be displeased, if he should be informed that persons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anson himself was extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards; however, to enhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the Mandarines, that to shew his readiness to oblige the viceroy, he would release the prisoners whenever they, the Chinese, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the Mandarines departed; and on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, to take on board the

the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao; and the commodore, agreeable to his promise, dismissed them all.

Though the ships, in consequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption; yet it was impossible that the commodore could proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and naval stores for his use during the voyage. The procuring this supply was attended with much perplexity; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing brought, the commodore sent to Canton to enquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: and he had soon the vexation to be informed that no order had been procured from the viceroy to furnish him with his sea-stores; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness which had been promised him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement.

It may perhaps be impossible for an European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprised of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people. But then, the particular application of these talents, and the manner in which they operate on every emergency, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration.

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practised on the commodore and his people, by this interested race. The method of buying provisions in China being by weight, the tricks the Chinese made use of to augment the weight of what they sold to the Centurion, were almost incredible. One time a large quantity  
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of fowls and ducks being brought for the ship's store, the greatest part of them presently died: this spread a general alarm on board, it being apprehended that they had been killed by poison: but on examination it appeared, that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight; the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each: The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose; so that a carcase, hung up all night that the water might drain from it, had lost above a stone of its weight. And when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was discovered that the Chinese gave them salt to increase their thirst, and having thus excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animal in this inflated state. When the commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practised an artifice of another kind; for as the Chinese never scruple eating any animal that dies of itself, they contrived, by some secret practices, that great part of his live sea-store should die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a second profit of the dead carcases which they expected would be thrown over-board; and two third of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her, to pick up the carrion. These instances may serve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated nation. But to return:

The commodore, toward the end of September, having found out (as has been said) that those who had contracted to supply him with sea-provisions and stores, had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promise; he saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the difficulties he was under, without going to Canton, and visiting the viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message

to the Mandarin who attended the Centurion, to inform him, that he, the commodore, intended, on the 1st of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he should notify his arrival to the viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience. This message being delivered to the Mandarin, he returned no other answer, than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition: the boat's crew which Mr. Anson proposed to take with him, were clothed in an uniform resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a cockswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, besides silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be insisted on, previous to their granting a permission to victual the ship for our future voyage; the commodore, who was resolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unseasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, the better to secure his ship and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first lieutenant Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct, if he, the commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute. These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some sort perplexed thereby; and some dirty cunning arts were made use of to obstruct his going up to Canton.

On the 13th of October, however, the commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came



came on board the *Centurion* to accompany him to Canton; for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which, on this occasion, sent their boats to augment his retinue. As he passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton.

When the commodore arrived at Canton, he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither. In the conversation which passed upon this occasion, they took care to insinuate, that as soon as the viceroy should be informed that Mr. Anson was at Canton, which they promised should be done the next morning, they were persuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the visit, which was the principal business that had brought the commodore to that city.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anson, and told him, that the viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him at present; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information, as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr. Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the audience. The commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falsehood; and had he consulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands. But the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears of being embroiled with the government, if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anson at that time to be the most prudent; that he resolved to continue passive as long as it should appear that he lost no time by thus suspending his own opinion. In pursuance of this resolution, he proposed to the English, that he would



would engage not to take any immediate step himself 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 if, by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off, which it was supposed would be in about forty days, the merchants should not have procured the government's permission to send it on board, then the commodore was determined to apply to the viceroy himself. However, at last, the contract being past, it was some satisfaction to the commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 22d of November, at which time too the north-east monsoon was set in, he then resolved to demand an audience of the viceroy, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permission to take his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anson sent one of his officers to the Mandarin who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarin, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it.

When Mr. Anson first determined to write this letter, he was under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese, usually employed as linguists, could be relied on; but he at last prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer.

Two days after the sending the abovementioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr. Anson went thither with his officers

officers and his boat's crew to aid the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed; and that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice: this was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed; but, in the mean time he was told, that as there was no Mandarin there, who alone has a power to direct on these occasions, the Chinese would make him, the commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his command. Hereupon Mr. Anson and his attendants desisted; and he sent them to the English factory to assist in securing the company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put a stop to it; since all the while the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress. Indeed, at last, a Mandarin came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: these made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by that time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchants warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence. In this general confusion the viceroy himself came thither, and the commodore was sent to, and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. Upon this message he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, in the sight of the whole city, exerted themselves after so extraordinary a manner, that the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese: and it fortunately happened

pened too, that the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, escaped with no other injuries than some bruises.

Whilst the commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr. Anson, to desire that he would 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 dwelling-houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus furnished behaved much to the satisfaction of the merchants.

The resolution of the English in mastering the fire, and their trusty and prudent conduct where they were employed as safeguards, were the general subjects of conversation amongst the Chinese. And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants called on the commodore to thank him for his assistance, frankly owning to him, that he had preserved their city from being totally consumed, as they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves. Soon after too a message came to the commodore from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which sudden resolution of the viceroy was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people at the fire.

The fixing this business of the audience was, on every account, a circumstance with which Mr. Anson was much pleased; since he was satisfied the Chinese government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask. Being therefore himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made the necessary preparations against the day; and engaged Mr. Flint to act as interpreter.

ter in the conference ; and Mr. Flint, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the commodore's satisfaction ; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, whatever was given him in charge ; a part which no Chinese linguist would have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a Mandarin came to the commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was prepared, and expected him ; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately set out. As soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers ready to receive him ; these attended him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance, they being all of them new clothed for this ceremony. Mr. Anson, with his retinue, having passed thro' the middle of them, was conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of Mandarines attending. Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the viceroy, there being above him only two chiefs of the law, and of the treasury, who in the Chinese government have precedence of all military officers. When the commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience ; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed ; and he had therefore no other means left, than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the viceroy interrupted the interpreter, and bid him assure Mr. Anson, that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. Mr. Anson then proceeded, and told

told him, that the subjects of the king of Great Britain trading to China, had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the great difficulty of getting access to the Mandarines, who alone could grant them redress; that it was his, Mr. Anson's, duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into consideration, and would give orders, that hereafter there should be no just reason for complaint. Here Mr. Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him, he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anson then represented to the viceroy the case of the ship *Haslingfield*, which having been dismasted on the coast of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had lost beside, in the confusion, a chest of treasure of four thousand five hundred *Tahel*, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boat-men. Mr. Anson therefore desired that the captain might have the assistance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the assistance of the Mandarines. To this request the viceroy made answer, that in settling the emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now the commodore having dispatched the business with which the officers of the East India company had entrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the viceroy, that the proper season was already set in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ship off his provisions and

stores, which were all ready; and that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The viceroy replied to this, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day. And, finding that Mr. Anson had nothing further to insist on, the viceroy continued the conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his signal services at the fire, and owning that he had saved the city from being destroyed: then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his discourse by wishing the commodore a prosperous voyage to Europe. After which, the commodore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

As soon as the commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the viceroy himself 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 by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which for the preceding four months, had given him much disquietude.

In pursuance of the promises of the viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day succeeding the audience; and, four days after, the commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion. And now all the preparations for putting to sea were pursued with so much vigilance, and were so soon completed, that the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. On this occasion the Chinese had taken care to man  
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the two forts, on each side of that passage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muskets. These garrisons affected to shew themselves, as much as possible, to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr. Anson to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power: for this purpose they were equipped with extraordinary parade, having a great number of colours exposed to view; and a soldier of unusual size, dressed in very sightly armour, stalked about on the parapet, with a battle-axe in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible: though some of the observers on board the *Centurion* shrewdly suspected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel, it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The *Centurion* and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and consequently upon the point of leaving the Chinese jurisdiction, I beg leave to subjoin a few remarks on the disposition and genius of that celebrated people.

That the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people, is sufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are established amongst them, and which are eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts seems to be the most valuable 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 rivaling 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 the 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,



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. If we pass to artists of a superior class, they seem to be still more defective, their paintings being more indebted to the native brightness and excellency of the colours than to the skill of the painter.

The Chinese government having also been the subject of boundless panegyric; on this head I must observe, that by their transactions with Mr. Anson, we have seen that their magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish, and their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor is the constitution of the empire, or the general orders of the state, less liable to exception: since that form of government, which does not in the first place provide for the security of the public against the enterprises of foreign powers, is certainly a most defective institution: and yet this populous, this rich and extensive country, so pompously celebrated for its refined wisdom and policy, was conquered about an age since by a handful of Tartars; and even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues exposed, not only to the attempts of any potent state, but to the ravages of every petty invader. It has been already observed, on occasion of the commodore's disputes with the Chinese, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that empire: this perhaps may appear an extraordinary position; but their junks, though some of them are of great burden, are coarse unmanageable vessels; and the masts, sails, and rigging are ruder than the built; for their masts are made of trees, no otherwise fashioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each mast has only two shrouds of twisted rattan, which are often both shifted to the weather-side; and the halyard, when the yard is up, serves instead of a third shroud. The sails are of mat, strengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run up the mast with

with hoops, and when they are lowered down they fold upon the deck. These traders carry no cannon, and are utterly incapable of resisting any European armed vessel. Nor is the state provided with ships of considerable force, or of a better fabric, to protect their merchantmen: for at Canton, where doubtless their principal naval power is stationed, we saw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burthen, being of the make already described, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largest of which did not exceed a four-pounder. But it is time to return to the commodore, who, with his two ships, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

While the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their purchase of the galeon, for which they refused to give more than 6000 dollars: this was greatly short of her value, but the impatience of the commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on these unequal terms. Mr. Anson had learnt enough from the English at Canton to conjecture, that the war with Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great Britain: and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune. For these reasons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galeon; and she being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December, 1743, the Centurion, the same day, got under sail, on her return to England. On the 3d of January, she came to anchor at Prince's Island in the straits of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when she weighed and stood for the Cape of

Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, she anchored in Table-bay.

Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, the whole enlivened too by the addition of a civilized colony; was not disgraced on a comparison with the vallies of Juan Fernandes and the lawns of Tinian \*. During his stay he entered about forty new men; and having by the 3d of April, 1744, completed his water and provision, he, on that day, weighed and put to sea. The 19th of April they saw the island of St. Helena, which however they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and arrived in soundings about the beginning of June. They, on the 10th of that month, spoke with an English ship bound for Philadelphia, from whom they received the first intelligence of a French war. By the 12th of June they got sight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprize, might pursue them to the very last, Mr. Anson learnt on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the channel, which, from the account of their position, he found the Centurion had ran through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.

\* See Kolbein's voyage to the Cape, in vol. 2.

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