

Comptelner,
Rotterdam 1929

200 fl. lubs.

(7449/200 as cambios de 12-29

1 ed.

Quantitat 1948 cont. 650

m. 508 x 16. N.S. Q. \$ 64.00.

Quantitat Star. Cal. 790. 1959

m. 398. x 35 = ces. 30.000,00.

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A
V O Y A G E
R O U N D T H E
W O R L D

By the Way of the
Great *SOUTH SEA*,

Perform'd in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the
SPEEDWELL of *London*, of 24 Guns and 100 Men,
(under His Majesty's Commission to cruize on the
Spaniards in the late War with the *Spanish* Crown)
till she was cast away on the Island of *Juan Fernandes*,
in *May* 1720; and afterwards continu'd in the RECOVER-
VERY, the JESUS MARIA and SACRA FAMILIA, &c.

By Capt. GEORGE SHELVOCKE, Commander of
the SPEEDWELL, RECOVERY, &c. in this EXPEDITION.



L O N D O N: t 818

Printed for J. SENEX, at the *Globe* against *St. Dunstan's Church*,
Fleetstreet; W. and J. INNYS, at the *Prince's-Arms* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard; and J. OSBORN and T. LONGMAN, at the
Ship in *Pater-noster Row*. MDCCXXVI.

V O Y A G E
W O R L D
G R E A T S O U T H S I D E

Presented in the Year 1791 to the
Royal Society of London
By the Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty
and the Hon. the Members of the Council
of the Admiralty
In a Manuscript of the Hon. the
Secretary of the Admiralty
By the Hon. the Secretary of the Admiralty
George Smeaton, Esq.
The Admiralty, London, 1791.

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To the Right Hon. the Earl of
Dorset, Secretary of State
for the Southern Department
of the Admiralty
Commissioner of the
High Admiralty
Britain, &c.
In the Year of our Lord
1791



To The RIGHT HONORABLE

J A M E S,

Earl of *Berkeley*, Viscount
Dursley, Baron *Berkeley*
of *Berkeley Castle*, *Mow-*
bray, *Segrave*, and *Breaus*
of *Gower*, First Lord
Commissioner for execu-
ting the Office of Lord
High Admiral of *Great*
Britain, &c. &c. &c. and
Knight of the most Noble
Order of the Garter;

AND TO

Sir JOHN JENNINGS
JOHN COCKBURNE
WILLIAM CHETWYND } Esqrs;
Sir JOHN NORRIS
Sir CHARLES WAGER
Sir GEORGE OXENDEN, Bar^r.

Lords Commissioners of the
Admiralty.

My

My LORDS,



HAVING had
the honour of
presenting to
your Lordships,
some months a-

gone, the Original Minutes
of my Transactions in my
Voyage to the *Great South-*
Sea against the *Spaniards*, in
the late War with that Na-
tion: I now presume to lay
at your Lordships feet a more
complete and perfect account
of my proceedings, with the
additional descriptions of such
places I touch'd at, and such
remarks as occur'd to me
in that navigation. And as
it

Esqrs;

Bar^t.

My

DEDICATION.

it is your Lordships high and noble Province to take cognizance of all Maritime affairs, both my Duty and Inclination lead me to present this Voyage to your Lordships, both as to my Great Judges and Patrons; if your Lordships think my conduct in this expedition deserves censure, I shall humbly submit my self to your Lordships just reproof; and if it may be thought worthy of the smallest degree of your Lordships approbation, I shall think my self more than sufficiently recompens'd, both for all the troubles I underwent in this Voyage,

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DEDICATION.

Voyage, and for my many
years service in the Navy;
and now beg leave, with the
profoundest submission, to
subscribe my self,

Your Lordships

Most humble

Most obedient, and

Most devoted Servant,

George Shelvocke.

D E D I C A T I O N

Voyage, and for my many
years service in the Navy;
and now beg leave, with the
permission of the Admiralty,
to subscribe my self

E R R A T A.

PA G E 53 line 27 for *grey sand*, read *owze*. p. 68 l. 21 for *and are*
but a very obvious mark, read *and are an obvious mark*. p. 75 l. 13
for *variance*, read *variation*. p. 79 l. 19 for 1712, read 1719. p.
107 l. 3 for *where*, read *were*. p. 139 l. 5 for *ten large silver candlesticks*,
read *six*. p. 158 l. 13 for *an*, read *or*. p. 164 in the title of the fifth
Chapter, for 28 *degrees*, read 18. p. 170 l. 1 for *below*, read *being low*. p.
193 l. 24 for *let us be quite along his side*, read *to come quite along our side*.
p. 201 line 1 for 700 read 500. p. 257 l. 23. for *of the Sea Lions*, read
such Sea Lions as are on the watch. p. 319 l. 8 for *have*, read *had*. p. 401
l. 13 for *beter*, read *better*. p. 424 l. 16 for *to the City of Panama*, read *in*
within 5 degrees of the City of Panama. p. 433 l. 13 for 50 *min.* read 5
min. p. 449 l. 1 for *the door of the English factories*, read *the door of one of*
the English factories.

Most devoted Servant

George Shelvocke



T H E
P R E F A C E.



PRESUME that it will not be expected I should make any apology for the publication of the following Sheets, which I hope, will, in some measure, be useful to such of the seafaring part of our Nation as may have occasion to go into the *Great South-Sea* for the future, and likewise entertain the Curiosity of
a such

such as stay at home, and are desirous to be satisfy'd in their enquiries about the Adventures and Occurrences which happen'd in so long, and so unfortunate an Expedition.

How serviceable all works of this kind (when they are drawn up with a regard to truth) may be to such a Nation as ours, whose Wealth and Grandeur are supported by a powerful Navy, I shall not here enlarge upon; as thinking it a subject to which no *Englishman* can be well supposed to be a stranger; and, I believe, that every body will agree with me in this, that any thing that can any way contribute towards the improvement of our Navigation, tho' in never so small a degree, especially on such coasts as are worth our being acquainted with, must, or ought to be, acceptable to so considerable a Maritime Power as is our own;

£

which

which has formerly and does at this day keep our *European* Neighbours in awe, not only on their own Native Coasts, but also on the more distant shores they have possess'd themselves of in the other quarters of the World.

The coasts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *Mexico*, where the scene of action in my Voyage lay chiefly, are such as are but imperfectly known to us, although we have had several eminent Navigators, who have not only been there, but have also, at their return, oblig'd the World with an account of their Voyages; but as it has generally happen'd that those Gentlemen have had some other design in view, than to make compleat discoveries of those extensive coasts, and since it would be an undertaking impracticable to any body, except it was to be perform'd under the Protection of Publick Authority,

rity, our informations have been hitherto imperfect; from whence it appears, that we cannot, from our own experience, be thoroughly acquainted with those parts but by very slow degrees; what we know of them at present has been from time to time communicated to us by different Travellers of different ages.

I do not here pretend to give my Sea-Reader a compleat system of the Navigation on the coasts of *Chili, Peru, &c.* nor yet to give my Land-Reader a perfect description of the vast Countries which compose that great quarter of the World, comprehended in *North and South America.* As to the first, I labour'd under the same, and, perhaps, some greater disadvantages than most of our Nation that had ever been there before me; and as to the latter, it cannot be expected from me, that I should descend
to

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v.

to a particular account of each Province, or indeed of the Kingdoms in general, except I borrow'd from other Authors, which, I presume, would be swelling this Book to a very unnecessary size, and, at the same time be only a repetition of the same things, which have been oftentimes deliver'd to us, both in full Histories and Relations, and also in Abridgments of the same.

Therefore what my Reader is to expect in this Book is a faithful account of all our most material Transactions and Occurrences during the Voyage; and after that, a description of such particular parts of the Continent, or Islands we touch'd at: which, how far it may be of service to the Navigator, who may go there for the future, or entertaining to such as may never have an occasion or inclination to sail such long Voyages, time only can discover; but be it as it will,

will, I shall have the satisfaction within myself of having endeavour'd, as far as in me lay, to be of some use to my Countrymen: and since it has been the custom with most of those that have been on such distant Expeditions, to communicate their Voyages to the publick, which have generally met with a kind reception, I may, perhaps, find a place amongst them; and however short my Account may fall of the Readers expectation, I hope that custom, (which through long use has made it almost necessary for such, especially as have circumnavigated the Globe, to publish their Voyages,) will excuse me for appearing in print on this subject.

An Author's chief motive in works of this kind ought to be the desire of serving his Country in what degree he can, which was not the least inducement that lead me to
publish

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publish this Voyage; but I at the same time, must own, that I had some other reasons which doubly engag'd me in it; for the unavoidable misfortunes I encounter'd with, gave room for some to censure my conduct in my share of the Expedition; from whence several scandalous and unjust Aspersions have been thrown upon me, which, how far I deserve them, I shall leave to the candid opinion of every unprejudiced Reader; but since it has been, time out of mind, the practice of some malign spirits at home (of which every country has too great a number) to censure and strike at the reputation of most who have been concerned in publick or private Expeditions in remote parts, I can contentedly sit down and comfort myself with the reflection, that many of much greater merit, and more prudent conduct than myself have been treated with

the same unkind usage by some of their ungenerous Countrymen.

I conceive it must be allow'd that those who have the happiness of living at home, in full possession of every thing that may contribute to make life agreeable, can be but indifferent judges of what is undergone in so great a journey as is the circumference of the Earth, where the heats and colds of so many climates are to be endur'd: to be as far from ones native soil as the circuit of the Earth will admit of; to be wandering such lengths of time on the surface of the Ocean, and after a long voyage at sea to be entertain'd with the melancholy prospects of inhospitable shores; to have no place to have recourse to but uninhabited Islands, which seldom afford any other refreshments than wood and water; to suffer the extremities of hunger
an

and thirst; to be in continual danger through the mutinies and disorders of one's own people; and, in a word, to be years in doubt of ever landing in one's own country again, to enjoy a little repose after the inexpressible fatigues undergone at sea; yet all these, and even more hardships have been endur'd by several, whether through a desire of Fame or of Gold. But if some unforeseen accident happens, which is unavoidably attended by unfortunate consequences, the blame is immediately thrown on the commanding Officer, when it would have been impossible for him, or any man else, to have prevented the evil; this I speak on account of those who lend a credulous ear to hearsay, without considering the malice and dishonest ways that are conceal'd in the breast of the reporter; yet, I don't doubt but that the truths I have deliver'd

deliver'd in this Book will chase away the prejudice which some may have contracted ; it will be there seen that the interest of the Gentlemen who fitted out my ship and mine were so closely bound together that nothing could separate them, for when one fell, both fell ; and setting the case that I had not their interest at heart, yet it was for my interest to support theirs as much as I could ; but I was so far from disregarding them, that I had always the highest esteem for them, though I scarce had the honour of knowing above one of them ; and, I dare say, that had it not been for the unparalell'd wickedness of one of my Officers, (who was the most notoriously troublesome during the time he was with me, till he ran away with Capt. *Hatley* in the *Mercury*, and was resolv'd to fill up the cup of his iniquity at home, by stirring up the

the

the *Gentlemen-Adventurers* against me by the most groundless falsehoods, with design to extort money both from them and me, and by that means involv'd us in a troublesome law-suit) that the misunderstanding between them and me would have been avoided, and the *Gentlemen* would have made allowances for the outrage of the elections, and the uncontrollable mutinies of my people. But the time may be near at hand when his villainy will be detected, and meet with its due reward, and my innocence be clear'd.

But I shall leave this topick, to give my Reader some little insight into the fitting out of our ships, so much as may be necessary for him to know before he begins to peruse the Book. In the year 1718, some worthy Gentlemen of *London*, notwithstanding the several miscarriages of Voyages on the *Western* coast of *North* and *South* *America*,

America, came to a resolution of sending two ships to the Great *South-Sea*, to cruise on the *Spaniards* under the Emperor's Commission, our Crown, at that time, being at Peace with *Spain*. In *November* 1718, I went to *Ostend* to receive my Commission there; and being at that time appointed to be Commander in Chief of the Expedition, I went over in the *Speedwell*, then commanded by Capt. *Robert Mitchel*; the *Success* of 32 guns, which was then my ship, remaining in *England*. The *Success*, upon the receipt of the Imperial Commission, was to be call'd the *Prince Eugene*, and the *Speedwell*, the *Staremburg*. We had not been long at *Ostend* before the Commissions were deliver'd to us; and since I hear it has been disputed whether we ever had those Commissions, or not, I shall insert

tion fert the Copy of the Transla-
 Souttion of mine from the *Latin*
niar Original.



*A Translation of the Imperial
 Commission.*

CHARLES the Sixth,
 by the Grace of God, Em-
 peror of the *Romans*, always
 August, King of *Germany, Cas-*
tile, Leon, Arragon, Naples,
Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, Bo-
hemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Na-
varre, Granada, Toledo, Valen-
tia, Galicia, the Balearic Islands,
Seville, Sardinia, Corduba, Cor-
sica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve,
Algier, Gibraltar, the Canary
Islands, also of the East and
West-Indies, the Islands and firm
Lands of the Western Sea, &c.
 Arch-

Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Duke of
Burgundy, *Brabant*, *Milan*,
Stiria, *Corinthia*, *Cariole*, *Lux-*
emburgh, *Wirtemburgh*, the up-
 per and lower *Silesia*, *Athens*,
 and *Neopatica*, Prince of *Suabia*,
 Marquis of the Sacred Roman
Empire, *Burgau* and *Moravia*,
 Earl of *Habsburg*, *Flanders*,
Tyrol, *Barcelona*, &c. We make
 known, and testify to all the
 world by the tenour of these
 presents, that of Our own moti-
 on, and from the fulness of Our
 power, We have allow'd and
 granted Our Imperial Permissi-
 on and free liberty to the faith-
 ful, and (of Us) most deserving
 Man *George Shelvocke*, upon a
 certain and experienced opinion
 of his honesty, confirm'd by a
 long series of good actions, to
 prepare and fit out for a war the
 ship call'd the *Prince Eugene*,
 able to carry 32 guns, or there-
 abouts,

abouts, and to sail with her,
well fitted and furnish'd with
arms, through any seas far and
wide, to follow and pursue any
such as are the enemies of Our
Most August House, but chiefly
the enemies of the Christian
name, and to take and seize their
ships, to the end that our sub-
jects, and our shores may be
freed from the incursions of the
Turks, and be render'd safe from
all enemies, or that our enemies
may be punish'd for their inso-
lence should they offer any inju-
ry to Our dominions or subjects.
-----But we have not otherwise
granted and allow'd this Power
and Cæsarean Permission to the
aforesaid *George Shelvocke*, than
upon condition that he suffer the
aforenam'd ship, with all the effects
wherewith she is laden, to be esti-
mated and valued by our general
Architallastic College, commonly
call'd

' call'd the Office of Admiralty of
 ' the *Spanish Flanders*, and that
 ' he fit out and furnish the said ship
 ' for war by the order and appoint-
 ' ment of the said Office of Admi-
 ' ralty, and also give the proper
 ' security, and take the usual
 ' oath requir'd by the said Office,
 ' or to whomsoever the Admira-
 ' lty shall authorize and empower
 ' by order of our Governour or
 ' our Plenipotentiary in *Flanders*,
 ' viz. That he is the true Com-
 ' mander of the ship, and that he
 ' will exactly observe Our orders
 ' and rules relating to naval affairs
 ' and hostilities, and take care
 ' they be inviolably observ'd by
 ' the seamen, and such as sail with
 ' him; likewise that a list or ca-
 ' talogue be made, in which the
 ' names and surnames of the per-
 ' sons who serve in the said ship,
 ' with their birth, country and
 ' habitation be clearly express'd;
 ' that

that the commerce of our subjects or confederates shall not be disturbed, or any ways hinder'd; that ships taken from the enemy shall not be sunk in the sea, nor the prisoners set on shore, or dispersed on Islands, or distant and remote countries to hide and conceal the nature of their booty, that no chests, boxes, or trunks, which shall be found in the ship, when taken, shall be open'd, nor any part of the prize-goods taken away, remov'd, or clandestinely sold; *Lastly*, That he use his best endeavours to procure the writings and proofs relating to the goods on board the prize-ship, that the action and seizures may be approv'd by the Officers of the Admiralty above-mention'd, to which Officers he is to deliver those proofs together with the prize, and also to acquaint them with the day, b ' hour,

' hour and place of the sea in
 ' which the ship was taken. But
 ' if he should be compelled by
 ' stress of weather, or enemies to
 ' make into another port, he must
 ' inform the abovemention'd Of-
 ' fice of Admiralty of all these
 ' things, and by the direction and
 ' appointment of the same, pay
 ' the tenth part of the value of the
 ' prize, the expenses in unload-
 ' ing the goods and ware-house
 ' room being first deducted.

' Upon these conditions do We
 ' allow and grant to the above-
 ' mention'd Capt. *George Shelvocke*
 ' the free use of Our Cæsarean and
 ' Imperial Flag, Arms and En-
 ' sign, and We command our Ge-
 ' nerals, Governours, and chief
 ' Commanders by sea or land, and
 ' all the Officers and Attendants
 ' of Our ports, (and We also de-
 ' sire of the Governours, Com-
 ' manders, and Attendants, and
 ' Officers

' Officers of Our
 ' ral Princes the
 ' ceive the said Ca
 ' vocke into the
 ' of their jurisdiction
 ' with their patro
 ' and permit to
 ' pails and repairs,
 ' the manner of
 ' under the limi
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 ' pedient for
 ' vice nor shall
 ' towards the fi
 ' Commanders of
 ' lies, or neutral Pr
 ' them with the
 ' and protection,
 ' which We have
 ' mended these pro
 ' by our Own hand,
 ' by the seal of Our
 ' and interwritten
 ' a *Viva Perlas*
 ' Rialp, Our Secre

Officers of Our Allies and neu-
 tral Princes) that they kindly re-
 ceive the said Capt. *George Shel-*
vocke into the ports or stations
 of their jurisdictions, protect him
 with their patronage, and allow
 and permit him freely to sail,
 pass and repass, and act in a hos-
 tile manner against our enemies
 under the limitations abovemention'd ; for thus We think it ex-
 pedient for Our Imperial ser-
 vice nor shall We act otherwise
 towards the subjects, or any
 Commanders of ships of Our al-
 lies, or neutral Princes, but treat
 them with the same favour
 and protection, in testimony of
 which We have order'd and com-
 manded these presents, subscrib'd
 by our Own hand, and authoriz'd
 by the seal of Our Imperial Arms,
 and underwritten by *Raymundus*
a Vilina Perlas, Marquis of
Rialp, Our Secretary of State,

' as usual to be made. Given in
 ' Our city of *Vienna*, 16 *July*,
 ' *A. D.* 1718. of Our Govern-
 ' ment of the Empire & of *Spain*
 ' 13, of *Bohemia* and *Hunga-*
 ' *ria* &.

C H A R L E S.

' The said Capt. *George Shel-*
 ' *vocke* may make use of this Im-
 ' perial Commission in warring a-
 ' gainst the *Spaniards*, and any
 ' subjects of the Possessor of that
 ' Crown, but not against any o-
 ' ther power, tho' even enemies to
 ' the Christian Name on either
 ' side of the *Æquinoctial* line, nor
 ' do them the least injury. Done
 ' at *Brussels* the 28th of *Septem-*
 ' *ber*, 1718.

Castillon.

Soon

Soon after my arrival in *England* with this Commission, a war was proclaim'd here against the Crown of *Spain*, which prevented our making use of the Emperor's Commission, for the Gentlemen concern'd thought it would be better to obtain Commissions from our own King, which was accordingly done; with this change of Commissions, there was a change in the disposition of the Officers, for it was now thought most proper that Capt. *Clipperton* (who was to have acted, according to the first design, as my second Captain) shou'd have the Command of the *Succefs*, she being the biggest ship, and he being esteem'd a good Pilot on the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, where we were to cruise, and where he had been twice before, whilst I commanded the *Speed-well*; with this there was also such an alteration made amongst the subaltern Officers as

did not any ways contribute to the advantage of the Expedition ; for Capt. *Clipperton* being so far advanced beyond what he could ever have expected, thought fit to make use of his power, and if it happen'd that an Officer had any thing of a gentleman-like disposition in him, it was sufficient ground for him to inform against such a one to the Gentlemen concern'd, and persuade them that he would be fitter to stay at home than go on such an Expedition ; for the very thoughts of having any thing like a Gentleman in his ship terrified him, and could he have help'd it, there would not have been so many in his ship as there were ; in a word, I shall not speak untruth if I affirm that Capt. *Clipperton* was neither an Officer, nor fit to be one, he having been always a stranger to regular discipline, and making it a sufficient matter for

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Clipperton I
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of my then
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would be rid
that the Officer

his contempt of any man, *that he had serv'd in the navy*, which every body must know is the only nursery for Sea-Officers in this, or any other kingdom; but to confirm what I have said of Captain *Clipperton* I shall refer my Reader to what I met with from him in the course of our Voyage, the truth of which is sufficiently known by a great many, and has been publicly declar'd by his own Officers; but I should do myself the greatest injustice if I did not take notice that *Clipperton* acted so contrary to honour with me, that upon my removal to the *Speed well*, he us'd to cabal with my Officers, and ridicule me to them on account of my then labouring under an ill state of health, telling them that they would soon have an occasion to toss me over-board, when they would be rid of a trouble, for that the Officers of the navy (as I

had always been one) were unfit for such Expeditions, and that my second Capt. *Hatley* should be their Commander (who was much such another as himself) and all would then be well; and as to his own Officers, he made it a crime of the highest nature for them to visit me, either ashore or aboard, and whenever they did come to see me, which many of them often did, they have done it by stealth.

Thus did this man endeavour to render so considerable an undertaking as was ours abortive, and thus did he sow the seeds of disrespect amongst my Officers, most of whom never got rid of it all the Voyage, so that *Clipperton* may be said to have been at the bottom of all the disturbances which happen'd under me, I mean of such wherein my Officers had any share, who had they not been so hopefully tutor'd by him in the infancy of the Voyage,

Voyage, might very likely have supported me in my authority in time of need, instead of joining with the people against me; nay, he not only dealt thus dishonestly with me, but often express'd himself with the greatest contempt of the *Gentlemen-Adventurers*, who had entrusted him with so large a share in the conduct of so promising an Expedition, when no body that had a thorough knowledge of him would have given him the charge of a *Collier*.

After this, I believe, no one will wonder how there came to be such a defection amongst my Officers (I mean those chiefly design'd for the sea-service, who were most of them but young Officers) when they are inform'd what pains he that was to act as chief of the Expedition, had been at, to teach them such vile lessons, and to shew them so bad an example; but should I enumerate

rate all the many instances I could give of the various methods *Clipperton* took to render my Voyage unprosperous (nay and his own too) I should take up too much of my Reader's time ; but I must beg leave farther to observe, that tho' we both belong'd to the same interest, and were always design'd to keep company with one another, yet he often declar'd he would have no concerns with me when we came to sea, and that he did not care if I, and my ship, were at the bottom of the ocean, provided that he had but his wine and brandy from me. Having said this, I leave it to every one to think how it would have been possible, supposing we had not been separated as we were, for us to have met with the least success, or to have proceeded in any good order under this Man's direction, who, instead of preserving unity, and a good understanding between him and

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and me, and also between our Officers, was perpetually acting as if his only view had been to ruin so chargeable an undertaking.

What I have been now saying may serve, in some measure, to excuse the imprudent conduct of most of my Officers, who have now, though late, learn'd that the way to carry on such a Voyage with any satisfaction, even to themselves, is to stand firm by their Captain, and to assist him with their utmost power in preserving peace, good order, and regular discipline in his ship, on which the whole success of their voyage must infallibly depend; so that from what account I have given of their misbehaviour towards me, I would not have any entertain an opinion of their being dangerous men, and unfit to be employ'd in such an affair again; for I hope, and dare say, that from the experience of the confusions their indiscretion involv'd us
in

in, that they will behave themselves more cautiously and circumspectly (if it be but for their own sakes) for the future.

Thus have I inform'd my Reader of the true cause of most of my misfortunes in this Voyage, *viz.* the malevolent disposition of Capt. *Clipperton* towards me, the reason of which I could never discover; I, on my part, had the good of our Expedition too much at heart (if I may have leave to say so) to encourage any animosities amongst us, and though I had sufficient grounds to resent many things, yet stifled my resentment, and never permitted it to break out into an open flame. I was so far from expressing any ill will to *Clipperton*, that I always did him all the service in my power, for which I had always the most ungrateful returns, which was doubtless the result of (partly) his very little knowledge of what the world means

the means by honour or honesty, and partly of his vicious propensity of mind, which gave him no time to consider upon, or distinguish between good and evil; otherwise, if he had had no manner of esteem for me, yet for the sake of the worthy Gentlemen who employ'd him, who had been at no small expence in fitting out two such ships, he would have consulted on every thing that might contribute to make our Voyage answer the end they propos'd: but this, I believe, was a consideration that rarely, if ever, enter'd into his breast, and if ever it did, it made no long stay there, nor left any impression upon him, as his actions sufficiently testify'd.

Disagreements and unaccountable prejudices amongst Officers in these distant Expeditions, have always been the cause of the little success of them; for it was not only with us that a parcel of Officers have been sent together almost

unknown

unknown to the Gentlemen who employ'd them, and generally unacquainted with each other, who being strangers to the merit and good intentions of their employers, and as little known to one another, it has always happen'd that they have had malecontents amongst them, who perpetually disturb'd the peace and good order that is so desirable in a ship, and overfet that respect and distance that ought to be observ'd between the Captain and his Officers, and between them (according to their station) and the fore-mast Men; the indiscreet familiarity of an Officer with any of the common people is enough to spoil a whole ship's company, as a haughty barbarous usage would be to exasperate them to continual mutinies; therefore these two extreams are to be equally avoided, and the Captain and Officers (in these remote expeditions in particular) are to endeavour to tread in the middle path of prudent mildness.

In

The P R E F A C E.

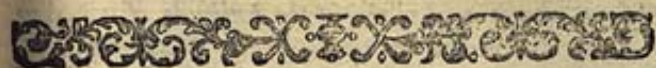
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In a word, I would advise any set of Gentlemen, who may for the future be inclin'd to be concern'd in such an Expedition, as it is an affair of an extraordinary kind to be at extraordinary pains in a prudent regulation of their scheme and articles, to let their chief care be in the choice of a Captain, or Captains who have experience accompanied with a strict disposition to honour and honesty, let his or their Officers be such as have been us'd to command, and such as are indear'd either to him or them, or some of the Gentlemen concern'd by a friendly, if not an intimate acquaintance, let them be Men who have given some proof of their integrity; and, in short, let it be so order'd that the Captains, and their chief Officers shall be bound together, if possible, by the bonds of natural affection, or contracted friendship, so shall they have it both in their power and inclination to quell the unreasonable
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discontents and mutinies of their people in the remotest parts of the Earth, so shall the *Gentlemen-Adventurers* have well grounded reason to hope to reap the fruit of their hazardous expence.

To conclude, I have related my transactions and occurrences in the exact order they happen'd: I have describ'd the places and things I saw in such a light as they appear'd to me to be in; and if my descriptions and observations prove to be of service to the Navigator in his future voyages to those parts; and if this work is accepted by my Land-reader, as my endeavour to entertain him with a true voyage, after he has been so long amus'd by the fictitious circumnavigations, and extraordinary adventures that have lately appear'd in print; I shall attain the ends I chiefly propos'd to myself in committing the following sheets to the perusal of the Publick.

G. SHELVOCKE.



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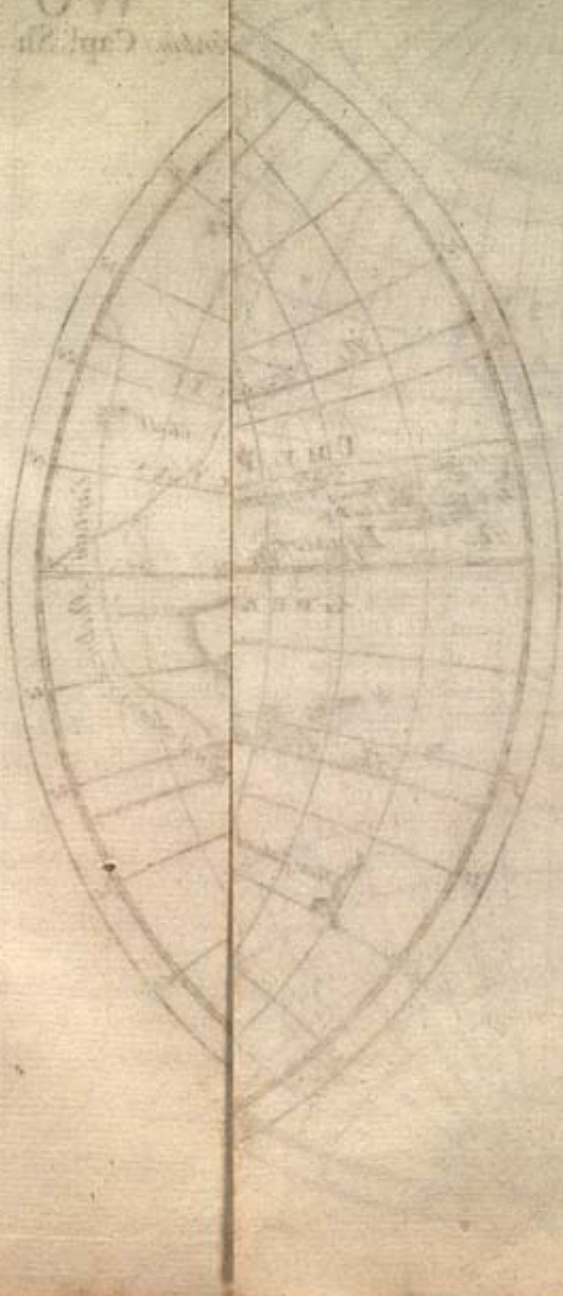
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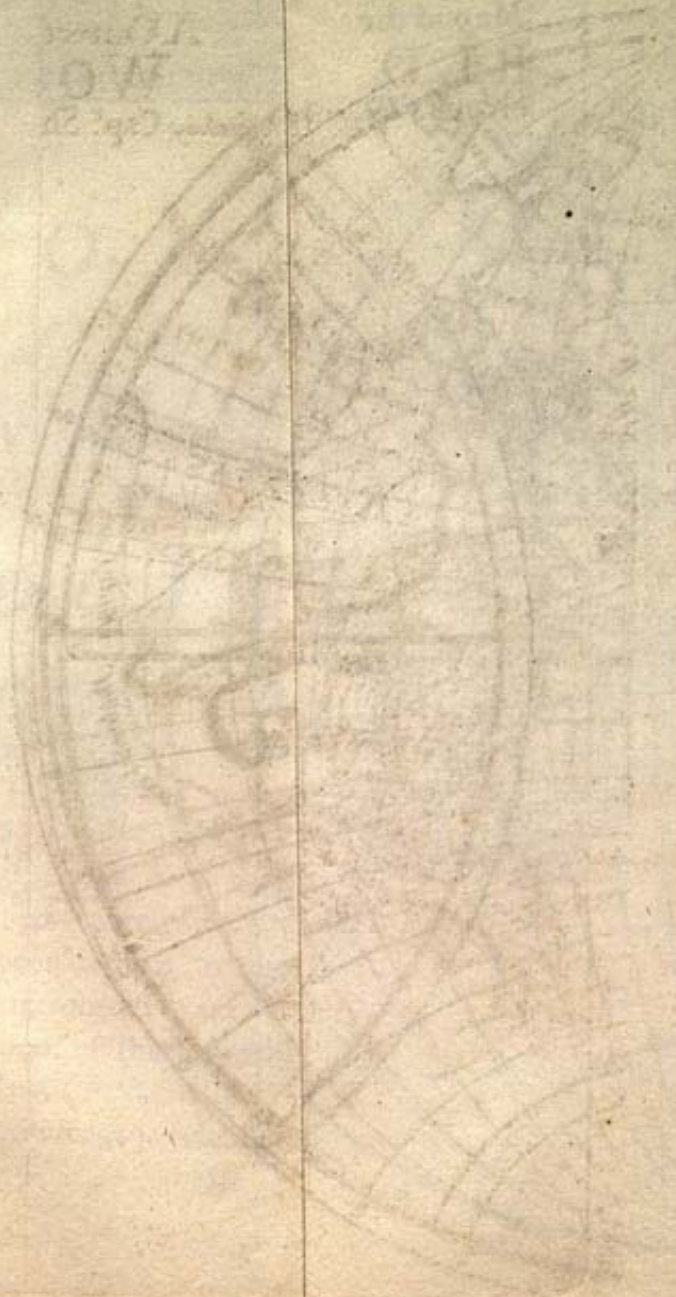
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Map of the
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S O U T H S E A.



I T would be needless to give the reader an account of the many difficulties we met with in equipping our ships from *England*; my design herein being purely to relate whatever remarkable happen'd to us in the course of so long and dangerous a voyage, and withal to give a description of the different coasts and countries I saw, (so far as came within the reach of my knowledge) whether for the service of

B the

the Navigator, or the amusement of the curious. This being what I chiefly aim at, I shall endeavour to contract my relation, so as it may neither deter the reader by a voluminous prolixity, nor leave him unsatisfied with an imperfect account of things.

Departure from England.

On the 13th of February 1718-9 we sail'd from Plymouth, in company with the *Success* of 36 guns, Capt. *John Clipperton* Commander, who in consideration of his knowledge of the coasts and customs of *Chili, Peru* and *Mexico*, was to act as Chief of the Expedition.

On Sunday, Feb. 15. 1718-9. I came under the *Success's* lee, and complain'd of the crankness of my ship, which proceeded from our having too much weight aloft, and therefore desir'd Capt. *Clipperton* to send for his wine and brandy, which I had on board, that I might have room to strike down some of my guns into the Hold, which being done I did not doubt but that I should be able to hold him way. But this he entirely neglected; by which means he lost his stock of liquors, for we were a night or two after separated by a violent storm, so that we never saw any thing of one another till about two years afterwards. We kept company together no longer than till Thursday, Feb. 19. 1718-9. when

between

between 9 and 10 o'clock at night there came on a very violent storm of wind at S. W. Separated from the *Sucess* by a Storm. which oblig'd us to take in our topsails. The gale encreasing upon us, and being very much press'd, I haul'd up my foresail under the *Sucess*'s lee, upon which they made a signal for bringing to. By 11 of the clock we were under bare poles, with our yards *a portland*, not being able to suffer one knot of canvas all night, except for a very little while a reef'd mizen. About midnight a sea struck us upon the quarter, and drove in one of our quarter and one of our stern dead lights, where we ship'd great quantities of water before we were able to stop them again: and were for a considerable time under continual apprehensions of foundering. This accident expos'd us to the greatest danger. We were not able to get the ship before the wind, nor could we work the pumps upon deck, the lee one being all the time under water; and besides this, had a succession of prodigious seas driving over us, so that none could stand on their legs. In these melancholy straits the chain pump was the only thing we could have recourse to, by means of which it pleas'd God that we were deliver'd from impending destruction. When I mention this, I must observe, that it is un-

common for ships not exceeding two hundred tun to have them, and that I was very much blam'd for the charge of it. In short, a Seaman can judge what a condition we were in, in a ship of not above 200 tuns burthen, with 18 six pounders mounted between decks, and a large launch, which row'd with 14 oars, under our hatches, besides 101 men, four fifths of which were land men, and crowded with provisions for so long a voyage. But all the damage we sustain'd by this bad weather was the spoiling of about 1000 weight of bread, and one barrel of powder which the water came at.

Feb. 20. 1718-9. We had no sight of the *Success* or any other vessel; at noon we set the mainsail double reef'd, at midnight set the topsails, and stood to the N. W. In the morning the helm coat was wash'd away, which was not secur'd again without much difficulty.

The People mutiny.

This storm so terrified the greatest part of my ship's company, that I was inform'd that 70 of them were resolv'd upon bearing away for *England*, and that they had form'd a complaint against the ship; for they alledg'd that she was so very crank, that she would never be able to carry us to the *South Seas*. But on the 23d,
before

before this came to me, having perceiv'd some discontent amongst them, I ordered them all to come on the Deck, and us'd what arguments I was master of, to encourage them to proceed; I told them, ' if the ship was tender, it was caus'd by her being pester'd so much aloft, but that as we were incumber'd only with provisions, we should in a little time eat and drink her into a better trim; that having through providence escap'd a most violent tempest, a small spirt of wind would now run us into fair weather; that I would take all opportunities of repairing the defects we were so sensible of in the late hard gale of wind, by filling up our quarter and great cabin lights (which were very large and low) with firm plank; and having no awning, I promis'd to provide some shelter for them overhead." I at the same time assur'd them, ' that, to my own knowledge, our bottom was thoroughly refitted, and in a perfect good condition; and I also reminded them of the scheme of the voyage, which formerly they were so well pleas'd with, which promis'd, (I might almost say) a certain recompence for all the difficulties we might encounter." But all I could say was but to little purpose; for they continu'd in their resolution of clapping the helm a weather,

ther, and grew to that height of insolence at last, that I was oblig'd to have recourse to my Officers, for their assistance in bringing the male-contents to reason. And to that purpose most of them appear'd arm'd. The sight of which so startled the mutineers, that they soon dispers'd themselves; and having order'd that two of them should be made fast to the geers, to receive such punishment as they deserv'd, I was prevented from executing my design by some of the rest, who came in a very submissive manner, and begg'd that I would be pleas'd to pardon them, which I did, upon their promise that for the future they would behave themselves very obediently. A little after this, finding them in a tolerable disposition, and seemingly inclin'd to be tractable, I order'd some brandy to be brought up, and they drank to our prosperous voyage, &c. and I found that the dram being once or twice repeated, prov'd the best means of entirely oversetting their wicked intentions, and we went on quietly; except the evening following, viz. *Feb. 24.*

Simon Hatley disputes the command of the Ship with me.

Simon Hatley, second Captain, instead of contributing (as he ought) all that was in his power to settle and confirm us in the quiet, we at that time enjoy'd, had like to have brought

brought us into an irrecoverable confusion. For through the excess of his indiscretion and self-conceit, he took an opportunity of disputing the command of the ship with me, telling me upon deck, before most of the ship's company, that he had private orders from one of the chief of the *Gentlemen adventurers*, and Capt. *Clipperton*, to take the charge of the ship upon him, (I had reason to believe he spake truth as to the latter.) I ask'd him, if he had a private Commission too, to which he return'd nothing but expressions full of contempt of the Commission, making it appear as a thing of hardly any validity or consequence, and alledg'd that it was but just he should command, being the only person that had any knowledge of the *South Seas*, whither we were now going, &c. How far this might have prevail'd amongst the people who had begun one mutiny by themselves, and were probably ripe for another, especially when headed by so considerable an Officer, I can't say, had not his unseamanlike behaviour in the late storm render'd him ridiculous, and apparently unfit for such a charge.

It may be imagin'd that I was under no small uneasiness when I reflected on my ill success hitherto, in being separated from Capt.

Clipperton

Clipperton as before-mention'd, and immediately after that, to find my self among a ship's company, which I could hardly expect any thing from, but trouble and vexation; and an imprudent Officer under me, who might be of much more mischievous consequence, if proper measures were not taken to check him, and keep him within the strictest bounds of his duty. For it was reasonable to conceive, that those who could dare to be so insolent so near our own country, where I might in a day or two have brought them to justice, would not stick at any thing in a remote part, where they might probably have some plausible pretence (however unreasonable) for a continual disobedience.

Thus was I laid under the most absolute necessity of behaving myself with the utmost circumspection and precaution, that I might prevent our being divided into parties, or subject to the caprices and humours of an ungovernable ignorant set of men; both of which would be equally destructive to the regular and successful proceedings of our Expedition.

We had a very tedious passage to our first place of rendezvous, which was the *Canary Islands*, where we were to cruise ten days for one another. In our way thither we spake
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with several ships, but could hear nothing of the *Succefs*.

March the 17th. 1719. We arrived at Arrival at the Canaries. the *Canaries*, and cruised out the appointed time (according to my instructions) to meet with Captain *Clipperton*. During which, little Where we took a small Vessel. remarkable happen'd, except that on the 23d I sent my launch in chafe of a small vessel we discovered under the *grand Canaries*, who perceiving themselves pursued, ran their vessel ashore; and my people, with much difficulty, got her off, tho' she was hardly worth the trouble, being only an open boat of about 16 Tunns, and nothing in her but a small quantity of salt, and a quarter cask of wine, the greatest part of which was drank by my boat's crew, before they brought their prize to the ship.

Having finish'd my cruise, without meeting, or hearing any thing of the *Succefs*, I found myself in a very melancholy state, when I came to consider, that the next appointed rendezvous was at the Island of *Juan Fernandes* in the *South Seas*, and order'd thither by the way of the streights of *la Mair*, and round cape *Horn*, which now I was sensible was a navigation our ship was in no condition of performing, she being without any shelter

to

to cover the people from the snow, and the inclemency of such cold boisterous winds as were to be expected in so southern a climate; and, at the same time, had her stern so disadvantageously fitted to bear the shocks and violence of a tempestuous sea, that we must have been in continual danger of perishing in every hard gale of wind. Therefore for the preservation of the whole, it was indispensably necessary to employ our thoughts on some means to make ourselves as secure as possible by any opportunity we could meet with in our way. But how this was possible to be effected, was the article which gave me much concern, knowing that such materials as we should want to serve our purpose, were very scarce to be met with at such places as we might stop at. However, being resolved not to look back, but proceed in such a manner, as consisted with what prudence I was master of, in preventing (as far as was in my power) all the evils I could foresee, I kept my thoughts to myself, being apprehensive that a very small discouragement would so dismay the greatest part of my ship's company, as to deter them from running themselves into so many difficulties, where so many hardships were to be endured. And therefore, on *March*

29. we took our departure from *Ferro*, one of the *Canary* Islands, in hopes to meet with Captain *Clipperton* among the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and took our prize along with us. But in our passage thither my people began again to be discontented, and, in short, murmur'd among themselves, and grew so troublesome, that I thought I could do no less than to keep the arms out of their reach, which I did by stowing them away in the bread-room.

Departure from the Canaries.

On *Saturday, April 14, 1719.* In the morning we made the *Isle of May*, and running along shore saw a wreck, and an *English* ship's Ensign flying near a great smook on the land, and a small sloop in the bay, near the wreck. As we stood in for information, a boat came off, and told me it was the *Vanzitern East-India-Man*, Capt. *Hide*, Commander, who had the misfortune of running ashore about 3 weeks before. Upon which I began to think that this might be a good opportunity of supplying myself with such necessaries as we wanted, and therefore ask'd the Mate, if I could have any planks or nails out of the wreck. He told me that the ships in the road to leeward, had got every thing that could be saved out of her. I bore away for the road, but my entrance was opposed by all the ships

Arrival at the Isle of May.

The Ships in the road oppose our entrance.

the ships there, (being about 13 in number) who fired several shot at me, mistaking me for a free Booter. But being soon satisfied of what we were, the drunken Commodore, with the rest of the Masters, came aboard, and asked my pardon, and promised to let me have what I stood in need of. So I came to an Anchor; but at last got nothing but 2 or 3 sheathing boards, and about 3 Tunns and $\frac{1}{2}$ of salt.

Some time before our arrival here, *Turner Stevens* (my Gunner) very gravely made a proposal to me, in company with all the Officers (as we were drinking together) of cruising in the *Red-Sea*; for, said he, there can be no harm in robbing those *Mahometans*: but (continued he) the poor *Spaniards*, they are good *Christians*, and it would, doubtless, be a sin to injure them. Upon which I immediately ordered him under confinement: after which he, in a very outrageous manner, threaten'd oftentimes to blow up the ship. Therefore for these, and many other sufficient reasons, I discharged him at his own request, which I very readily condescended to, and was glad to see every body else as well pleas'd as myself, at his departure. I also left my Chief Mate here, at his own desire, he having been guilty of several misdemeanours; but, particularly

The Gunner discharged.

Chief Mate discharged.

particularly, the night after we anchored here, he had the imprudence to quarrel with Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and to fight with him, which caused no small disturbance on board, for which I corrected him, and was very well satisfied to find him so inclinable to leave us, he having been a very troublesome person.

Wednesday, April 18, 1719. At six in the morning weigh'd from the *Isle of May*, and the same Morning arrived in the road of *Porto Praya* on the Island of *St. Jago*. Here the *Capt. Major* gave me some hopes of assisting me with such things as I wanted, but day after day deceived me, so that I got nothing but a little fresh provisions. At this place I sold our prize for 150 dollars to the Governour; fill'd all our water-casks, &c. and gave my ship a very good heel. Six of my people having deserted from my launch, I applied to the officer ashore, but could not prevail. However, I thought of a very probable means of recovering them; for there being a *Portuguese* ship in the road, I sent to the Captain of her, to tell him that I would have him go ashore in quest of my men (I understood that the Governour detain'd them) threatening that I would take the like number out
of

of his ship, if he did not bring them off. Accordingly he went, and brought me off two of them, which happen'd to be the best, being both good seamen, and drummers. They fell on their knees, and asked my pardon, assuring me that the Capt. ashore had seduced them, by offering them extraordinary encouragement if they would stay, and sail in his service, it being his design to send the bark, I sold him on the *Vanzittern's* wreck, where they might all make their fortunes; so I lost the other four. Finding that I could neither hear of, or get any thing that might be serviceable to us in this place, I sent an Officer in the launch to the town of *St. Jago*, where the chief Governour resides, to enquire of him, if he had heard of any ship among the other Islands, &c. But he sent me word, he had no advice of any, nor was there any thing to be purchased, that might be useful to us, at that town. There being now no probability left of seeing the *Success*, before we got into the *South Seas*, and not meeting with materials to fit the ship, as I promised, I was even at a stand, not knowing how to proceed with these unruly fellows. But having read in *Frezier's* Voyage of the Island of *St. Catherine's*, on the coast of *Brasil*, in the Latitude

itude of 27, 30. *So.* which, according to his account, afforded every thing we stood in need of, even without any expence, or, at least, in exchange for salt, which is very valuable there; and this being confirmed to me by one of my Officers, who was a *Frenchman*; and this place lying in my passage, it was indisputably advisable to put in there; for the reasons before alledged, therefore, on *Monday, April 20. 1719*, we sail'd from *St. Jago*, we began to heave up our anchor the day before, but wrench'd the drum-head of our capstane, which took us up the remainder of the day to repair it, but we sail'd the next day.

We had a very long passage, being 21 days e'er we cross'd the *Æquinoctial*. While we were between the two trade winds, we had generally little variable breezes all round the compass, sometimes great squalls of wind and rain, with thunder, lightning, &c, and, in short, the most uncertain weather imaginable. We were 55 days in going to *St. Catherines*, during which little remarkable happen'd, except, that on *Thursday, June 4, 1719*, we made cape *Frio*, bearing *West*, distant 7 leagues at noon, Latitude *per observation* 23 deg. 41 m. *South*, and on *Friday* the 5th, in the afternoon,

Departure
from the
Cape de
Verd Islands

Arrival on
the Coast of
Brasil.

Met a Portuguese Ship.

afternoon, we saw a ship stemming with us, whom we spake with. I order'd the five oar'd boat to be hoisted out, and sent Capt. *Hatley* in her, to enquire what news on the coast, and gave him money to buy some tobacco; for the *Succes* had got our stock aboard of that (as well as other things) which created a *West country* famine amongst us. When *Hatley* return'd, he told me she was a *Portuguese* from *Rio Janeiro*, and bound to *Pernambuco*, that he could get no tobacco, and had, therefore, laid out my money in unnecessary trifles, (*viz.*) *china cups and plates, a little hand nest of drawers, four or five pieces of china silk, sweetmeats, bananas, plantains and pumpkins, &c.* I gave him to understand that I was not at all pleas'd with him for squandering away my money in so silly a manner. He answer'd, 'that he thought 'what he did was for the best, that he had 'laid out his own money as well as mine, 'and, in his opinion, to a good advantage, 'and that, to his knowledge, the things he 'bought would sell for double the money they 'cost, at the next port we were going to.' However, I assur'd him I did not like his proceedings by any means. At noon Lat. *per* observation 24 deg. 12. min. *South.* meridian Distance 631 miles

miles *Westward*, the next day we saw a sail which my people would fain have spoke with, but I would not suffer it.

Friday, June 19, 1719, At 11 in the Morning, we made the Island of *St. Catherines*, the Northermost end of it bearing S. S. W. distant 4 leagues. *Saturday, June 20,* at 4 in the afternoon, we saw the Island of *Gall*, and the Eastermost Island, bearing S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. distant 6 leagues. From 4 till 5 in the afternoon we had but little wind, and steering S. by E. had gradual soundings from 20 to 15 fathom. At 9 at night we came to an anchor, the Island of *Gall* bearing E. by N. distant 2 leagues; from 8 to 9 we had gradual soundings from 15 to 10 fathoms; at 5 the next morning we hoisted out our launch, and ship'd the capstane, at 7 came to sail, and at 10 anchor'd in 10 fathom, the Island of *Gall* bearing E. N. E. distant 2 leagues, and the Eastermost point of *St. Catherines*, E. by S. distant 4 leagues.



C H A P. II.

Arrival at the Island of St. Catharines, on the Coast of Brasil, in the Latitude of 27 Deg. 30 Min. So.



TUESDAY, June 23, we got up to the anchoring place at St. Catharines, and found it to answer pretty well, there being timber enough, but must be cut down with our own tools, the Islanders having nothing of that kind among them. The first thing I did was to send the Carpenter ashore, with all the people that could be useful to him in felling the trees, and sawing them into plank, and order'd the Cooper, and his crew to trim the casks, and fill water. Those that remain'd aboard I employ'd in new stowing the hold to make room for our Guns, and to come at the meat casks, that we might give them a fresh supply of pickle, whilst others overhaul'd the rigging and sails, and I continually made all the

the dispatch I could with such indifferent awkward sailors as I had. Mean while the Captain of the Island, and the rest of the inhabitants came off to us every day, with the product of the place, which I purchased with salt as long as I had any to spare.

On *Thursday, July 2.* We were disturb'd by a large ship, lying at anchor under *Parrot's* Island, whom we discover'd as soon as it was day break, that Island being four or five miles below the place where we lay, I order'd an Officer in the launch, well mann'd and armed, to see (if he could) what she was, with strict orders not to go on board of her on any account whatsoever. In the mean time I had got two of my guns at the watering place, with a sufficient number of men and ammunition to defend what we had there. Which done, I hove apeak on my anchor, and laid warps to haul into shoal water, if there should have been a necessity for it, and, in all respects, I put my ship into the most advantageous posture of defence. About noon my launch return'd, and brought me word that she was the *Ruby*, formerly an *English* man of war, and now one of *Martin's* Squadron; that she was come from the *South Seas*, and commanded by *Monf. la Jonquiere*;

Jonquiere; that he, his Officers, and seamen, were all *French*, to the number of about 420, and that, though she was actually in the *Spanish* service, they had not the least design to molest us, having left the *South Seas* upon the first advice of a rupture between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. The manner how my Lieutenant came to be so punctually informed of all this, was by a direct breach of the positive injunction I had laid upon him, of not offering to go on board of her. And truly all the excuse he had for his indiscreet proceeding in this affair was, that he was perswaded to it. This, I think, was a mean pretence, and his folly might have cost me very dear; for had they been enemies, I shou'd have lost 23 of the best hands belonging to me, with all their arms. But their speedy return gave me room to hope there was some truth in the story they had told me. Yet may it not be imagin'd that it was a vexatious misfortune to me, that I had not (to the best of my knowledge) one man of experience, or capacity enough to perform the duty of an Officer? though, upon a second consideration, I can't tell whether it was an evil or not in the sequel of the voyage, when the ungovernable fellows look'd and behaved

haved themselves, as if they only wanted a mischievous Head that they could depend upon. The next day, viz. July 3. the *Ruby* turn'd up towards us, when, not being thoroughly satisfied in my mind, I continued very apprehensive of them. But the *French* Captain seeing that I suspected him, having my guns pointed, and every thing in a perfect readiness, he came to an anchor short of us, and sent one of his Lieutenants, and a Priest, to assure me of his friendship, and that he did not entertain any thought of doing me the least injury; but that, on the contrary, he should be ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his breast. This message remov'd all the mistrust I had of him, and I hove to my moorings again. The next day *Monf. la Jonquiere* sent me an invitation to dine with him, which I did, and met with the most handsome reception imaginable, with offers of what money I would have upon my bill to *London*, or any thing else that his ship afforded. Among other things he told me, that when he came into the harbour's mouth, he had but 16 guns mounted, but that upon seeing us, he got up the rest, which in all made 54; that he had several wealthy passengers, and that, in short, his ship was extremely rich

rich in gold and silver. He likewise inform'd me, that the *Spaniards* had advice of our two ships, and that they talk'd of fitting out some of their Men of war to receive us. I desir'd that this piece of news might be kept secret, if possible. He reply'd, that it should; for that he believed none of his people knew any thing of it, because they had not been ashore for a considerable time before they came out of the country. Upon this occasion I thought it would not be improper to acquaint him, that the disposition of the generality of my ship's company was such, that if they heard of any thing that savour'd of great difficulty, I should not have it in my power to make them proceed any farther. To this he was so kind as to answer, that he, and his Officers would pay me a visit, and would take an opportunity of giving my Officers and people such probable hopes of success, that they should not, for the future, be inclin'd to relinquish the *Western* coasts of *America*, to go to any other part of the World.

It was about this time that there was a report spread, that *Hatley* had taken a bribe of the master of the *Portuguese* we met on *June 5*, (or, as most said, had robb'd him of 80 or 100 moidores, and had given 10 to his

his coxswain, and 6 to each of his boat's crew, not to divulge it.) Upon hearing this I call'd him to a strict account, charging him with what had been said against him. All that he could say for himself was, that he had done nothing that he was asham'd of, or that he could not justify himself in. Notwithstanding which, I threatned him that I would be very diligent in searching out the truth of it, and that if I found him guilty, I would infallibly deliver him to the Captain of the Island. But, in the end, not being able to come at a sufficient proof against him, all I could do (I might as well have said, dar'd do, for he was become a mighty favourite with the people) was to protest against him, which I did, and gave the Protest to Capt. *Clipperton* in the *South-Seas*. I must own it to be my opinion, that he was bad enough to act any unhandsome part, especially if one may be allow'd to judge of a man by his actions, for, at this place, from our first arrival, he began, and continued to commit such outrages, that I had daily complaints of his abusing their women in the grossest manner; and further, that he, and a gang that used to go about with him to buy fresh provisions, had threatned to ravish old and young, and set their houses on fire; nay, and

actually burnt one, which the inhabitants had permitted us to use as long as we had occasion for it. These, and such like violences had like to have cost 6 of our people their lives before we sail'd, in the manner as shall be hereafter mention'd.

July 6. *Monf. la Jonquiere*, according to his promise, came, with several of his Officers and passengers to dine with me. But in the height of our mirth, the strangers had a convincing demonstration of the temper of those I had to deal with; for *Hudson*, my Boatswain, took it into his head that he was ill used, and had not the respect that was due to one in his post, because he was not invited into the cabbin as a guest, he affirming, that though there were so many Lieutenants, and other Officers, that were esteem'd to be so much superior to him, yet, that in strict justice he ought to be look'd on as the third man in the ship, tho', at the same time, neither the Master, Gunner, nor Carpenter were invited. But the Boatswain, to shew how much he resent'd his imaginary ill treatment, was resolv'd to raise such an uproar as should destroy the gayety and satisfaction that those enjoy'd who thought themselves so much above him. This was his way of reasoning; but whether

The Boatswain raises a Mutiny.

whether it was the effect of design, or ignorance, may be difficult to determine. However, he was not long in putting his resolution in practice, by the help of two or three more, who began to fancy themselves in his case. The first thing they did was the assaulting of *Betagh*, the Capt. of Marines, and Mr. *Adams*, the Surgeon. This insolence being carried on in the steerage, I stepped out to see what might be the cause of such a noise; but was surprized at the unparallel'd impudence of these fellows, who, when I came to enquire into the reason of this confusion, accosted me with all the sawcy expressions they could think of. But by the help of the rest of my Officers, and the *French* Gentlemen, I soon drubb'd them into better manners, which was as much as we could do; for their number was very considerably encreased by some of the petty Officers and fore-mast-men. When all was pretty well quieted *Monf. la Jonquiere* desir'd he might have liberty to speak a word or two to them. Which done, he told them, that 'as he, and his Officers were 'eye-witnesses of their piratical behaviour, if 'they persisted in their disobedience to their 'Captain, that he would see the ring-leaders 'of them punish'd at my request, by carrying ' them

them home in irons. And as they grew a little calmer, he expostulated with them, by appealing to themselves, whether they did not think it monstrous for any people to behave themselves in such a manner; especially having such a prospect before them; and assur'd them, that it would be owing to themselves, if they fail'd of making their fortunes; and desired them to judge of the truth of this by his people, who were full of money, and yet had not half the encouragement (as far as he understood) that they had; and declared to them that he had not a man in his ship, that would not leave all his wages that were due to him, to serve me in this Expedition. This speech seem'd to please the greatest part of them. However, it was a melancholy reflection to me, that after having been 30 years an Officer in the service, under the best regulated discipline in the world, I should be now harras'd with continual mutinies, and expos'd to the unthinking malice, and unaccountable humours of my own ship's company. For I must ingenuously profess, I dar'd not punish them as they deserv'd; and was certain that some of my chief Officers privately approved of their actions, as I afterwards found by their conduct. The next morning I was inform'd,
that

that my people were most of them sorry for what had happen'd the night before, laying the blame upon the Boatswain, and too much liquor. I was glad to hear this confession, and, therefore, pass'd it over with only threatening how I would manage them, if ever they were guilty of the like again. I was fully resolv'd to punish the Boatswain in the severest manner; but was prevail'd on not to do it, he coming in a very humble plight, asking my pardon, and begging that I would not use any severity towards him; for that it was drink that had made him mad, &c. and withal desir'd I would let him go home in the *French* ship. This I voluntarily agreed to, he being a very odd sort of a fellow, and always incensing the people against the number of Officers, whom he term'd *Blood-suckers*.

The 15th of *July*, we saw a great ship plying into the harbour's mouth. But when they discover'd us, they made the best of their way out again. This possess'd *Mons. la Jonquiere* with apprehensions of her being our consort, which put him in the greatest confusion and hurry to be gone. Accordingly, when night came on he weigh'd, and fell down the harbour, and went to sea the next morning, and at his departure saluted me with 5 guns. Three
Frenchmen

Frenchmen belonging to me went away with him. But I had two *Frenchmen* and one *Morphew*, an *Irishman*, in lieu of them. Upon the whole, I can't forbear saying, that *Monf. la Jonquiere* was very civil and obliging to me, being very ready and willing to assist me with his advice, and notice of the state of affairs in the *South-Sea*, and with every thing that might be of service to us in any respect.

During this, our Carpenter went on but slowly in the woods; which was attributed to the badness of the saw, and the want of some hands expert at the use of it. But to speak more plainly, they were, in reality, very idle, and there was no driving them faster than they were inclined to go. For my part, I had no spur that they would be sensible of, but double allowance of brandy, and, after all, they hardly deserved the water they drank. At length, when we came to fill up the stern, and to case it all over with firm thick plank, we could find, to my great astonishment, no nails fit for that use, or hardly any other, no not so much as any for the use of the pumps. Upon which there was no remedy left but to set the Armourer to work to make some, which he did by the help of

a forge and bellows, which were given me by the Capt. of the *Ruby*. I was now told, that the first Carpenter, and his crew, had sold most of the stores before the ship came to *Plymouth*, which was before I commanded her, so that I never heard of it till now.

July 25, 1719. We were hinder'd again by the appearance of a large ship, coming in under *French* colours. She was call'd the *Wife Solomon* of *St. Malo's*, of 40 guns, and about 160 men, commanded by *Monf. Dumain Girard*, and bound to the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru* to trade. She was the same ship we saw coming in before, and had spoke with the *Ruby* at sea. This gentleman abused *Mr. la Jonquiere* to me in the most scurrilous manner, calling him renegade, for having serv'd under a foreign crown, against his own countrymen; for he being one of *Martinet's* squadron, their business in the *South-Seas*, was to sweep those coasts clear of the *French* interlopers, which they did very effectually; for there was not above 2 or 3 out of 12 or 13, that escap'd falling into *Martinet's* hands, who made them all legal prizes. *Mr. Frezier* was not less oblig'd to *Monf. Dumain*, and his Officers, for a defamation of his character, in relation to his voyage

A French
ship arrives
in the Har-
bour.

voyage to the *South-Seas*, which he publish'd, he often telling me, that he would not have me trust to his description of the ports, &c. on the coast of *Chili* and *Peru*, because, to his knowledge, it was a book full of the grossest errors. However, he might have some politick end in making me entertain an ill opinion of that book, by which means I might have ran myself into many inconveniencies; but I soon perceiv'd, notwithstanding a little forced civility at his first arrival, that he was a designing mercenary man, and endu'd with all the conceit and vanity so natural to his nation. He pretended to make a stay here of two or three months, for a better season to go about *Cape Horn*, and, therefore, as soon as he had anchored, he sent some of his people ashore to dig a small garden to sow some lettices, and other sort of sallading. I desired this gentleman to spare me some nails, to which he readily answer'd he would; but, at the same time, gave me to understand that they would come very dear, for he could not afford them for less than 32 dollars *per* hundred, which sum I was glad to give him, since it would have been an endless business for my armourer to have made a sufficient number for the present and future use. I likewise bought

bought of him 60 cheeses, and 300 l. of butter, to add to our stock of provisions, so that it happen'd well for me that I had some money from one of the *Ruby's* people. This being done, I thought myself in a tolerable way of making a very quick dispatch from this place, when there came a letter from my ship's company to me, with Articles annexed to it, which they said they were resolv'd to insist on, and threatned that they would not stir a step to sea, 'till what they demanded was securely agreed upon by me, and the chief officers, according to their desire; and I think it will not be amiss to insert a copy of the letter and Articles as follows,

On board the *Speedwell*,
July 31, 1719.

HONOUR'D SIR,

The reason of our troubling you at this time with the Articles on the other side, are chiefly these, viz. we have very good reason to believe, that if what we shall have the fortune to make this voyage, should be carried to London, we should never receive half thereof; for it is known to all, how the people on board the ships Duke and Dutchess were treated,

treated, and if we carry our money to London, can expect no better treatment. Secondly, That the Articles we sign'd to at Plymouth, were never read in our hearing, neither would Mr. Godfrey allow us to read the same. He told us they were the same with those on the cabin-door, though we are now assur'd of the contrary. One thing we saw in them was, that there was three times as much writing in them, as in those on the cabin-door, and written by several hands, and interlin'd in a great many places, which we don't know the meaning of. And, lastly, how dangerous is it for poor men to trust their fortune in the hands of rich men?

By sharing the money as soon as possible, we design nothing against the good of the Voyage and Owners; for we shall all do our endeavours to see them get their shares, and as to our desiring plunder, we have desired nothing but what the people on board the Duke and Dutchess had before us. We hope you wont take it amiss that we have made bold to present you with what we will insist upon as our due right, which is designed for no harm to the Owners, and to the good of us all, we are sure it will make every thing

to

to be easy among us, and it will always make us willing to venture our lives in behalf of ourselves and Owners. You may also be assur'd of our respect towards you. We shall always think ourselves happy under such a Commander, and we pray that God may long preserve you in life and health, and guide you in all your actions, which we shall reckon a blessing bestow'd on us. We are, with all humble respect,

S I R,

Your most humble servants,

Matthew Stewart, *Mate.*
 James Hopkins, *Mate.*
 John Sprake, *Mate.*
 Robert Davenport, *Carpenter.*
 Gilbert Henderson, *Gunner.*
 Gilbert Hamilton, *Ensign of Marines.*
 Nicholas Laming, *Boatswain.*
 William Morgan, *Surgeon's Mate.*
 John Doidge, *Surgeon's Mate.*

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Besides

Besides these, all the petty officers, and 36 of the chief foremast men, set their hands to this letter.

Here follows a Copy of the Articles which they subjoin'd for the regulation of Plunder, *viz.*

Imprimis, That our part of each prize we take, shall be equally divided, as soon as possible, after the capture thereof, between the ship's company, according to each man's respective shares, as born on the ship's books.

Secondly, That all plunder on board each prize we take, shall be equally divided among the ship's company, according to each man's respective shares, as above.

Thirdly, That gold-rings found in any place, except in a goldsmith's shop, is plunder; all arms, sea-books and instruments, all cloathing and moveables, usually worn about prisoners (except womens ear-rings, unwrought gold and silver, loose diamonds, pearls and money) all plate in use aboard ships, but not on shore (unless about the persons of prisoners) is plunder; all manner of cloaths ready

made, found on the upper deck, or between decks, belonging to the ship's company and passengers, is plunder also, except what is above limited, and is in bundles or pieces not opened in the country, that appears not for the person's use that owns the chest, but design'd for merchandize, which only shall not be plunder; all manner of bedding, all manner of necessaries, all buttons, buckles, liquors and provisions for our own expending and use, is plunder. It is also agreed, that any sort of wrought silver or gold, crucifixes, gold and silver watches, or any other moveables found about the prisoners, or any wearing apparel of any kind, shall be likewise plunder.

Fourthly, That if any person on board the ship do conceal any plunder, exceeding one piece of eight, 24 hours after the capture of the prize, he shall be severely punish'd, and lose his share of that prize and plunder, one half thereof to be given to the informer, and the other to be equally divided among the ship's company. The same penalty to be inflicted for being drunk in time of action, or disobeying his superiour Officer's command, or concealing himself in the sea or land service, except when any prize is taken by storm or board-

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ing.

ing. Then whatsoever is taken shall be his own, as follows, viz. a sailor or land-man 10 l. an Officer below the Carpenter 20 l. a Mate, Gunner, Boatswain, and Carpenter 40 l. a Lieutenant or Master 80 l. and the Captain 100 l.

Fifthly, That all plunder shall be apprais'd and divided, as soon as possible, after the capture; also every person to be sworn and search'd, as soon as they come aboard, by such persons as shall be appointed for that purpose. The person or persons refusing, shall forfeit their shares of prize and plunder as above.

Sixthly, In consideration that Capt. Shelvocke, to make the ship's company easy, has given the whole cabin-plunder (which, in all probability, is the major part) to be divided as aforesaid, we do voluntarily agree, that he shall have 5 per cent. over and above his respective shares, as a consideration of what is his due of the plunder aforesaid.

Seventhly, That a reward of 20 dollars shall be given to him that first sees a prize of good value, or exceeding 50 tons in burthen.

This

This is a true verbal copy of the original letter and articles, which I have now by me. And I dare say, no body will doubt it, when they read the needless tautologies, insignificant expressions, incoherency, and dull confusion with which the Articles, &c. were drawn up. With which I had not troubled the reader, had I not thought it absolutely necessary to give him a more perfect idea of the transactions which follow'd.

This was a matter of great weight, and requir'd much consideration; for, on the one side, I had an obstinate ship's company, who persisted in having what they call'd their due and lawful rights, and would give ear to nothing that might be objected to them; and, on the other side, if I endeavour'd to make them easy according to their desire, I lay'd myself open to the malice of some Gentlemen at home, who would have thought themselves wrong'd, and have thrown all the blame upon me, without giving themselves time to consider the circumstances of things; but, at a venture, would vent their unthinking rage on me, who had it not in my power to prevent what follow'd, though I us'd all the artifices I was master of, to destroy their project. I found that most of the superiour Officers tacitly ap-
D 3 prov'd

prov'd of their measures, particularly Capt. *Hatley*, who was on Capt. *Rogers's* expedition, and (as I was inform'd) was the chief person concern'd in this affair. It is plain, that the observations in the letter were his, (he having been an Officer on board the *Dutchess*) to which he added, that he was sure we should get a great deal of money, and that he knew, by woeful experience, how they were used on board the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, being paid not one tenth of their due, and that it plainly appear'd how a certain Gentleman design'd to treat them, by his bullying them, and endeavouring to force them from *Gravesend* before they had receiv'd their river pay, and impress money, which was a thing never attempted before, and then to be hurry'd to sea, without any knowledge of their voyage, and that he was very well assur'd it was Capt. *Clipperton's* design to divide their shares in the country. So by this I found how he came to be such a favourite with the people all at once.

I conceive that, in this case, where my chief Officers were cold and indifferent, and did not think it for their interest to assist me in my cause, all I could possibly do was to interpose my authority, and if that fail'd, no-
 thing

thing remain'd to check them in their proceeding.

But the more I opposed them, the more they grew impatient, and my delay only served to fix them more firmly in their resolution. In short, they sent one *Matthew Stewart* to me (whom they had made their agent) who brought me the power they had given him to act as such, sign'd by the whole ship's company, except some of the chief Officers, as follows.

A Copy of the Power of Attorney and Agency made to *Matthew Stewart*, by the ship's company on board the *Speedwell*.

Know all men by these presents, that we under subscribers, Officers, seamen, and others, on board the Speedwell of London, Capt. George Shelvocke, Commander, for certain good causes us hereunto moving, have, and do hereby name, make, and in our stead and place, put and constitute our trusty friend Matthew Stewart, our true and lawful Attorney and Agent, irrevocably for us, in our name, and to our use, to ask, claim, demand, recover and receive from the abovenamed Capt. George Shelvocke, or the Owners of the

said ship, or whom else it may concern, all and singular such wages, salaries, prize money, &c. whatsoever, as now is, or at any time, or times hereafter, shall be due, payable, and belonging to us, for our service on board the ship Speedwell, or any prize or prizes taken by her; giving, and hereby granting to our said Agent (provided he take orders from us from time to time, as we shall appoint) all our authority and lawful power in the premises for receiving, recovering and obtaining, compounding and discharging the same, as full and effectually as we ourselves might or could do, being personally present; and acquittances, or releases, or any other discharges in our name, to make, seal and deliver, ratifying, and hereby confirming all, and whatsoever our said Agent shall lawfully do, or cause to be done, in, and about the premisses, by virtue of these presents. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 23d of April, 1719, and in the 5th year of our sovereign Lord GEORGE, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King.

The Ships
company
send their
Agent for
an Answer
to their
Letter,

Having perused this, he told me, that the people had sent him to beg the favour of an answer to their letter, and that they expected

ted a favourable one, being resolved to have their share of what fortune should bless them with, before it came into the Owners hands; with this reserve, that they would always do justice to the Gentlemen in *England*. I replied, that 'I did not imagine they would or could entertain any thought of doing any thing to their disadvantage; but, at the same time, made him as sensible as I could of what probable injury their demand might be to the Owners, whose interest they seem'd to have so much at heart. And, therefore, bad him take for answer, that I never would submit to any alteration that might bear the least likelihood of being prejudicial to the Gentlemen adventurers. And farther desir'd them to consider that I, myself, must be a very great sufferer, not only in my character, but my fortune too, having given very great security for behaving myself according to my instructions; that, for my part, I could not tell what might be Capt. *Clipperton's* intention; that what he did might be warrantable in him (for ought I knew) but that it was not in me, and that, doubtless, they should fare as well as his people. Therefore I desir'd they would desist until we had join'd the *Success* in the *South-Seas*, and that then they would all be blameless.' I concluded

cluded with telling him, that he had heard my resolution, and advice in this affair, and that if he, and the rest of them had but a tenth part of the respect, and regard they pretended to have for me, they would not so much as think again of what they had offer'd in their letter.

But after some few days murmuring and uneasiness amongst themselves, and no work going on, the ship's company came all on the quarter-deck to me, in a mutinous manner, desiring to know my final resolution, saying, that I knew theirs, which was what they would stand by, telling me, that they knew how to provide for themselves without running such certain hazards for uncertain gain, and clamour'd in a most outrageous manner against Mr. *Godfrey*, who was our principal Agent, and against one of the chief of the Gentlemen owners, saying, that they had been well inform'd what a pay-master he would make, if their fortunes should fall into his hands, with a thousand scurrilous expressions which astonish'd me. In short, finding them to be deaf to any thing I could urge against them, and so perversely obstinate in requiring me to comply with them, by signing their Articles; and considering the prospect I had of meeting Capt. *Clipperton* in the *South-Seas*, when they

must

The People in a Body mutinously desire that the request in their Letter may be complied with.

must be again reduc'd, and made subject to their first Articles, or, at least, under the same restriction with those under his command; and verily believing that the consequence of my refusal in this particular, would be no less than their running away with my ship, and following the old Gunner's scheme, it must certainly have been something like; for I could not think of any other way they could have of providing for themselves, as they call'd it: therefore, upon these considerations, both myself, and all my chief Officers, thought it more adviseable for the general good to sign, rather than suffer them to proceed in such a piratical manner. As soon as they had gain'd their point, they express'd a great satisfaction, and promised me, that they would always be ready to hazard their lives on any undertaking that I should think conducive to attain the ends we were fitted out for. However, upon the whole, though it may be call'd a desperate remedy, when one was not certain what might be the consequence of it, it ought to be look'd on as applied to a desperate disease, and as the only means left to prevail on them to go on quietly in our Expedition: for the most favourable conjecture that could be made, in case of my not con-

Myself and
chief Offi-
cers sign
their Arti-
cles.

scending

scending to their request, was that they would have certainly deserted, and have left me, and a few others, here to have ended so promising an undertaking in this port. Which, I dare say, would have been imputed to me as the greatest indiscretion and imprudence, when so many opportunities might happen in the course of so long a voyage, to oblige them to answer to their first agreement with the Gentlemen Owners.

If the reader thinks I have dwelt too long on the particulars of this affair, I ask pardon for trespassing so much on his patience. But I promise myself a ready forgiveness, when I assure him that I have been the more exact on this head, not only as I thought it worthy of being fully related, but also to vindicate myself from an aspersion that has been spread, which intimated as if myself had been the promoter of this change. Which, I believe, will appear absurd to any one who will give himself a moment to reflect on it; for who can think that a Commander would not exert his power to the utmost, when both his honour and fortune were (in a manner) at stake.

A Portuguese Man of War arrives in the Harbour.

But to go on with our Voyage, on Monday, August 3, there came in here the *St. Francisco Xavier*, a Portuguese man of

war,

war, of 40 guns and 300 men from *Lisbon*, bound to *Macao* in *China*, commanded by Capt. *la Riviere*, a *Frenchman*. I made no doubt but that Capt. *Hatley's* affair would be reported to this Gentleman by some of the inhabitants, and, therefore, told him, that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the *Portuguese* Captain, to prevent any disturbances, that might arise by the account of his mismanagement on board the *Portuguese*, which we met at sea. To which he readily reply'd, that he would. Therefore to give him an opportunity of doing it, I sent a compliment by him to *Monf. la Riviere*.

Hatley, at his return, told me, that the Captain did not mention any thing of it, until he spake of it himself, and that the *Portuguese* Captain told him, that he had heard something of it, and desir'd to know what the ship was. *Hatley* described her as well as he could, and inform'd him of every thing he had out of her. Upon which *Monf. la Riviere* wish'd he had met her, and seem'd to be angry with him for thinking he could harbour an ill thought of a Gentleman who serv'd under so noble and large a Commission, and bound on a voyage, which, to his knowledge, could hardly fail of answering the greatest expectations,

Send Capt.
Hatley
with a
compliment to the
Portuguese Cap-
tain.

pectations, and that with honour and reputation. He told him, ' that it was very likely ' that he might receive a gratuity from the ' Master of the ship, to prevent his being trouble- ' some. But that his Captain's coming imme- ' diately into a port of the same Nation, was a ' convincing demonstration to him (besides the ' meanness of the story) that there could not ' be any publick, or general base design, and ' that he was far from mistrusting there could ' be any private one; and desir'd him to give ' his humble service to me, and tell me that ' he had a great deal of honour and respect for ' me, and begg'd I would let him have the con- ' veniencies I had ashore (when I had done ' with them) if the *French* Captain had not pre- ' engag'd me.

Three of
my Men
desert.

Send the
Pinnace in
quest of
them.

Heave up
our Anchor
and fall
down the
road.

Thursday, August 6. Three of my men de-
serted, and hearing they were entertain'd by
Monf. *Dumain*, I sent on board his ship to
demand them, but they deny'd that they were
there. Then understanding that they had been
seen at our tents, I sent one of my Mates in
the pinnace to go after them, with orders to
go no farther than the tents, but to return
without loss of time; for I was heaving up
my anchor, with design to fall below the road
that night, that I might be in a greater readi-
ness

ness for sailing the next morning. But missing them at the place they were sent to, they thought fit (before they return'd on board) to go up to the *Portugueze* plantations, which were 2 leagues farther. It being towards midnight, the inhabitants were apprehensive it was *Hatley*, who was come to take his leave of them in the manner he had threatned: however, they suffer'd my people to go up to their dwellings to search for those they wanted. But my men, finding a different reception from what they us'd to meet withal, suspected some ill intent against them, and therefore made the best of their way to the boat. In the mean time some of the *Portugueze* had prepar'd themselves in ambuscade to destroy them as they return'd to the water-side. No sooner had my people got into the boat, than they heard them rushing out from the woods, crying, *Kill the Dogs, Kill all the English Dogs*. This outcry was instantly follow'd by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of my men, two through the thigh, and another through the arm. After this they discharg'd several times as the boat was going off, but did no farther damage. The wounded sustain'd a great loss of blood, by being so long before they got aboard, for they were above 3 leagues distant

Three of
the Pinna-
ces Crew
wounded
by an Am-
bucade of
the *Portu-
gueze*.

Return again the next morning into the Road with my ship, And send a Letter of complaint to the Captain of the Portugueze man of war.

Hatley who carry'd the Letter in great danger of his life among the Portugueze ship's company.

distant from the ship: but having an expert Surgeon, he perform'd the several cures with much greater success than cou'd have been hop'd for. This unlucky accident oblig'd me to weigh again the next morning, and return into the road, to try what cou'd be done to punish those who had been concern'd in this barbarity. To which purpose I sent a letter of complaint by *Hatley* to the Captain of the Portugueze man of war. But *Hatley* at his entrance into the ship was furiously assaulted by *Emanuel Mansa*, (the Captain of the Island) he crying out that this was the rogue who had committed so many insolencies towards them, and that this was he who had burnt one of their houses, and had made it a common practice to reproach him with the opprobrious name of *Querno*, *i. e.* cuckold. Upon this exclamation the ship's company sided with *Mansa*, and mobb'd *Hatley*, and wou'd have certainly us'd both him and his boat's crew very scurvily, had not the Captain and his Officers with much difficulty prevented it; for they were exasperated to that outrageous height, that it is more than likely that they wou'd have murder'd him, had they not been timely hinder'd.

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This is the account which he deliver'd to me with his own mouth : but as to the Captain, I receiv'd a very obliging letter from him in answer to mine, which was word for word in broken *English* as follows.

Dated on board the *St. Francis Xavier* in the road of *Santa Catalina*, the 16th of *August*,
N. S. 1719.

SIR,

I have receiv'd your's agreeable, and nothing is more sorrowful to me in the world than to hear that your men are wounded. I hope you know that those people are without knowing King or Prince, and tho' they have one, they don't shew him the honour according as they shou'd. I am very sorry not to give you justice as I should desire, being out of my power, you may do whatsoever you may judge to it. I wou'd in my particular buy the health of your men, and I pray to consider that those people are wild, and hidden in the woods, if you shou'd seek for revenge upon them. It wou'd risk your men to a very butchery, and without any fruit. I will contribute all in my power to help you to have the satisfaction of

E this,

this, and at the same time I will send an express as I shall to Rio Janciro to the Governor, and acquaint him, as well as the Court of Portugal, of what it hath past, and at the same time of the tyranny your men have receiv'd.

I am

your most dutiful

and obedient servant

La Riviere.

I my self
go on
board the
*Portu-
guese*
sh p.

The evening after the receipt of this I went my self on board the *Portuguese*, where I was receiv'd and treated with abundance of complaisance, the Captain asking my pardon for the ill usage my Officer had met with; but withal gave me to understand, that there could not be a greater provocation to the people of that nation than what was reported about *Hatley*; that as to his ship's company, they had got him amongst them before he knew any thing of the matter, and that he was oblig'd to call his Priest to his assistance before he could get him out of their hands, and in a very handsome manner touch'd upon *Hatley's* story.

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I made no long stay on board of them, and at my departure was saluted after their manner with seven *Vive el Reyes*, and 11 guns. The next morning Monsieur *la Riviere* came aboard with his chief Officers to breakfast with me, and fell a tyde's work down the harbour with us. At his going away I cou'd give him but 3 guns, having only 4 mounted, the rest being struck down into the Hold to ease the ship, and make her stiff when we came to sea. We were now ready to depart, and I had made the ship perfectly fit to go through the tempestuous navigation we were to expect in sailing to the southward: I had made our stern as firm as possible, by covering it entirely with thick plank, and had only left two small skuttles to give light into the great cabin, and had furnish'd our selves with plank to build an awning, but chose rather to set it up at sea, than make a longer stay here. I also added very considerably to our stock of provisions, and did not make the least expence of our *European* stores, (liquors excepted;) for my people did eat nothing but fresh provisions during our stay at this Island. I purchas'd 21 head of black cattle, some at 4 dollars, and others at 8; several hogs at 4 dollars each, and 200 large salted drumfish, at 10 dollars *per* hundred, together

The Portuguese Captain comes on board my ship.

Here we added considerably to our stock of provisions.

gether with 150 bushels of *Farina de Pao*, which is the flower of *Cassader* root, as fine as our oatmeal; it is very hearty eating, and prepar'd without any farther trouble than boiling the water, and soaking a quantity of this *Farina* in it, which makes a kind of burgou immediately. I likewise bought 160 bushels of calavances, some of which I purchas'd with money, at the rate of a dollar *per* bushel, and some with salt, exchanging one bushel for another; and added to all this a very necessary article, *viz.* a good stock of tobacco.

Sail from
the Island
of *St. Catharines*.

Thus provided of every thing useful to the ship and the people, we, on the 8th of *August*, sail'd from *St. Catharines*, to my great satisfaction, it being what I had long despair'd of.



A Description of the Island of St. Catherines in the latitude of 27 deg. 30 min. south, on the Coast of Brasíl, and its Inhabitants.

Monsieur *Frezier*, (though he has otherwise given a very good account of this Island) has been guilty of passing over (with-
out

out any notice) an Island lying between the Island of *Gall* and the northermost point of *St. Catherines*, and has not well observ'd a reef of rocks running almost $\frac{3}{4}$ across the channel between the Island of *Gall* and the main Continent of *Brasil*. The first of these mistakes surpriz'd us very much, for as we stood through the foremention'd channel in the night, we took the Island he has omitted to be the northermost part of *St. Catharines*, but having pass'd it, and found an opening to the sea, and only a high Island which is about 2 miles in circumference, we apprehended our selves to be in the wrong place, and therefore came to anchor immediately, but in the morning plainly perceiv'd Monsieur *Frezier's* omission. In order to arrive at the anchoring place, you must continue to sail in the channel between *St. Catherines* and the Continent till you come within, or near, two small Islands which have yet had no name given them; over-against the northermost of these is the watering-place on *St. Catherines*, near to the entrance of a small salt-water creek, opposite to which you may come to, in 6 or 7 fathom water very safely, the bottom being a fine grey sand. The Island of *St. Catharines* it self is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length, but in

Directions
for the
Ancho-
rage.

breadth no where exceeds 2 leagues; and the channel between it and the Continent so narrow in one part, as not to be much above a quarter of a mile in breadth. It is all over cover'd with inaccessible woods, so that excepting the plantations, there is not a clear spot upon it. The least Island about it is in the same manner abounding with a great variety of trees and undergrowth of brambles and thorns which deny any access; and the main Continent of *Brasil* it self may in this part be justly term'd a vast continu'd wilderness.

The *sassafras*, so much esteem'd in *Europe*, is so common there, that we laid in a good quantity, instead of other wood, for firing. They have there a great plenty of oranges, both *China* and *Sevile*, lemons, citrons, limes, bananas, palm-cabbage, melons of all sorts, and potatoes. They have the sugar-cane very large and good, but make little or no use of it for want of utensils, so that the little molossius and rum they have, they sell very dear.

As to their game, there is hardly any to be had, altho' the woods are full of parrots, which are good eating, and are always seen to fly by pairs, notwithstanding there may be some hundreds in a flock. Maccaws, cokatoes, plovers, and a great diversity of

other

Several
sorts of
Fruit.

Game.

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other birds of curious colours and peculiar shapes, particularly one sort somewhat larger than a thrush, which have a spur in the joint of each wing. The flemingoes are very often seen here in great numbers, they are of a very fine scarlet, and appear extremely beautiful when flying, they are about the size of a heron, and not unlike them in shape.

'Tis quite otherwise with the fishery; for as ^{Several} they have a great abundance of ^{sorts of} several sorts of ^{Fish.} good fish, so they have almost every where the best conveniences for hauling the seync. All their bays and creeks are well stock'd with mullets, large rays, grunters, cavallics, and drum-fish, so call'd from the noise they make, by which they are follow'd into shoal water and taken, some of them twenty or thirty pound weight, and their scales are almost as big as a crown-piece, the *Portugueze* call them *Meroes*. You may go up 3 or 4 miles into the salt-water creek, which I before mention'd to be near the watering-place, where each rock-stone, and even the roots of the mangrove-trees afford a delicious sort of small green oysters: likewise among the rocks by the sea-side you find what is commonly call'd the sea-egg; in its outward form it nearly resembles a *dock-burr*, excepting that they are generally three or four times as big, and are of a sea-green or

deep purple colour; but in the inside they are divided in partitions like an orange, each partition contains a yellow substance, which is eaten raw, and in my opinion exceeds all the shell-fish I ever tasted; they have prawns of an extraordinary size, and in our nets we sometimes caught the sea-horse describ'd by Monsieur *Frezier* in his relation of this place.

Black Cattle.

On the *Savannas* of *Arezitiba* on the Continent, over-against the southermost part of *St. Catharines*, they have great numbers of black cattle, some of which we were sufficiently supply'd with from thence, and which we bought at a reasonable price.

Inhabitants.

Take the character of the *Portugueze* of this Island from the *Portugueze* Captain's letter, for it is certain that they are a parcel of *Banditti*, which come for refuge here from the neighbouring and more strictly govern'd Colonies of *Brasil*; *Emanuel Mansa*, who was what they call'd the Captain of the Island, was still their Chief as much as in *Frezier's* time. However, for my part, I can but do them the justice to say, that they traded with me very honestly, and were very civil to every one but those who gave them those gross affronts already mention'd. They enjoy the blessings of a fertile country and a wholesome air, and stand in need

of
of

of no necessaries except cloathing. They have fire-arms sufficient for their use, and indeed they have need of them very often, for they are sadly troubled with tygers. But use has made them easy under that inconveniency, yet in their houses they are oblig'd to keep a great many dogs to destroy those ravenous creatures, who oftentimes make a prodigious havock amongst them. I have been told, that a tyger has kill'd 8 or 10 dogs in a night; but if it be day-light, they seldom escape from them, for they then afford the inhabitants a kind of diversion, and an opportunity to destroy them effectually; in short, nothing is more common than to see the prints of tygers paws upon the sandy beach. As to their fine dwelling-houses mention'd by Monsieur *Frezier*, none of us cou'd see any such thing, nor have they any place worthy the name of a Town, nor any Fortification of any kind except the woods, which to them is a sure retreat and security against any enemy that may attack them. As to the *Indians* of this part, I can't say much of them, having never seen above 2 or 3 of them.

Sadly pe-
ter'd with
tygers.

The Voyage continued.

Sunday, August 9. we took our departure from the northermost point of *St. Catharines*, in latitude 27 deg. 20 min. *South*, difference of longitude 50 deg. *West* from the *Lizard*.

Wednesday, August 19. at 6 in the evening, Mr. *La Port*, my third Lieutenant, broke his leg by a slide on the deck. From the time we left *St. Catharines*, till now, we had mostly hard, squally weather at noon, latitude, by observation, 36 deg. 25 min. *South*, meridian distance 142 miles *West*. I kept the lead going all along the coast of *Patagonia*, otherwise called the *Desert-Coast*; and I presume it will not be amiss to give the following account of the depths and nature of the ground as follows, *viz.*

In latitude of 36 deg. 42 min. *South*, we had soundings in 90 fathom.

In 36 deg. 34 min. *South*, soundings in 60 and 70 fathom grey sand.

In 40 deg. 22 min. *South*, soundings in 68 fathom grey and black sand.

In 40 deg. 21 min. *South*, soundings in 85 fathom same ground as before. In this latitude

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titude we saw vast quantities of large seaweeds.

In latitude 41 deg. 2 min. *South*, soundings in 95 fathom grey and black sand.

In 44 deg. 58 min. *South*, soundings from 65 to 70 fathom the same.

In 45 deg. 16 min. *South*, soundings in 63 fathom rocky.

In 45 deg. 26 min. *South*, soundings from 62 to 70 fathom the same.

In 45 deg. 42 min. *South*, soundings and ground the same.

In 47 deg. 18 min. *South*, soundings from 62 to 70 fathom grey and black sand.

From the latitude of 49 deg. 34 min. *South*, to the latitude of 51 deg. 10 min. *South*, we had soundings from 55 to 60 fathoms black sand and yellow gravel. I found the soundings to be very regular, and though I cannot be certain of our exact distance from the land at any particular times, yet I dare say we were never nearer than 30, or farther than 40 leagues distant from the land. From the latitude of 40 deg. to the latitude of 52 deg. 30 min. we had a sight of continual shoals of seals and penguins, and were constantly attended by *Pintado* birds, about the bigness of apidgeon, the *French* call them *Damiers*, because their

feathers

See vast
shoals of
seals and
penguins,

And great numbers of *Pintado* birds and *Albitrosses*, feathers being black and white, are dispos'd in such a manner, as to make their backs and wings appear chequer'd like a draught-board.

These were accompanied by *Albitrosses*, the largest sort of sea-fowls, some of them extending their wings 12 or 13 foot. And whilst we had the river of *Plate* open, the sea thereabouts was cover'd with prodigious quantities of large sea-weed, which often incommoded us, it being impossible to avoid running sometimes amongst it, which gave us much trouble to clear our selves of it, and at the same time deadned our way.

Incommoded by the great quantities of sea-weeds.

But as we went to the Southward, this inconveniency left us. After which we had on the surface of the water abundance of things appearing like white snakes. We took some of them up, but cou'd not perceive there was any life in them, nor were they form'd into any shape resembling any kind of animal, they being only a long cylinder of a white sort of a jelly, and may probably be the spawn of some of the larger sort of fish. I might have observ'd, that as we advanc'd to the Southward, my people's stomach increas'd with the sharpness of the air to that degree, that the same allowance which the Government gives in the Navy was not sufficient to satisfy their hunger. Some of my Officers

in particular were very angry that they cou'd not have their bellies full, or at least a greater share than the common people. Mr. *Betagh*, *Betagh*, the Captain of *Marines* grows troublesome because I wou'd not enlarge the allowance at my table. my Captain of *Marines*, (who had been formerly a Purser of a man of war, and a man whom I had a great regard for) was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table, for he told me that he had orders from the Owners to eat with me; and what was my table if I did not eat better than the cook? To this I answer'd, that he knew I was not allow'd an ounce of fresh provisions to sea with me, and that he cou'd have no reason to complain, having all along far'd as well as my self without any charge to him. But notwithstanding all I could say, this good gentleman did not think it proper to use any decency at such a table, and wou'd sometimes take the greatest part of what we had upon his own plate; so that I found my self oblig'd to divide the allowance of my table into equal parts, and every one had their part by lot. Upon this Mr. *Betagh* us'd his endeavours to persuade the people not to starve themselves, as he call'd it, and he gain'd his point so far, that in a very little while after, I was forc'd to give them an extraordinary meal every day either of *Farina*

or

or calavances, which at once made a considerable consumption of our water and firing. *Betagh* cou'd not stop here, but urg'd by his voracious appetite, and finding me inflexible in giving my consent to squander away our provisions, without knowing when or where we might get any more, had at length the insolence to tell me publickly, that the voyage shou'd be short with me, which he often repeated. I shou'd have had reason to have fear'd it, had he been capable of commanding, for I had been well inform'd that he was a *Cape of Good Hope* man. But however, for his punishment, I excluded him both from my table and the great cabbin. Upon this, Captain *Betagh* finding that I was in earnest with him, and fearing a heavy punishment for his mutinous behaviour, sent me the following letter to ask my pardon.

Through *Betagh's* means oblig'd to give an extraordinary allowance of provisions.

Betagh, by his insolence, obliges me to expel him the great cabbin, and order him under confinement.

September 18. 1719.

SIR,

I shall not here trouble you with many arguments to extenuate the crime I stand charg'd with, which were to put the delinquent on a footing with the injur'd person.

I there-

I therefore own, and am sorry, that passion and the distress I had long labour'd under of your ill-will, have so far transported me, as to give you such language as is no ways justifiable from any Officer to his Commander. I heartily ask your pardon for it, promising that I will use my best endeavours never to transgress in the same manner. But were it permitted me to expostulate any thing herein, it would be to put you in mind that I fear you are too much prepossess'd in my disfavour; for you gave me your word at St. Catherines, that no omission or transgression then pass'd and over shou'd ever more be objected to any person therein concern'd. And yet my misfortune is such, that the words I spake 7 or 8 months agoe, were made the occasion of this business, though I am sure, with other persons, and on any other score, you would not violate your promise. Next, I shall beg leave to assure you, I never entertained any thoughts of ever becoming a party-man, for it is my aversion; and I am almost assur'd, that were I so inclined, (as I never shall) I should not find one to join me; for I find every one so well satisfied, especially since the late amendment to the distribution of prize and plunder
money,

money, and that the worst or most fatiguing part of our voyage is almost past, that each and every of them is well enough pleased with the prospect they have in hand. I am with great respect,

SIR,

your most humble

and most obedient servant

Will. Betagh.

Upon this Letter, *Betagh* is set at liberty.

It may appear plain to any one that reads the foregoing letter, that this was not the first crime he had been guilty of, and in fact it was not. The person who delivered this letter to me, told me, that Captain *Betagh* was so far from thinking the acknowledgment in his letter to be sufficient to merit my favour, that he begg'd I would give him an opportunity of confessing his crimes openly, which he wou'd do in such a manner as he hop'd would move me to pardon him. Upon which I again restor'd him in a handsomer manner than he afterwards deserv'd, as will appear by the sequel.

But

But now to resume the thread of our voyage, I must inform the reader, that between *St. Catharines* and the river of *Plate* it is but an indifferent coast. For which reason I kept a good offing, till I came to the southward of *Cape St. Anthony*, where I hauled into soundings, as has been said before. There is another thing worth our observation, and that is, that the whales, grampusses, and other fish of a monstrous bulk, are in such numbers on the coast of *Patagonia*, that they were really offensive to us very often. For they would come sometimes so close to us, as almost to stifle us with their stench when they blew, and would lie so near to us, that I have frequently thought it impossible to escape striking upon them on every fend of a sea. I am a stranger to the *Greenland* fishery, therefore cannot say why a trade might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm that it is a safer navigation, and I am apt to believe that here is a greater certainty of succeeding.

Great
Numbers
of Whales
&c.

Saturday, September 19. 1719. I remembering to have heard of some shoals in the latitude of 50 deg. 30 min. *South*, and having no draught that described this coast, (for *Clipperton*, who was supply'd with every thing necessary of that kind for both ships, did not think

fit to let me have any) and judging that I was not above 20 leagues from the land, I stood right in, the greatest part of the day, with intent to strike ground upon them, but did not come into less than 55 fathom; therefore at night I altered my course along shore again. About midnight I perceived the water to be discoloured all at once, whereupon we founded, and found 26 fathom; which done, I stood off to sea, but did not deepen our water in the running of 5 leagues. At 6 the next morning we had 30 fathom, but had no sight of land, though some were of opinion that they had, which I did not depend upon. This bank must lie very near the entrance of the streights of *Magellan*. On this bank, or shoal, we saw great numbers of blubbers appearing, like the tops of umbrellas, curiously streak'd with all sorts of colours, which were a species entirely different from what I had ever seen before.

From hence I shaped my course for the streights of *le Mair*, and as we approach'd the coasts of *Terra del Fuego*, met with very foggy weather. I had a fine opportunity of going through the streights of *Magellan*; but Capt. *Clipperton*, in his scheme, pretended, out the abundance of his judgment and experience, that the streights of *le Mair* would
be

be the best navigation at this time, though he himself passed through the streights of *Magellan*; from whence it may be conjectured, that he who never was fond of having a consort with him, design'd to make use of a likely expedient to separate himself from us to some purpose; and I shall shew it in its proper place, that he was a man who would do any thing rather than not follow his own way of thinking, tho' never so dishonest or inhuman.

September 23. The fogg clearing up, we saw some mountains of a stupendous height on *Terra del Fuego*, entirely cover'd with snow. The nearest point of land to us was at least 8 leagues distant, bearing S. W. but before we could make any farther discovery the mist return'd; therefore I stood off for some time, and then brought to. At 4 the next morning I made an easy sail to the South eastward, and at daylight it proved very clear, when I found I had fallen in with the land about 5 leagues to the Northwestward of the streights of *le Mair*. We had now a full, but melancholy prospect of the most desolate country (to all appearance) that can be conceiv'd, seeming to be no other than continued chains of mountains, one within another,

Arrival on
the Coast
of Terra
del Fuego.

ther, perpetually hid by the snow. Towards noon we were becalm'd, withing 3 leagues of the mountains call'd the *three Brothers*, so nam'd from their equal heights, near resemblances, and proximity one to the other; the Westermost of them bearing S. by W. and cape *St. Vincent* E. by S. distant 2 leagues. Each of these 3 mountains rise gradually with an even surface to the Northwestward, and then drop almost perpendicularly on the foot of each other, and form three bluff heads. Thus they appear at a distance, which caused Monsieur *Frezier* to tell us, in his description of this part, that they are contiguous. But I was near enough to see that the two Westermost of them are divided by a large river, or very deep bay, where, perhaps, a ship might find good shelter on any emergent necessity. These mountains have no snow towards the sea, and are no other than rocky precipices, and are but a very obvious mark to inform all shipping that come this way, that they are near the mouth of the streights of *le Mair*. But there is another thing which makes them the more remarkable, and that is a slender pecked mountain appearing like a column of snow, much superiour in height to the rest of the land. This, though situated far up in the

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the country, looks as if it was close behind the *three Brothers*, when, at the foremention'd bearings, this peck may be further known, by leaning its head in a surprizing manner to the South-eastward. We saw it at several bearings, but it kept its shape and seeming distance, and one would have almost thought that it follow'd us as we rounded Cape *St. Vincent* to go into the streights, which are about 3 leagues to the South-eastward of the *three Brothers*.

Before we came on the coast of *Terra del Fuego*, we had not been sensible of any helps or hindrance by any currents from the time that we had got to the Southward of the river of *Plate*, but this afternoon we were hurried with incredible rapidity into the streights, and just as we had gain'd somewhat more than mid passage, the tide slack'd. We then sound-^{Passage through the streights of le Maire.}ed, and had but 27 fathom a rocky bottom. At the same time I took an opportunity to make what observations I cou'd of the place. We had a clear view of *Staten* land, which yields a most uncomfortable landskip, of a surprizing height, cover'd with snow to the very wash of the sea, and bears more of the likeness of a huge white cloud, than of firm land. These streights seem to answer very well

well to Monsieur *Frezier's* map of them, being about 7 leagues through, 6 leagues wide, and lie almost *North* and *South*. But the northern tide rushing upon us with an equal violence with what had brought us in, it prevented my making any farther remarks, and afforded matter of astonishment to us all to see how fast we were driven out again, notwithstanding we had a fresh, fair gale at *N. W.* and when at the same time we went 6 knots by the log, by which I cannot judge this tide to run less than 10 knots in an hour: in short, we were quite carry'd out in about an hours time. Upon the shifting of the tide to windward, there arose such a short sea, which at the same time was so lofty, that we alternately dipp'd our bowsprit end and poop lanterns into the water; our ship labour'd in the most violent manner, and became insensible of the guidance of her helm; but at midnight the tide shifted, and we put through the *Streights*, steering *S.* with a brisk gale at *N. W.* without seeing the land, distinctly, and in the morning had a very good offing to the southward.

After we had got well to sea, we unstock'd our anchors and brought them aft, and got in our spritsail yard to ease our bows, and make every thing as snug as possible. We had found

it very cold before we came this length, but now began to feel the extremity of it. The bleak westerly winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing, but they were always attended either with snow or sleet, Meet with very cold stormy weather. which continually beating on our sails and rigging, had cas'd the masts, and every rope with ice, and had, in a manner, made our sails almost useles to us. So much were we accustom'd to the most severe storms, that we used to think it tolerable weather if we could bear a reefed main-sail, for it was common with us to be 2 or 3 days together lying to under bare poles, and exposed to the shocks of prodigious Seas, much larger than any I ever saw. Now we began to be thoroughly sensible of the benefit of our awning, and, indeed, we could scarce have liv'd without it. The winds reigning thus tempestuously, without intermission, in the Western board, we were driven into the Latitude of 61 deg. 30 min. of *South* Latitude. Add to this our misfortune of having continual misty weather, which laid us under hourly apprehensions of falling foul of Islands of ice, but thank God we escap'd that danger, though we had many alarms by fog banks, and other false appearances. Notwithstand-

ing we had the days very long, yet it was very seldom that we could get a sight of the sun; so that we had but one observation of the variation in all this passage, which was in the Latitude of 60 deg. 37 min. *South*. 5 deg. 00 min. to the Westward of the streights of *le Mair*, where we found it 22 deg. 6 min. *N. E.*

Thursday, October 1. At 7 in the evening, as they were furling the main-sail, one *William Camell* cry'd out, that his hands and fingers were so benumb'd that he could not hold himself, but before those that were next to him could come to his assistance, he fell down and was drown'd.

The cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same Latitudes to the *Northward*; for, although we were pretty much advanced in the summer season, and had the days very long, yet we had continual squalls of sleet, snow and rain, and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by gloomy dismal clouds. In short, one would think it impossible that any thing living could subsist in so rigid a climate; and, indeed, we all observed, that we had not had the sight of one fish of any kind, since we were come to the Southward of the streights of *le Mair*, nor one sea-bird, except a disconsolate black

Albitross

Albitross, who accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till *Hatley*, (my second Captain) observing, in one of his melancholy fits, that this bird was always hovering near us, imagin'd, from his colour, that it might be some ill omen. That which, I suppose, induced him the more to encourage his superstition, was the continued series of contrary tempestuous winds, which had oppress'd us ever since we had got into this sea. But be that as it would, he, after some fruitless attempts, at length, shot the *Albitross*, not doubting (perhaps) that we should have a fair wind after it. I must own, that this navigation is truly melancholy, and was the more so to us, who were by ourselves without a companion, which would have somewhat diverted our thoughts from the reflection of being in such a remote part of the world, and as it were, separated from the rest of mankind to struggle with the dangers of a stormy climate, far distant from any port to have recourse to, in case of the loss of masts, or any other accident; nor any chance of receiving assistance from any other ship. These considerations were enough to deject our spirits, when we were sensible of the hourly danger we were in of

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losing our masts, by the incessant continuance of such stormy weather as we underwent; but the hopes of enjoying a long repose in the *Pacifick Sea* on the coast of *Peru*, lightened our cares, and gave us some small relief.

Carry away our Fore-top-mast.

Thursday, October 22, 1719. At 8 at night we carried away our fore-top-mast, and rigg'd another next morning. We crept, by very slow degrees, to the Northward, for we might truly say, that ever since we left the streights of *le Mair*, till the first land we made on the coast of *Chili*, we had continual contrary winds, and uncomfortable weather.

Arrive in sight of the Coast of Chiii.

On *Saturday, November 14.* At noon we saw the coast of *Chili*, the Northermost part in sight bearing *N. E.* by *E.* and the Southermost *S. E.* by *S.* distance 10 leagues, Latitude *per* observation 47 deg. 28 min. *So.*

Having now weather'd the most hazardous part of our navigation, and being arrived on the confines of the *Spanish* settlements in *Chili*, it behoved us to act with all the precaution necessary to prevent our being discover'd. Our supernumerary allowance of provisions, as before mention'd, had wasted our water and wood in such a manner, that instead of proceeding directly along the coast

to

to the Northward; we were laid under an indispensable necessity of contriving some means, by which we might get a recruit of the two abovemention'd articles, and dared not think of going any further, till we had supply'd ourselves with them; for we had but 7 butts of water remaining, and those lying in such a manner, that half the hold must have been unstow'd to get at them, and a much less proportion of wood. Our circumstances being thus unfortunate, I thought the prudentest method we could take, would be to go to *Narborough's* Island, and, accordingly, we directed our course to that place, and on *Thursday, November 19, 1719.* at 8 in the morning we saw land, and at noon, the body of *Narborough's* Island bore *N. E.* distant 3 leagues. At the same time Latitude *per* observation 44 deg. 43 min. *South.* Variance *per* amplitude 8 deg. 50 min. *East.*

Arrival at
Narborough's
Island.

Saturday, November 21. At 7 in the morning we had soundings in 28 fathom, fine grey and black sand. But here we found a very wild road, which would not be safe in the unsettled weather which we had at that time. But being willing to try what could possibly be done farther, at 9 the same morning, I steer'd $E \frac{1}{2} N$, for the river of *St. Domingo,*

Attempt to enter the River of St. Domingo. *Domingo*, which empties itself from that part of the Continent which is situated opposite to *Narborough's* Island. In this river I imagin'd we might wood and water, and clean our ship undiscover'd, there being no inhabitants thereabouts. As we came in with the main land, we had regular soundings from 28 to 20 fathom; but as soon as we had advanced a little into the entrance of the river, the water shoal'd from 18 to 15, 12, 10, 9, 7, 6, 5, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, as fast as the man could heave the lead, therefore being unwilling to run too great a risque in so unfrequented a place, and being only a single ship, I immediately stood out to sea again. As we rang'd along the shore, in going in, and returning out of this river, we rounded several bays, which seem'd to be very commodious, but were all foul at bottom. The day following we had windy, rainy, thick weather, which forcibly blew us to the Northward of this part.

It was a great unhappiness that we could not reach the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, in Latitude of 33 deg. 30 min. *South*, without stopping at any other place. But our tedious passage, and extraordinary consumption of provisions, had not only reduced us to an extreme

treme shortness of water and wood, but of all kinds of dry provisions also, which we were all but too sensible of. So that I was really oblig'd, in common discretion, to think of some place where we might not only wood and water, but also get a fresh supply of dry provisions. Being thus surrounded with doubts and apprehensions that we should be obliged to go to leeward without a competent stock of eatables, one *Joseph de la Fontaine* (a *Frenchman*) assur'd me, that if I would go to the Island of *Chiloe* (which was, at that time, a little to the Northward of us) there was no place like it in the *South Seas*, and that to his knowledge (for he had been there) we could not fail of supplying ourselves in what measure I pleas'd; that the towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*, the first on the Island, and the second on the Continent, were rich places; that the former was the usual residence of the Governour, and that at the latter there was a wealthy college of *Jesuits*; and that there were considerable magazines, which were always well stock'd with provisions of all kinds. At the same time that he acquainted me with this, he insinuated the same account, with some additions, into his ship-mates, who, with one voice

Reasons
for going
to the Is-
land of
Chiloe.

voice, concluded, that if I pass'd by this Island, our Expedition might probably end ignobly without doing any thing, since it was likely that *Clipperton* had already alarm'd the coast, the natural consequence of which must be an embargo laid on all ships trading to leeward. This, indeed, would have added extremely to the necessity we were under of providing for ourselves whilst it was in our power; for I must own, that the thoughts of living wholly on our *European* stock, were very melancholy; which must, in a very little time, have brought us into inconceivable difficulties, if we did not speedily meet the enemy, or if we had fail'd in any enterprize ashore, if we had been so unfortunate, we could not have kept the seas without something to live on, and, in such a case, must have been forced either to surrender, or quit the coasts, and have gone towards *India*, where we should have met with cold reception without money or credit. This would, indeed, have been a fine opportunity for my unruly fellows to have taken the piratical turn which they threatned at *St. Catherines*. But it was not without a mature deliberation that I formed a resolution of going to *Chiloe*, and could not but think myself happy
in

in having so good a prospect in this exigence of preventing such evils as might, in all likelihood, have ensued. The chief thing that encouraged me to make an attempt at *Chiloe*, was to get such an additional supply of provisions as should (in case the coasts were already alarm'd) enable us to retire to some obscure unfrequented Island, there to remain till the *Spaniards* should imagine that we had abandon'd their seas, and then to come upon them again when they had not the least apprehensions of being molested by us.

Saturday, November 28, 1719. At 6 in the morning the *Teats* of *Cucao* on the Island of *Chiloe* bore *E. N. E.* And at noon, the Northernmost part of *Chiloe* bore *N. E.* distant 4 leagues, at the same time Latitude *per* observation 41 deg. 40 min. *South.*



C H A P. III.

*Arrival at the Island of Chiloe,
on the Coast of Chili.*



M O N D A Y, November 30, 1712.

We enter'd the channel, between the Continent of *Chili* and the Island of

of *Chiloe*, and stood in for the harbour under *French* Colours, with intent to surprize and attack the towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*. But when we came into the channel, our Pilot seem'd to be as great a stranger to it as myself, and the wind beginning to blow fresh, and rainy thick weather coming on, I anchor'd at 10 in the morning in 13 fathom, between the point of *Carrelmapo* and a small Island call'd *Pedro Nunez*. Immediately after we had come to, the windward tide made out with a prodigious rapidity, which instantly caused a great sea, and the wind increasing, made the channel all about us appear like one continued breach. In the mean time our ship laid a great strain on her cable, which parted at 2 in the afternoon. We could have no hopes of recovering our anchor, because the buoy had been stav'd and sunk an hour or two before we had been thus forcibly set adrift. In short, I did not think it safe or prudent to hazard the loss of another anchor, where there was such a certainty of ill success, and therefore stood directly cross the channel for the Island of *Chiloe*, in a boisterous gale, thick rainy weather, all surrounded with seeming shoals, and, in a manner, lost in a navigation

tion unknown to any of us. When we had advanced within a mile of *Chiloe*, we rang'd along shore to the Southward, in hopes to discover the town of *Chacao*. We passed by two commodious bays, but had nothing like a town appearing near them, and, at length, came about a point of land which is to be known by a high rock like a pyramid, which almost joins to it. Having rounded this point, I found myself entirely out of the tide, and commodiously shelter'd from all other inconveniences; and, therefore, anchor'd overagainst a cross which was fix'd on the Northern side of the harbour, and had (luckily) just daylight enough to direct us to a retreat, from the dangers we might have incur'd amongst such variety of violent tides, unfrequented channels, and foul weather.

After much trouble find a safe Harbour.

But in order to come to an execution of my design, I, the next morning, sent my second Lieutenant in the pinnace, well mann'd and arm'd, to make a discovery of the towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*; and, at the same time, Capt. *Hatley* went in the launch, to find out a watering place. He soon return'd, and brought an *Indian* with him, who had shewn him what he went in quest of, where he might, at once, get both wood and wa-

Sent the second Lieutenant in the Pinnace to discover the Town of Chacao.

ter witoout any great trouble, even under the command of our cannon, and out of all danger of being surprized. Upon which, (that we might make as small a delay as possible) I sent some Hands in the Launch with Casks immediately to be filled, and people to cut wood, well arm'd, with an Officer of Marines and 10 men to be on the guard. The *Indian* gave us hopes of a sufficient supply. But came in the evening to my people, who were ashore, to acquaint them, that the country was forbidden to bring any thing to us. The pinnace not being yet return'd, this information made me apprehend that the enemy had taken her, and, by that means, had learn'd what we were.

A Spanish Officer comes aboard from the Governour.

December 3. 1719. At 7 in the evening, there came to us a *Spanish* Officer (in a *Piragua* row'd by 8 *Indians*) who was sent by the Governour to be inform'd of what we were. In order that I might manage the deceit with the greatest shew of probability, I order'd, that none should appear on the deck, or, at least, be heard to speak, but such as could either speak *French* or *Spanish*. As soon as we had a sight of the *piragua*, I hoisted *French* colours, and when the *Spaniard* came on board I told him, that we were a homeward bound *French* ship call'd the *St. Rose*,

We pass for a French Ship.

and

and that my name was *le Janis le Briton*. Under this notion he staid with us all night, and I accommodated him with the best my ship afforded, and departed the next morning, not seeming, in the least, to suspect us. I wrote to the Governour by this Gentleman, signifying, that I wanted a supply of provisions to carry me to *France*, desiring him to assist me as much as conveniently he could.

I now concluded my pinnace was lost, since the aforementioned *Spaniard* had given me to understand that it was not above 3 hours sail to the town of *Chacao*. What could one have thought after 3 days absence, but that they had either deserted, or been taken, which would infallibly be the ruin of my design? But the sequel will shew what little confidence I could put in the generality of my Officers.

December 5, 1719. At 7 in the morning, we saw two boats sailing towards us, which I, at first, supposed to be our own, and some boat she had taken. But as they approach'd, I found them to be two piraguas full of men, who, after they had view'd us, went on shore on a small Island lying in the mouth of the harbour; upon which I order'd every one to put on their Grenadiers Caps (which I had caused to be made) and spread themselves fore

and aft, to appear as terrible as we could to them; for it would have been in vain for us to have follow'd their light piraguas in our heavy launch.

See a white
Flag hoist-
ed ashore.

December 6. At 5 in the morning seeing a white flag on the shore, I sent away the launch, completely mann'd and arm'd, to the place where the flag was, but they found none to treat with them, except a letter which was made fast to the flag-staff, and a dozen of hams laying close by. The contents of the letter were as follows.

From the Presidency of Chacao, December 6. 1719.

S I R,

*Since I had the news of seeing a ship in the place where you are, and perceiving, at her coming in, that she was incommoded, and that even your pinnace pass'd by this town, by which they shew'd their ignorance of the dangers of coming into my harbour, I immediately conjectur'd she was come for a Pilot to bring your ship in; therefore sent a soldier, in a canoe, to discover what they were. But your people bore away from him in my sight. You sent me a letter, which I read with pleasure, and assure you I am sorry for your misfortune by contrary winds, in
which*

which I also partake ----- Nevertheless I can but think how accidentally you have alarm'd all my country; for (commonly) ships that are bound to this port send their boats in before them, which you not doing, has given me all sorts of suspicions; which you had not done, had I had any certain assurance of your being the *St. Rose*, the ship you mention: but I believe you don't care to declare your self thoroughly, since you did not send directly to me. I never saw such a manner of alarming this province, and putting the inhabitants under arms: you little think what passes in this fortress.

I sent a canoe to call your pinnace back, but they would not be known, but on the contrary, crowded sail, and put themselves in a posture of defence, and fired two fuzees at my boat, who had no arms in her, I not thinking it necessary: since which, I hear they have been ashore on an Island, where they kill'd a sheep, and were seen to embark very hastily, leaving behind them all manner of actions entirely contrary to the letter you favour'd me with: for which I complain to you of the extravagancies of your men, that you may know their ill practices; and they may assure themselves that I and all the inhabitants will oblige you to pursue your voyage.

You must needs have had wood and water enough in the time that you have been in the port where you are, and having orders from my King not to supply any foreign ships with provisions, I cannot order what you have desired of me. I thank you for the compliment of drinking my health, and have sent you a dozen of hams, as the fruit of this country, and as fruit only I have taken that liberty.

Don Nicolas Salvo,

I did not much regard this Gentleman's threats, though at the same time I must acknowledge, that all my hopes of success in any attempt I might make against the towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco* were entirely vanished. The cowardice of my people in the pinnace was the greatest disappointment to me, for I really look'd upon them to be nine of the stoutest and most resolute men in my ship, and imagined that they could not have been scared or taken by (almost) any number of *Indians*: however, I returned an answer to the Governour, and ordered it to be fixed as they had found his.

From

From on board the *St. Rose**,
December 6. 1719.

SIR,

I had the honour of yours, and am very uneasy at my people's behaviour, they had not the least direction from me for so doing, I sent them only to discover your harbour, in order to pay my respects to you, for which reason I let them have only one day's bread to subsist. I can say nothing in their behalf, but am ready to believe they have mistaken the way, and were drove by necessity to be so outrageous as to kill the sheep you mention; and being strangers here, they fired at your boat, (I suppose) under a notion of their being wild Indians----- Here I could gladly compound and make restitution for the loss your people have sustained, besides bringing my boat's crew to condign punishment, not only on your account, but also for disobeying my orders----- I shall sail in 48 hours, and if they fall into your hands in that time, I beg you will be pleased to send them aboard, as an instance of your friendship----- Although I have not been supplied with any refreshments, my people have passed by several flocks of sheep, &c. and have

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* I assumed that name for my ship to pass the better for French.

never touched any of them, or any thing else belonging to the inhabitants ----- I must once more beg of you, if my people are with you, (as I have good reason to believe they are) you would be pleased to send them aboard: in regard I should be very sorry to give you any uneasiness by making any reprizals. I heartily thank you for your present of hams, and beg you'll accept of a little pepper, a small quantity of butter, and a few cheeses.

SIR,

I am, with all respect,

YOURS,

* *Le Janis Le Breton.*

Early the next morning the white flag was hoisted at the same place, and the boat went ashore and brought off the following letter.

From the Presidence of
Chacao.

SIR,

I received yours with much approbation, but as for your boat I have not taken her, neither have

* This was the name of a French Captain who was well known on these coasts.

have her in my power; only this I know, that they have been ashore at some Indian houses, and have rummaged and taken several things of small value. The Indians here being very poor, these actions are very unhandsome: but I know that these ravages are committed by sailors, who practise nothing but mischief; they have even carried away with them two Indians, which I persuade my self they took for pilots to direct them in their return on board your ship: but as soon as your boat arrives, I beg those Indians ashore, for they are not Savages, but my domesticks, and Christians.---- SIR, I have not your pinnace, neither do I design to attack her, for had I been so minded, I could have destroyed her with my artillery as she passed by this fortress; and you may assure your self, that if they come, I will remit them with all speed. I must, moreover, desire your excuse, in that I have not yet supplied you with provisions and refreshments, for it is not in my power to do it; I farther entreat you, to order your men, when they go for water, not to take any cattle they may meet in their way, and that will be a convincing proof of your sincerity.---- I am very much oblig'd to you for your present,
which

which I esteem very much, as being a specimen of the European food, of which I am a native. I remain, with all my heart,

your most humble

and obedient servant

Don Nicolas Salvo.

Being in despair of ever seeing my people, which were absent in the pinnace, and being as much at a loss to know how and whereabouts *Chacao* was situated, as I was the first day I came here, because we had no draught of this Island that I could depend on, I determined to alter the style of my letters, and try what could be done in making a rupture with him, being determin'd by some means or other to make amends for my loss of time in coming here, by such a recruit of provisions as could be got, though even in the most hazardous manner, since it was impossible I should proceed without it. And therefore having it now in my power to chuse either to desist from the prosecution of the design for which I came out of *England*, or

to

to venture our lives among the woods and distant habitations of the *Indians*, where we might in all probability get such a quantity of one thing or other as would render us capable of keeping these seas as long as would be necessary, I thought it as eligible to finish our days with our voyage here, as to perish at sea, or surrender ignominiously to the *Spaniards*. I had this reflection to encourage me, that the former navigators of our nation who had ventured to cruise in these seas, had by their actions instilled a dread of the *English* name in the *Spaniards* inhabiting the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *Mexico*, though none that I ever heard of had molested this Island before. But being buoy'd up with the success of some others who had been in these seas before me, I did not doubt a fortunate event to my endeavours, and therefore sent the following answer to the Governour's last.

From on board the *St. Rose*.

SIR,

I have received yours of the 7th instant, and by this inform you, that I am extremely dissatisfied with my people's indiscretion. If they

they had returned in the time I prefixed to you in my last, I might by this time, perhaps, have sailed according to my promise: but can now no longer forbear observing to you, that as my people have lived on nothing but salt provisions for a great while, I can hardly restrain them from doing things irregular in such a place as this, where cattle are so plenty, which I am not allowed to purchase for money. I am very sensible what a condition your fortress is in, and what strength it consists of, which I have been informed of by very good authors; and I have now a passenger aboard who has been here several times in the time of Don Pedro de Molina, and by this begs leave to kiss the hands of Padre Arnoldo, Padre Gatie, Don Francisco Carenot, and Don Juan de Vouert -----

I think it very hard I cannot prevail on you to let the Indians bring in provisions at their own price, and am very sorry to tell you, that provisions I must have, and that very speedily. All the forces of Chacao, Calibuco, Carelmapo, or Castro, shall not frighten or deter me from supplying my self: but however, I had rather get it peaceably, than cause such a disturbance, and have made choice of the place

place where I am, rather than come within your jurisdiction, being unwilling to give you any uneasiness.

SIR, &c.

Le Janis le Breton.

I did not think it fit to tell him in plain terms that we were *English*; for I had two views in concealing it, the first to hinder them from alarming the coast, and the other to give them a dislike to the *French* traders, who have considerable interest with the *Spaniards* in these kingdoms, which would certainly have had in some measure its desired effect, if we had not had the ill luck of being discovered. However, to make no farther delay by a fruitless correspondence with the Governour, I the next day sent Mr. *Brooks*, my first Lieutenant, in the *Launch* with 29 men well armed to take what provisions of any kind he could meet with. Soon after they were gone, there came a *Piragua* with a message from the Governour, signifying, that if I would send an Officer to *Chacao*, he would treat with me. But I gave him for answer, that I would treat no where except on board my own ship; and farther gave

M. Brooks, first Lieutenant, dispatched to take what provisions he could find.

him

The
Launch
returns
with store
of provi-
sions.

And soon
after the
pinnacle
returns,
after a
week's
absence.

What they
did and
suffered.

him to understand, that it was now too late, since I had already dispatched 80 men (I thought it proper to magnify their number) to take all they could find. In the evening the *Launch* returned, and brought with her a large *Piragua* she had taken, and were both laded with sheep, hogs, fowls, hams, barley and green peas and beans; and soon after the pinnace arrived (which I had so long given over for lost) with all their crew: but were so terrified, that I had no hopes of their being fit for service in a little time. The Officer told me, that he had fought his way through several canoes of armed *Indians*, and that it was with great difficulty he got clear of them, which he did by making his passage round the Island, which was (at least) 70 leagues. This, nothing but an excess of mean-spiritedness could have urged them to, even if they had had such numbers to encounter as they reported: but especially when there was but one boat of unarmed *Indians*, with a *Spanish* Serjeant, who came off to them without the least shew of violence, as the Governour mentions in his first letter, and as some of themselves afterwards confessed: (but with this addition, that there were great numbers of people on the shore, whom they were apprehensive would follow

follow them.) The Officer had no excuse for his imprudent conduct in exposing himself so much as to pass by the town, nor could he alledge any better reason for not returning on board as soon as he had got a sight of the town, but that the tide hurried him away, and that in the fright he had forgot that he had a graplin in the boat to come to with, till the tide had shifted. In short, their dread was so great, that rather than pass by the town of *Chacao* again, (though even in the night, when they would not have been perceived by the inhabitants) they chose to row round so great an Island in a small open boat, crowded with as many men as she could well carry, in a climate as much subject to hard gales of wind and dangerous seas, as the coasts of *England*: so that it was a hundred to one that they were not lost. But seeing all of them were confounded with shame and seeming regret, I said but little to them, and only made the Officer (who commanded them) sensible of his unpardonable mismanagement, which had been the ruin of the advantageous and promising view I had in taking either *Chacao* or *Calibuco*.

I must beg leave here to make a digression, to shew what probability I had of easily making
my

What probable views I had of taking Chacao or Calibuco.

my self master of one of those places, if not both, by what my *French* man *Joseph de la Fontaine*, who had been here several times, informed me, who said, that there was indeed at *Chacao* what they called a fortress, but it did by no means deserve that name, for that he never saw above 2 guns mounted, and those with their carriages half buried in the earth; that they never dreamt of being attacked by any *Europeans*, and being in perfect peace with the *Indians*, it made them negligent in their discipline, and suffer what strength they had to run to a useless decay,; and that what garrison they had, consisted chiefly of a mixed breed of *Creslian Spaniards*, who are worse soldiers than the *Indians* themselves. From all this one may naturally conclude, that if I could have brought my ship before the town of *Chacao* in the space of 48 hours after my first arrival, I could have met but a feeble opposition in rendring my self master of the place. But after they had been under apprehensions of being attacked for 7 days successively, one might reasonably conceive that they had lost no time in preparing themselves, by all the contrivances they could think of, to give us a warm reception. But could we have come upon them in so short a time as I could have wished,

wished, and had no cause to doubt but that I should on my first arrival here, the Governour could not have had time enough for any reflection that might have suggested to him that we were *English*. The *Indians* who were brought aboard by my pinnace's crew, told me, that there was near a thousand armed *Spaniards* on the Island, and my *Frenchman* was of the same opinion: but both agreed, that if I would let them alone in their city, (for so they called their town) I might do what I pleased in the country, where the poor *Indians* must bear the weight of all damages: upon which I laid aside all thoughts of going to their towns, under hopes of furnishing my self with what we wanted from the *Indian* plantations and farms, which in the sequel afforded us the chief article of what I proposed to my self in coming here, *viz.* a competent stock of provisions, to which purpose I kept one of my boats continually employed in foraging.

December 11. 1719. we had for the most part of the 24 hours hard gales of wind from the *N. N. W.* to the *N. E.* At 3 in the afternoon I sent the pinnace ashore with a bill written in *Spanish*, to be fixed on the door of some remarkable *Indian* house, whereby I gave them to understand that they had no body to

The Pinnace sent with a paper to be fixed on the door of some remarkable *Indian* house.

H

blame

blame for the hostilities we committed but the *Spanish* Governour, who by his tyranny had hindered them from bringing what provisions they had to a market where they might have had their own prices: but that since they dared not disobey his commands, if they would manage their affairs so as to leave 4 hams, 4 bushels of wheat, and an indifferent quantity of potatoes, in their houses, they should sustain no farther loss; but, that if they would not comply with this demand, nor make this contribution, I would burn their houses and all their standing corn, and commit all the outrages I could devise. But I found no advantage by this, for the *Spaniards* took care that it should not have its desired effect: notwithstanding which, I was supplied tolerably well by my people, who proceeded with a continual diligence and good order in that respect; but proved sad fellows in some others, an instance of which I shall give in the person of *Betagh*, my Captain of *Marines*, whom I sent ashore with a party of his men to see what service he could do with them: but as soon as he had landed, he called to his Serjeant, saying, *Damn Captain Shelvocke, why did he send me with these people? I don't know what to say to them, therefore, prithee, take you the command upon you;* and he himself retired into

into the ranks, and his Lieutenant *Dod*, (a Gentleman who had rid in the Guards many years) out of respect to his Captain, placed himself at his right hand, and the new Captain managed his charge very Officer-like: however, this made the people entertain a mean opinion of their Land-Commander, which he found by experience before he returned to the ship; for, his men, meeting with some difficulty in shipping what they had got, and Captain *Betagh* refusing to give them any assistance, they left him ashore, where he stayed all night; for it came on to blow so hard before the boat was unloaded, that it was impossible to row to windward to fetch him. I asked Captain *Hatley* (who commanded the boat) how he came to treat his brother Officer with so much disrespect? He answered, that *Betagh* would not vouchsafe to wet his foot, and that he could not prevail with any of the crew to carry him into the boat, who complained that they were already fatigued with carrying burdens, and that they positively would not load themselves with the weight of one who was neither Seaman nor Soldier. Notwithstanding which excuse, *Betagh* laid the whole blame on my second Captain, and threatened to use him very roughly if ever he met him ashore: to prevent

which, (when they went on business together) *Hatley* always took care to be boat-keeper. I could by several examples of this kind inform the world what assistance I had in my expedition; but I fancy it will be sufficient that I assure my Reader, that we had several transactions full as ridiculous as the last mentioned, which happened amongst my chief Officers.

December 13. 1719. in the morning, I sent my pinnace to sound in the harbour's mouth, and at noon they returned, having found from 7 to 9 fathom in the channel, and 3 ' and 4 on the bank.

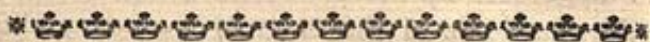
December 16. 1719. we had now our decks full of live cattle, such as *European* sheep, hogs, *Guanacoes*, of which more hereafter; poultry in great abundance, and hams, &c. as also a good quantity of wheat, barley, potatoes, maiz, or Indian corn; and, in short, I computed that I had added 4 months provisions to what remained of our *English* stock, and that without the least hindrance or molestation from the enemy.

December 17. 1719. at 4 in the morning, we began to unmoor, at 6 got our small bower aboard, and at 8 weighed, but it falling calm, anchored again under the Northern shore in 6 fathom; at noon weighed, and sailed out,
wind

wind at *W. S. W.* The night before we departed hence, one of my men deserted, and made his escape in the woods, it was beyond all dispute that this fellow would give a full account of us, which being added to the ill conduct of my pinnace's crew, who frustrated my design of taking something considerable here, together with the contrary execution of all my orders by those Officers whom I had hitherto entrusted in affairs of importance, made me leave this place with regret, and in despair of ever having any thing done to purpose except I left the ship my self upon all occasions, which would have been by no means customary or proper; upon the whole, I could not forbear reflecting on the mismanagement of some Gentlemen in *England*, who blindly made use of their interest to prefer Gentlemen to posts of too great weight for their capacities, when we might at the same time have had Officers who were men both of honour and ability, who had seen action, and served under regular discipline from their childhood: some such I had recommended; but because they could not promise to eat the heart of a *Spaniard* every morning, (which was an expression often made use of in Captain *Clipperton's* vain low way of boasting,

Departure
from the
Island of
Cailoe.

but bore great weight as it came from the mouth of a man so skilled in maritime warlike affairs, whereby he meant to give the world a taste of his consummate bravery;) they were ordered to be discharged, and others sent in their room, who though they came to us under the name of *Veterans*, proved to be ignorant *Novices*.



*Description of the Island of Chiloe,
on the Coast of Chili, and its In-
habitants.*

Extent of
the Island
of *Chiloe*.

AS none of our nation have yet given an account of this place from their own knowledge, I presume it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to be acquainted with it. The body of this Island lying in 42 deg. 40 min. *South*, is from *North* to *South* about 30 leagues in length, but in breadth not above 6 or 7 leagues. It is watered by several small rivers, and produces several kinds of useful trees, and yields an agreeable prospect when you are near it, when one sees the great numbers of *Indians* farms and plantations which are dispersed at small distances from one another

another among the woods on rising grounds. Within it is formed an *Archipelago*, which contains more Islands than are well known, the least of which are said to have many inhabitants, and abound with cattle; among these there are very uncertain tides and currents, so violent, that it is by no means safe to venture amongst them. I would advise all strangers who go in at the North end, to keep the island-side of the channel aboard, giving the Northermost point of *Chiloe* a good berth, that is, keeping it at a pretty good distance; which done, run along shore to the Southward, and you'll pass by two bays which seem to be commodious, but hold your way till you come to a Point, almost contiguous to which is a high rock somewhat like a pyramid; pass between this rock and a small round high Island which you will see near it, and run a little way directly up the harbour, which looks like the entrance of a river, and you will have a safe port to drop your anchor: but in going in, take care that you don't fall under 5 fathom water from the shore, for the nearer you advance to the small Island before-mentioned, the less water you will meet with, therefore keep your lead going, and be bold with the shore towards the North side of the harbour

Directions
for going
idto *Chi-
loe*.

when you are in, you will have the greatest depth, but the Southern side is shoal. My pilot carried me a contrary way to what I have now directed, for he advised me to keep near the main land of *Chili*, which I did till I had got the length of the Point of *Carelmapo*, having to the Southward of me several small Islands, which you will see as soon as you have the channel open. This proved a frightful and unfortunate passage to me, since the loss of my anchor here was one of the greatest damages I could have sustained: in short, if any ship should be by necessity, or otherwise, driven to this Island, I have given the safest instructions they can follow.

The Soil. The soil is very fertile, and produces in great plenty all sorts of our *European* fruits and grains, together with fine pasture lands, wherewith they graze great numbers of cattle, particularly sheep.

The Air. The air is wholesom, it being situated in a temperate climate; but I think it reasonable to conclude, that their winter season is very rigid, the Island being bounded on the *West* by an immense ocean, without any other land to skreen it from the cold moist vapours, which are brought hither by the violence of the tempestuous Westerly winds, which for the

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generality reign in these latitudes: all which must render it an uncomfortable place in the winter months; forasmuch as it is to be considered, that the same parallels of latitude to the Southward of the Equator are much more cold than they are to the Northward.

They have abundance of very handsome ^{Cattle.} middle-sized horses, which are said to mount with great dexterity; and have likewise a creature which they call *Guanacoes*, or *Carneros del Tierra*, *i. e.* the country sheep; these partake very much of the resemblance of a camel, but are not near so large, they have long necks, and I have seen of them between 5 and 6 foot high, their wool (which is no other than a fine sort of long hair) is extremely fine, they smell very rank, and move with a very slow majestick pace, which hardly any violence can make them quicken, nevertheless they are of great service at the mines in *Peru*, where they are employed in carrying the oar, &c. their flesh is very coarse, which we experimented by some of them which we had salted for our future use; besides these, they have *European* sheep, and great numbers of hogs, but are not overstocked with black cattle.

There is no want of fowl both wild and ^{Game.} tame; of the wild there are several sorts peculiar

culiar to the country, and in particular a sort of small geese which are found on the banks of their rivers, which not only afford an agreeable prospect by their beautiful whiteness, but are also of an excellent taste; as to their tame poultry, they are of the same kind with ours.

The Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are almost in all respects the same with those on the main Continent of *Chili*. They are of a moderate stature, of a deep olive-coloured complexion, and have coarse shaggy black hair, and some of them have countenances by no means disagreeable; they seem to be naturally of a fierce, warlike disposition, but the continual oppressions of the *Spaniards*, and the insinuating artifices of the *Jesuits*, who are Missioners in this part, have sufficiently curbed and broke their spirits. Monsieur *Frezier* gives us an account in his Voyage, (Page 84 of *Engl. Tran.*) that the *Indians* inhabiting the Continent to the Southward of this Island are called *Chonos*, and that they go quite naked; and that in the inland part, there are a race of men of an extraordinary size, called *Cacabues*, that these being in amity with the *Chonos*, have sometimes come with them to the dwellings of the *Spaniards* of *Chiloe*. This Gentleman (*viz.* Mon-

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J. Pine Sculptor
Page 208
An Indian of the Island of Chiloe in pursuit of a Bull



The figure of a woman of the island of Otaheite

Monsieur *Frezier*) tells, that he was credibly informed by some who had been eye-witnesses of it, that some where about 9 or 10 foot high; but I had a sight of two, one whereof was a *Cacique*, who came from the Southward of the river of *St. Domingo*, who seemed to me to differ little or not at all from the *Chilensians* as to their persons.

As to their habit, they are decently clad in what they call the *Poncho*, *Montera* and *Poulaines*; the *Poncho* is a sort of square carpet with a slit cut in the middle of it wide enough to slip over their heads, so that it hangs upon their shoulders, half of it falling before, and the other behind them, under this they generally wear a short doublet; on their heads they have the *Montera*, which is a cap made almost in the same manner with those of our Postillions; and on their legs they sometimes have the *Poulaines*, which are a sort of knit buskins without feet to them; in short, their appearance bears little or no likeness of the *Savage*.

Their habitations are better than are commonly made use of by such a sort of people, being indifferently large, and firmly built with plank, but having no chimneys, their houses are

Their
Habit de-
scribed.

Their
Dwel-
lings.

are very black and sooty withinside; they enclose some of their grounds with pallifadoes.

Their
Manner of
Living.

Notwithstanding a sufficient plenty of every thing necessary for a comfortable subsistence, the Inhabitants are debarred in some measure from tasting of the fruits of their labour, particularly in the article of bread; for not having conveniencies for grinding and preparing their wheat, they are put to the miserable shift of making cakes of the sea weeds, which, however, through use, is esteemed by them, and was not disapproved of by even some of my people who eat of it; besides this, they have their maiz, or *Indian* corn, which they manage in several manners to answer the end of bread; and add to all this, their abundance of potatoes and other roots. As to liquors, these *Indians* have not been contented with the produce of brooks and springs like many nations of their complexion, but have found out a means of making a liquor called *Chicha* of the *Indian* corn, in this they, doubtless, followed the footsteps of their near neighbours on the Continent of *Chili*: but their drunken bouts being generally the first rise of seditions and revolts, the *Spaniards* take care to set bounds to them in that particular as much as they possibly can.

Their

Their arms are of several sorts; those that have no *European* weapons, retain their own, such as pikes, darts, &c. They are particularly dextrous in throwing a sliding noose at the end of a long thong of leather, wherewith they are sure of catching an ox, horse, &c. or any thing, even in its full career; this they call a *Lays*. In short, by all I could see of these, and hear of the *Chilenians*, they seem to resemble them in almost every respect, and there can be no wonder at that, when one considers their close neighbourhood with the main land of *Chili*; they make use of small drums, some of which I have seen, they are very small, and the heads of them made with goats skins with the hair on, and make a sad dull sound.

Their
Arms.

They carry on a small woollen manufactory, consisting in making carpets and necessaries of apparel before-mentioned; they likewise export cedar, both in plank, and wrought in boxes, chests, scrutores, &c. together with hams, tongues, &c. wherewith they supply all *Chili* and *Peru*. As to their *European* trade, they have none: but the *Spaniard* who came off from the Governour, told me, that the people of this Island wondered that the trading ships never put in here; for, said he,

Their
Com-
merce.

we have a great deal of money amongst us, and have here a safe port, free from the dangers incurred by going to leward, where they are in perpetual uneasiness for fear of the men of war; whereas, business might be done, and all be over before they could be advised of it at so great a distance as *Lima*, there fitted out, and come so far to windward.

Their
Govern-
ment.

It has been observed of the *Indians* of the kingdom of *Chili*, that they had two articles in their way of living different from all other nations that have yet been heard of; and the first is, that they have no notion of a God of any sort, and of consequence pay no worship to any supreme power; and the second is, that they are such enemies to civil communities, that they never live together in towns or villages, so that the country seems to be thinly inhabited, tho' in reality it is very populous; for they live dispersed in farms at a good distance one from the other, every one having their plantations, so that almost every family have all the necessaries of life of their own manuring and feeding. However, though they are thus scattered, they are not wholly independent; for they have all of them a chief of their particular tribe or clan, who is called a *Cacique*, who has his dwelling conveniently

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ly situated amongst them, in order for the more speedily summoning them together on affairs of importance, which he does by sounding a sort of horn, which being heard by his vassals, they repair to him without delay; the *Cacique* assembles them to the war, &c. and has an absolute power of executing justice amongst his subjects, who are likewise his relations, he being only the head of a family, all the inferior branches of which adhere to the interest and obey the commands of their Lord, whose power is hereditary: in all these respects do the inhabitants of this Island resemble those on the neighbouring part of the Continent, excepting, that their *Caciques* are somewhat stripped of their real authority by the uncontrollable tyranny of the *Spaniards*, who having these people in a more secure subjection than any on the Continent, they frighten them into the most laborious slavery by their menaces and hard usage; whilst the Missioners blind them with the superstitious dust of an imperfect conversion to christianity, of which none of them know any more, than that they were baptized without knowing for what end, so that their devotion and adoration consist in meer idolatry to the image of the cross or any of the saints; the *Spanish* clergy take

no

no pains to undeceive them, but probably think they have gained their ends if their ignorance contributes any thing towards the making them contented under the severe hardships of the rigour of the *Spanish* government. Thus the common sort being deluded, and the *Caciques* having changed their lawful prerogative for the vain ostentation of being allowed to wear a silver-headed cane, which puts them upon the rank of the * *Spanish* Captains in outward appearance, they are become a prey to the indisputable will of their despotick masters.

Revolt
of the *In-*
dians of
Chiloe.

Notwithstanding all this, the *Spaniards* have sometimes stretched their administration to so great a height, that the *Indians* have been obliged to defend themselves, and have began to think that death was preferable to their slavery; for Monsieur *Frezier*, in his Voyage, (*Page 82* of the *English* translation,) has given us an account of a revolt which happened at the time that he was in the *South Seas*, where in the *Indians* killed 14 or 15 of the *Spaniards*; who took a sufficient revenge, for in return they massacred 200 of them, going into the very Islands to destroy them, which

struck

* The *Spanish* Captains both in the sea and land service wear a silver-headed cane, as a badge of distinction.

struck such a terror into those poor people, that they were glad to set down quietly under their misfortune. And though the *Spaniards* are but badly equipp'd with arms, they have never dared to take such advantages over their oppressors as they daily might, since the number of Whites is but inconsiderable when compared with the multitude of the Natives: and to which they might be encouraged by the indolent neglect of the *Spaniards*, who suffer what little fortified refuge they have in this Island to run to ruin: so that, as Monsieur *Frezier* observes, any *European* Power that should be inclined to gain any footing on those coasts, might with ease possess themselves of this, which might be of the greatest consequence to whoever should attempt a settlement here, since it is capable of affording a continual subsistence to a very numerous Colony: which might be of unspeakable detriment to the inhabitants of *Chili* and *Peru*.

I believe I shall make it appear reasonable that there could be no great difficulty in succeeding in an undertaking of this kind, not only by what I have before said of the small force of the *Spaniards*, but also from the readiness which the *Indians* would be in to assist any that might come there against the

Spaniards. It is a plain indication that they were not very hearty in the *Spanish* interest, when they would suffer us, in small parties, of 20, sometimes 10 men, and very often less, to pillage their farms far and near without any resistance, when even themselves have been lurking about the woods, and were often eye-witnesses of the ravages we committed; when at the same time my people were so dispersed from one another, (according to the usual custom of the sailors) that they might at their own discretion, and without the least hazard, have destroyed them; by which it is plain that they rather chose to lose what little they had, than to do the *Spaniards* the service of making such an effectual opposition as they might have done against such a handful of my men, whom they did not esteem so much theirs as the *Spaniards* enemies, and therefore permitted us by a silent consent to do what we pleased, and were, doubtless, under hopes that our design was to drive their troublesome encroachers from amongst them. Of what benefit (in case of a war with the *Spanish* crown) the taking of this Island might be, I leave to more penetrating judgments to consider, and shall only add, that the artifices of the Missionaries are the chief security of the *Spaniards*

Spaniards in this place as well as in most of the rest of their settlements in *South-America*.

Their embarkations are particular in this, that they, for want of nails and other utensils, sew their boats together very artificially with oziers; they are composed of three main pieces, *viz.* the sides and the bottom, (which is flat) each of which are an entire piece of timber, and row in the same manner that we do, with more or fewer oars, according to their bigness.

Their
Embarka-
tions.

Voyage continued.

I sailed from *Chiloe* with design to go strait to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, but was prevented from holding my course thither, for my people having been possessed with notions of a prospect of vast advantages that might be made by going into the port of *Conception* by the *Frenchman* who had been so instrumental in our *Chiloenian* attempt; and finding that his account hitherto had been tolerably just, they once more listened to him, who assured them that there were always 5 or 6 sail of ships in the road of *Conception*, and others daily coming in and going out, that they had very often both ways considerable sums of money and plate,

and other valuable things, on board; that though they were large ships, they had little or no force, and that there was no fortification to protect them, so that if there were 20 sail, we could not meet any hindrance in taking them all; that their cargoes chiefly consisted of corn, wine, brandy, flower, bread, jerked beef; that the ships bound to *Conception* always bring money with them to purchase their cargoes, besides the booty that might be got from rich trading passengers who carry on a considerable commerce between this port and *Buenos Ayres* over land; and that we could not fail of ransoming whatever vessels should fall into our hands at very great rates, insomuch that if we could but get into *Conception* before they had any knowledge of us, it was past all doubt that we should make a very extraordinary hand of it. He therefore advised them to endeavour to prevail upon me to make the best of my way thither, forasmuch as it was certain that the Governour of *Chiloe* would send our * deserter to *Conception* with all imaginable dispatch, and that since it would be 2 or 3 months journey by land, he would infallibly convey him by sea in some small vessel, and that if they arrived at *Conception* before us, the rest of the coast would

* The Man who had deserted from us at *Chiloe*.

in a very small time be universally alarmed, by which means we should not have an opportunity left of meeting with any thing till they imagined that we had abandoned their seas. In short, the most of my Officers, &c. began to look on this *Frenchman* as the only one who could instruct them in the properest methods of making their fortunes. Notwithstanding all this, I kept my eye on my orders and instructions; but since so many unforeseen misfortunes had put it out of my power to follow them so strictly as I would, I was now convinced within my self that I could not keep up to the strict observance of them without a manifest detriment to the whole, which might be followed by a train of the most unfortunate consequences; for it was not the account that this man gave that had any effect on me, at this time, but my own reason, having sufficiently learned the nature of the management of affairs on these coasts. I was very justly apprehensive that there would be a general alarm in a very short time, if it was not partly done already by the unhappy necessity I was under of going to *Chiloe*, and there was no dispute but that it had been done e'er now by Captain *Clipperton*, (if he was in being) especially to leeward, and if so, the trade

would be certainly laid aside in the *Peruvian* ports: but be that as it would, I knew by a woful certainty that the time was now near at hand when there would be an embargo laid on all shipping except the windward traders, those I knew must at any hazard, if there were never so many cruizers in quest of them, be obliged to go to *Chili* in order to supply *Lima* and the other numerous settlements of *Peru* with the common necessaries of life, which they must otherwise want, they having hardly any species of provisions but what they are supplied with from the Southern parts. Therefore instead of losing time by going to the Island *Juan Fernandez*, whither I was to go to join Captain *Clipperton*, who if he had not miscarried had been long gone from thence, so that the only end in going thither would be to no purpose; I thought it behoved me to make sure of something whilst it was in my reach; and since as my orders were become useles by the situation of my circumstances, which would not permit me a close pursuit of every article of my instructions, without an irrecoverable prejudice, I became somewhat inclinable to try my fortune at *Conception*.

As every body in such cases are fond of delivering their sentiments, and as it is impossible to keep a ship's company in so much awe in so remote a part, as in short voyages near home, so, every one of my ship's company, who could say any thing at this juncture, (as they all imagined themselves to be so nearly concerned in their lives, liberties and fortunes,) did not fail to speak their minds somewhat insolently; particularly, one *William Morphew*, who was one of those whom I had out of the *Ruby*, and had been in these seas several years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not signify much if we arrived 2 or 3 days sooner or later at *Juan Fernandez*; that I was a stranger here, but that the *Frenchman* and himself were so well acquainted, that every body hoped I would be advised and go to *Conception*, and begged I would not put a meer puncto to orders in the balance against such a prospect, nay, certainty, of success, if we were so happy as to arrive there in time; in short, they all together assured me, that they had the Gentlemen-Adventurers interest in view as much as their own, and that they would perish before they would injure them in any respect: but at the same time told me, that if I had not success in my proceedings, that no

body could be blamed but myself, but entreated me not to lose this opportunity, wherein they were resolved to stand by me and the Gentlemen in *England* with all fidelity (to use their own expression) as long as they had a drop of blood in their veins.

Nevertheless, though I could not so easily dispense with a breach of my instructions, though even executed to an unavoidable disadvantage, and although I was sensible of the danger of giving them their own way, and yielding to their importunities in any respect; yet where they had no dread upon them but my single authority, which had no superior power near to back it, and where they might perhaps think there were so many chances that I should never be able to bring them to an account for their mutinies and revolts, a very little matter would have run them into a continual perseverance of an obstinate disobedience; so that perceiving the inconveniences that must have attended my non-compliance, and the discontented surliness that would have reigned amongst them, I, for this once, condescended to satisfy them so far as to spend 2 or 3 days in going to *Conception*, which after all I should

not
1796

not have done, had I not really been of opinion that it would be highly beneficial, and had I not had hopes of meeting the *Success* very soon, when acting jointly together, there would be an end put to the ungovernable clamours of the mutinous part of our ships companies.

In our way to *Conception* we made the Islands of *Mocha* and *St. Mary*, and on *December 23. 1719.* came abreast of the *Teats* of *Bio Bio*, and finding the water discoloured, hove the lead, but had no ground with 30 fathom of line: this thick appearance of the water is caused by the rapidity of the outset of the river of *Bio Bio*, which makes the sea appear of a brown colour at the distance of 5 or 6 leagues.





C H A P. IV.

Arrival in the Bay of Conception, in the Latitude of 36 degrees South on the coast of Chili, and transactions whilst we lay there.

IN the evening we arrived in the bay of *Conception*, but could not be certain that we saw any ship in the road which is called *Talgaguana*; however, I ordered the boats, well manned and armed, to go up in the night to surprize what ships or vessels they might meet with there, with strict orders, if they found any thing too strong for them, to do what they could to hinder them from sending any thing valuable to the shore, whilst I worked up to them in the ship as soon as the wind would permit. I kept plying to windward after they were gone till I found that I lost ground; for which reason I anchored, but weighed soon after: but could make no hand of it all night, and at day-light could not discover any thing above us.

About

About noon Captain *Hatley* returned in the pinnace, and informed me that he had taken a ship called the *Solidad d' Anday*, which was the only one there, that was about 150 tuns burthen, and being lately come from *Baldivia*, had nothing on board except a few cedar planks, and that there was no body on board of her except the Boatswain, an old *Negroe*, and two *Indian* boys, and that he had left Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, in possession of her, with orders to bring her down by the first opportunity: in his return to my ship he took a small vessel of about 25 tuns, near the Island of *Quiriquine*, (which lies in the harbour) where she had been to take in pears, cherries, and other fruits, for the *Conception* market. This vessel belonged to a Priest who had been gathering fruits, and was now made a prisoner in her; for having the curiosity to advance too near to my people, in order to discover what they were, he and his cargoe unluckily fell into their hands, together with 4 or 5 *Indians*. Immediately after they had taken this, there was another small boat which came in between the Island of *Quiriquine* and *Talga-guana*. I could perceive with my prospective that she passed within less than pistol-shot of my pinnace; but Captain *Hatley* (who com-

Take the *Solidad d' Anday* and a bark laden with fruit from the Island of *Quiriquine*.

manded her) never once offered to follow her, or bring her too; *Hatley*, truly, said, he did not mind her, though his boat's crew all agreed that she was full of men. This was the most stupid neglect that could possibly be conceived, since any one that had any thoughts about him would have certainly conjectured that that vessel was bringing advice from *Chiloe*. I did not fail to reprimand him for this, but to what effect when it was too late, except to instruct him in his behaviour in the like cases for the future!

The Priest who was taken in the fruit-bark goes ashore to raise money to ransom her. We are informed of a ship laden, bound for *Baldivia*, that was lying in the bay of *Herradura*, which was 2 leagues to the Northward of us. The fruit-bark sent

December 26. 1719. The Priest being very solicitous to ransom his bark, he left my ship at 7 in the morning, in my pinnace, rowed by 5 *Indians*, to get money for that purpose. --- At noon, Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, brought down the ship they had taken, and anchored about half a mile short of us. The *Contre-Mastre*, or Boatswain, of her had not been aboard of us above 2 hours before he gave me an information of a vessel laden with wine, brandy, and other valuable things, bound to the Island of *Chiloe*, lying at anchor in the bay of *Herradura*, about 2 leagues to the Northward of us. Upon this, I ordered Mr. *Randall*, second Lieutenant, with the Boatswain of the *Solidad*, with 25 men, to go thither

thither in the *Mercury*, (for so we called our fruit-bark) with positive orders not to set a foot ashore, or make any hazardous attempt. But the next evening they returned with a dismal story, *viz.* that they went into the bay, and found the vessel hauled dry ashore; upon which, the Officer ordered his people to land, and bring away what they could out of her, whilst himself and three or four more kept the bark afloat. When they came up to her, they found her empty: but at the same time seeing a small house just by the vessel, they began to be of opinion that the cargoe was lodged there; upon which, the Officer immediately ordered them up; so away went the poor fellows, with no body at the head of them, without any regard to order, every one endeavouring to be foremost; but their career was soon stopped, for they had no sooner got upon the bank, than they discovered the enemy rushing out furiously upon them. Some of those who were there, told me, they believed they might have made a safe retreat if they had not been astonished at the manner of their approach; for they stood gazing to see a number of horse coming upon them in a regular manner without riders: but as soon as they heard the noise of those behind, they all made

the

under the command of *Randall*, the second Lieutenant, to take her.

Of their Engagement with an ambuscade of *Spawiards*, where they lost 5 of their men.

the best of their way to the *Mercury*, and all escaped except 5, who were overtaken in shoal water, they all agreed that these were cut to pieces, for they saw them trampled upon by the horses, and immediately after followed a confused noise of cutting and flashing with spadoes. It was happy that the *Mercury* accidentally grounded, for otherwise they must all have been cut off: but the enemy retired when they had advanced within musket-shot of ours, who with much difficulty got their vessel afloat again. The water being now very low, they were obliged as they went out to keep near to a point of land, from whence the *Spaniards*, under the shelter of the woods, galled them; but the wind being fair, they soon passed it; and lying all close in the bottom of the bark, they had only one man wounded, who was shot through the thigh. They told me, they perfectly saw the manner how the *Spaniards* came down upon them, *viz.* that (according to what passage they had) they were preceeded by 20, or more, horses a-breast, linked to each other, these were two deep; then came the enemy, mounted, and lying upon their horses necks, driving the others along, and were not once seen to sit upright in their saddles except when there was no danger, or to fire their muskets;

An account of their manner of attacking our people.

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muskets. When they had got near my people, they threw out lines with nooses at the end of them to catch them, and accordingly *James Daniel*, one of my foremast men, was ensnared after he had run a good way into the water, but was dragged out again (to use his own expression) after the rate of ten knots; in short, they are universally dextrous at this, for I have seen a *Spaniard* bring a man up by the foot as he ran along the deck, and they say they are sure of any thing they fling at, at the distance of several fathoms. This new addition to the continual run of misfortunes we had hitherto laboured under, quite dispirited the greatest of my ship's company, and there was nothing heard but murmuring and discontent fore and aft the ship, damning the *South Seas*, and that if this was making their fortune, they had better have staid at home and have begged about the streets; but they had nothing now to blame but their own obstinacy in persisting on our coming into this port. However, that which seemed the most to exasperate them, and make them afraid that that they should get nothing in these seas, was our misfortune in finding only one old empty ship in this harbour, which is looked upon to be one of the chief on this coast. I said all that

The people discontented.

that I could to encourage them, and to disperse the melancholy which was fixed in every countenance; though I must own that I was highly concerned at the unhappy posture of our circumstances, but took care to hide the disquiet of my mind from every body. But as I was expostulating with Mr. *Randall* (who had the charge of the late unfortunate undertaking) concerning his vexatious mismanagement, I was agreeably surprized at the sight of a large ship which we saw coming about the Northermost point of the Island of *Quiriquine*; it being almost dark, she could not perceive what we were, so that they stood in without fear or apprehension of what so speedily befel them. This sudden appearance gave us no hurry, for we were always clear, and ready for action. Our launch was immediately mann'd to intercept their running ashore, or going to sea again, and my cable was ready to slip if there had been a necessity for it. As soon as she had approach'd us near enough, I hail'd her, to which they returning no answer, I fir'd into her, which was no sooner done, than I order'd the launch to put off directly; the enemy upon this shortned sail, but kept fast their anchor, and just as I was going to slip my cable, the launch came up with her
and

and gave her a volley of small Arms, and they instantly came to, and call'd for quarters. It was about two of the clock in the morning before my boat return'd to inform me of any news of her, when they brought with them the *Spanish* Captain, and some of the chief Passengers, who acquainted me, that their ship was call'd the *St. Fermin*, that she belong'd to, and came last from *Callao*, that she was about 300 tons burthen, and had a very small cargoe on board, which consisted of sugar, molossus, rice, coarse *French* linnen, and some cloaths and bays of *Quito*, together with a small quantity of chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 dollars in money, and wrought plate. I sent Mr. *Hendry* (the Agent for prizes) on board of her in the *Mercury*, to inspect her lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her, and the ship's company sent their Agent likewise. In the afternoon they return'd, and brought all the bales, boxes, chests, portmanteaus, &c. that were in her; and also all the rice, with a large quantity of sugar, molossus, and chocolate, and about 7000 weight of very good rusk, with all the eatables and stores.

We take the *St. Fermin* the same evening.

The value of her cargoe, and of what it consisted.

K

Don

The Spanish Captain goes to Conception to raise Money for his Ransom.

Don *Francisco Larrayn*, who was the Capt. earnestly entreated me that he might have the liberty to ransom his ship, which I willingly consented to, and suffer'd him to go in his own launch to *Conception*, with a Merchant who was likewise a prisoner, to raise the money.

In the mean time, we were busy'd in searching all over our prize, that nothing might be conceal'd, and every body was strictly look'd after by people appointed for that purpose, who examin'd the pockets, &c. of all such who, at any time, came from on board the *St. Fermin*, and our Carpenter was employ'd in making a slight deck over the *Mercury*, it being probable that she would be of great use in coasting along shore.

The Governour of Conception sends a Flag of Truce, with a Letter and a Present to me.

December 30, 1719. There came a boat aboard from the Governour with a flag of truce, and an Officer, who brought word that 3 of my people who were missing in the skirmish at *Herradura* were kill'd, and the other two much wounded about the head; but that they were in a fair way of recovery, they having been diligently attended by the Governour's own Surgeons. This Gentleman brought me a present of 7 Jars of very good wine, the product of the country, and farther inform'd me, that that boat which *Hatley*

ley had suffer'd to go from him, had brought advice of us from *Chiloe*, that our deserter was in her, guarded by a few unarm'd *Indians*; by this messenger I also received a letter from the Governour, the contents of which were as follow.

S I R,

I received the two letters you did me the pleasure of sending, the first by the Priest, who came ashore in your pinnace, and the other by the Capt. of the St. Fermin; you know, Sir, that to treat for ransoms in war, the commanding Officers, as well by land as by sea, must (or ought to) be provided with Passports from their Princes, and without that it is not convenient to enter into any treaty, and I should be much to blame if I did it; if you will therefore do me the pleasure to send me one of your Officers with your passport or Commission, whereby you are empower'd to cruize, I will, in that case, give you my word of honour, and that of the King my Master, to send you back the Officer as well as the Passport, and then we will treat about the ransom of the St.

K 2

Fermin,

Fermin, and the exchange of prisoners in our respective possessions. I have two of yours that are wounded on the head by the cut of a sword, and I have order'd them to be fed from my table, and my Surgeons (who are men of experience) have dress'd their wounds; they will do very well, therefore be not in pain for them, and I will send them to you as soon as I have had a sight of your Commission, which method is what I practis'd in Flanders, when I was at war with your Nation, and what I have known to be practis'd from the first to the last of nine campaigns which I served in Flanders. You shall have your pinnace returned without any manner of difficulty when ever you please, and I will be ready to do you all the good offices in my power, when I am well assured that you have a legal Commission from your King. But if you have not any such thing, I beg you would frankly declare it, in order that we may come at some conclusion in this affair, that may be of a suitable convenience to both of us.

The Priest did not return, because he has been given to understand, that Gentlemen of his function cannot be detain'd according to the laws of arms; but that, on the contrary, they are to be dismiss'd as soon as taken; and

and indeed I must confess, that I have both seen it done, and have done it myself. Nevertheless, if you are inclined to have him again, you shall, provided that I see your aforesaid Commission, and I will send a passport for the Officer you shall send to me, sign'd with my own hand, the honour of which I dare not forfeit. I desire you, Sir, to send me all the letters which you have taken from the Captain and Passengers, though they are open'd; forasmuch as after you have had a sight of them, they can be of no farther service to you. You cannot but know that it is usual to transmit all letters taken from one part to the other, although they are sometimes open'd, according as it seems convenient to the commanding Officer who takes them. Send them directly to me, because you know it is not proper that many should see them, since it may be a great prejudice to the publick credit. I expect from your civility all the favours I have begg'd of you, and in return, I shall wish for an opportunity of making you sensible how much I am, Sir,

your most humble
and obedient servant

Don Gabriel Cano.

Conception, January the
9th. N. S. 1720.

Postscript. *I beg you would be so good as to send me Joseph de la Fontaine, a Frenchman who lived some time in this city, and is now in your ship, and has been with you ever since you departed from the Island of St. Catherines; he belonged to Monsieur la Jonquiere, he is a little man, and flat nosed. I would willingly speak with him, and promise you upon honour, that I will remit him to you again; but don't let him know that I intend to return him. I once again beg of you to do me the favour of sending me all the letters, as well those directed to any of the Inhabitants, as those directed to myself, although they are unseal'd, and desire you would command the Passengers to give them all to you, to the end that I may distribute them. Put them all up together in one packet, and direct them to me. If you will send one of your Officers, that speaks either French or Spanish, I engage my honour that I will not detain him by any means. I expect your answer to day, and for the future will keep up a regular correspondence.*

Cano.
Post-

Postscript 2. *If you send an Officer with your Commission, together with all the letters for me, and the rest of the neighbourhood of this city, you may detain the Officer who brings this. You shall have your pinnace as soon as I can get the Indians together who are now dispersed, and it shall come with your Officer in his return.*

Cano.

To this I return'd in general, that as to sending my Commission, it was neither prudent or usual, but that for his satisfaction he should have a copy of it, and, at the same time, see the printed declaration of the war which lately broke out between their *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majesties. And therefore having sufficient hostages on board amongst my prisoners, I sent *Betagh*, Capt. of Marines, on shore to transact our affair with the Governour and Captains of the Ships. But the day before he went I received the following letter from the Governour.

K 4

Con-

Conception, January
the 10th.

SIR,

I have received your obliging letter, and can see by your stile that I am treating with an Officer of honour, and a man of condition, therefore, Sir, I will put the same confidence in you that you have in me. But as it is very troublesome to me to write French, and having, at the same time, an infinity of affairs on my hands, I will let your Officer know my pretensions by word of mouth, begging you to be convinced of the perfect consideration wherewith I am,

SIR,

your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Don Gabriel Cano.

January 1. Capt. *Betagh* went to *Con-* Capt. *Bet-*
ception with a copy of the Commission, the *raghis* sent
 Declaration of war, &c. all that day the to *Concep-*
 enemy appear'd in great bodies of horse, *tion*, with
 and in the night posted themselves along a copy of
 shore from the city to the point of *Her-* the Com-
radura, and kept firing by intervals the mission,
 whole night. I was not less vigilant a- &c. to
 board; for as at the Island of *Chiloe* we treat with
 were always prepared for action, so here, the Govern-
 whether watching or sleeping we might be our about
 said to be under arms, and at the turning the ransom
 of every glass during the night, we beat 3 of the ships
 ruffs on the drums, and made three huzzas; we had
 and for a farther security against any attempt taken.
 they might make in boats, in the night, when
 they might imagine that we were all careless
 and asleep, I had a net spread of 7 foot deep
 above the gunwale from the main shrouds
 quite forward, and I kept, for the most part,
 under way, when we had wind, and when
 it was calm, the ship's oars were always out,
 which served as so many booms to prevent
 our being set on fire. At midnight they fir'd
 twelve guns from the city of *Conception*;
 which, I believe, was design'd to give me
 an idea of their strength; soon after
 Capt.

Capt. *Betagh* returns at midnight, accompanied by a Flemish Jesuit, a Spaniard, a Lawyer, an English, and a Scotchman.

Capt. *Betagh* return'd with a *Flemish* Jesuit, a *Spanish* Lawyer, and an *English* and a *Scotchman*. The Jesuit assur'd me that he was only come to pay his respects to me, and to do his utmost to mitigate the affair in hand, and bring it to an immediate conclusion. Therefore the first thing I did in order to satisfy him as far as possible, I shew'd my Commission to the *Englishman*, who read it in *Spanish* to them. After which the Jesuit soon discovered to me, that though his profession was spiritual, he did not think it beneath him to meddle with temporal affairs; for he said he was come to acquaint me with what the Governour, and the Captains of the *St. Fermin* and *Sollidad* had resolv'd on, which was to give me 12000 dollars for the ransom of both the ships, and the *Mercury* included, instead of 16000 dollars which I had insisted on for the *St. Fermin* only. To which I positively, and in few words answer'd, that all their persuasions, artifices, and pretences should never make me agree to it; and, in short, the whole night was spent in a fruitless treaty, both sides being inflexible. The Jesuit had an affair of his own, which was the chief thing which drew him to venture himself amongst

us,

us, though doubtless he put it on the footing of an act of charity done to the unfortunate Captain of the *St. Fermin*, for it is to be observed, that in the *St. Fermin* we took ten large silver candlesticks which were design'd for the Jesuits church here. Now this Holy Father very modestly broke off from talking of the ransom, to beg me to make him a present of those candlesticks, each of which weigh'd above 25 pounds sterling. He in an humble manner represented to me that they were a legacy left to his convent, and hoped I should make no dispute of so noble a Charity as to put them in the possession of those for whom they were design'd; and especially since they were intended to be part of the most holy furniture of the altar; that it would be in me a deed of the highest merit if I restor'd them, and would lay him, and the rest of his brethren under the strictest obligation to send up their prayers for a success to me in all my undertakings. This promised return for so considerable a gift seem'd to me to be so inconsistent with reason, that I did not much mind it, it being very improbable that they would pray for a happy issue to the undertakings

takings of those, whose business it was to do all the damage they could to the good Father's fellow subjects, and who center'd all their hopes of success in the direct and open ruin of such *Spaniards* as fell into their hands, not to mention the backwardness they would be in, in imploring Heaven that those, to whom they will not allow so much as the name of Christians, should prevail against the truly Catholick Church; upon the whole I had so indifferent an opinion of the specie I was to be paid in return for so much good silver, that I was so heretically obstinate as not to come in to the *Padre's* measures. But thinking to oblige him, I offer'd to let him have them for their weight in dollars, which, considering the great price they pay in these parts for the fashion of wrought plate, was a very advantageous offer. But he acquainted me in the first place, that they never bought any thing for sacred uses, and in the next, that as the Workmen were forced to put a great deal of alloy in plate to be wrought, it would be difficult to determine the different values of the dollars and the candlesticks, so as to come to a nice equation of the matter; therefore after

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a deal of needless dispute and entreaties both about this, and the ransom of the ships; the Jesuit and the rest affirming that the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* was not capable of raising above 12000 dollars, and to confirm me the more in the belief of the present scarcity of money, they told me, that the Inhabitants had removed all their effects a great way from the town, upon advice of a Squadron of *English* men of war coming into those seas. But this seem'd to me to be so trifling an excuse, that I insisted still on having 16000 dollars; and included the *Sollidad* into the bargain, and desir'd that they would let the Captains know from me, that if they deferr'd the payment of that sum longer than 24 hours, they should irrecoverably lose their commands; and also took this opportunity of letting the Governour know the ill success of our conference. About 6 in the morning they left us, after having wasted the night in much said and nothing agreed upon. We made as formidable an appearance as our force would admit of, while these Gentlemen were in the ship; for I began to apprehend, (and not without good reason) that their chief business

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without
coming to
any con-
clusion af-
ter a nights
treaty.

ness was to inspect, and give an account of our strength.

Betagh told me, that the Governour seem'd mightily pleas'd that we were a commissioned ship, saying, that now the trading people would be freed from the miserable apprehensions of falling into the hands of Pyrates, who had formerly treated them very barbarously. He received *Betagh* very civilly, and assur'd him, that we should not meet with the least delay in our business, and told him that the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* had his money ready counted to send aboard; but the Gentlemen of the place very handsomely confined him from taking any view of the town, and took care to have him go ashore, and come off in the night. The man who went to wait on Capt. *Betagh* happening to have a Grenadier's cap on, gave great offence, some crying that it was a downright disrespect and ridicule of the Mitre, and of consequence an unpardonable piece of insolence, so that it was happy that the fellow saved his cap, or his bones either.

I begin to suspect the Governour's honour.

Two days being past, and hearing nothing from the Governour, I began to be certainly convinc'd they had something else in view

more

more than the accommodation of the ransoms. But on *January* the 4th. at 10 in the morning my two wounded men came aboard in my pinnace, and brought the following letter from the Governour.

Conception, *January* the
14th. N. S. 1720.

S I R,

Upon what you have favour'd me with in the letter concerning the ransom of the St. Fermin, I refer myself to what the Captain has written to you; forasmuch as that affair must be decided between you two. He asks you hostages for the payment of 12000 dollars, and in that he seems to me not to be out of the way. For as he looks on you as a man of bravery and honour, if to his misfortune you should prove not to be so, it would be intirely in your power to set sail and depart with his ship and money; though I am so far from entertaining any such opinion of you, that I would willingly offer myself to be your surety. But, in short, he will not send the money till he sees two of your Officers, and till you have put him in possession of his ship in such a condition as you shall

shall have agreed upon, and as this appears reasonable to me, I cannot oblige him to do otherwise, leaving him to his own liberty to make his own conditions. All I shall have to do in this affair will be to see your Officers safely returned on board your ship; for which I give you my word of honour. I now send you my two prisoners and your pinnace, and desire you to let me have all those belonging to me. You see, Sir, that I never design'd to detain either the one or the other. As to the article of the Chaplain of the ship, who you tell me is a lawful prisoner, because you have always seen it done; it may be so by sea, but never by land, for which reason I thought myself obliged to demand him: in short, I have sent you, as I said before, your two soldiers and pinnace, after which there can be no difficulty remaining to you that may hinder your sending ashore all those belonging to me, which will oblige,

S I R,

your most, &c.

Cano.

My

My people brought me word from the Capt. of the *St. Fermin*, that he would have sent me the ransom money in 48 hours after he left me, but the Governour would not permit him by any means, but was now in hopes he should prevail with him, since their design was laid aside, of attempting to take or destroy us; for it seems they had assembled all the *Europeans* upon this occasion, but the *Spanish* Gentleman who had been on board, insisted at their council upon its being too hardy an enterprize. I was now well assured of what I had been hitherto only dubious of; for I could see by the Governour's trifling, that he never design'd to do, or consent to any thing to our purpose; but cramm'd his letters full of the grossest falsehoods in laying all the blame on the Captain, saying, that he left him at his liberty to do as he would, when, on the contrary, he threatned him in the severest manner if he offer'd to bring, or send me any money. In short, I sent him an answer in plain pressing terms, and was resolv'd to convince him that I was in earnest; and to give him an immediate instance of it, I order'd the *Sollidad* to be set on fire, the effect of which was, that I

I receive
advice of
the Governour's
double dealing
with me,
upon
which I
order'd the
Sollidad
& *Anday*
to be burnt.

had a letter from him the next day as follows.

January the 15th.
1720.

SIR,

Permit me to tell you, in answer to your last, that you are in the wrong not to send the two hostages that were demanded; you know that according to the laws of arms it is thus practised, you are not less in the wrong to suspect me, and disregard my word, since you see I sent you your wounded men, and your boat, and if I have defer'd a few days, I acquainted you yesterday with the reason of it, therefore it signifies nothing to repeat them, since you have been so outrageous as not to give faith to what I have said to you. In a word, send the two Officers, or at least one, any time to morrow, without which I believe we shall not be able to come to a conclusion; however, does it not appear reasonable to you to put some trust in my word of honour, that I gave you to send back the Officers you was to send as soon as the Captain has got possession of his ship, you see I cannot fail since you have

two

two or three prisoners in your ship. Let us make an end of this matter, Sir, have confidence in me, and consider with yourself, it will be better for you to take the 12000 dollars, than burn the ship, from which no advantage can arise to you. I expect your answer, having the honour to be perfectly

YOURS,

Cano.

Postscript. I can't tell, Sir, whether you will be able to read this letter, I had so much business at the time yours arrived, that I was obliged to get another Gentleman to write it for me; for God's sake be reasonable, and so endeavour to order this matter, that there may be content on all sides. I suppose it would give you no satisfaction to burn the ship, and go away without the 12000 dollars. At least, if I was in your place, I should do what the Captain of the St. Fermin desires of you.

Cano.

Conception, January
the 16th, 1720.

SIR,

I assure you I did not expect from your civility, that you would have fail'd doing me the pleasure of answering the letter I wrote last night; I really think it very irregular; for as I have fail'd you in nothing of all I promised, only deferr'd 2 or 3 days in sending you your boat, I can't imagine what reason you can have for slighting my word, I assure you I could trust very much in yours. But as it is the Capt. of the St. Fermin who ought to have this confidence, who would doubtless have had it, had not all the merchants agreed to the contrary; who insisted that it was customary not to send the money without hostages; you may readily conceive that it was not proper that I should oblige him to send you the money, the Command I have here does not authorize me to dispose of the purses of the King, my Master's, subjects; for as to that they must do according to their own inclinations. In short, Sir, tis determined to send you the 12000 dollars, but it cannot be done till to morrow morning, notwithstanding that

To this I answered by word of mouth, that as I had acted in this affair so handsomly to every one concern'd, they might easily repose so much confidence in me as to pay the ransom without hostages; forasmuch as they could not have the least reason to suspect by my behaviour, since I had been in this port, that I would act dishonourably by them; that I could not in conscience send any of my Officers ashore, amongst such who had all along dealt so ambiguously with me, as under a pretence of treating in an honourable manner, to be privately plotting and contriving how they might destroy us, which was the only thing they had in view; and that, in short, if they did not send the 12000 dollars by noon the next day, I would infallibly burn the *St. Fermin*, as I had done the *Solidad*.

The next morning I received a fifth and last letter from the Governour, to this effect.

Concep-

Conception, January
the 16th, 1720.

SIR,

I assure you I did not expect from your civility, that you would have fail'd doing me the pleasure of answering the letter I wrote last night; I really think it very irregular; for as I have fail'd you in nothing of all I promised, only deferr'd 2 or 3 days in sending you your boat, I can't imagine what reason you can have for slighting my word, I assure you I could trust very much in yours. But as it is the Capt. of the St. Fermin who ought to have this confidence, who would doubtless have had it, had not all the merchants agreed to the contrary; who insisted that it was customary not to send the money without hostages; you may readily conceive that it was not proper that I should oblige him to send you the money, the Command I have here does not authorize me to dispose of the purses of the King, my Master's, subjects; for as to that they must do according to their own inclinations. In short, Sir, tis determin'd to send you the 12000 dollars, but it cannot be done till to morrow morning, notwithstanding that

the Captain will do his utmost to send it to day, that you may have it towards the evening; but I doubt he cannot do it till to morrow morning, and that without fail; the reason of meeting all this difficulty in raising the money is because the greatest part of the Inhabitants of this town have sent all their money from hence, upon a report that some ships were making the best of their way to attack this place. If you will stay till to morrow morning you shall infallibly have the ransom of the St. Fermin, and if you will not, do as you judge most proper,

I am, &c.

Don Gabriel Cano.

Certainly after the receipt of this no one could have doubted a speedy accommodation of our affairs, but by the event it will be seen that the Governour's word and honour, which he was pleas'd to say in one of his letters he could not violate, would be at any time subservient to the carrying on any political base design, and that his tongue could readily utter what his heart never thought of, and that though his promises were bound with
the

the most solemn ties, yet none were so strong, as to be any ways conducive towards the execution of them. However, I sent a letter to his Excellency to acquaint him, that *though he had been pleas'd to upbraid me very unjustly; notwithstanding, that I had been so complaisant as to tell him that I was sensible of the truth of the reasons he had hitherto given me for acting thus cautiously. But that now if I did not honour him very much, I could remind him of several instances of the violation of honour and faith, by some of his Predecessors in these parts. But that I could not longer be so unjust to my country and my self as not to complain of the outrageous mean act of stripping my two wounded men as they were passing through the town to come on board; that this plainly shew'd his Magistrates and Officers unworthy of their charge, or his people to be ungovernable; that this could not be term'd a handsome return for the tender usage his fellow subjects met withal from me; and that, in short, I would expose no hostages; but as he, and the Captain had sent me word that the money was ready, I expected it in whole dollars, or by weight, and not in small money by tale; that this was a reasonable demand, considering what a trifle it was,*

when compared to the value of so fine a ship and cargoe; that I had now entirely persuaded myself he would no longer obstruct an accommodation, which so manifestly tended to the interest of his country-men concern'd, and that therefore I would have patience till the next morning, when, if he deceived me again, I gave him my word and honour the *St. Fermin* should be in flames by noon.

Upon the Governour's breach of his word of honour I order'd the *St. Fermin* to be burnt.

January 6. The morning pass'd away without any news from the town. However, I was willing to make an allowance of 3 or 4 hours, not knowing but there might be some real impediment which obstructed their being so punctual as I could have expected. But the noon being elapsed, I made preparation for sailing, loosing my sails, and at the same time unfurled all the sails on board the *St. Fermin*, and hoisted a *Spanish* jack at her fore-top-mast-head, and a *Spanish* ensign at the main-top-mast-head; this I did to hasten them from the town. The greatest part of the afternoon being thus spent, and perceiving no appearance of any boat coming off to us, I order'd the *St. Fermin* to be set on fire, (whose cotton sails being loosed made a prodigious blaze.) This done, I immediately got under sail, much chagrin'd at the loss of so many days by the perfidious

perfidious delusions of the Governour; but with some satisfaction that I had not sent any of my people ashore as hostages for the payment of the intended ransom; for it was now visible, that they never propos'd, within themselves, to do any such thing. All their aim in demanding some of my Officers ashore by way of surety was, that having them in their power, and imagining that I dar'd not go away without them, they would have found objections and excuses sufficient to have made me stay in this place till they had thoroughly alarm'd the neighbouring ports. I hop'd that the burning these ships would be attended with the advantagious consequence of being a warning to the Inhabitants of these coasts to ransom without delay; and I was afterwards inform'd, if they had but thought I would have destroy'd the *St. Fermin*, they would have given even 20 or 30000 dollars to have saved her; for she was one of the best sailers and best fitted out of any of the *Peruvian* traders. The price I demanded for her Hull and Cargoe was not more than they must have given to have careen'd her at *Callao*; for a ship of her burthen, and fitted in the manner she was would have cost 90 or 100000 pieces of eight in this part of the world. But none
‡ before

before ever having committed an hostility of this kind on the account of not ransoming, they were willing to persuade themselves I never design'd it, and were resolv'd to defer it till the last minute, which happen'd (perhaps) sooner than they expected, though it is probable that the *Corregidore's* or Governour's concurrence must be largely purchased before an affair of that nature can be effected; for as they enjoy their posts but for a short prefixed term of years, their chief business is to make hay while the sun shines, and a round sum of *Piasters* will make them wink at any thing.



Description of the Bay of Conception.

THE bay of *Conception* is very large and spacious, and in the winter months no part of it can well be term'd a safe harbour; it is about 2 leagues wide from *East* to *West*, and about 3 from *North* to *South*; there are but two places where you may be shelter'd from the Northerly winds which are very violent, and much to be dreaded for 4
or

or 5 months in the year, when the sun is to the Northward of the Equator; the one under the *South* point of the Island of *Quiriquine*, which takes up a great part of the *West* side of the bay, in 11 or 12 fathom water, half a quarter of a mile from the shore, and the other near a small village call'd *Talaguana*, which is situated on the *West* side of the bottom of the bay. But in coming to this you are to take care of advancing into less than 5 fathom, for fear of some shoals, for a particular account of which, see *Frezier's voyage to the South Seas*, p. 51, of the *English translation*. In the summer you may without danger anchor almost in any part of it; for I did not go up above 2 miles into the bay, and came to anchor under the Island of *Quiriquine* at the distance of a mile, in 25 fathom, soft black ouze.

The town of *Conception* (call'd by the *Indians Penco*) is situated on the *East* side of the bottom of the bay of *Conception*, in latitude of 36 degrees 40 min. *South* latitude, about 80 deg. *West* from the Meridian of *London*. It was founded by *Peter Baldivia* in the year 1550, but it was destroy'd, and the *Spaniards* twice driven from it by the *Indians*, till by stratagem they once again fix'd themselves

selves there. It is now no better than a village, being open on all sides without any defence, except an ill contrived platform of 14 or 15 cannon to command the anchoring place before the town, which is overlook'd by several eminences, which might be very instrumental in the success of any who might make an attempt against it.

Their land force is but in an indifferent condition, either as to Officers, or private men, which do not exceed 2000 men, according to *Frezier*, who adds, *that the Spaniards indifferently neglect the defences they might have against the revolts of the Indians, whose power they have been sensible of, and who only want an opportunity to destroy them, whatsoever appearance of peace there may be amongst them.*

Voyage continued.

Depart from the bay of *Conception*, and take the *Mercury* with us.

The *St. Fermin* being now on fire, and driven out of the bay, nothing remained but to go to *Juan Fernandes* to see if we could find by any marks that the *Success* was arrived in these seas, accordingly I directed our course thither, taking the *Mercury* with us.

Friday,

Friday, January, 8. The sea was all day perfectly red, appearing as if vast quantities of blood had been thrown in and curdled by the water. This the *Spaniards* say, is occasion'd by the spawn of *Camarones*, or *Prawns*, which, I believe, may be a mistake. At noon, latitude *per observation* 35 deg. 5 min. *South*. M. D. W. 118 miles. In the morning Mr. *Stewart*, the ship's company's Agent, began to weigh the money and plate, and, at the same time, I order'd Mr. *Hendry*, the Agent for prizes, to take a strict account of every thing in the behalf of the Gentlemen in *England*. The plunder was also sold at the mast by the ship's company's Agent at very extravagant prices. They would not suffer Mr. *Hendry* to have any thing to do in appraising the plunder, but did not hinder him from taking what account he pleas'd of it. For my part, I was apprehensive that they would have converted every thing to plunder; for Mr. *Betagh* (Capt. of Marines) had endeavour'd to form a party to oppose the Owners having a part of any thing but what was upon freight, or mention'd in bills of lading; to this purpose did he twice declare himself whilst the Agents were weighing the silver before the ship's company, telling me, that if I with-held any thing else from them,

The ship's company, &c. receive their moiety of the money and plate taken in the *St. Fermis*, upon which Capt. *Betagh* endeavours to raise a mutiny, but fail'd in the attempt.

them, I should do them injustice, upon which I expected (according to custom) that I should have had the main body of the people upon my back; but I put a timely end to this villainous effort, by referring them to the perusal of their own articles made at *St. Catherines*, which, I told them (in my opinion) was hardship sufficient upon the Gentlemen concern'd, without flying out of the bounds which they had prescrib'd to themselves; for there was neither plate, or money, nor any thing else of value, which came out of the *St. Fermin* that was taken notice of, on any paper on bills of lading, except some large silver candlesticks for the church, every thing being found in cabins or private chests; however, it happened that there was not one that offer'd to open his lips to second *Betagh*, although they did not want for a good share of discontented unreasonableness; yet they were not for running matters to such a base extremity; notwithstanding which, I am perswaded that I should not have had above 4 or 5 Officers to assist me in this emergency; for even *Mr. Hendry*, the Agent for prizes was grown very angry that I would not allow him the Shares and Post of Agent-General in the room of *Mr. Godfrey*, who was to have acted as such in both the ships, and

who was now in the *Success*. The account of every thing being taken, and the value of the shares calculated, the ship's company desired me to let them have their dividend shar'd amongst them according to the *St. Catherines* Articles, which request I could not withstand. The prize-money and plunder amounting to 10 pieces of eight *per* share, was thereupon distributed according to each man's respective shares, and all the bails of coarse cloth, bays, linnen, ribbons, lace, silk, and several sorts of pedlary wares, were equally divided, half to the Owners, and half to the ship's company.

Monday, January 11. At 6 in the morning we saw the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, at noon the body of it bore W. S. W. distant 5 leagues, merid. distance from *Conception* 275 miles W. variation *per* amplitude 6 deg. 23 min. *East*.

From *Tuesday* the 12th. to *Friday* the 15th. of *January* I kept standing off and on the shore, for my boats, which were a fishing, who not having hitherto discover'd any marks whereby we might conclude that *Clipperton* had been here, I thought it proper to render my coming here serviceable in some respect, and therefore sent the *Mercury* ashore to stop her leaks, while the boats were employ'd in catching

Arrival at
at the Is-
land of
Juan Fer-
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catching fish, of which we salted as much as filled five puncheons. At length going ashore to make a nicer search for any thing that might inform us of some news of my Consort, some of my men accidentally saw the word *Magee*, which was the name of *Clipperton's* Surgeon, and Capt. *John* cut out under it upon a tree, but no directions left, as was agreed on by him in his instructions to me. His actions being thus grossly repugnant to his instructions, it was evident that he never meant I should keep him company, or ever join with him again. However, being by this confirm'd in the certainty of his being arrived in these parts, I directly made the best of my way from hence without delay, being, with the additional stock of fish caught here, in a pretty good condition as to provisions, and having all our water-casks fill'd.

Friday, January 15. I sail'd, and made what dispatch I could to the Northward.

Thursday, January 21, 1720. Having a design to look into *Copiapo* as I went along shore, I sent Mr. *Dodd*, second Lieutenant of Marines, with 8 Men as a reinforcement to the *Mercury's* crew, and the next evening they left

Sail from the Isle *Juan Fernandes*, and soon after arrive on the coast of *Peru*. I send Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines with 8 men as an addition to the *Mercury's* crew, whom I

sent along shore to look into the road of *Copiapo*.

us, steering in for the land, whilst I kept the
offing to prevent our being discover'd from the
shore. I took care to let the Officer have a
copy of my Commission, together with all ne-
cessary instructions, and appointed the *Morro*,
or head land of *Copiapo* to be our place of
meeting again; their business was to look
into the harbour of that place which is call'd
Caldera, near to which there are some gold
mines, and from whence they export that
metal in considerable quantities in small vessels,
and the *Mercury* had this advantage, that be-
ing built in the manner of the country, they
could have no suspicion of her. The next day
I myself in the ship came in sight of the head-
land of *Copiapo*, and lay to, to the South-
ward of it, that I might not be perceived by
the Port which lies to the Northward. Lying
in this posture over against a small Island, which
lies athwart the mouth of the river of *Copiapo*, I
sent the pinnace to fish between the Isle and
the Continent, and soon after saw a sail crowd-
ing towards us: she, at first, appear'd to be too
big for the *Mercury*, but proved to be her. The
Officer told me, that he had look'd into the
port, but could see no shipping there, upon
which I made him sensible of his error, and
sent him to the right place, which was about

M

6 leagues

6 leagues to the Northward of us, and order'd him to be ready to look into *Caldera* by daylight the next morning. As soon as they were gone, the pinnace return'd with nothing but a few *Penguins*, which they had taken on the Island, which abounds with them. They are a kind of amphibious bird, being much like a goose in shape, but generally larger; instead of feathers they have a very coarse sort of furr looking like the young stumps of feathers; their wings serve them for finns when in the water, and with which they swim very fast; their flesh is black and coarse, and I believe not eatable, except when extream hunger makes it necessary, where there is nothing else to be had. But to return to the *Mercury*, they look'd into *Caldera* the next morning, and saw nothing, but instead of making use of the land wind to come off to me, they kept along shore in the bottom of the bay till the sea breeze came in so strong that they were very near losing their vessel on a lee-shore, and could not come to me till the morning, by which means they hinder'd me almost a whole day and night's sailing, which was more than our circumstance could dispense with the loss of. In this vexatious manner were my orders always executed, not having scarce an Officer I could

I could depend on, in the necessary conduct of any Enterprize.

Wednesday, January 27. I sent Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and Mr. *Rainor*, first Lieutenant of Marines, to relieve Mr. *Randall* and Mr. *Dodd*, in the *Mercury*. I had fitted her with a gang of oars, and upon tryal they gave way after the rate of 3 knots, which might render her extremely beneficial and useful to us in a calm.

Mr. Brooks first Lieutenant and *Mr. Rainor* Lieutenant of Marines, relieve *Mr. Randall*, and *Mr. Dodd* in the *Mercury*.

Friday, February 5. I dispatch'd Mr. *Brooks* a-head to discover if there was any shipping at *Arica*, in the Latitude of 18 deg. 20 min. *South*. The next day, at one in the afternoon, (after having rang'd along shore by the breaks of *Pisagua*, *Camarones*, and *Vitor*) I had a sight of the head-land of *Arica*, and the Island of *Guanó*, with a ship at anchor on the *Northern* side of it, and saw the *Mercury* standing out of the bay, by which I judged the ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible haste to get into her with my ship.

I send the *Mercury* a-head to look into the road of *Arica*, where she took a ship call'd the *Rosario*.





C H A P. V.

Arrival in the Road of Arica, in Latitude 28 deg. 20 min. South, on the Coast of Peru, and Transactions there.



WHEN I came into the port, I found that she was already taken, and that the *Mercury* only went accidentally adrift. This prize was call'd the *Rosario*, of about 100 tons, and laden with Cormorants dung, which the Spaniards call *Guana*, and is brought from the Island of *Iquique*, to cultivate the *Agi*, or Cod-pepper in the vale of *Arica*. There was no white face in her but the Pilot, whom I sent to see if her Owners would ransom her. At 7 in the morning I received a letter verbally translated as follows,

Arica,

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Arica, February the
16th. N. S. 1720.

My Good Sir,

By the mouth of some of the people belonging to my ship, I am told that your honour would have me ransom her, and that, if not, you would burn her. Now I would willingly come aboard to kiss your hands, but the Governour will not permit it, for he stands more for his honour than any money: upon this supposition I send you this letter to acquaint you of my poverty, leaving it to your Honour's pleasure, to whom I send to know, swearing by God, our Lord, that I am an honest man, and have a great family to maintain, and other dependances, so that I shall be left destitute, and can expect no favour from any but God, and after that from the clemency, and generosity of your heart, from which I beseech once, and many times all mercy which belongs to your noble nation. But if I must ransom, I will do all I can, and come to you at the port of Hilo, or at Guaco, which is nearer, where I will meet you with what refreshments I can;
for

for here I doubt it cannot be done. I expect a favourable result, that I may do all in my power.

I am, &c.

Miguel Diez Gonzales.

Soon after the receipt of this we took a vessel of about 10 tons, as she was coming into the road with a cargoe of dry'd fish and *Guana*, lying within a mile of the town. The country people being by this time alarm'd, repair'd hither in great numbers, and seem'd to me, at the distance we were, to be well mounted and armed, made a regular appearance, and always guarded the landing place, though it is impracticable for *European* boats to put ashore there; nevertheless, I was determin'd to make a tryal of their courage by cannonading both them and their town, and made a shew of landing in the *Mercury* and launch. The cannon balls grazing on the surface plow'd up the sand, which flew amongst them, but neither that, nor the likelihood that we should be closer to them in a few minutes, struck any apparent terror upon them,

I cannonaded the town of *Arica* with my ship.

them, they not offering once to move, which made me sorry that I had made the experiment, which I chiefly intended as an encouragement to my people, in letting them see what cowardly enemies they had to deal with, being assured by a *Spanish* prisoner, that they would have hardly stood one shot.

As soon as it was dark, the Merchant who had writ to me in the morning, came aboard himself, and having reason to believe him to be a man perfectly honest, but straitned in his circumstances, I agreed upon restoring to him his ship and 6 *Negroes* for 1500 pieces of Eight, with this proviso, that I would have every thing out of her that might be useful to us; in short, he was so punctual and expeditious, that at 10 the next night he brought the sum agreed for, *viz.* 1300 dollars weight in ingots of virgin silver, which the *Spaniards* call *Pinnas*, and the rest in pieces of eight; for which I restored him his ship and *Negroes*. This Gentleman made a great enquiry after *English* commodities, and offer'd great prices for them, and complain'd that the *French* only supply'd them with paltry things and trifles, for which they ran away with many millions from them, and asked whether all the *English* merchants

The Merchant to whom the *Rosario* belong'd comes aboard to ransom her, and I agree to restore her to him for 1500 dollars which he brought the next evening.

merchants were asleep, or grown too rich, or what could be the meaning that they never ventured into those seas to trade; for, continued he, *though I now live in a by corner of the world, I know the advantages of traffick in most parts; therefore I assure you, (and I believe all the French nation will agree with me) that we have the best markets in the universe;* and that, notwithstanding their ports were not so open as in other parts of the world, yet they knew how to manage matters very well; and that as their Governours were generally *Europeans*, whose stay in the country seldom exceeded three years, they made use of any means to improve their time, and that there were ways of gaining them so far as to make them act as though they were not. Much more he said, but concluded with a reflection on the blindness of the *English*, who had suffer'd the *French* pedlars to carry on uninterrupted the most considerable branch of commerce in all the world. Before he took his leave he desired me to carry his ship to sea with me 2 or 3 leagues, and then turn her adrift, the intent of which was to deceive the Governour and the King's Officers; and, moreover, told me, that if I would meet him

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at *Hilo*, which was about 25 leagues to the Northwestward he would purchase what little coarse merchandise we had, which might be done there with all imaginable privacy. The Master also of the small boat came off upon a *Balse*, which is an odd sort of an embarkation made of two large Seal-skins, separately blown up like bladders, and then made fast and joined together by pieces of wood, on this he brought off two jars of brandy, and 40 pieces of eight, which, considering his mean appearance, was as much as I could have expected, one part of his freight was valuable, which was a good parcel of excellent dried fish.

February 9, 1720. I sailed from *Arica*, I sail from Arica. and as I went out, the Inhabitants, &c. placed themselves round the bay, and made a very good hedge fire for about half an hour, I judged that there could not be less than 5 or 600 men.

The city of *Arica*, which was formerly so famous for the great quantities of plate continually shipp'd off there, is now much diminish'd in its riches, and appears to be no other than a heap of ruins, except the church of *St. Mark*, and 2 or 3 more, which look tolerably well. That which helps to make it look

City of Arica described.

look the more disconsolate is that the houses below are cover'd only with mats. This town being situated on the edge of the sea, in an open road, has no fortification of any kind to defend, or command the anchoring, they thinking it sufficient that nature has provided for their security by the great breach of the sea, and the rocky bottom near the shore, which denies all access, and threatens inevitable destruction to any *European* boat, except contrived for that purpose. There has formerly been a Fort on the top of what they call the headland of *Arica*, which is very high, and which commanded both the town and the road, but nothing of that remains but two or three ruin'd walls. They are here very subject to violent earthquakes, particularly one, which so agitated the sea in the year 1605, that it overflow'd and bore down the greatest part of it; but being now situated a little farther backward on a rising ground, they are not apprehensive of a like accident for the future. For a more particular account of this earthquake, &c. see *Frezier*, page 150, of the *English* translation. There is little or nothing to shelter the shipping in the road, except the small Island of *Guana*, which is situated at the bottom of the headland of *Arica*, both of which being cover'd
with

with birds dung, are very offensive when the wind blows fresh from the Southward, which is commonly all day. We anchor'd in 10 fathom, an owzey bottom; the body of the Island of *Guana* bearing S. by W. distant 2 miles.

The greatest part of the riches of the Inhabitants at present, are owing to their industry in cultivating *Agi*, or, as we call it, Cod-pepper, which they could not do was it not for the *Guano*, or bird's dung, which they fetch from the Island of *Iquique*, in the latitude of 19 deg. and 40 min. *South*; for the country of itself is barren, being, as it were made up of continued chains of vast sandy mountains, perpetually parch'd by the heat of the sun, so that there is not the least verdure to be seen, except in the vale of *Arica*, where they plant the foremention'd spice, which is not above 2 miles wide next to the sea, and then diminishes as it runs up the country. The valuable produce of this spot of ground is almost incredible; forasmuch as they supply a great part of *Peru* and *Chili* with *Agi*, of which there is an universal demand, it being eaten in great quantities by people of all ages in these great kingdoms. But for a more particular account of the manner of managing this, and other curiosities relating

lating to this place, *Vide Frezier's Voyage*
page 152 of the English Translation.

Voyage continued.

We arrive
in the road
of *Hilo*,
where the
French
ship
which
was with
us at *St.*
Catherines
projects 3
Spanish
ships from
me.

But to return to our voyage. As soon as I had got out of *Arica*, I shaped my course for the road of *Hilo*, which we had a sight of the next day at 3 in the afternoon, where we saw one large ship, and 3 small ones at an anchor. The great ship immediately hoisted *French* colours, and in the end proved to be the *Sage Solomon* of 40 guns, commanded by *Monf. Dumain*, whom I had left at *St. Catherines*, and was now resolved to protect the vessels that were with him, and obstruct my coming in. It being dark before I could get into the road, I sent my third Licutenant *Monf. laPorte*, who was a *Frenchman*, to let him know what we were; but my Officer had no sooner got into the ship than they tumbled him out again, calling him *Renegade*, and sent me word that if I offer'd to anchor there they would sink me. *Monf. la Porte* upon this told me, that to his knowledge the *French* ships had often taken *Spanish* Commissions at such times that there had been *English* cruisers on those coasts, as a recompence for which service they had

great

great liberties allow'd them in the way of trade; he farther assur'd me, that he could plainly see that *Mons. Dumain* had double mann'd his ship with the Inhabitants of the town, who were partly *French*, and that, in short, his anchor was a peck, and that he design'd to be with me as soon as the wind came off shore. Whilst we were talking of this, they fired 3 or 4 guns at me to shew me they were in a readiness. This warm'd me pretty much, and I immediately brought to, to consult what was best to be done. I at first thought of shewing my resentment in the highest degree, and thought it not impossible to have destroy'd him, having converted the *Mercury* to a Brander, who might, without any great difficulty, have roasted this insolent *Frenchman*. But upon a second consideration, I began to see that it must run us into a great many inconveniences, for we being at peace with his nation, notwithstanding the unwarrantable breach he made, disputes might have risen about it in *Europe*; therefore laying aside all thoughts of such an enterprize, I clapp'd the helm a-weather, and stood out again.

Friday, February 12, 1720. In the morning the ship's company had their moiety of the money

The People receive their moiety of what we took at *Arica*.

money taken at *Arica*, divided amongst them according to their number of shares.

On *Monday, February 22, 1720.* I came a-breast of *Callao*, the port for *Lima*, which is the Metropolis of *Peru*, it being calm I furl'd all my sails to prevent their seeing us from the shore. The next morning the rocks call'd by the *Spaniards, Farellones de los Pescadores*, or the Fishermens rocks bore W. N. W. distant 6 leagues, and at noon the Island of *Galero* bore E. by S. distant 5 leagues. We were now almost in sight of *Callao*, which might have been of bad consequence; for there is a general order, for all ships coming in sight of this place to go in, and give an account of themselves, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and cargoe, so that if any sail pass by without obeying the aforesaid injunction, they presently conclude her to be a cruiser, and the country thereupon is advised of it, and an embargoe laid on all shipping to the Northward, and some of their men of war, which they commonly keep in readiness, especially when they have any enemies on their coast, are directly sent out; therefore there being no great prospect of doing much in our present station, I had nothing to do but to slip away

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away from hence in the night, if we were favour'd by a Breeze of wind.

February 26, 1720. The Officers in the *Mercury* desir'd to be relieved, and it being Capt. *Hatley's* turn to go in her, he propos'd to me that he might continue along shore till we had got the length of *Lobos*, an Island in about 7 degrees of *South* latitude; at the same time he inform'd me, that he had travell'd from *Lima* to *Payta* by land along the sea-side; that in his journey he went through several good towns, which have a valuable commerce with the city of *Lima* in small vessels, which are sometimes very rich, and that there could be no doubt of meeting with great quantity of provisions at least, which would have been an acceptable article. I could not but approve of this, considering the probability there was of their meeting the *Panama* ships, who are always in with the shore in the evening to receive the benefit of the land winds, which reign all night, and a great part of the morning. Every body being mightily pleas'd with this account of *Hatley*, I added to their complement of Men, and gave them a month's provisions, mounted two of our quarter-deck guns on the *Mercury*, and lent Capt. *Hatley* my pinnace, and furnish'd him with

with a copy of my Commission, with full Orders and Instructions, though it was more than likely that I should have frequent fights of him between our separation and the place of rendezvous, which was at the Island of *Lobos*, which was not above 60 leagues from us. As soon as every thing was ready for their departure, Capt. *Betagh* (whose duty and turn it was to relieve the Marine Officer in the *Mercury*) being unwilling to go, openly went amongst the people, and with a frightful countenance told them, that he, and the rest that were to go with him, were sent for a sacrifice, to be sold and sacrificed, with a great many other expressions tending to create a general mutiny; I now imagin'd no less than that he was about to act what he had threatned when he told me, it should be a short voyage with me, and therefore having prepared myself against any violence, I address'd myself to the ship's company, telling them, that, *I did not know what this ungovernable fellow meant by this uproar, and appeal'd to them all if it had not been customary with me to relieve the Officers in this manner ever since we had had this vessel in company, and ask'd them if they ever heard me call upon any particular person by name to go on any enterprize, but left it to*

every

every man's choice to go out of the ship upon any service; and, in a word, desir'd to know who amongst them were of *Betagh's* opinion; upon this they with one voice declar'd that they had never entertain'd any such thought; but that on the contrary, I should find them obedient to any commands I should lay upon them. This done, I order'd the *Mercury* along side, and acquainted her crew with the speech *Betagh* had made in the ship, and desir'd to know if any of them were under apprehensions of being sold or sacrificed; at which they sat up a huzza, and a loud hoot at the restless mutineer, and begg'd that they might go on the intended cruize in the *Mercury*; accordingly *Hatley* and *Betagh* went on board of her, and put off from us, gave me three cheers, and stood right in for the land, Latitude per observation 10 deg. 9 min. South.

I think it will not be altogether improper to take notice of their proceedings (which were very extraordinary) after they left me, as I have since been informed by themselves, and by prisoners, viz. the very next day after they departed from me, they took a small bark laden with rice, chocolate, wheat, flour, &c. and the day following took another; on the fourth day of their absence they became ma-

An account of the prizes the *Mercury* took whilst she cruised in shore.

sters of a ship of near 200 tons, worth 150000 pieces of Eight. Flush'd with this success, *Be-tagb* prevail'd on *Hatley*, and the greatest part of the people with them not to join me again, telling them that there was sufficient for themselves to appear like Gentlemen as long as they lived; but that it would be nothing when the Owners part were taken out, and the remainder divided into 500 shares; and what is more (continued he) we expect to meet the *Success* every day, and then it is ten to one but they'll take all from us, and therefore he thought, since fortune had been so kind to them, that they would be highly to blame if they did not lay hold of this opportunity of going to *India*, since they had provisions and every thing else they could wish for in their voyage, and the happiness, into the bargain, of having a Gentleman amongst them, (*viz.* Capt. *Hatley*) who was doubtless Navigator enough to conduct them to some part of the coasts of *Asia*. This was soon resolved on, and they fell to leeward of the place of rendezvous. But *Hatley* pondering within himself the vast lengths to be run, and the many hazards of the undertaking, and knowing well what treatment he should find in *India*, if his treachery was discovered; calling to mind how

Capt.

Capt. C-----n was dealt with when he ran away with *Dampier's* Commission, and one of his prizes, could not readily determine what he had best do in this case; but kept hovering on the coast, and in the interim, some of his crew went away with his boat, to surrender themselves to the enemy, rather than be concerned in such a pyratival action. But *Betagh*, and his gang still kept *Hatly* warm with liquor, and, in the end, brought him to a fix'd resolution of leaving these seas. But no sooner had they clapp'd their helm a-weather, than they saw a sail standing towards them, which, in short, proved to be a *Spanish* man of war, who caught them, and spoil'd their *India* voyage. The *English* were treated very indifferently, but *Betagh*, who was of their religion, and of a nation which the *Spaniards* are very fond of, was made an Officer, and used very respectfully; this he certainly deserved at their hands; for he gave them an account of the whole scheme of our voyage, and not only informed them what we had done, but also what I design'd to do, so that they did not doubt but I myself should be in their hands very speedily; and *Betagh* modestly desired of his new Captain that whenever they met me, he might have the honour of entering me the

The *Mercury* taken by a *Spanish* man of war.

first, to shew an example to such as should follow him: but by the sequel will be shewn how providentially I was delivered from them.

Arrival in the road of *Guanchaco* where we take an empty ship call'd the *Carmesita*. The Prisoners in her give me advice of a rich ship lying at *Payta*.

In purchasing the anchor, the cable parted.

The next day chased a small vessel aho. e.

Monday, February 29. At 6 in the morning the headland of *Guanapo* bore E. by S. and at 7 we saw a sail at anchor in the road of *Guanchaco*; at 11 we came up and anchor'd along side of her, there was no body on board of her but two *Indian* men and a boy. She was call'd the *Carmesita*, of about 100 tons, and had nothing in her but a little timber from *Guayaquil*, from whence she lately came; by these prisoners I was inform'd, that there was a rich ship in the Cove of *Payta*, who put in there to repair some damages she had sustain'd by a gale of wind; upon which I immediately went to sea; but in purchasing the anchor, the cable parted, and I lost it. I took my prize with me, she being new and well fitted, and promised to sail very well. I named her the *St. David*, and designed to have made her a compleat fire-ship as soon as the *Mercury* joined us, who had the chief matter on board of her for that purpose.

I coasted it at a small distance from the land, and the next day look'd into *Malabriga* and *Cheripe*, from whence I chased a small vessel,

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vessel, who, when I came within half cannon-shot of her, suddenly got her tacks aboard, and stood in for the land, and received all my fire. I thought I was sure of her, not (in the least) apprehending that they would have been so hardy as to have ran themselves on a beach, where the sea breaks mountains-high, (if I may use that sea phrase) I follow'd them into shoal water, and then was obliged to haul off with my ship, and send the launch after them; but before they could come near her, (to my great astonishment) ashore they went, and were in pieces in a moment; notwithstanding which I believe that most of those in her were saved, they being admirable swimmers in all these parts.

Arrival at the Islands of Lobos.

THE next morning, at 6 of the clock, I found myself within 3 leagues of the Island of *Lobos de la Mar*, so call'd from there being two which go by that name near one another, but the other being much nearer the land, is call'd for distinction *Lobos de*
 N 3 *Tierra.*

Tierra. The first of these was our appointed rendezvous with the *Mercury*; but standing into the road, and not seeing her there, I sent Mr. *Randall*, the second Lieutenant, with two crosses to be set up over two bottles to be buried in the beach, each of which contain'd a letter to Capt. *Hatley*, as follows.

To Capt. *Simon Hatley*.

S I R,

I have in company a ship I took out of the road of Guanchaco, who gives certain advice of a rich ship lying at Payta; therefore I make the best of my way thither, desiring you'll make no stay here; there will I cruize till you join us, which you must do with all the expedition you can before Guayaquil is alarm'd. I hear Capt. Clipperton has taken several ships on this coast, and we are told there are two Spanish men of war to leeward. Observe that the ship I have in company has no top-gallant-sails, and that I have added a mizen top gallant-sail to our ship.

If we are obliged to leave Payta, which I will not do without the greatest necessity, you will find us at one of the places you mentioned, or at point Arena, where your ships
(the

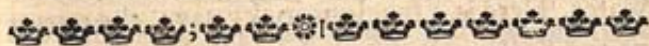
(the Duke and Dutches) formerly lay, expecting the most expeditious dispatch you can make. Yesterday I chased a small vessel ashore, which came out of the road of Cheripe, which I take to be an Advice-boat which gives me hopes we shall make some hand of it at Payta.

S I R,

I am, &c.

Geo. Shelvocke, Sen.

The bottles were buried, and the crosses were set up, not thinking at that time to what little purpose.



Description of the Isles of Lobos.

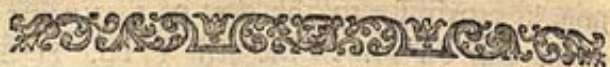
THESE Islands situated in about 7 deg. of *South* latitude, within sight of the Continent, look, when beheld from the sea, like continued rocks; there is not the

least verdure to be seen on them, and when you are ashore, the ground is burnt to that degree, that the surface of it appears like a cinder. Here are on the beach great numbers of Seals, of a much larger size than those at *Juan Fernandes*, which smell very nauseously, and are of a much fiercer nature, and not so easily driven away as at the abovementioned place. Here are also plenty of *Guanoes* and Carrion-crows, which, with their red gills, as they sit perching among the rocks, bear the exact resemblance of a Turkey; and here is likewise a certain fowl, not much unlike a Teal, which were so tame as to let my people knock them down with their hats. As to the Island itself, we saw nothing worth notice, except the harbour, which lyes N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. and is a convenient place to careen, but affords neither wood nor water. Here is a spacious rocky cave, the retreat of the Seals, whose continual howlings echoing all around the obscure grotto, render it a place of as much horror as the imagination of man can feign.

Departure
from the
Islands of
Labos.

Having done every thing necessary to direct the *Mercury* in joining us again, I continued coasting to the Northward, till I had got a-breast of the Island, call'd *Labos de Payta*,
from

from its proximity to the port of that name; which was on *March* the 8th. 1720. From hence I sent Mr. *Randall*, the second Lieutenant, in the launch to discover the situation of the Cove of *Payta*, and to see if there were any ships there, under the covert of the night; since I could not venture in with the ship in the dark; but it proving wet rainy weather, (a thing very uncommon on the coasts of *Peru*, insomuch that the *Spaniards* affirm it never rains there) they could perceive nothing like a town. They had a *Negroe* with them who had been there several times, who said he was sure that we had got to the wrong place. Upon this every one agreed, that the highland we saw to the Northward of us was the *Saddle of Payta*, which in the end we found to be the *Sierra*, or *Highland of Motapa*, but it was too late that we were convinced of this mistake; for we could not hinder ourselves from being driven by the wind and current so far to the Northward of cape *Blanco*, as to cost us twelve tedious days to regain the ground we lost in 3 hours.



C H A P. VI.

Arrival in the Cove of Payta, on the coast of Peru; an account of our transactions there, particularly of our taking the town of Payta, and engagement with the Spanish Admiral in that Harbour.

M O N D A Y, March 21, 1720.
 I came up with the *Point of Parina* 7 leagues to the Northward of *Payta*, and then steer'd as directly as the wind would permit us for *Payta*. At 3 in afternoon we saw *Pena Oradado*, or the hole in the rock; and in an hour afterwards enter'd the Cove of *Payta* with *French* colours flying; there was a small ship at anchor there with her Foremast out, and Maintopmast unrigg'd. Upon the sight of us they sent a boat from the shore to her, for which reason my launch was mann'd, and sent under the command of Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, to hinder them from carrying any thing of value to
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the town. They soon return'd after having left the Agent and 5 more in possession of her, who found nothing in her but timber, and a little jerk'd beef. I came to an anchor before it was dark in 7 fathom water, about three quarters of a mile from the town, but was oblig'd to leave the *St. David* to cruise off the *Saddle of Payta*, she having no anchors to come to with. The taking this Town being consider'd in the scheme of our Voyage, as a matter of great importance, I consulted with my Officers, concerning the properest methods of doing it. The place appear'd to be indifferently large and populous, and it was very probable there might be some land forces to defend a place so well known as this, which is the rendezvous of most ships coming from *Panama* and *Callao*. However, I landed with 46 men at two of the clock the next morning, leaving Mr. *Coldsea*, the Master, and some others, not only to look after the *Negroes* we had, who ought not to be trusted with the ship by themselves, but also to bring the ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark what plunder we should get. Being now ashore, I march'd up to the great Church without meeting any opposition, and indeed found the town entirely deserted by the Inhabitants. At daylight

light we saw great bodies of men on the hills on each side of us, who I expected when they had view'd our strength, would have paid us a visit; but found that, as we march'd up the hill towards them, we drove them before us. All this time no prisoners fell into our hands but an old *Indian* and a boy, who told me Capt. *Clipperton* had been here some time before, to set some prisoners ashore, who assured them, that he would do them no injury, nor give them any trouble. But the Inhabitants not thinking fit to trust him, had removed all their effects up to the mountains, amongst which was part of the King's treasure, amounting to 400000 pieces of Eight, in the possession of the Governour; which would have been a fine booty, had Capt. *Clipperton* been willing to accept of it, since it is certain that he would have met with no more difficulty in subduing this place than I did. But suddenly, upon hearing a gun fir'd I halted, and sent to know the meaning of it, and word was brought me, that the ship was ashore; which forced me to hurry off with some precipitation, carrying off with us the *Union-flag*, which I had caused to be planted in the Church-yard ever since sun rising; as we reimbarqued, the enemy came running down the hills, hol-

lowing after us. When I came aboard, I found her entirely afloat, but within her breadth of the rocks; the water being smooth I soon warp'd her off again; after which we return'd to take possession of the town in the manner we had done before, and the *Spaniards* peaceably retir'd up the hills again. The reason of this accident with the ship was that the Master having weigh'd the anchor before day-light, he had but little wind, and was caught astays, and whilst he was endeavouring to fill his sails again, it suddenly fell calm, and he was almost ashore before he could drop an anchor. But this being happily over, the remainder of the day was spent in shipping off what plunder we had got, which consisted in hogs, fowls, brown and white Calavances, beans, *Indian* corn, wheat, flour, sugar, and as much cocoa-nut as we were able to stow away, with pans, and other conveniencies for preparing it, so that we were supply'd with breakfast meat for the whole voyage, and full of provisions of one kind or other. In the afternoon there came a messenger to know what I would take for the ransom of the town and ship; to which I answer'd, that I would have 10000 pieces of Eight, and those to be paid in 24 hours, if he intended to save the town, or ship either.

either. At 8 the next morning I received a letter from the Governour, signifying that mine being writ in *French* he, nor any about him, could understand the contents of it; but that if I would let him know my demands in *Latin* or *Spanish*, I should not fail of a satisfactory answer. In the afternoon I sent one of the quarter deck guns ashore, which being mounted at our guard, was fir'd at sun set, midnight, and break of day.

Betimes the next morning the messenger return'd with an answer, (together with the Captain of the ship in the road) to mine of yesterday. Upon hearing of their arrival I went ashore to treat with them; but the Governour gave me to understand in plain terms, that he neither could, nor would ransom the town, and did not care what I did with it, so that I spared the Churches: but I threatned that the town should be reduced to ashes without any regard to Churches, or any thing else; tho' I never design'd to destroy any place reserved to sacred uses; at the same time the *Spanish* Captain had notice given to him, that if he had an inclination to save his ship from the flames, he must ransom her without delay; which he promised to do in 3 hours. But all this while they were sensible of the storm
which

which was ready to overtake us, and had seen their Admiral, who in the night had got close under the high-land, within a league of the entrance of the Cove, which our look-outs could not discover, till he was within gunshot of our ship. But to return to my subject, having received this negative answer, and got every thing that might be any ways serviceable to us out of town, I instantly order'd it to be set on fire in two or three places; the houses being extremely dry consum'd away apace. But no sooner was *Payta* in a blaze, but those on board made signals for me to come off, and kept incessantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour. Upon which I order'd all hands off, and went first on board myself in a canoe, with three men, and before I had got half way, saw a large ship lying with her fore-top-sail aback, with a *Spanish* flag flying at her foretopmast-head. At this prospect two of my three people were ready to sink, and had it not been for my Boatswain I should not have been able to fetch the ship. When I look'd back on the town, I could not forbear wishing that I had not been so hasty; for I could not imagine that the Admiral would have been so imprudent as he was in lying to so long as he did; for had

had he held his way, he might have been on board the *Speedwell* long enough before I could, and have taken possession of her without any to resist them but 8 or 9 white faces and twelve *Negroes*. Here I cannot in justice pass over in silence the signal service which Mr. *Coldsea*, the Master, did at this time, to whose conduct it was owing that we had not an immediate end put to our voyage; for as the Admiral was coming in upon us with all his sails spread, Mr. *Coldsea*, by the assistance of those aboard, fir'd at him so smartly, that he stopp'd the enemy's career, who did not expect such a warm reception, and therefore apprehending we should have hot work, brought his ship to, that he might put himself in a very unnecessary condition of making a vigorous attack. This inactivity of the enemy gave me a fine opportunity of reaching aboard, which I had no sooner done, than I directed them in clearing the ship (which was partly done already) and loosing all the sails, and making all other requisite preparations to receive the Admiral. In the mean time my Officers ashore being unwilling to leave the gun behind them, which we had mounted in town, were so long before they could get it into the boat, that I began to be afraid that the *Spaniard* would

would attack us, before the launch would be able to row aboard. But he was not in such a hurry, thinking that I could not well pass by him, and therefore suffer'd my men to come off, who were about 50 in number, but was within less than pistol shot of us before they had all got into the ship; upon which, we cut our cable, and our ship falling the wrong way, I had but just room enough to fill clear of him. Being now close by one another, his formidable appearance struck an universal damp on every one's spirits; some of my people in coming off, were for jumping into the water, and swimming ashore, as one actually did. But now when they saw a fine *Europe* built ship of 50 guns, the disproportion was so great between us, that there could be no hopes of escaping him. Being under his lee, I endeavour'd to get into shoal water, but he becalm'd and confin'd me for the greatest part of an hour, handling me very roughly with his cannon, but made little use of small arms: he never had patience to let us be quite along his side, but whenever he was ready with his fire, he gave his ship the star-board helm to bring as many of his guns as he could to bear on us, and, at the same time, kept me out of the true wind. We failed

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not to make the *briskest* returns we could; but the misfortune was, that in the precipitate confusion of getting off from the town, most of our small arms were wet, so that it was late before they were of any use. During this, there was a confused scene ashore, of the town on fire, and the people who had flock'd down the hills to extinguish it, some of which answer'd the end of their coming, whilst others were more earnestly employ'd in beholding the engagement. I was long in suspense and despair of getting away from the *Spaniard*, and could foresee nothing but that we should be torn in pieces by him, and long'd for an opportunity to try our heels with him, whilst our masts were standing. I expected every minute that they would board us, and upon hearing a hollowing amongst them, and seeing their fore-castle, &c. full of men (for till then I had not seen the head of one, except through the ports) I concluded they had now come to a resolution of entering us; but I presently saw that the occasion of these acclamations was their having shot down our Ensign-staff, upon which they (seeing our Ensign trailing in the water) were in hopes we had struck, but I soon undeceived them, by spreading a new Ensign on the mizen-shrouds; upon

upon sight of which they lay as snug as before, and held their way close upon our quarter; at last, designing to do our business at once, they clapp'd their helm well a starboard, to bring the whole broad-side to point at us; but their fire had little or no effect, all stood fast with us, and they muzzled themselves; by which I had time both to get a head, and to windward of him before he could fill again, and found that if our masts (which were by this time but slenderly supported) would bear what sail we had abroad, we should soon steal away from him. After this he was in a great hurry, getting his spritsail-yard fore and aft, threatening us very hard, and plying us with his forechase. But we soon were out of his reach, and all hands were immediately employ'd in repairing our damages. This ship was call'd the *Peregrine*, of 56 guns, and upwards of 450 men.

During this fight we had not a man kill'd or wounded, although the enemy often hull'd us, and once in paticular, a shot coming into one of our ports, dismounted one of our guns between decks, tearing off the nut of the gun, and broke itself into a great many pieces, and flew fore and aft in the midst of a crowd of people, without hurting one of them; our

stern was also much shatter'd, and our rigging and sails were mightily disabled; our main-mast was a little wounded, yet stood a good while with only one good shroud to support it; our fore-mast far'd but little better, yet I kept all the canvases, except the main top-gallant-sail, at hard bats-end. An unlucky shot took the bow of our launch, as she lay upon the quarter, and set fire to some cartridges of powder (which were negligently left in her) which blew away her moorings, and we lost her. Seeing a great smoke arise on the quarter, I first imagin'd that this had happen'd within board. In short, in about 3 glasses we got quite clear of him, and the Admiral tack'd, stood in for *Payta*, and we shortned sail. None could have made a narrower escape from an enemy, considering the vast difference between us, as to force. He (the *Spaniard*) had 56 guns, we, on the contrary, had but 20 mounted; they had 450 men, we, on our part, did not exceed 73, and 11 *Negroes* and 2 *Indians* included in that number. He had farther this vast odds over us of being in a settled readiness, whilst we were in the utmost distraction. Add to all this our small arms being useles by being wet; and moreover in the middle of the engagement, one third of my
people,

people, instead of fighting, were hard at work to make a farther preparation for an obstinate resistance; particularly the Carpenter and his crew were busied in making ports for stern-chase, which (as it happen'd) we made no use of. Upon the whole we had the good fortune of escaping this danger, which was the more to be dreaded, because, as we had set fire to the town, they were probably so exasperated upon the account of the Churches, which I never intended to destroy, that if I had fall'n into their hands, its certain we should have had but uncomfortable quarters; nevertheless it was in reality a most unfortunate disaster; the loss of my boat and anchor were irreparable, and may be said to be the cause of that scene of trouble, which will take up the remainder of this book; for we had now but one anchor, that at *Payta* being the third we had lost, and were entirely destitute of a boat of any kind.

I have been since informed that we placed some shots very well, and that we kill'd and wounded several of the enemy.

But to return to our story, At 5 the same evening we saw a sail under our lee-bow, which I took to be our prize we had left cruising for us near the *Saddle of Payta*, we there-

fore stood to the Westward all night, and the next morning saw two sail a-stern of us. I tack'd, and stood towards them, and in a little time could see that one of them was standing for *Payta*, the other kept stemming with us, but the nearer I approach'd to her, the less I liked her, and could not but think it advisable to about ship, and crowd from her. However, she gain'd upon us, and advanced near enough to shew us that she was the *Brilliant*, the Admiral's consort; she was a *French* built ship of 36 guns, mann'd with people of that nation, and other *Europeans*. She was handsomely rigg'd, which is rare to be seen in these parts, and sail'd almost two foot for our one, so that, notwithstanding that we had a calm almost all the heat of the day, she would come near us apace upon every little breeze. But night coming on, I made use of the old stratagem (I thought it might be new here) of turning a light adrift in a half tub, instead of a boat, darkning one part of the lanthorn, that it might not appear a continued light, and alter'd my course. As the day broke, I handed all my sails, and in full day-light could perceive nothing of her. This was the ship wherein *Betagh*, my late Capt. of Marines, was so much respected, by whose advice it was (as I have

have been told) that the Admiral order'd his Consort to ply up to windward to *Lobos*, our first place of rendezvous, whilst he himself came to *Payta*, in quest of us. This separation, though intended as the surest means of catching us, proved the preservation of us.

Being thus closely pursued, I took an offing of 30 leagues, and then brought to, to consider the unhappy state of our present condition. Having weigh'd every thing very maturely, our circumstances seem'd to me to be in an extream melancholy posture, being in the dark, as to knowing how, and where to meet the *Success*, my Consort; *secondly*, An embargo was laid on all shipping to leeward for the term of 6 months (as I was inform'd at *Payta*) and, in the next place, our Prize, which I design'd to make a fire-ship of, was taken by the *Brilliant*, as I could plainly discover; the consequence of which would be, that the enemy would learn from her crew our places of rendezvous, and, as much as they could, inform them of our farther designs; this alone would have been sufficient to have made me alter all my measures; and since I had but one anchor, and no boat at all, the views I had at the town of *Guayaquil* were vanish'd, where, if I had not met with *Clipperton*, I propos'd to make some attempt,

attempt, having been advifed that feveral great fhips of value lay up that river under an embargo. I had an old *Indian* Pilot who had liv'd there many years, who merrily told me, that I fhould be fure to find the Inhabitants ready, but, continued he, it will be to run away. This project would have certainly been attended with a profitable event, if the *Mercury* had join'd me in any reasonable time, whose abfence therefore gave me a vaft uneafinefs, being ignorant of what detain'd them.

However, it being impoffible to alter our prefent condition, without uſing proper means towards it, I call'd all my Officers together, to let them know that it was my opinion that we had a much better profpect to windward than to leeward, for the reaſons before obſerv'd; but eſpecially on the account of the embargo hereabouts, and the neceſſity they were under of trading to *Chili*, where we ſhould not be in the leaſt expected, and ſhould, in the moſt effectual manner, eſcape the enemy's men of war, who would doubtleſs be ſearching for us very ſtrictly to leeward, while we had the whole *Chilenian* coaſt to range on; that they would be ſo far from thinking of purſuing us to the Southward, that it would appear to them as the higheſt improbability that we ſhould
beat

beat up ⁵⁰⁰700 leagues to windward, to water at *Juan Fernandas*; after which we might cruise out the whole season on the *Conception*, *Valparaiso* and *Coquimbo* traders, amongst whom we should be stock'd with anchors, cables, boats, and a vessel to make a fire-ship of, on which I mightily depended, since I could see but little probability of joining the *Success*. I also propos'd before I left the coast of *Chili*, to take the town of *la Serena*, or *Coquimbo*; this being universally approved of, we got our tacks aboard, and stretch'd to windward.

Come to a resolution of returning to the Coast of *Chili*.

My intentions after this were for the coast of *Mexico*, there to run the height of the *Tres Marias* and *California*, as the most likely place to meet the *Success*; both of which places would have been commodious, the first for salting turtle, and the last for wooding and watering; there I should also be ready in the season to lay in the tract of the *Manila* ship, which, if I should have the fortune to meet, and (having a fire-ship) I would have try'd what I could have done with her. But if I could not have prevail'd, I must have contented myself with cruising on the *Peruvian* ships, which bring silver to *Aquapulco* to purchase the *Indian*, and *Chinese* commodities, which the *Manila* ship brings

brings thither. But these designs were never executed but in the imagination, for every league we sail'd, we approach'd nearer and nearer to the Catastrophe, which put an end to all thoughts of the foregoing designs, and changed the face of our affairs, from a ship as well govern'd as could be hoped for in so remote a part, and on such an account as we were upon, to a mutinous confusion and disorder.

Saturday, March 26, 1720. Having well secur'd our mast, and bent a new suit of sails, we stood to the Southward, expecting to gain our passage in about 5 weeks.

Monday, March 28. The Carpenter began to build a boat to water the ship.

Thursday, March 31. As they were pumping the ship, the water which came out of the well, was not only in a greater quantity than usual, but was also as black as ink, which made me judge that some water came at our powder, and accordingly going into the powder-room, heard the water come in like a little sluice, which had quite spoil'd the greatest part of our powder, so that we only saved the quantity of six barrels, which I order'd to be stow'd away in the bread-room. It pleas'd God that we had fair weather, otherwise it would

Discover a dangerous leak.

would have been a hard matter for us to have kept ourselves above water. We found the leak to be on the larboard side, under the lower cheek of the head, occasion'd by a shot which had lodged there, which falling out, left room for a stream of water; we brought the ship by the stern, and with great difficulty stopp'd it securely.

At this time we had a large stock of provisions, and every one lived as well as they could have wish'd, each man having a quart of chocolate, and 3 ounces of very good rusk to breakfast every morning, and fresh meat, or fresh fish every day, of which we had such a plenty about the ship, that we could almost always take our choice of Dolphin or Albicore.





*Second Arrival at the Island
of Juan Fernandes.*

MAY 6, 1720. We made the westernmost of the Islands of *Juan Fernandes*, the body of it bearing N. E. by N. distant 12 leagues; and the day after the Carpenters completed the boat, which would carry 3 hogsheds. On the 11th, we saw the great Island of *Juan Fernandes*, bearing E. half S. by observation, the body of it lies in the latitude 33 deg. 25 min. *South*. Here I ply'd off and on till the 21st. but could not get off as much water as we daily expended, which made me think of anchoring in the road for a few hours, and in order to it, I prepared 20 tons of casks to raft ashore, then work'd in, and anchored, according to the best directions I had, in 40 fathom water, and made a warp, which was of the length of 3 hawsers and half, which was made fast to the rocks to steady the ship, and by which

which we haul'd our raft of cask ashore and aboard. The very next morning we were ready to go to sea, but had not the least opportunity in 4 days.

May 25. A hard gale of wind came out of the sea upon us (a thing very uncommon as has been reported) and brought in a great tumbling swell, so that in a few hours our cable (which was never wet before) parted: a dismal accident this, there being no means to be used, or the least prospect of avoiding immediate destruction. But providence interposed in our behalf so far, that if we had struck but a cable's length farther to the Eastward, or Westward of the place where we did, we must inevitably have perish'd. As soon as she touch'd the rocks we were obliged to hold fast by some part, or other, of the ship, otherwise the violence of the shocks she had in striking, might have been sufficient to have thrown us all out of her into the sea. Our main-mast, fore-mast, and mizen-top-mast went all away together. In short, words can't express the wretched condition we were in, or the surprize we were under of being so unfortunately shipwreck'd, or the dread we had upon us of starving on the uninhabited Isle we were thrown upon,

upon, in case we should escape the sea. We had reflections enough to depress our spirits; but the work we had in hand, which was no less than to endeavour the saving of our lives, (which were as yet in great suspense), made every body active.



C H A P.



C H A P. VII.

An Account of the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences during the Time of our stay on the Island of Juan Fernandes, after we had been shipwreck'd upon it.

IT was happy for us that our masts fell all over the off side, which gave us room to make a raft; by which means (and having hands ashore, who had been there before the wind came on, and who came down on the beach to assist us) we were all saved, except one man; I myself made a very narrow escape. In this surprize the first thing I took care of was my Commission, and remembering the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, I got most of it up, with about 7 or 8 bags of bread; these we secur'd to windward, and saved the ship not coming to pieces immediately in

An account of what we saved.

in a few minutes after she first struck, she was full of water, so that the Surgeon's chest being stow'd below, there was little or nothing preserved out of that; we saved 2 or 3 compasses, and some of our mathematical Instruments and Books. Before it was quite dark we were all ashore, in a very wet uncomfortable condition, no place to have recourse to for shelter from the boisterous wind and rain, except the trees; nothing to cheer up our spirits after the fatigue and hazard in getting from the wreck to the rocks, and no other prospect, but that, after having suffer'd much in this uninhabited place, we might, in process of time, be taken away by some ship or other. Our ears were now saluted by the melancholy howlings of innumerable Seals on the beach, who lay so thick that we were obliged to clear our way of them as we went along, and nothing presented itself to our sight but rocky precipices, inhospitable woods, dropping with the rain, lofty mountains, whose tops were hid by thick clouds, and a tempestuous sea, which had reduced us to the low state we were now in. Thus were we without any one thing necessary in life, not so much as a seat to sit upon to rest our limbs, except the cold wet ground, which, as far as

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

That evening all the Officers came to bear me company, and to consult how we should contrive to get some necessaries out of the wreck, if she was not quite in pieces by the next morning, and came to a resolution of losing no time in endeavouring to recover what we could out of the wreck, and having, by this time, lighted a fire, wrapt themselves up in what they could get, laid round it, and, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, slept very soundly; and, the next morning, getting up with the first glimpse of day-light, look'd at each other like men awaken'd out of a dream; so great, and so sudden was the melancholy change of our condition, that we could scarce believe our senses.

I went immediately among the people, to set them to work in doing what we propos'd the night before; but they were so scatter'd, that there was no such thing as getting them all together; so that, in short, all opportunities were lost of regaining any thing but some of our small arms which were fish'd up; not only which, but also all our beef and pork might have been retrieved, could I have prevail'd on them to set about their work in earnest; but instead of that they were employ'd in build-

P ing

We consult upon methods of getting some necessaries out of the wreck.

ing tents, and making other preparations to settle themselves here; and, in the mean time, the wreck was entirely destroy'd, and every thing that was in her lost, except one cask of beef, and one of *Farina de Pao*, which were wash'd whole on the strand. Thus were our provisions of all kinds irrecoverably gone, and whatever else might have been of use to us, except what I have already mention'd. I should have observed, that I saved 1100 dollars belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, which were kept in my chest in the great cabin; the rest being in the bottom of the bread-room for security, could not possibly be come at. I need not say how disconsolate my reflections were on this sad accident, which had, as it were, thrown us out from the rest of the world, without any thing to support us but the uncertain product of a desolate uncultivated Island, situated (I may justly say) in the remotest part of the earth; and, at least, 90 leagues distant from the continent of *Chili*, which was in the possession of the *Creolian Spaniards*, who have always been remarkable for their ungenerous treatment of their enemies, and we could have no better views at present than of falling into their hands sooner or later. But since we must now be obliged to suffer all
such

such hardships, as would be consequent to our shipwreck, it behoved me, in the first place, (since it was inevitably certain that our stay here would be very long) to use such means as offer'd towards the preservation of our healths, and to think of some oeconomy to be observ'd amongst the people in relation to the distribution of such quantities of provisions as should, from time to time, be got, &c.

I took some pains in finding out a convenient place to set up my tent; in this I not only regarded the situation, in respect to the weather, but also the security of it from being easily surprized by the enemy, and, at length, found a commodious spot of ground, not half a mile from the sea, and a fine run of water within a stone's cast on each side of it, with firing near at hand, and trees proper for building our dwellings; the people settled within call about me in as good a manner as they could, and having a cold season coming on, some of them thatch'd their dwellings, and others cover'd them with the skins of Seals and Sea-lions, whilst others got up water-butts, and slept in them under the cover of a tree. Having thus secur'd ourselves as well as possible against the inclemency of the approaching winter, we used to pass our time in the e-

Set up
Tents.

vening in making a great fire before my tent, round which my Officers, in general, assembled, employing themselves quietly in roasting craw-fish in the embers; sometimes bewailing our unhappy state, and sinking into despair; at other times feeding themselves up with hopes that something might yet be done to set us afloat again. But as words alone were not sufficient, I began to think it full time to look about me, to see if it was really practicable for us to build such a vessel as would carry us all off from this Island. Therefore (as the most proper man) I consulted first with the Carpenter; but was astonish'd at his cold indifference; when he answer'd me, that *he could not make brick without straw*, and walk'd away from me in a surly humour; from him I went to the Armourer, whom I found at the wreck, and ask'd him what he could do for us in his way, that might contribute towards the building of a small vessel; to which he answer'd, that he hoped he could do all the iron-work that was necessary for such a thing; that he had, with much labour, got his bellows out of the wreck that morning, with 4 or five spadoes, which would afford him steel, and that there could be no want of iron along the shore, and that he did

I consult with the Carpenter, &c. concerning means of building a small vessel.

not doubt but we should find a great many useful things when we came to set about it in good earnest, and desired that I would, without loss of time, order some charcoal to be made for him, whilst he sat up his forge. Upon this I call'd all hands together, and gave it to them, as my opinion, that there was a great shew of probability that we should be able to effect what every one had been hitherto wishing for, *viz.* a vessel to transport us from this scene of meanness and poverty. But withal gave them to understand that it would undoubtedly be a laborious task, and would require the utmost assistance of all of them; and, to be brief, put the question to them, Whether we should make a beginning or no? To which they, with one voice, consented, and promised to be extremely diligent in this important work, and begg'd of me to give them instructions how to proceed. I then order'd those who were wooding before the ship was lost to bring in their axes, that I might send them to cut wood to make charcoal, while the rest went down to the wreck to get the bowsprit ashore, of which I intended to make the keel, and prevail'd on the Carpenter to go with me to fix on the properest place to build upon. In a word, the people

found a great many useful materials about the wreck, and amongst the rest, the top mall, which being made fast to the head of the main-mast, was wash'd ashore, and, though of no small weight, would not, at this time, have been exchanged for its weight in gold.

Lay the keel of a bark.

So, on *June 8, 1720*, we laid the blocks to build upon, and had the bowsprit ready at hand, which the Carpenter, for a little while, handled with seeming good temper, but suddenly turning short upon me, as I stood by him, swore an oath, and said he would not strike another stroke upon it, that *he truly would be no body's slave, and thought himself now on a footing with myself*; this unreasonable exclamation provoked me to use him somewhat roughly with my cane. However, I was soon convinced that it would be necessary to use gentler methods with him; for I began to apprehend that he was prompted to it by some of the sad ones amongst us, and therefore offer'd him a reward, and came to an agreement to give him a four pistole piece, as soon as the stem and stern-post were up, and 100 pieces of eight when the bark was finish'd; and the money to be committed to the keeping of any one he should name, till that time. This done, he went to work

But was obliged to give the Carpenter a sum of money to prevail on him to work.

on the keel, which was to be 30 foot in length, her breadth by the beam 16 foot, and seven foot depth of hold. We were very tedious in chalking her out, and met with such difficulties in the woods before we could get her frame down, that I dreaded we should never be able to surmount them; for as every tree did not afford timber of a fit turn or size wanted, we were obliged sometimes to go a great way from the water-side, and after having cut it down, it must be dragg'd up steep hills, and other fatigues which tir'd the people to a great degree. But in two months time we made a tolerable show, which was, in a great measure, owing to the diligence and ingenuity of *Popplestone*, my Armourer, who did not lose a minute's time from the work of his hands and contrivance of his head. This assiduity of his, I dare say, was greatly owing to the just sense he had of our forlorn state, with which he seem'd to be very much affected. This man made us a little double headed maul, hammers, chisles, files, and a sort of gimblets, which performed very well; nay, he even made a bullet-mould, and an instrument to bore our cartouch-boxes, which we made of the trucks of gun-carriages which wash'd ashore; these we cover'd with Seals-

The Armourer proves to be very serviceable.

skins, and contrived so as to be both handy and neat, and had enabled himself to perform any iron-work the Carpenter wanted, and did not only do us this service in his way, but also began and finish'd a large serviceable boat, which was what we mightily stood in need of.

But I must leave the work to inform my Reader how we went on in other respects, and therefore must observe, that in the beginning, for a few days, the people behav'd themselves very regularly and diligently, half of them working one day, and half another, and began to relish their diet indifferently well, and seem'd to be easier and easier under our misfortunes every day; they treated me with as much regard as I could wish, and, in a body, thank'd me for the prospect they had of a deliverance. I, on my part, never fail'd to encourage them by adding to such stories of things, or actions, that I had known or heard of, to have been done by the like number of men in distresses of this kind; and always press'd them to stick close to the work, that we might get the bark ready in time, and always assured them, that I did not doubt but Providence would direct us in the way of some of the trading-ships,

ships, which we could easily take, and that, to our comfort, we had three of the best ports in *Chili* within 120 leagues of us. This instill'd new life into them, and they often declar'd, with one voice, that they would do their utmost to finish her with all expedition, which was a most agreable hearing. But the time soon arriv'd, when instead of enjoying peace and quiet, which was the only blessing we could expect, and be morally certain of, as our affairs stood at present, we became a prey to confusion and outrageous disorder, so that it was a miracle that ever we got off from this place by any assistance of our own; for after they had gone through the most laborious part of the work, they entirely neglected it, and my Officers deserted from my conversation to herd with the meanest of the ship's company. I was now confirm'd in the suspicion I had had some time before, that there was a black design a kindling, which was now ready to break out into a destructive flame; for when I met, by chance, any of my Officers, if I asked them what they were about, and why they would act so contrary to their duty, as to divert the people from their work, one would answer, that he did not know whether he should go off the Island, or no; if my
bundle

The People neglect the work and mutiny.

bundle of boards was ready ; and others told me that they did not care how matters went, they could shift for themselves as well as the rest, and in talking with the meaner sort, some would be surly, and say nothing, and others truly would be slaves to nobody, but would willingly do as the rest did ; so that it may be easily imagin'd how I pass'd my hours at this time.

Upon which I order my Commission to be hid.

The People assemble privately, and resolve upon a new scheme of their own to proceed by.

In the midst of these troublesome confusions I order'd my son to secure my Commission in some dry place of the woods or rocks, if such could be found ; for I well remember'd how *Dampier* had been serv'd in these seas. At length I one afternoon miss'd all the people, and could see no body but Mr. *Adams*, our Surgeon, Mr. *Henry*, the Agent, and my Son, and Mr. *Dodd*, Licutenant of Marines, who, for some reasons, best known to himself, had feign'd lunacy, and had a mind to act the mad-man. I could not devise what could have become of them all ; but at night was inform'd, that they had assembled at the great tree (as they call'd it) to consult together, where they had form'd a new regulation, and new Articles whereby they had excluded the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* from having any part of what we should take for the future,

future, and divested me of the authority of their Captain, and had regulated themselves according to the *Jamaica* discipline. The chief Officers, amongst the rest, had chosen one *Morphew* (who both made and mended their shoes before the *Speedwell* was lost) to be their Champion and Speaker. The character of this fellow would be needless here, since enough of it may be found in the *East-India* Company's journal, in the Article of *St. Helena*, about the time that a ship's long boat was run away with from thence ; however, this man addressed himself to those, that were present, to acquaint them, that " they were now their The Mutineers chuse one *Morphew* to be their Speaker.
 " own masters, and servants to none, that al-
 " though Mr. *Shelvocke*, their former Captain,
 " took upon him to command them to do
 " this and that, &c. he ought to be made sen-
 " sible, that whoever was their Commander
 " now, it was their courtesy that made him
 " so. But that, however, Mr. *Shelvocke*
 " might have the refusal, if the majority thought
 " fit, but not else ; but at the same time ob-
 " serv'd to them, that my Command was too
 " lofty and arbitrary for a private ship, that
 " I should have continued in men of war,
 " where people were oblig'd *quietly to bear*
 " all hardships impos'd upon them, whether
 " right

“ right or wrong ” ; to which some present,
 who had a regard for me, answer’d, “ that
 “ they never knew, or saw me treat any body
 “ unjustly or severely, and that however rigid
 “ I might be, they had no body else to de-
 “ pend on, and that they would all do well
 “ to consider, how many difficulties I had al-
 “ ready conducted them through, and that
 “ (supposing we were preserv’d out of the
 “ hands of our enemies) how many more
 “ were to come no one could tell ; that if
 “ they expected, or intended, to return to
 “ *England*, it could be by no other means
 “ than taking a turn round the world, and
 “ that, in that case, there was none capable
 “ to undertake the care of them but myself,
 “ and remind’d them of my Commission,
 “ and the respect due to me upon that, besides
 “ the protection they would receive from it,
 “ should they fall into the hands of the *Spa-*
 “ *niards*”. This had some effect on the
 meaner sort, but they were easily diverted from
 the thoughts of returning to obedience, by
 the chief concern’d, who were no less than
 my first Lieutenant *Brooks*, &c. who had
 made the foremention’d *Morphew* his confi-
 dent, even on board the ship ; for having
 serv’d as fore-mast man, the voyage before he
 was

Brooks my
 first Lieu-
 tenant at
 the head
 of the
 Malcon-
 tents.

was made my Lieutenant, he had contracted such a liking to the fore-castle conversation and caballing, that he became dead to all the civilities I had continually heap'd upon him, and now openly, and before privately, preferr'd the mean despicable familiarity of the common sailors, to any thing he could see in the great cabin, which had so far gain'd him the love of the common sailors, who esteem'd him as a good humour'd considerate Officer, that it was no hard matter for *Morphew*, by the assistance of this Gentleman, who had made him his bosom companion, to carry the majority which way he pleas'd. Besides this, they were again doubly supported by Mr. *Randall*, my second Lieutenant, who was *Brooks's* brother-in-law, and others, who forgetting all the obligations they ow'd to the Gentlemen in *England*, who so easily promoted them to posts, and all the lawful respect due to me, were now running themselves down the descent of ingratitude, and into an irrecoverable damage to their characters and interests. The first, and most remarkable outrage committed by this gang of Levellers was committed on Mr. *la Porte*, my third Lieutenant, whom *Morphew* assaulted in a barbarous manner,

ner, and knock'd him down on the beach; whilst Mr. *Brooks* stood by an eye-witness of this brutality. This being reported to me, I check'd Mr. *Brooks* for his inhumanity, and upbraided him very warmly; but all the answer I got from him was, that Mr. *la Porte* should keep a good tongue in his head, and take care how he affronted any body again. By this it was apparent, that all shame and honour was banish'd from him, when he could suffer one, who was both a brother Officer, and a Gentleman who had commanded several ships, to be thus cruelly abused. This piece of insolence served as an introduction to what follow'd, which, I believe, in all its circumstances, is not to be heard of in any former expedition in these seas, or any other; for having met together, as I have already mention'd, and drawn up a scheme and Articles to be observed for the time to come, they came at night before my tent, desiring to speak with me; when I came out to them, they gave me a paper into my hand, which began with a preamble to this effect, that, *Whereas the Speedwell was cast away (mentioning the day of the month and date of the year) they were now of consequence at their own disposal, so that their obligations to the Owners,*
and

and me, were of no validity, the ship being now no more, that therefore they had now thought fit to frame such Articles, as would be most conducive to their own interest. Two of their chief Articles were, First, *That what money or plate should hereafter be taken, should be all divided amongst them as soon as it could conveniently be done; and, secondly, That in all attacks by sea or land, and every thing else, the people's consent was to be ask'd in general, every one to have a single vote, and their Captain to have two.* This was the substance of it, as well as I can remember, for I have not seen the paper since. But in the allotment of shares, I found myself reduced from sixty shares to six. I fail'd not to oppose their measures in the most proper manner I could think of, and desir'd to know what I had done to them that impos'd so much upon me as to deprive the Owners, and myself, of what I thought was our right; but they answer'd, that as for the Owners, they could not possibly have any thing to do with them now, or require any service from them; and that, as to myself, I might think myself well off, since the *Jamaica* Captains were allow'd but four shares, and they had given me two more, out of the regard

They insist
upon my
signing
their Arti-
cles.

regard they had for me, and thought I was favour'd in having the refusal of the Command of them, (as they call'd it) which if I thought fit to accept of, it was well, but first expected that I should sign their Articles, otherwise they would not trust themselves under my conduct, because they should always be apprehensive that I had sinister intentions upon them, and should serve them as *C-----* serv'd some of his men, who (they heard) happening to be taken separately, he denied them, and suffer'd eight of them to be hang'd, as pyrates, before his face.

I was at a loss, not knowing what to do in this dilemma, and was distracted at the thoughts of subjecting myself to the caprices of a giddy mutinous gang of obstinate fellows who were dead to reason, and in a fair way of being harden'd in all kinds of wickedness. But upon the whole, I found I was under an indispensable necessity of signing, when I consider'd the little probability of ever doing otherwise than surrendring, if ever we did get afloat, and I hoped that when things were thus settled, they would turn their thoughts on the work we had begun, for if I had refused it, it was more than probable that we should never have got off from this Island,

or

or if the rest had, I should have been forcibly left behind, or they might have us'd some violence towards me for the sake of my Commission, and few of them have known who did the fact; and farther, what opposition could I have made, when my Officers were so far from offering their assistance, that they had voluntarily given up their distinctions, and would even seem angry with any of the poor rascals when they, by chance, gave them the title they had formerly born on board the ship, reproving them for it, and telling them, that they did not think themselves Officers now, or better men than they were, until the majority had conferr'd their former, or any other post they thought them fittest for, and had given their consents that their brother Officers *Mr. la Porte*, third Lieutenant, and *Mr. Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines, and *Mr. Hendry*, Purser and Agent, should be reduced to Midshipmen; I must observe, that *Mr. Coldsea*, the Master, never sided with the rest, nor ever offer'd to oppose them (perhaps from the improbability he had conceiv'd of doing me any good by it.) In short, having now very unwillingly satisfied them in all I thought they could ask, I recommended to them the vessel we had begun, not doubting but that after this they would have us'd their

My chief Officers desert me, and voluntarily give up their distinctions.

Mr. la Porte, third Lieutenant
Mr. Dodd, Lieutenant of Marines,
and *Mr. Hendry* Purser, reduc'd to Midshipmen.
I sign their Articles.

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constant

constant endeavours to finish her, that they might have an opportunity of putting their project in execution, which they said they would.

The people assemble privately together a second time.

But early the next morning, I went down to the beach as usual, expecting to find every one employ'd, but saw my mistake in having so favourable an opinion of them, for caballing and mutinying seem'd to be the only thing they had in view, and it was so agreeable a subject to them to be continually opposing and tyrannizing over their Captain, that I really believe for the pleasure of thinking themselves equal to me, they would contentedly have lived on this desert, at least, as long as I had liv'd. In short, they once again retir'd to the great tree, and I saw none of them, except the Carpenter, and two or three more, who, notwithstanding they were abettors of the designs that were carrying on, yet being over byas'd by the hopes of some money from me, had attended me in the work pretty diligently, though I can't say that they fatigued themselves much. However, I was now more than ever at my wits end to guess what mischief they possibly might have in their heads, after what they had already done, but they took care I should

should not be long in suspense about the result of their last meeting; for betimes the next morning they surrounded my tent, while *Morphew* and *Stewart*, their Agent, came in to me, and told me, that they came in the name of all the people to demand every thing belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, out of my possession, particularly 750 pieces of Eight weight in *Pinna* or virgin silver, a silver dish, weighing 75 ounces, and 250 dollars in money: it may be thought that I did not easily part with it, but they desir'd I would use no argument, or make any dispute to deliver them what was their own; for as it came out of the wreck, they insisted, that the Owners could have nothing to do with it, and they were resolv'd to have it by some means or other; so, in short, I was oblig'd to give it up, and they shared it amongst them that very moment, according to their new regulation; after which they entirely destroy'd what little power they had given me over them; and the meanest of the crew were taught that they were as good men as I, and that it was unreasonable I should be respected any more than the rest; and sometimes would not allow me a quota of the fish that was caught, wondering that I could not go to catch it for my-

And the next morning demand from me all the money and plate I had saved belonging to the Gentlemen Owners.

self; and at best would give my servant that used to fetch it, but the leavings after they had chosen the best; and *Morphew's* mess, and some others have sometimes fed on the best fish the sea about us afforded, when I have been obliged to take up with Seal, after a hard day's labour on the strand; nay, my Officers, amongst the rest, enticed my servants from attending me; and, to compleat their insults, *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, who used sometimes to eat with me, entirely deserted my table, to join with *Morphew* to partake of his better diet; upon this I was forced to part with *Mr. la Porte*, *Mr. Dodd*, and *Mr. Hendry*, being no longer able to provide for so many, when I cou'd scarce get any thing to eat myself, so that I had but a slender family, which consisted only of my Surgeon, and my Son, and a Black, who used to kill Seals, go a fishing, and get palm cabbage in the mountains for us.

I was now quite tired out with incessant mutinies, and the constant labour I underwent, infomuch, that fearing I never should be able to bring them to any good, I became so desperate as to have willingly embraced an opportunity, if such there could have been,
of

My chief Officers entirely leave me, to herd with *Morphew*.

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of getting away from them in our yaul, which though it would have been to the last degree hazardous, yet I began to prefer the dangers of the sea, in a small open boat, to what I thought myself exposed to on this place by my ship's company, who, I apprehended, would never rest till they had made themselves entirely their own masters, by privately making away with me; but as this was an undertaking impracticable on many accounts, I became extremely melancholy and pensive, preparing myself for the worst that could happen. They seeing such a change in me, were afraid that as I was a great enemy (with good reason) to their measures, I was now contriving means to subject them again, and bring them to their lawful obedience of me; and therefore did not think themselves safe whilst I had the arms in my possession, and were determin'd to get them from me; to this purpose the ringleaders went publickly from tent to tent, telling their accomplices that I was making a party against them, and design'd to leave them on the Island, which, considering the advantage I had of the arms, might easily be effected by a few, who might drive them from their dwellings, and force them into the mountains. Having by this groundless story

Brooks and Morpew at the head of the rest of the people demand their arms from me.

added fuel to the fire, and increased the aversion and disrespect wherewith they had already exasperated the people against me, they proposed that they should all, in a body, demand their arms from me; which they did without delay, headed by *Brooks, Morpew, &c.* who, in the presence of all the people, used me with so much impudence and opprobrious language, as never could have been believed to come out of the mouths of men (meaning the Officers) who were so many ways oblig'd to me for the gentleman-like regard wherewith I had treated them all the preceeding part of the voyage; nay, they even went so far as to threaten my son, for only telling *Morpew* that every one present had not chosen him for their speaker, and had there been any one in the assembly hardy enough to vindicate me, they would have incur'd the certain hazard of being beaten. The chief end why I troubled myself with the care of the arms, was, that having them under my eye, I should keep them in good order, and not having above one flint for each musquet, I knew that if they had them, they would render them useleſs in a little time.

But having gain'd their point in this, they had the pleasure of squandering away their time, and

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and powder and shot, in firing at cats, or any thing else to waste the ammunition ; this put me upon the guard to hinder them, as much as I could, from taking the powder which lay open under a great tree near my tent ; as to lead, they could get enough of that from the bottom of the wreck, which was all our dependance ; for we had not been able to save above ten pound weight of small shot ; these troubles crowding in upon me on the backs of one another, press'd me too hard to be sustain'd by so slender a support as I had ; but by intervals I still flatter'd myself with hopes (I had no other cordial) that I should not only prevail on some of the gravest of them to look on their arms as their only safeguard from the *Spaniards* ; but also if ever I had them afloat again, that the use they would find of me in extremities would make some reformation amongst them.

I took all opportunities of ringing in their ears, such instances of the *Spaniards* cruelty towards our country-men, and others in *America*, as I had collected ; on the other hand, I reminded them how easily we might provide for ourselves, from the experience we already had of the enemy's management at sea ; I had sometimes myself a little comfort in these reflections,

flections, but was deprived of all hopes by the tedious advances of our bark, and the little probability I could foresee of finishing her, amongst so many confused hindrances I had hitherto struggled with.

Discover a
large ship
off at sea.

What I have now related is the substance of what occur'd from *May 24.* till *August 15. 1720.* when we had sight of a large ship, which put us in a great hurry. Before she cross'd the bay, I order'd all the fires to be put out, and confin'd the *Negroes* and *Indians*, lest the ship should be becalm'd under the land, and any of them should attempt swimming off to her. I could not tell what to think of her. I conceived it impossible that she should be a man of war, who had had advice of our being lost; but then if she should (by chance) stand into the bay, and discover what we were about, and the wreck on the shore, we should soon have the whole force of the kingdom of *Chili* upon us. However, I was not long under these apprehensions, for she kept away large, and at too great a distance to perceive any thing of us.

On this occasion I got most of the people under arms, and was glad to see so many of them, in some measure, obedient to my Command. I, upon this told them, I was pleased to see their

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their arms in such good order ; to which they answer'd, impertinently, that it was for their own sakes. But before they were dispersed, I told them, that the necessity of our affairs was such, that it required every one to give their assistance, and use their utmost endeavours to get the bark afloat, instead of cabaling against their Captain, which would, in the end, be highly prejudicial, whatever thoughts they might have of it at present ; that if we were discover'd, all hopes would be gone, and we could reasonably expect no other than to be slaves in some of the mines ; that we had still a great deal of work, and never above 10 of the more considerate, and commonly but 6 or 7 who attended it, and that (as they knew) to shew an example, I was always one of the number.

But they were so deaf to all I could say, and so wilfully insensible of the impendent destruction which was likely to fall upon us, that the more I made use of reason to reclaim them, and the more I remonstrated to them the ill consequences that would be the attendants of their continual mutinies, and the more I encouraged them, by any future prospect of advantage, the more they ran into the extremes of a confused distraction, and interruption

tion of any thing that might be of visible service to them in any respect; a convincing instance of this, I am now going to relate.

The People divided into two Parties.

The very next day after seeing the fore-mention'd ship, they were divided amongst themselves. The question started was, Whether the bark should be carry'd on, or whether they should build two large shallops, and set what was done of the bark on fire; one part of them alledging, she would be the cause of our being found out, before she could be finish'd; and, in short, that it was impossible she should ever be fit for the sea; whereas, on the contrary, boats might be built in private places, where (if 20 ships came) they could know nothing of them. The favourers of this new design, who were headed by *Morphew* and his Friend, aim'd at a separation by this means, and did not doubt they should have their desire, considering the great influence they had as yet had over their fellow sufferers. But as this must be carried by a majority of votes, according to their own Articles, they assembled before my tent to debate this matter, which they did in a noisy clamorous manner on both sides. But in order to come to a fix'd conclusion, I positively assur'd them that boats would be impracticable, because our tools and materials too, were almost

almost worn out, and gone, therefore that it was in vain for them to dispute about it. The workmen, and a considerable majority of the rest sided with me in behalf of the bark. But at night the Carpenter sent me word that if I did not deliver him the money agreed at the beginning, notwithstanding the terms of the payment of it were not yet executed, I should not see his face again, so I was obliged to treat this Gentleman in the most deserving manner, and raise the money for him. The most provoking part of this proposal was, that the fellows who took upon them to mention and stickle for it, were those who had never done an hour's work since we had been cast away, but had been, on the contrary, the first movers in perverting the minds of the rest, and were in return for my indefatigable pains to serve them, come to insult me, and those few who had been my assistants on the strand; but not gaining their point, they openly declar'd I should not be their Captain, and that none but *Brooks* should be their Commander, which was (perhaps) what that young man aspir'd to, and had long expected, if one may draw reasonable conclusions from his averse deportment to me, and he, undoubtedly, might have been their Commander, had it not been for the people of

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the Boatswain's tent (who were some of the oldest sailors) who, although they were fond of thinking themselves their own masters, and would not submit to a regular command, yet had that respect left, as not to give their consents that I should be left on the Island; I must own that it was a thing very indifferent to me, had I not thought that I acquitted myself of my duty in doing what in me lay, to hinder so many of his Majesty's subjects entrusted under my care, from becoming profligate vagabonds.

A third party arises distinct from the other two.

To compleat the number of our unaccountable divisions, there arose a third party, who were resolved to have nothing to do with the other two, they purposing to stay on the Island. These were to the number of twelve, who accordingly separated from the rest, and never appear'd amongst us, except in the night, when they used to come about our tents and work to steal powder, lead, and axes; and, in short, whatever else they could lay their hands on: but in a little time I found means to manage them, and took all their arms, ammunition, and the rest of their plunder from them, and threatned that if they were found within musket-shot of our work or tents, that they should be treated as enemies.

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In a little time afterwards these divisions so far weakned the power of the whole body of them, that, by degrees, they began to listen a little to what I said to them, and prevail'd so far as to get most of them in a working humour. Mr. *Brooks* now came with a feign'd submission to desire he might eat with me again: but in the main, did not abate a jot of his esteem for *Morpheus*: however, his dissimulation proved of signal service in contributing to the speedy finishing of the bark, which claim'd the assistance of all our heads and hands; for when we came to plank her bottom, we had very vexatious disheartning difficulties to encounter with; for having no plank, except pieces of the wreck's deck, we found it so dry and stubborn that fire and water had hardly any effect in making it pliable and fit for use, it rent and split and flew like glass; so that now I had substantial reasons to believe that all our labour had been in vain, and that we must quietly sit down with the disagreeable hopes of being taken off by some *Spanish* ship some time or other, and after all our troubles be led to a prison to reflect on our past misfortunes. However, by constant labour, and variety of contrivances, we, in the end, patch'd her up in such a manner, that I

The people being weakned by their divisions, begin to hearken to reason.

Brooks, first Lieutenant submits himself to me again.

A difficult piece of work in planking the bark's bottom.

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dare say the like was never seen, and I may safely affirm, that such a bottom never swam on the surface of the sea before.

The Armourer finishes a large yaul.

September 9. The boat, which I have already mention'd to be begun by the Armourer, was launch'd, and being now in a way of completing our bark, there yet remain'd unconsider'd and undetermin'd what provisions we could get to support us in our voyage; this was as necessary to be look'd into, as the finishing our embarkation, the one being useless without the other, and all the stock we had was one cask of beef, five or six bushels of *Farina*, or *Cassader* flour, together with 4 or 5 live hogs.

Found a method of saving the Conger Eels.

I made several experiments to save both fish and seal, but it was impossible to be done without salt; at length we luckily thought on a method of curing the conger-eel, by splitting them, and taking out the back bone, then dipp'd them in salt-water, and afterwards hung them up to dry in a great smoke; but no other fish could be preserv'd after that manner, therefore the fishermen were order'd to make it their business to catch what congers they could; and now several of the people, who had not yet struck a stroke, began to repent of their folly, as they grew weary of living on this place,

place, and offer'd their service to go a fishing, making some foolish excuse or other, for being so long idle, and ask'd my pardon, promising not to lose a moment for the time to come. The new boat being sent to try her fortune, I was, for the first time, very uneasy during their absence, lest any of them in her should be hardy enough to go away from us. But, at night, they return'd, and brought with them a great parcel of fish of several sorts, amongst which were 200 eels, which was a good beginning, and every tent took their proportion of them to save; and the boat was haul'd up every night, and a strict watch was kept over her to prevent any making their escape.

The new boat sent a fishing for Congers to save for a sea store of provisions.

Having this conveniency of a large boat, I desir'd Mr. *Brooks*, our only diver, to try what he could recover from that part of the wreck which lay without; he accordingly went, and could find but one small gun, which he weigh'd, and brought ashore, together with two pieces of a large church candlestick, which was a part of the Gentlemen Owners plate.

Mr. *Brooks* at my desire dives, and recovers one of our quarter deck guns.

Our boat was daily employ'd in fishing, the Armourer constantly supplying them with hooks, and there was no want of lines, which were made of twisted ribbon, of which a great quantity

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tity was driven ashore ; in the mean time those who were ashore made twice lay'd stuff for rigging, &c. and patch'd up the canvass for sails ; the Cooper compleated his casks ; and, in a short time, we had masts an end tolerably well rigg'd, and made a comfortable figure. But notwithstanding this shew, I had a damp upon my spirits, when I ruminated within myself the certain and unavoidable difficulty we should find in calking her tight, which was like to prove a very ugly piece of work, where one had bad seams, wretched tools, and indifferent artists to deal with, which was our case. However, when we had done it, and came to put in water to try the tightness of our work, it was follow'd by an universal outcry, *A Sieve ! A Sieve !* and now every one appear'd truly melancholy and dispirited, insomuch, that I was afraid they would not have used any farther means. But, in a little time, by incessant labour we brought her into a tolerable condition, and having repair'd the ship's pumps (which were much shatter'd) I contriv'd them to fit our bark ; this they cry'd, was a poor dependance ; but I desir'd them to have patience, and continue their aid in doing what more could be thought of, and prepare to launch her, that then we should be the better able to judge what we might expect

Meet
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peft before we ventur'd to fea in her, and that in the mean time the Cooper ſhould make a bucket for each man, if his materials would hold out. This being approved of by all, it was agreed to put her in the water the next ſpring tide, which fell out on the 5th of *October*, 1720, by which time we had ſaved about 2300 eels, weighing, one with another, one pound each, and about 60 gallons of Seal's oil to fry them in. This, with what I mention'd before, was all our ſea ſtock.

The appointed time being come, we were all ready. But in launching her, as ſhe fell from the blocks, that which was to receive her abaft, gave way, and down ſhe ſettled, and ſtuck faſt. Our launch being with the head towards the ſea, I thought we were irretrievably ſpoil'd now. But when we came to make purchaſes to raiſe her again, happily found ſhe did not hang ſo heavy as I dreaded; by which means we got her clear off, and ſaved the ſame tide; as ſhe went off I named her the *Recovery*, though I was ſadly afraid of hearing ill news from thoſe afloat in her. But all proved indifferently well, and knowing it to be dangerous for her to lye here long, eſpecially having no other anchor than a great ſtone, and a ſlight rope to hold her; the leaſt

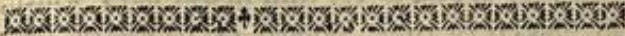
The bark compleated, launch'd and call'd the *Recovery*.

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puff of wind, would have destroy'd her upon the rocks; therefore that we might, as little as possible, incur such a hazard, we got all the water off that day, which we did so much the easier and quicker, because the casks were ready stow'd in the hold. She had two masts, and was about 20 tons burthen; and, to my great satisfaction, found, that one pump, constantly working, kept her free. The next day *October 6.* we got every one on board, and embark'd; leaving behind us 11 or 12 of those who had deserted us, who were deaf to all persuasions; and, in short, sent me word, that *they were not yet prepar'd for the other world*; so that they, with the like number of *Blacks* and *Indians*, remain'd on the Island.




*Our manner of living on the
Island of Juan Fernandes.*

THAT I may, before I go any farther, satisfy those who may be willing to know by what means so many of us subsisted so long by the produce of an uninhabited Island; I shall here subjoin a brief account of our manner of living. At first the weather not permitting us to go a fishing for some time after we were cast away, necessity drove us to make use of seals; but could not, for a pretty while venture upon their flesh, and therefore began by their entrails, which are really palatable. This was the destruction of great numbers of those amphibious creatures, who, in short, were so alarm'd by such continual slaughters of them, and being offended by the stench, or terrified by the sight of so many of their putrified carkasses, that from the innumerable shoals we had of them at the beginning, they diminish'd so much, by taking refuge in other parts of the Island, where they

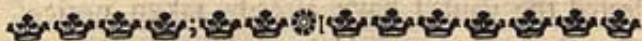
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were out of the way of such disturbances, that they appear'd very thin in our bay; which, in process of time, oblig'd us to eat of their flesh, and, by that means, avoid killing so many of them. But as their fat was very strong and rank, we always stripp'd off that, and then roasted them till they were as dry as a chip; after all, no food ever requir'd a dram to digest it more than this, but we had not the least drop of any thing spirituous. Cats were plenty, and esteem'd a better sort of diet, by every one but myself, who could never be perswaded to taste them; as to goats flesh, that was hard to come at on several accounts, such as the scarcity of powder and shot, and want of shoes to follow them, which were mostly made of the skins of goats or seals, laced to our feet with thongs of the same. In the mean time we used to take all opportunities of fair weather to go a fishing. But were deprived of the benefit of that by the roguery of some of the people, who did, one night, (for what ends I know not) set the boat adrift, and she was lost; which put us upon a contrivance of making small boats of basket work, cover'd with sea-lyons skins: with these we made shift to catch the small fish near the shore, but dar'd not go out of the bay with them;

them; these served till the Armourer had completed the yaul I have already taken notice off. Our fish we fry'd in seals oil, without salt, or any thing of bread kind to eat with it, or ought else but a little wild sorrel.

As to our habitations, they were as mean and inconvenient as possible, some being made with the boughs of trees, some cover'd with seals and sea-lyons skins, and some with the remains of the ship's sails. Often in the night, sudden flaws of wind would descend from the mountains, and leave us (if I may so call it) in bed, expos'd to the weather; the furniture of our tents consisted of such utensils for cookery as we could find, which were very scarce, for the pitch-ladle, and covers of the ship's coppers were converted into frying-pans, &c. with many other shifts tedious to mention, though some had never any other conveniency of dressing what they had than broiling. Amongst the rest Palm-cabbage was very acceptable when we could get it; which we never did without much trouble; for the whole tree seldom affords above two pound that is eatable.



*Description of the Island of Juan
Fernandes, in the Latitude of
33 deg. and 30 min. South. on
the Coast of Chili.*

MY Reader may reasonably expect an exact account of this Island from me. But the frequent disturbances by my people, and the constant attendance on the vessel, deprived me of making such remarks as I otherwise should; therefore, tho' I cannot give so perfect an account of it as I could wish; yet for the amusement of such whose curiosity may require it; this Island situated in the Latitude of 33 deg. 30 min. *South.* 90 leagues to the *Westward* of the Continent of *Chili*; is about 3 leagues long, and two leagues in breadth; towards the sea it is no other than rocky precipices, and the whole body of it consists of very high mountains, and profound narrow valleys, insomuch that there is no walking a quarter of a mile without going up or down a steep declivity. The anchoring place is on the

North

North side, and is to be known by a table mountain, on each side of which is a lofty peck; as to anchoring I would have none come to in less than forty fathom, or think of staying long here, especially if the sun is to the *Northward* of the Equator; for although some of our Navigators have reported that the *Northern* winds (which only can affect the road) never blow strong here; yet I, by experience, found that it is very subject to tempestuous gales from the *Northern* quarter. In going in, beware of the flaws which come down the narrow valleys so violent as to be often times dangerous; these too in the night, are surprizing as you lie at anchor, Whilst you lie in this road, it is impossible that you should have the wind steady in any quarter except directly out of the sea; for lying within half a mile of the shore, you are surrounded by prodigious high neighbouring mountains, almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Compass round, so that you have nothing but the extremes of dead calms, (or at most faint breezes) and furious gusts of wind from all parts of the bay in the space of a few minutes; upon the whole, tho' it is a very commodious place for ships who come to cruize here to wood, and water at; yet, it is my opinion, that the anchorage is far from being safe.

Air.

It enjoys a fine wholesome air, insomuch, that out of 70 of us that were on it, for the space of five months, and eleven days, not one had an hour's sickness, notwithstanding that we fed on such foul diet without bread or salt; so that we had no complaints amongst us, except an incessant craving appetite, and the want of our former strength and vigour. For my own part I must acknowledge the bounty of providence that gave me strength to cope with such vexations as I met with, for altho' I lost much of my flesh, I became one of the strongest and most active men on the Island; from being very corpulent, and almost crippled with the Gout, I walk'd much, and work'd hard every day, without being in the least afflicted with that distemper, and may say, that if it had not pleas'd God so to have enabled me, we might probably have remain'd there for years to come, since it is a place little frequented by the *Spaniards*.

Soil.

The soil is fruitful, abounding with various sorts of large beautiful trees, mostly aromatick; the names of those we knew were the *Piemento-tree*, which bears a leaf like a Myrtle, but somewhat larger, with a blue blossom; their trunks are short and thick, and their heads very bushy, and as round and regular

as

as if they were kept so by art. There is another sort much superiour in bulk to the former, which I take to be somewhat like that which affords the Jesuit's bark. On the tops of some of the mountains are plains cover'd with groves of the *Italian* laurel, mention'd by *Frezier* in his description of *Chili*; these grow up in a strait slender body, from which sprout small irregular branches from the root to the top, bearing leaves like the laurel in *England*, but smaller. Palm-trees are likewise found in most parts of the Island, growing in smooth joints like a cane, some 30, some 40 foot high; the head of them is like that of a Cocoa-nut-tree, except that the leaves of them are of a paler green, and bear large bunches of red berries bigger than a floe; they taste like our haws, and have a stone as big as that of a heart-cherry: that which we call the palm-cabbage is the very substance of the head of the tree, which being cut off, and dismember'd of its great spreading leaves, and all of it that is hard and tough, you find enclosed a white and tender young head, with its leaves and berries perfectly form'd, and ready to supply the place of the old one.

Thus

Thus when we went in search of them we were obliged to cut down a lofty tree, for every one we got, beside the danger and fatigue of carrying a load up and down mountains, some of which, were it not for the roots of trees to catch hold on, it would not be prudent to venture up. One good quality belonging to the woods which cover this Island is, that they are every where easy of access, there being no under-growth of bushes or shrubs, except in some of the deepest valleys, where the fern grows very high, and of which there are even large trees, with trunks of good substance. Some of the *English* that have been here formerly, sow'd turnips, which have spread very much, together with two or three small plantations of pumpkins; but my men had never patience to let any of these come to maturity; we likewise found plenty of water-creffes and wild sorrel. Here are some hills remarkable for consisting of a fine red earth, which I take to be the same with what the Inhabitants of *Chili* make their earthen ware, which is almost as beautiful as the red ware from *China*.

Fresh Water.

The *Northern* part of this place is very well water'd by a great many streams which

come

come down the narrow valleys, it keeps well at sea, and is, I dare say, as good as any in the world; down the *Western* peck, contiguous to the table mountain, descend two cascades at least 300 foot perpendicular, close by one another, about 12 foot in breadth, (which probably supply most of the other runs of water). What with the rapid descent of these waters, and the palm-trees which grow quite up close by the edges of them, adorn'd with vast bunches of red berries, it yields as agreeable a prospect as can be seen.

There would have been no want of goats in the mountains, could we, in all respects, have conveniently follow'd them; and cats are so numerous, that there is hardly taking a step without starting one; they are in size and colour exactly the same with our house cats; those whose stomachs prefer'd their flesh for food, have assured me, that their hunger found a more substantial relief from one meal of it, than from 4 or 5 of seal or fish; and to their great satisfaction, we had a small bitch which would catch almost any number they wanted in an hour or two.

The *Spaniards*, who first stock'd this Isle with goats, since they now have no need of
the

Plenty of
Goats,
Cats and
Dogs.

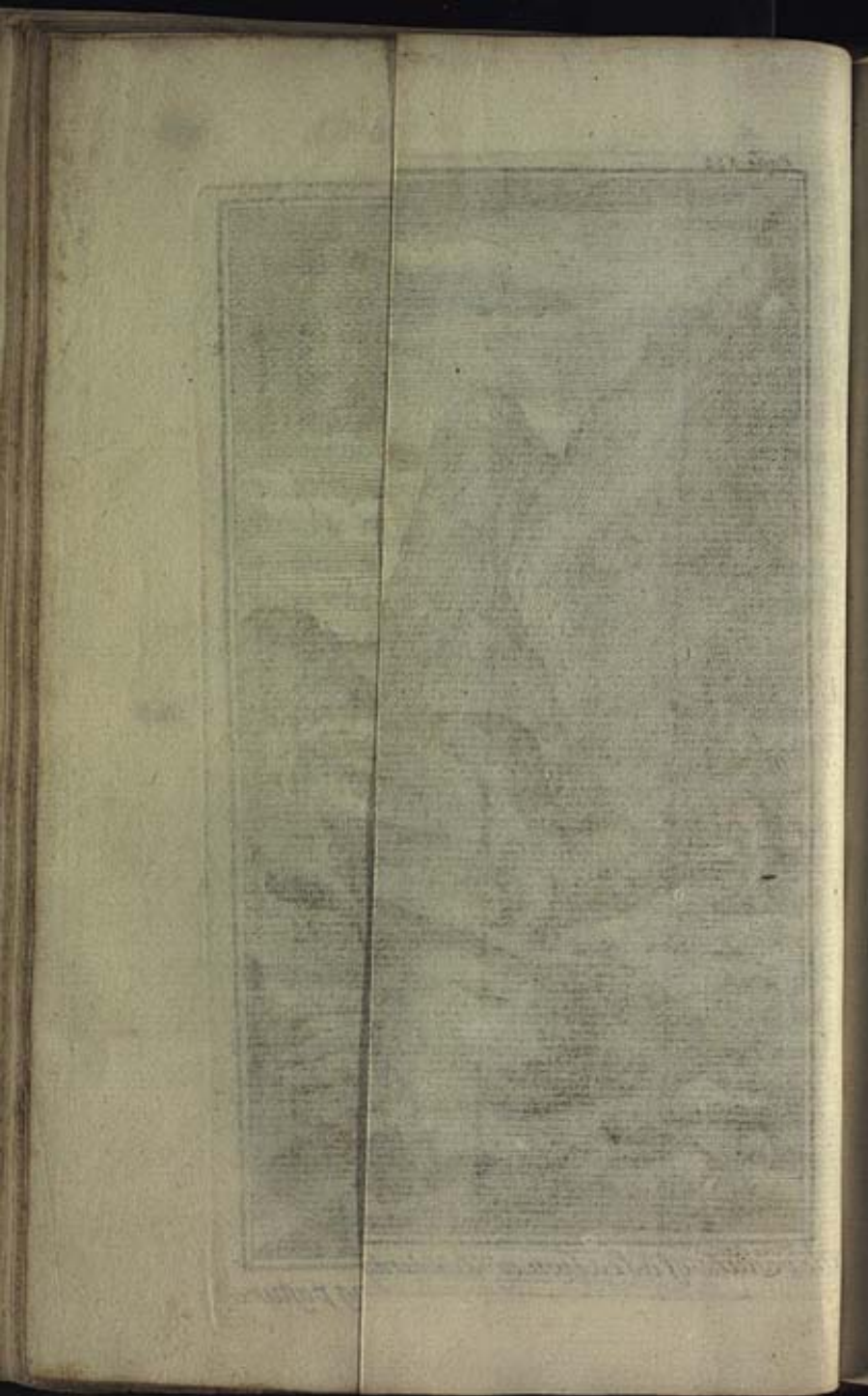
the benefit they, at first, propos'd to themselves by it, which was before they had got any sure footing in *Chili*, and imagining that the *English*, who have, from time to time, cruiz'd in these seas, reaped a much greater advantage by it than they did, have endeavour'd to destroy the goats by leaving dogs, who are now very numerous; but the goats had the start of them so long, that it is very improbable to suppose they will ever be able to effect what the *Spaniards* intended, especially when one considers the many places of refuge they have, where no dogs can follow them.

Birds.

Here is but little variety of different kinds of birds, and of those there are no great abundance; they have a sort which burrow in the ground, and are the chief prey of the cats; these never fly abroad but in the night, and that only in the summer months; the earth over their holes being loose (as they don't make them very deep) it requires some caution in walking; for it was common to fall in as we trod upon them, up to the knee, which, in running, or walking hastily, might have endanger'd the breaking a leg or thigh. Here are likewise some humming birds (of the usual
size



The posture of a sea lion n^o. suddenly roused or disturb'd as one is asleep by him & a seal in a moving posture



size in other parts) of a fine scarlet, and (as it were slightly burnish'd over with gold; these with a sort of thrushes, and a few hawks, were all I observed here.

The sea about this Island affords vast shoals of divers sorts of fish, the most exquisite in their kind, such as cod, cavally, breams, and a black fish, which we call'd *chimney-sweepers*, congers, and the largest craw-fish I ever saw; it requir'd no other trouble to catch them than to knock down a seal, take out its entrails, make them fast to a line, and stand on the rocks, where you might take them at discretion.

Fish.

The account I might justly give of the amphibious creatures frequenting this Isle (without deviating in the least from truth) would, perhaps, appear incredible. But I shall venture to say, that there were continually some thousands of seals and sea-lyons on the beach, till towards the latter part of our stay, when (as I have already observed) with what we had destroy'd, and those who were driven away by the perpetual slaughters of them, they appear'd so thin amongst us, that I have sometimes not seen above two or three on the shore. During the time we were here,

Amphibious
Creatures.

it was the season for the sea-lyonesses to come to land to bring forth their young; these are bodies of a monstrous bulk, being from 10 to 12 foot long, and near as much in circumference; I may venture to affirm, that, one with another, they would yield each a butt of train oil; the heads of the females are very like a lion, but those of the male-kind have a very large snout; their bodies are like a seal, only in this, that tho' their tails terminate in two fins, the same as the seals, yet they make no use of them on the shore, but let them trail after them; their fur is short, and mostly of a dun colour; they seem to be naturally timorous, and are provided with no dangerous weapons either for offence or defence, except their teeth, which are in no respect answerable to their extraordinary size; they are very unweildy on the shore, having nothing to move them but a couple of fins which serve them in swimming, but it is with much adoe that they waddle along the shore with them, and are so indolent that as soon as they have gain'd the land, they fall asleep, and in that condition I have known some of them to have remain'd a month together, without seeming to be diminish'd in fatness; so that

if

if this Island lay nearer to *England*, 2 or 3 large ships out of the river of *Thames*, or elsewhere, might find a lading of train oil, since, in the winter months, there is an infallible certainty of finding them there, and they are so heavy in their sleep, that you might hold a pistol to the head of one and fire it, without disturbing those about him; and as to the seals, which also would afford large quantities of blubber, five or six men, with sticks in their hands, might kill any number of them, though they are neither so inactive or drowsy as the lions. But these, upon emergent occasions, can shake off their lethargick dulness; for where the sea-lionesses lie in companies, giving suck to their young, there is always an old lion, of the largest size, which is incessantly on the watch, and at the approach of any one makes a hideous roaring, and threatens certain danger to any who should be so hardy as to molest his charge; and here I must take notice that though I have term'd them of a quiet disposition, yet, if they are closely attack'd, and it happens that their assailant pursues them faster than they can retire, their flight is turn'd into an obstinate rage, and by their roaring, and furious looks and gestures, proclaim what they would do, had they a little

little more activity on land. We were so accustomed to them, that we used to walk among them without the least dread, and indeed there was no cause for it, since all but those who were retir'd from the rest to take care of the young, were lost in the profoundest slumbers. When they first arrive out of the sea their furs are very ragged and unseemly, but in a short time they recover a new sleek coat. Thus spending their summers in a continual state of gluttony in the ocean, they retire in winter to the shore to take such repose as their nature requires to purify their bodies by abstinence, and to participate of their double capacity of living either by land or water; on the land they ingender, and bring forth their young, who ingender also before they go off, against the next season; so quick and suddenly do they encrease in growth.

The seals have been variously described by travellers of different nations, as appears by the appellations they have given them; for the *French* call them *Loups Marins*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Lobos de la Mar*, both agreeing that they have the nearest resemblance to a wolf, whilst the *Dutch* call them *Sea Dogs*. My opinion is, that they may very properly be call'd *Sea Wolves*, their heads resembling that creature; they have a fine iron

grey

grey furr, and are of the bigness, when full grown, of a large mastiff; they are naturally surly, and snarl in an angry manner on the approach of any body; they have two fins which compose their tails, with which they make a shift to get along much faster than the lions.

In short, every thing that one sees or hears in this place is perfectly romantick; the very structure of the Island, in all its parts, has a certain savage irregular beauty, which is not to be expressed; the many prospects of lofty inaccessible hills, and the solitariness of the gloomy narrow valleys, which a great part of the day enjoy little benefit from the sun, and the fall of waters, which one hears all around, would be agreeable to none but those who would indulge themselves, for a time, in a pensive melancholy. To conclude, nothing can be conceiv'd more dismally solemn, than to hear the silence of the still night destroy'd by the surf of the sea beating on the shore, together with the violent roaring of the sea-lions repeated all around by the echoes of deep valleys, the incessant howling of the seals, (who according to their age, make a hoarser or a shriller noise) so that in this confused medley, a man might imagine that he heard the dif-


ferent tones of all the species of animals upon earth mix'd together. Add to these the sudden precipitate rumbling of trees down steep descents; for there is hardly a gust of wind stirring that does not tear up a great many trees by the roots, which have but a slight hold in the earth, especially near the brinks of precipices. All these, or any one of these frightful noises would be sufficient to prevent the repose of any who had not been for some time enur'd to it. Thus have I given an account of such parts of this Island as I have had a sight of, and of every thing worthy observation on it, which occur'd to me; but this only relates to the *Northern* half, the mountains being impassable to go to the *Southern* parts of it, therefore I can say nothing of them.



Departure



*Departure from the Island of
Juan Fernandes in the Bark
we built there, call'd the Re-
covery.*

 **CTOBER 6.** In the evening we departed, with nothing to subsist at sea with but the aforementioned smoked congers, whereof one was allow'd to each man for 24 hours, one cask of beef, and 4 live hogs, which had fed all the time on the putrified carcasses of the seals we had kill'd, with 3 or 4 bushels of *Farina*. We were upwards of forty crowded together, who lying upon the bundles of eels, and being in no method of keeping themselves clean, all our senses were as much offended as possible; there was not a drop of water to be had without sucking it out of the cask with the barrel of a musquet, which was made use of by every body promiscuously, and the little unfavoury morsels we daily ate, created perpetual quarrels, every one contending

for the frying-pan; all the conveniency we had for a fire was only a half tub fill'd with earth, which made it so tedious that we had a continual noise of frying from morning till night. In a word, for the meager, hungry, savage looks of the people, for the dangerous uncertainty how our vessel might prove, for want of all necessary accommodations, and wholesome sufficiency of palatable provisions, and, in all other respects, it may be truly said that none could hazard their lives on the seas, especially with a warlike intent, in a more miserable necessitous manner. Thus we launch'd into the ocean with satisfaction in having got once more afloat; but the pleasure of it was check'd by the undoubted certainty of enduring much greater calamities at sea, than ever we did on the Island, if something did not speedily fall into our hands, and therefore I propos'd that we should stand to the *South-eastward* for the bay of *Conception*, that being nearest to us. Every day, while the sea breeze continued, we were hard put to it, for not having above 16 inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually ran over us, and having only a grating deck, and no tarpawlin to cover it, except the bark's top-sail, which was but thin, our pumps would but just keep us
free,

free, notwithstanding which, I was unwilling to ease her by bearing away, *Conception* being our chief dependance.

October 10, 1720, which was the fourth day of our new expedition, at 4 in the morning we fell in with a great ship, and by the moonlight I could plainly see she was *Europe* built, which struck me with a dread of her being a man of war; however, since it was now in vain to look behind us, we were obliged to act in such a manner as the nature of our condition requir'd, which was desperate, therefore I stood for her, and we being rigg'd after the manner of the small craft of the country, they did not regard us till day-light, which coming on before we could get quite up with her, they discover'd the brownness of our canvass, (their sails being always made of cotton, which is very white) and immediately suspecting us, wore ship, and haul'd close on a wind to the *Westward*; then hoisted their colours, fir'd a gun, and crowd'd away from us, and left us behind them at a great rate; but it falling calm two hours afterwards, we had recourse to our oars, and approach'd them with tolerable speed, and, in the mean time, overhaul'd our arms, which we found to be in a very bad condition, one third of them being without flints,

Engage-
ment with
a Spanish
ship call'd
the *Star-
garita*.

and but three cutlasses, so that we were not at all prepar'd for boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any ship; we had but one small cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along the deck; and to supply it we had no more ammunition than two round shot, a few chain bolts and bolt-heads, the clapper of the *Speedwell's* bell, and some bags of beach stones to serve for partridge. In four hours we came up with them, every one seeming as easy in their minds, as if actually in possession of her, and were only sorry that she was not deeper laden than she seem'd to be. But as we advanced nearer, I saw her guns and patareroes, and a considerable number of men on the deck, with their arms glittering in the sun. Though I did not like this sight, I did my utmost to encourage the people, and desir'd them to think of handling their arms, which we had no sooner done, than the enemy call'd out to us by the name of *English Dogs*, defying us, in a scornful way, to come on board them, and, at the same time, gave us a volley of great and small shot, which kill'd our Gunner, and almost brought our fore-mast by the board; this unexpected warm reception stagger'd a great ma-
ny

ny of my men, who before seem'd to be the forwardest, infomuch, that they lay on their oars for some time, notwithstanding that I urg'd them to keep their way: but recovering again, we row'd close up with them, and engag'd them, until all our small shot was expended, which oblig'd us to fall astern to make some flugs; in this manner we made three attempts without any better success; for I could not think of such a fool hardy butchery as I must have expos'd my people to in boarding such a lofty ship, who, when they had enter'd, must have gone to handy-cuffs with the enemy, having no pistols or cutlasses, which are the only weapons for a close fight.

All the night it was calm, only now and then a faint breeze would waft her a little from us; but we made amends for that by rowing after them; we were all the while busied in making flugs, and had provided a large quantity the next morning, when we came to a final determination of either carrying her, or of submitting to her, and accordingly at day-break, I order'd 20 men in our yaul, (which we always kept in tow) to lay her athwart the hawse, whilst I boarded her in the bark, the people in the boat put off, giving

She gets
clear from
us.

ing me repeated assurances of their good behaviour. But the very juncture we were coming to action, a gale sprung up, and she went away from us. As the gale freshned, I expected every minute that he would have come down and run over us, which he might very easily have done; but instead of that, he held his way to the *Northward*, which I took to be a feint, and could not but think that he would go to *Valparaiso* (which was the next port) to alarm the coast; I therefore steer'd all night for that harbour, in hopes to catch him again in the morning becalm'd under the land, and, at day-light, had sight of him within us steering for that place: but upon discovering us, he immediately haul'd to the *Northward* again, and continued his course along shore till he was out of sight. Upon this, I judg'd he was gone to *Coquimbo*, which would have been best for us, because, as *Valparaiso* is a place of considerable strength, we could have little hopes of doing any thing there. This ship was call'd the *Margarita*, and was the same which had been a Privateer belonging to *St. Maloes*, and mounted 40 guns all the last war. In the skirmishes we had with her we had none kill'd except *Gilbert Henderson*, our Gunner, and 3 wound-

The Damage we
sustain'd by
this Engagement.

ed,

ed, which were Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, thorough the thigh, Mr. *Coldsea*, the Master, thorough the groin, and one of the fore-mast men in the small of his back; two of these did very well, and I think there was something extraordinary in their cure; for the Surgeon had nothing to apply to their wounds, but what he had himself prepared with Seal's oyl, and other matters he had found on the Island; Mr. *Coldsea*, indeed, linger'd in a miserable manner for 9 or 10 months afterwards: but at length recover'd.

Our condition now grew worse and worse; for we could not understand this piece of courage in the *Spaniards*; I gave it as my opinion that they must have had *European* Officers aboard, because the *Creolians* were never to be known so hardy. These seas being too rough for our uncomfortable vessel, I propos'd that we might get into fair weather, but to take *Coquimbo* in our way, to try what could be done there. This was agreed on, but the very morning we expected to go into *Coquimbo*, there came on a very hard gale of wind, which lasted four days, during which time we had not an hour's hopes of living a minute longer; we were oblig'd to scud under bare Poles, having our yaul in tow, and having but a short scope of

Come to a resolution of going to *Coquimbo* on the coast of *Chili*. But are blown past it by a violent storm.

of boat rope for her; on the descent of every sea, we were in the greatest danger of having the bark's stern beat in by the violence of the boat's precipitate descent after us, and once in particular, a great hollow sea had like to have thrown her on our deck, which would have soon put an end to our pain. The excessive fright of this storm, which appear'd the more violent, by as much as our embarkation was but little able to bear it, made many of the people form a resolution of going ashore by the very first opportunity they could lay hold of.

Thus being baulk'd in our design on *Cochin*, and every one almost fatigued out of his life by always lying wet, and near starving with the small allowance of such poor unsavoury food as we had for our subsistence, I had no room left to give them further hopes; till, at length, calling to mind Monsieur *Frezier's* account of the Island of *Iquique*, I mention'd the surprisal of that place, it being but a small Lieutenancy, and where we might, in all probability, get some wholesome provisions, and a better bottom than our own. Every one approved of this, and the sun shining upon us, and lying dry again, it instill'd some vigour into us, and we directed our course for

Form a resolution of surprizing the Island of *Iquique* on the coast of *Peru*,

that Island. In our way towards it we had a view of the small Island of *Pavillion*, so call'd from its near resemblance to a tent, situated close to the Continent, in the latitude of 21 deg. *South*. The evening after we saw *Iquique*, which appears no other than like a white rock at the foot of the highland of *Carapucho*; it was 3 weeks before we got this length, and having nothing to ride the bark with, were obliged to keep the sea, whilst the boat went in, but were doubtful, by the prospect of it, that such a place must be certainly uninhabited, and if it was the right place, could plainly perceive there was no ship at anchor there. It was sun-set before the boat departed, who endeavouring to land under the covert of the night, had like to have been lost amongst the breakers, and after all they could see, for a long time, were under a suspense that this could not be the place we sought after, until they heard the barking of dogs, and saw the light of some candles; but having experienced the hazard of landing in the dark, made their boat fast to a float of sea-weeds for want of a graplin; in this posture they remain'd till day-light, and then row'd in between the rocks, and were received by some *Indians* on the shore, with

Arrival in
sight of
Iquique.

We take
the Lieute-
nancy of
Iguique.
What we
got there.

with an ignorant welcome. Being ashore they went to the Lieutenant's house, and finding it lock'd, broke it open, and rummag'd the whole village, and found a booty more valuable to us, at present, than gold or silver, which consisted of about 60 bushels of wheat flour, 120 of calavances and corn, some jerk'd beef, pork, and mutton, 10000 weight of well cur'd fish, a good number of fowls, some rusk, and 4 or 5 days eating of soft bread, together with 3 or 6 jars of *Peruvian* wine and brandy; and had the good fortune to find a large boat near the shore, to help to bring off their plunder, which, otherwise, would have been of little use to us, our own boat being already sufficiently laden with men.

Mean while we in the bark were carried away to the *Northward* by the current out of sight of the Island, and they not having laden their boats before the heat of the day, had a laborious sultry task to row off their heavy laden boats so far in a tumbling swell, whilst we in the bark were encountering with the melancholy apprehensions, that our people not finding any thing considerable, had taken it into their heads to stay ashore, and desert us. But these clouds were dispersed, when towards the evening, I perceived two boats approaching

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approaching us very fast, and discover'd them to be as much burthen'd as they could safely be. Words can't express the universal joy that reign'd among us when they came aboard; the scene was now changed from famine to plenty, the loaves of soft bread were distributed to every one, and the jars of wine were broach'd. But I took care that they should drink moderately of it, each man having no more than half a pint; and after a day or two's living on wholesome diet, we wonder'd how our stomachs could digest the rank nauseous eels, fry'd in train oil, and could hardly believe that we had liv'd on nothing else for a month past.

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

Description



*Description of the Island of I-
quique, and the Land of Ca-
rapucho, in the Latitude of 19
deg. 50 min. South. on the coast
of Peru.*



HIS Island, in the latitude of 19 deg. 50 min. *South*, is situated at the foot of the High-land of *Carapucho*, on the Continent of *Peru*; it is about a mile and an half in circumference, and half a mile from the main land; the channel between them is full of rocks.

The Island is of a moderate height, and the whole body of it consists of *Cormorant's* dung (a kind of sea bird very numerous on this coast.) Some will have it to be a particular sort of earth; but the most probable and certain conjecture is, that it is the dung of birds; 'tis not in this place only that one sees large quantities of it; but also all along the coast of *Peru*, there are lofty precipices, and large rocks

rocks near the sea, cas'd over with it, which at a distance makes them appear like chalk-cliffs. That there should be a greater abundance of it here than on any other part of the coast, may be accounted for by observations made by the *Spaniards*, who agree, that these birds are more numerous in and about the latitude of this place than elsewhere; and to confirm the truth of it, they farther report, that after having dug to a considerable depth, they have found birds feathers. As to a nice enquiry into this, our affairs would not permit it; all that I can affirm of it is, that the smell of it is very offensive, and that they load several ships with it every year for the *Arica* plantations of cod-pepper. There are no Inhabitants on it but *Negroe* slaves, who cleanse and prepare it in large heaps near the shore, ready for boats to take it off. As to the village where the Lieutenant resides, that is on the continent, close by the sea-side, it consists of about 60 scatter'd ill built houses (which hardly deserve that name) and a small church; there is not the least verdure to be seen about it, nor does it afford the least necessary of life of its own product, not even water, which they are obliged to fetch from the *Quebrada*, or the Break of *Pisagua* in boats.

ten

ten leagues to the *Northward*. Being therefore a place so truly miserable in itself, we may conclude, that the advantage and profit accruing to them by the *Guano*, or *Cormorant's* dung, is the only inducement to bring Inhabitants to this place, which seems as if ordain'd by nature unfit to receive them; not only on the account of the frightful barrenness of it, but also for the sickly scent of that Island so near to them. This last inconvenience was what, I suppose, led them to the contrivance of building their habitations on the main land, which though it is a situation as hideous as can be imagin'd, and not wholly out of the stench of the offensive vapours of the Isle of *Iquique*, yet was the better choice, and not quite so suffocating. But although the land is so desert and forbidding, the sea about it affords a very plentiful quantity of two or three sorts of excellent fish, of such kinds as I never saw before; one sort of them is nearest like a large silver eel, though much thicker in proportion to its length; these, and the rest, equally delicious, they preserve in a very neat cleanly manner, and export great quantities of it by the ships which come for *Guano*.

By two *Indian* prisoners we were inform'd, that the Lieutenant of *Iquique* had a boat at
Pisagua,

Pisagua, which was sent for water, which we beginning to stand in need of, I sent Mr. *Randall*, second Lieutenant, in quest of her; but this fail'd; nevertheless, though they missed the vessel, they landed in a dangerous manner on a sort of float call'd *Balses*, much in use on this coast; they brought off only a few bladders of water, and 3 or 4 *Balses*, which are composed of two large Seal-skins, very artificially sew'd, and fill'd with wind, made fast along side of one another; on these the rower sits looking forward with a double paddle, and as fast as he can perceive the wind to escape from under him, he adds a supply by a contrivance for that purpose; these are the chief embarkations made use of by the fishermen, and are serviceable for landing on this coast, which has hardly one smooth beach from one end to the other of it.

Mr. *RANDALL* second Lieutenant sent to take a boat laden with water at the break of *Pisagua*.

There was now no talk among us of going a shore; but, on the contrary, should have look'd into *Arica*, had we not been inform'd that there was a ship of force lying there, which caused us to steer wide of that port, and determine to make some attempt in the road of *le Nasco*, in the latitude of about 16 deg. 00 min. *South*, and *Pisco*, in the latitude of 13

T

deg.

row'd, the water ran through her scuppers over her upper deck; yet having a very deep waste, she appear'd very lofty, especially abaft, which had more of the resemblance of an ill contrived wooden castle, than of a ship, according to the fashion of building at present in *Europe*. It happen'd very hard that we should meet two of the best equipp'd ships in the private trade, at that time, in the *South Seas*; in this action we had not above 20 small arms that were of use, which was the effect of their inconsiderate proceedings on *Juan Fernandes*. This last repulse was made a pretence for much murmuring and uneasiness, many despairing that we should ever take any thing as our condition was at present, became inclinable to surrender to the enemy, who was all the night becalm'd near us; to prevent the design of such who were so disposed, I took care to remove our two boats out of their power, by ordering two men in each of them, such as I thought I could trust, and cast off from us at a little distance, that none might escape in them; but notwithstanding the confidence I had reposed in these four, the two in the best boat deceived me by going away with her, which

But miss taking her.

Which is made a pretence for much discontent amongst some of the people.

Two of
my Men
desert in
the best
boat in the
night.

was a great loss to us, and added much to our misfortune in being discover'd so near to the port of *Callao*, where they must hear of us in a day or two. The day after I was inform'd, that the first Lieutenant and *Morphew* had made a party (too strong for me to oppose) to go away with the boat we had left; but it blowing fresh the next night, they were hinder'd from executing their design.





C H A P. IX.

Arrival in the road of Pisco, in the Latitude of 13 deg. 45 min. South on the coast of Peru, where we take a Spanish Ship call'd, the Jesus Maria.



THE next day we stood into the road of *Pisco*, as we had design'd, where we discover'd (what appeared to be) a large ship, upon sight of which I talk'd to Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, telling him, that I was no stranger to his and his associates resolution; but hoped that in this, which would be the last effort we could make towards the preservation of our liberty, that they would continue to behave themselves like men, and not tamely submit whilst we had any lead left; and desir'd every one to prepare themselves for boarding her at once. This being

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agreed

agreed on, we bore down to her with a resolute despair, and laid her athwart the harse, and, to my great satisfaction, were receiv'd (instead of resistance) by the Captain, and all his Officers, with their hats off, in the most submissive manner, asking for quarters.

Before we came the length of this ship, I had order'd our boat to intercept theirs, which was going ashore; they clapp'd her on board, but not holding fast, they fell astern, and could not fetch up with them again, not offering to fire a musquet to bring them to, so that they carry'd away every thing that would have been valuable in this prize. She was a good ship, of about 200 tons, call'd the *Jesus Maria*, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper and plank, but nothing else. The Captain offer'd 16000 dollars for her ransom, but I could not give ear to it, by reason that the *Recovery* was disabled in her masts by boarding, and not only that, but I was also hinder'd by the consideration that now we had room enough to enjoy ourselves in some cleanliness at least, an article we had been perfect strangers to, ever since we had departed from the Island of *Juan Fernandes*.

We therefore made all dispatch in getting every thing out of the bark. The *Spanish* Cap-
tain

tain inform'd me, that the *Margarita* had been arriv'd some time at *Callao*, where she had given a full account of us; that the Captain, and three more were kill'd in the action with us, and that the Priest, and several others were wounded, and that she was now ready to put to sea again with an addition of 10 guns and 50 men to cruise for us; and that the *Flying-fish*, a Frigate of 28 guns was already out with the same intent, and that there was advice sent both ways along shore, and Commissions to equip what strength they had to catch us. All the night they were upon the watch at the town, making a shew, by the continual firing of guns, to give us an idea of what we must expect if we should dare to attempt a descent. But they might have eas'd themselves of those apprehensions, for we had enough to do to prepare for our departure the next day, being now, as it were, in the very jaws of our enemies, which, by the advice I had received, were ready, on all sides, to devour us, and from whom nothing could preserve us but a considerate wariness in going out from hence. Having clear'd our bark the next morning, we gave her to the *Spanish* Captain, and as soon as the breeze sprung up, we

Recover
our boat
and two
deserters.

weigh'd, and went to sea, and in going out met with our boat which had left us; they edg'd towards us, imagining we were *Spaniards*, by which means we got them again; the two fellows were almost dead, having neither eaten nor drank any thing for three days past, and had just been ashore on a small Island near this harbour to kill some Seals to drink their blood; they had no excuse but that they fell asleep, and that the faint breezes had wafted us in the bark away from them.

I can give no farther description of this place than that the road is spacious and commodious, and that the town seems to be large and pleasantly situated among vineyards and fruit trees. But for an ample and exact account of this, as well as of most of the noted harbours and towns on the coast of *Chili* and *Peru* from *Conception* to *Callao*, I refer my Readers to Monsieur *Frezier's* voyage, who having had the best opportunities of making observations and enquiries into every thing that might be useful and entertaining to the *Europeans*, as far as he went, has been very just and particular in his relations and descriptions of places.

Voyage continued in the JESUS
M A R I A.

Pisco being 40 leagues to the windward of *Callao*, I kept close haul'd till I had gain'd 2 degrees offing, and kept that distance till we had got well to the *Northward* of *Callao*, and haul'd in again for the land a little to the *Southward* of *Truxillo*, and look'd into the roads of *Guanchaco*, *Malabriga* and *Che-ripe*, but seeing no shipping in them made no stay, and pass'd between the Island of *Lobos de Tierra* and the Continent.

On *November 25*, in the evening, we found ourselves near the *Saddle of Payta*, and having been here before, imagined that, though our force was much diminish'd since we last took it, that we might, without any hazard, surprize them in the night; accordingly we endeavour'd to get in with the ship, till it growing calm, and having been discouraged from making too free with the land in the dark, by the danger we had almost run ourselves into of being ashore amongst the rocks,

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it was thought the properest to defer it till the morning, since our disguise of being in a *Spanish* built ship would be sufficient to blind the Inhabitants, and make it impossible for them to suspect us.





C H A P. X.

Our second Arrival in the Cove of Payta, in the Latitude of 5 deg. 15 min. South, on the Coast of Peru, which Town we take a second time by stratagem.

IN the morning it blew fresh off from the land, and we had a tiresome and tedious piece of work in getting into the Cove, which being open'd to us, we saw a small ship there. The people ashore observing the fatigue we underwent the greatest part of the morning in making so many short trips to gain ground to windward, sent off a large boat full of men to help us to bring in our ship, and enquire news of us; as soon as we saw them making towards us, I order'd that none should be seen but such as came nearest to the *Spanish* complexion and dress, who should be ready to answer what questions they might ask in

in hailing us, and give them a rope to make fast their boat, when they clapp'd us aboard, whilst some should be conceal'd under the gunwale with musquets ready to point into their boat, and command them in as soon as they had made themselves fast. This stratagem had its intended effect. I examin'd the prisoners of the condition of the Town, which they answer'd was very poor at present, there being neither money nor provisions in it, and shew'd me a small bark on the shore which Capt. *Clipperton* had sent in here a little while before with some of his prisoners, upon which every thing had been again removed into the country; this unwelcome news did not hinder us from keeping on our way with our *Spanish* colours flying, till we came to the anchorage.

No sooner was our anchor down, than I sent away Mr. *Brooks*, with both the boats, and 24 men, no more of them appearing than those who row'd, and 2 or 3 fitters in each, the rest, with their arms, lying in the bottom of the boats. Thus they advanced towards the Town without giving the least umbrage to the Inhabitants, who were so thoroughly unconcern'd, that when my people landed, they found the children playing on the beach, who immedi-
ately

ately took the alarm, and ran away at the sight of arm'd men; in an instant the whole place was in the utmost consternation, and happy was the man who could make his escape, without any regard to their wives or children, who were left to shift for themselves by making what haste they could to get out of the way; they were universally dispersed in the most terrified confusion in all directions of the compass, ours were the same, who not being able to determine which parcel of them was the most worth pursuit, follow'd them as their fancy suggested to them, and, by that means, took but few prisoners; some women were overtaken, and after being search'd, had their liberty restor'd to them. The Town being left destitute, and the enemy being too nimble of foot for ours to take them, they return'd to *Payta*, and upon a strict search found that our prisoners had not said amiss in affirming, that the place was poor, for they could find nothing but a few bales of coarse cloth, about 500 weight of dry'd Tole, or Dog-fish; 2 or 3 Pedlars packs, and an inconsiderable quantity of bread and sweetmeats, so that we unluckily had but little employment for our boats. But though we had so little success in our land enterprize, we took a booty as we lay at anchor in

in the ship, which might have been made valuable, if discretion and prudence might have had the management of it; for want of which it proved a troublesome incendiary. This was a small vessel, who coming in about 8 in the evening, and advancing so near to us as to be within the reach of our musquets, we with them commanded them aboard of us; she had nothing in her but about 50 jars of *Peruvian* wine and brandy; the Master of her told me, that he was come by stealth from *Callao*, there being orders that none but ships of some force should stir out; he told me the same story that the Captain of the *Jesus Maria* had before, and with dissembled concern, gave me to understand, that it would be next to impossible for me to get off from the coast without being taken, and was the first who acquainted me with my second Captain's (*Hatley*) being taken, and the value of his prizes, as I have already mention'd in the first part of this book, and likewise assur'd me, that we had kill'd and wounded several in our action with the *Spanish* Admiral, and that the Officers belonging to her had suffer'd much blame and scandal for their tardy behaviour in attacking us.

The *Spaniards* by stratagem drive us out of the town that night.

But to return to the Town, my people, who had all to themselves, were in no great hurry

to quit it, and it being now dark, some of the *Spaniards* who were lurking about the outskirts of the town, hearing so many small arms fir'd in the road, instantly concluded that our ship was attack'd, and were in hopes that some of their men of war were come again to deliver them from the hands of their enemies; upon these false surmises they began to assemble together, and being apprized of the small number of *English* ashore (who did not exceed 18) came down the hills in a great uproar and noisy fury; my people thought themselves on the brink of ruin, when they heard them calling out to one another by fictitious names and qualities, one calling to Capt. *Martin*, with great heat, to march with his two hundred men to the *Northward* of the Town, and to Capt. *Francisco* to march with his company to intercept their passage to their boat; whilst a third was to attack them, and drive them out of the town; at first my people not doubting that they were in earnest, took refuge in the biggest Church, resolving to defend themselves there; but, at length, taking courage, they march'd out, and form'd themselves in a line, and kept their drum beating very resolutely, and one of them firing a single musquet at random, they spoil'd the *Spaniards* jest,

jest heard no more of them, and embark'd very quietly.

The next morning we departed, reflecting on our hard fortune in having this place a second time alarm'd by *Clipperton*, who never offer'd to make a descent, though in his scheme the taking this town is mention'd as a thing of great importance; and indeed so it might have been to him, if he had landed the first time, when there was 400000 pieces of Eight in it (as I have been credibly inform'd by prisoners) besides a great quantity of Jesuits bark, and other valuable commodities; and some of the King of *Spain's* treasure is frequently lodg'd in the Governour's care; and if he had attempted them, even the second time, it would have been worth his while. As for *Collan*, which is 2 miles to the *Northward* of this, situated near the mouth of a little river; it is a mean place, being entirely inhabited by *Indians*.



Description

*Description of the Town of Payta,
in the Latitude of 5 deg. 15
min. South, on the Coast of
Peru.*



THIS Town, in the latitude of 5 deg. 15 min. *South*, on the coast of *Peru*, is seated in the bottom of a round Cove of about a mile in breadth, which is in the *South-Eastermost* part of the great bay (of 7 leagues in breadth) form'd between the point of *Agujo*, to the *Southward*, and the point of *Parina*, to the *Northward*; as to the *Saddle of Payta*, given as a sure mark for knowing this place, it is far from being so; for the high-land of *Motapa*, over the point of *Parina*, may be easily mistaken for it, by such as are not well acquainted with it, as happen'd to me; the truth on't is, that they have given a very improper appellation of a saddle to the mountain over point *Agujo*, because it does not bear the least resemblance of any thing that might give it

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that

that name, therefore you must not expect the shape of this mountain to answer what you would expect to see; but take notice of the small Island of *Lobos de Payta*, lying a little way off the point of *Agujo*, which having remark'd, keep the *Southern* side of the bay close aboard, and make bold with the shore, which affords a rocky wild prospect; when you have got half way you will see the *Pena oradado*, or, the *Hole in the Rock*, which is a sure mark that you are within half a league of the Cove of *Payta*, and continuing your rout to the *Eastward*, you will discover the town of *Payta* itself, containing about 200 houses of all sorts, and two neat Churches, the largest of which is a little separated from the *Eastern* end of the town; the Churches are well adorned within with several handsome altars, indifferently painted and carv'd, but richly gilt, and, in all respects, beyond any thing one would expect from a first view of the place, which is low, and ill built with unburnt brick, the roofs of some being cover'd with mats, &c. and others miserably thatch'd; the infides of them were little better in the state they left them for us; the Governour's house indeed has three or four handsome apartments well adorn'd with good Joyner's work. Close behind the town to
the

the southward, there is a high sandy hill, round at the top, on which are fix'd three large wooden *Crosses* in a row; the whole country, whether hill or valley, about it, appears as if parch'd, and never moisten'd by the descent of rain, so that there is not any thing green to be seen round it, the land about being productive of no one necessary, not so much as water, which is brought in jars upon bark-logs from *Collan* (which I have before mention'd) as well as almost every thing else; so that there is nothing to recommend this desert but the commodiousness of the harbour, which makes it a kind of baiting place for the ships trading to leeward, and the Inhabitants provide refreshments for them from all the other adjacent parts.

The Inhabitants here, as well as in most of the *Spanish* colonies in *America*, are a mix'd breed of all colours, the least part of them Whites, they carry on, by the help of shipping that come in by chance, a commerce of whatever they bring from the parts they come from, wherewith they supply some inland towns near, and the neighbouring small ports, which are less, if at all frequented. The supine negligence of the *Spaniards* may be seen in the little care they take in fortifying this place to

protect the Inhabitants from the ravages they are always exposed to in a war, as well as the ships, which are of some of the richest merchantmen, who generally stop here; but it is not this place only which is, as it were, disregarded by them, but also many others, even of note, both on this coast, and that of *Chili*; and those which are fortify'd, are running to ruin as fast as time can effect it, which will be very soon, except quickly prevented.

Voyage continued.

From hence we directed our course for the Island of *Gorgona*, in the bay of *Panama*, and in our passage thither built a tank, or wooden cistern, big enough to hold ten tons of water, instead of cask, without the assistance of which we could have but little hopes of being able to depart from these coasts; in our way we made the Island of *Plate*, Cape *St. Francis* and *Gorgonella*, or little *Gorgona*, and on the second of *December* arrived at the Island of *Gorgona* itself, and came to anchor to the leeward of the *Northernmost* point of it, in 40 fathom water, within less than a quarter of a mile of the shore; we had the advantage of filling our water cask in the boat, the water running in
small

Arrive at
the Island
of *Gorgona*
where we
wood and
water in
48 hours.

small streams into the sea, and cut down our wood at high water mark, so that in less than 48 hours we did our business.

Here seems to be a convenient place to lay a ship ashore, and the water flows above 14 foot; the Island is about 2 leagues and a half in circumference; it produces a great variety of large trees, fit for all uses: at the *North* and *South* ends of it are several high rocks, on which the birds call'd *Boobies* build their nests, and during the short stay we made here, their young ones were valuable to us, of which we made ragouts and soups. Here are monkeys and guanoes in abundance, and near the *North* end there is a rocky cave, the rendezvous of *bats*.

From this place we hurry'd away for fear of those who might be in quest of us, and having got out of the tract of the enemy's ships, consulted on the properest methods of proceeding, and the majority (considering the small likelihood of avoiding the enemy if we stay'd any longer here) were for going directly to the coasts of *Asia*, upon which we changed our ship's name from the *Jesus Maria* to the *Happy Return*, and applied all our endeavours towards abandoning these coasts, but the winds and current were averse to it, and some of those who opposed

We endeavour to quit the coast of *America*, to go to *India*.

But are
prevented
by contra-
ry winds.

Direct our
course for
the Island
of *Quibo*.

our departure, did so much damage clandestinely to our tank, that the greatest part of the water in it leak'd out, so that this, with continual contrary winds and dead calms, which had detain'd us till our provisions were much exhausted, render'd us incapable of undertaking so long a run; therefore to furnish ourselves with what we wanted, I propos'd a descent on *Rio Lego*, in the latitude of 11 deg. 50 min. *North*, on the coast of *Mexico*; but in our way thither, we accidentally fell in with cape *Burica*, in the latitude of 8 deg. 20 min. *North*, and then, on second thoughts, judg'd it would be safer for us to make some attempt on the Island of *Quibo*, in the latitude of 7 deg. 30 min. *North*, where, by Capt. *Rogers's* account, I guess'd there were Inhabitants who lived in a plentiful manner on the product of that Island; wherefore we steer'd for it, and the next day made the Isle of *Montuosa*, so call'd from its appearing like a single mountain in the middle of the sea, lying about 5 leagues to the westward of the Island of *Quibo*.



C H A P. X.

Arrival at the Island of Quibo, in the Latitude of 7 deg. 30 min. North, on the Western Coast of Mexico; our Transactions both there, and at Point Mariato in the Gulph of St. Martin.

ON January 13, 1720-21, we anchor'd between the N. E. point of the Island of *Quibo* and the Isle of *Quivetta*, in 20 fathom water, over-against a sandy bay, commodious for wooding and watering; but our boat, which I sent in before us, told me, that on the parts of it they had seen, they could not perceive any footsteps of Inhabitants, nor any sign of them, except 2 or 3 huts near the water-side, which they supposed were made use of by Pearl-fishers, there being great heaps of Mother of Pearl shells about them, but that there was a good close harbour a little to the southward of us; but I did not

care to make use of it, being unwilling to be closely confin'd.

At day-light the next morning we saw two large piraguas rowing in for *Quivetta*, one of them having *Spanish* colours flying; this bearing a warlike appearance, I imagin'd that they might be come from the main to view us, and might, perhaps, have an inclination to try their skill with us, the *Mullatoes*, on the coast of *Mexico*, being noted for their courage, and have done many resolute actions in boats and small embarkations, but they continued their way till we saw them go into a small cove on *Quivetta*, and, after a little debate whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our boat, it was resolv'd upon, on all hazards, to go after them in our yaul; which enterprize was commanded by Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, who found them all ashore, brought away their piraguas, and two prisoners, the one a *Mullat*, the other a *Negro*, the rest sought for refuge in the woods.

We took all their provisions, which consisted of a little pork, and some green, ripe and dry'd plantains, there was a large quantity of the latter, which being pounded made a grateful flower to the taste, indifferently white, and all together made up a month's bread, I mean

we ate it instead of bread. The *Mullatooe* mortified us very much by telling us, that a vessel laden with provisions had pass'd very near to us in the night; but to make amends, promised to conduct us to a place where we might supply ourselves without any hazard, provided we were not above 2 or 3 days about it. No news could be more welcome to us than this, wherefore we were very brisk in getting off our wood and water; but, at the same time, consider'd that there were between 20 and 30 men on *Quivetta*, who were destitute of any provisions but the wild fruits of the Island, and had no embarkation to convey them from thence; therefore, since we could not spare them one of our boats to get off, which we should want ourselves to ship off the expected booty in our approaching enterprize, I sent an Officer, and 9 or 10 men to treat with them, and, in case the enemy should be afraid to come near them, to set up on the beach where we surprized them, a small cross, with a little picture of the *Virgin Mary*, with a paper written in such wretched *Spanish* as we could muster up amongst us, to assure them that they should meet with generous quarter, and to persuade them not to suffer voluntarily such hardships as they would if they did not submit, and

and make signals to us to fetch them off before we weigh'd. The boat went, and not seeing any of them, they went into the woods and hollow'd to them, but they returning no answer, fix'd the cross, &c. as was order'd, and came away, and those on the Isle being so stubborn as not to make any signals to us, which they might easily have done, we, on *January 16*, weigh'd from hence for *Mariato*, that being the name of the place we were bound to.

In going out from *Quibo* we were in eminent danger of being horsed by the current upon two rocks, lying at a small distance from one another off the *Northmost* point of *Quivetta*, but having clear'd them, we steer'd through *Canal Bueno*, or the *Good Channel*, so call'd from its safety, being free from dangerous shoals and rocks; it might as properly be call'd, *the Streights of Quibo*, which forms the *Western* side of it, extending about 8 or 9 leagues *North* and *South*. Over-against the *South* entrance of these streights, at the distance of a league from point *Mariato*, which is the *Westmost* point of the *Gulph* of *St. Martin*, lyes the *Island of Sebaco*, which is, to the best of my judgment, about 10 leagues in circumference. I ran along the *South* end of it, and
found

found every point flat, at least a league from the shore. This being a navigation very little known, I took all imaginable precaution in keeping hands at the masts-head to discover any rippling, or discolour'd water, &c. in time, and on *January 19*, in the evening, we got safe in between *Mariato* and the Island of *Sebaco*, and anchor'd in 6 fathom water, over-against a green field, which is instruction sufficient, there being but that clear spot hereabouts. Our Pilot desir'd we might be going at least 3 hours before day-light, and that then we should be in good time at the plantations; accordingly I went away at 2 the next morning, in our own boat, and order'd the two Lieutenants in the two *Piraguas*, leaving my Son, and a few with him, to take care of the ship; our Pilot having us in charge carried us up some part of the river of *St. Martin*, and out of that into several branches of very narrow *Creeks* amongst *Mangroves*, where we had not room to row.

I could by no means approve of this navigation, and therefore kept a strict eye upon our guide, and was ready to suspect that he had no good design in his head; we landed just at day-break, and when we came on the bank found ourselves in a fine *Savanna*, or plain, and after a march of about 3 miles, came to
farm-

two farm-houses, but those belonging to them made their escapes, except the Wife and Children of one house.

We had the satisfaction of seeing that this place answer'd to the description that had been given us of it, being surrounded by numerous heads of black cattle, hogs, and plenty of fowls of all sorts, together with some dry'd beef, plantains, and *Indian* corn; and, for the present use were entertain'd with a wholesome breakfast of hot cake and milk, a diet we had been long unacquainted with; when it was broad day, I saw our ship close by us, upon which I ask'd our *Mullatooe* how he came to bring us so far about, who answer'd, that there was a river between us, and that he did not know whether it was fordable or not; I therefore sent some to try, who found it was not above kneedeep, wherefore, to avoid the trouble of carrying our plunder so far by land and water, I order'd that our boats should row out of the river of *St. Martin*, and come to the beach over-against the ship; we had not been long here before the Master of the family we had in custody (being willing to undergo the same fate with them, or to release them by the merit of such services as he could oblige us with) brought horses with him, and desir'd

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we would make use of him in any thing he could serve us; this offer was kindly received, and I presently employ'd him to carry what I thought fit to our boat: this done, he went among his black cattle, and brought us what number I thought we could save, for we had but little salt, and I could not afford water to keep them alive when we came to sea; so that as soon as they were aboard, they were kill'd, and their flesh preserv'd by cutting it into long slips, of the thickness of ones finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a quantity of salt, that we did not use above 4 or 5 pounds to a 100 weight, having let it lye together 2 or 3 hours, we hung it up to dry in the sun, two or three days successively, which perfectly sav'd it, which could not have been done any other way by any quantity of the best salt.

But to return to our *Indian* Farmer, after he had labour'd all the day in being beneficial to us, I took him aboard with us at night, and there treated him so well, and engag'd him so far by some trifling presents, that I may venture to assure my Country-men that any of them will be welcome to him for the future. And I really would recommend this place to any who hereafter may be sent to cruize in these parts, in case they should find themselves short of provisions.

provisions. This place, as I before said, is near the point of *Mariato*, which is the *West-ermost* land of the Gulph of *St. Martin*; when you come to anchor, as I have directed, you will not only see the plain, but also 2 or 3 white houses, which we could not distinctly observe at first, because we came to just at the close of day-light; these farms belong'd (when I was there) to a rich *Spanish* Curate, who liv'd at the city of *Santa Maria*. What cattle there is, is mightily expos'd to the perpetual ravages of tygers, who swarm on the coasts of *Mexico*. But to make amends for this inconvenience, the *Indians* are so dextrous and hardy as to make it no difficulty to destroy them, and are so bold as to attack them as soon as seen, with only a lance in their hands; an instance of this happen'd the very morning we came upon them, when they had just kill'd a tyger, (of no mean size) and flead him; the hide I brought away with me, raw as it was, but the beauty of it was spoil'd by the strokes of the lance; so that the *Indians* here may be truly call'd guardians of their flocks, who can so daringly cope with the most active and fierce of all beasts, for their preservation; but it is certain, that long use to this sort of work has so enur'd them to it, that they have little or

no dread on them, when they are furiously run upon by one of those savage creatures, being well convinced of their own ability to kill them.

Voyage continued.

Having done all we propos'd in coming here, we made no stay, but departed from hence the next morning, with our decks full of fowls and hogs, amongst which there was one that had its navel on its back, which the *Spaniards* say, when wild in the woods, is a terrible creature to meet with, although, at their full growth, they are but small. We return'd by the same way that we came, through *Canal Bueno*, and made a stop at *Quibo* to compleat our water, and when we sail'd, gave our two prisoners the largest piragua, that those still remaining on *Quivetta*, might return from whence they came.

But I must here make a digression to inform my reader (who may imagine that we enjoy'd the blessings of quietness, by what I have said of our proceedings since our last attempt at *Payta*) that the wine and brandy we had there taken, had work'd so oddly with my ship's company, as to divide them into two parties,

ties, to the last degree inveterate against one another, who used to be so firmly united at first, insomuch that I have had, in one night's time, the ringleaders of both of them desiring me to espouse their cause, both assuring me, that the other had a design on my life; and urg'd me to take the opportunity to murder those who were not of their faction. It is even unaccountable to myself how the mischief was diverted; for I could use no means but speak calmly to them on both sides, and suffer them (indeed it was out of my power to hinder it) to get drunk as often as they would; and in that condition they have often, altogether, been skirmishing with one another; and I have had, more than once, my cloaths almost torn off my back in endeavouring to part them. It was happy that this trade did not last long, for while they had any thing to drink, I judg'd it unsafe to lay my head on my pillow, which almost wearied me out of my life. But their free access to the liquor shortned the term of this miserable way of passing our time, and though while it held it was attended by some vexatious consequences, yet it had this one good effect, that it help'd off with the liquid evil at a great rate. Necessitous hunger obliged them to act jointly

jointly and vigorously together at *Mariato*; but after having glutted themselves a day or two they relapsed again, and were as distracted as ever, though now in the midst of a moderate plenty.

Those who were the Managers on the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, now felt the bitterness of their own first seeking and encouraging, and in return for what they call'd good offices for the right and interest of the common sort, were obliged to put up with all the insolences that were offer'd to them by the meanest of the ship's company, and my land Gentlemen who had been hitherto look'd upon to be no other than Passengers, were now forced to learn to steer, and take their turns at the Whipstaff, so promiscuously were the Officers of all kinds blended with the Foremastmen. By this any one may guess what sort of Government there could be in a ship, where the chief Officers had debased themselves so low by their indiscreet familiarity, as now to be the scorn and contempt of the most despicable of the crew. And a just reward it was for their inconsiderate rash ingratitude to their Commander and themselves, who, but a few months before, instead of supporting me in the lawful authority which I might justly

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exercise

exercise over them, had used the most dishonest measures to strip me of all the respect due to me, and by endeavouring to reduce us into a little republick, and lodging all the power in the hands of the people, had brought us into such confusion, that (if they had been now ever so willing) it was beyond their cunning or skill either to retrieve their own credit, or do any thing that might be effectual towards establishing me again in my Command. For even when our wine and brandy was gone, although we did not lead such a noisy fighting life, yet they had no more regard to me, or my Officers, either in their private or publick discourse, than if we had not been in the ship. Indeed in the conduct of the ship, or the guidance of any enterprize, and on all emergencies, for their own sakes, and through a conviction of their own insufficiency, they were entirely govern'd by me, though they soon forgot their obligation, and I had also my intervals of disrespect and insolence from them.

What I have now been saying may serve to give a general idea of the disadvantages I labour'd under, the whole series of the remainder of the voyage, in any undertakings, and shall

shall now continue my narration of our future proceedings.

January 25, 1720-21. In the morning we made a sail about 2 leagues to the leeward of us. We gave them chase till we found they were *Europe* built, and fearing she was one of the Enemy's men of war, I clapp'd on a wind, and, in half an hour it fell calm. Soon after we saw a boat rowing towards us, which proved to be the *Success's* pinnace, commanded by Mr. *Davidson*, their first Lieutenant. My first interview with him was attended by an astonishment equal on both sides; he could hardly believe that he saw us in so mean a condition, and I could scarce believe that the *Success* (if in being) had been all this while, wandering up and down these seas.

I entertain'd him with a rehearsal of the continual run of our misfortunes, which had happen'd in the long interval since we were separated near the coast of *England*, till our present meeting that day; and he, on his part, entertain'd me with several remarkable incidents, which had beset them in their conduct. Particularly, that about a twelve-month before, they had taken a new *French* built Brigantine, and put their Officers and ship's company's plunder on board of her, which

After two years separation meet with Capt. Clipperson in the *Success*.

Account some remarkable occurrences that had happen'd during their voyage.

they valued at 10000 pounds sterling; that their second Captain, Mr. *Mitchel*, was intrusted with the command of her, and was order'd to go with her to some Island on the coast of *Mexico*, and to stay there till Capt. *Clipperton* join'd him with his ship; but that they never could find the Island since, and therefore judg'd that poor *Mitchel*, and his Men, were either starv'd or murder'd by the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, who are very 'dextrous at that kind of work, or that he had perish'd with the Island, which Capt. *Clipperton*, and some others, were of opinion was sunk, since by all their endeavours they could not find it out. Mr. *Davidson* seeing me startled at so improbable a conjecture, continued, that I needed not be surprized at it since such *submersions* were very common on these coasts, and began to tell me of a dreadful instance of it on the coast of *Peru*, which had happen'd a little before; for, says he, my Captain having a desire to look into the road of *Che-ripe*, when we arrived there, we found the Town, and a great point of land which form'd the road entirely under water. But I undeceiv'd him in this, by telling him how lately we had seen that very place. The truth on't is, that Capt. *Clipperton*, though he was reputed to be
well

well skill'd in this navigation, was always unfortunate in finding out any port, &c. and least his continual blunders should be imputed to his ignorance, he always found out some expedient to evade any suspicion of his inability. The story of Capt. *Mitchel*, who was a very worthy man, and an expert sailor, is, in all its circumstances very tragical. There was always a jealousy between him and his Captain, who order'd him to a place (and pretended to give him infallible directions to find it) which never could be found afterwards, and, in my opinion, never was above water; and the unfortunate Gentleman, without doubt, perish'd in some obscure miserable manner, in the quest of a place that was never yet, and perhaps never will be discover'd. In our discourse, I ask'd Mr. *Davidson* the value of their booty, who assur'd me, that it did not exceed 70000 dollars; but that they had lost great opportunities; that in *October* 1720, they were in the bay of *Conception*, and had the misfortune of leaving three laden ships behind them, and mis'd a fourth that was coming into the bay, who was so near as to hail them, talk to them, and was becalm'd by them; and that though it was probable that their launch would have taken them all four, yet through

their Captain's deafness to advice, they took none of them; and that, moreover, they had never clean'd their bottom, notwithstanding they had had it several times in their power to do it; and that this negligence had like to have cost them dear; for, in their return from *Conception* they look'd into *Coquimbo*, where they saw 5 ships at anchor, three of which let slip after them, and overtook them apace, but by the favour of thick weather, and a hard gale of wind, they got clear of them; and further, that off the port of *Callao*, they fell in with the *Flying-fish*, a fregate (who was cruising for me in the bark) who, by unpardonable mismanagement on the part of *Clipperton*, got safe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable cargoe design'd for *Cadiz*; I have been since inform'd of this by one of my Surgeon's Mates who was taken in the *Mercury*, and was Surgeon of the *Flying-fish* at that time.

I go on
board the
Success.

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

have

have been treated by them as one belonging to the same interest, but found I was mistaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to say or do with me, since my ship was lost. However, I conceived that he could not be so inhuman as to deny me the supply of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The answer I had to this expectation was, that I should know more of his mind the next day. Amongst the rest of the discourse I had with him, he was telling me, that he was just come from the Island of *Cocos*, that his people were sickly, and at very short allowance. Whereupon I offer'd my service to pilot him to *Mariato*, which was not above 30 leagues distant from us, where he might have refresh'd his company, and supply'd himself with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being resolv'd to make the best of his way to the *Tres Marias*, where, he said, there was Turtle enough to be had; so I left him for that night.

The next morning, as I was going on board of him again with some of my Officers, he, at once, spread all his canvass, and crowded away from us who were in the boat. Upon which I return'd to our ship again, and made signals of distress, and fir'd our gun several

Capt. Clipperton refuses to have any thing to do with me, or to assist me.

times, which was not regarded by him till his very Officers, &c. cry'd out on his barbarity, and, at last, he brought to. When I had sail'd up with him (being exasperated at such inhuman treatment) I sent Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to tell him that we stood in need of several necessaries, which, if he was not inclinable to give, I would purchase them of him. Upon these terms he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musquet-balls and flints, and a *Spanish* Chart of the coast of *Mexico*, and part of *India* and *China*, a half hour and a half minute Glass, a Compass, and about 300 weight of salt; but with all the arguments I could use, could not prevail on him to spare us the least thing out of his Surgeon's chest for the relief of Mr. *Coldsea*, our Master, who had been ready to die of his wounds received in the engagement with the *Margarita*, for above 3 months past. We return'd for what we had of him some bales of coarse broad cloth, as much pitch and tarr as he would have, some piggs of copper, and I, on my own particular, gave him a large silver ladle for a dozen of Spadoes. When this was concluded, I again ask'd him if I could be of any service to him, and assur'd him, that

We make an exchange of some things he wanted, for others we stood in need of, and then part from one another,

I had a pretty good ship under foot, though she made but a poor figure, and believed that I could hold him way, and that he knew that our cargoe was pretty valuable; to which he answer'd, that if I had a cargoe of gold, he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself. Mr. *Hendry*, the Agent, and Mr. *Rainor* and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenants of Marines, seeing but little prospect that we should ever get home, and being weary of the work that was imposed upon them, desir'd I would let them go on board the *Success* for a passage to *England*; which I having consented to, they went on board accordingly, and *Clipperton* left us to shift for ourselves near the Island of *Cano*.

Having this supply, I was for going to the *Southward* into the bay of *Panama*, to try our fortunes there, but the majority opposed me through fear, and were for going to the *Tres Marias* to salt Turtle there, and then stretch over for *India*. We directed our course thither, but the winds near the land continually reigning in the *Western* board, and the coast of *Mexico* lying nearest N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. we crept to windward but very slowly, and at so tedious a rate, that we began again to be short of provisions before we had

had got the length of *Rio Lego*, which renew'd our design of landing there, which had been laid aside on our supply got at *Mariato*. But this intention was no sooner resum'd than frustrated, for we were blown past it by a *Te-goantepeque*, for so the *Spaniards*, on this coast, call a violent gale at *North-east*.

Meet the
SUCCESS a se-
cond time
near the
port of
Sonfannate
on the
Coast of
Mexico.

Continuing our way along shore, we, a few days after, met the *SUCCESS* in quest of *Sonfannate*, where they expected to receive the Marquis of *Villa Roche's* ransom, who had been for some time a prisoner on board of them, and whose wife was now at *Guatimala*, a city within 30 leagues of that port. We ranged close under their stern, and ask'd how *Capt. Clipperton*, and the rest of the *Gentlemen* did, but it was not thought proper to return us any answer; so, without any concern, he steer'd one way, and we another. After this, calms, and contrary winds, and unaccountable currents, reduced us to a small allowance, which we were obliged to diminish daily, and should have been in a worse distress than ever, had it not been for the Turtle which we, from time to time, took on the surface of the water. We had continual look-outs for them, and they were easily known at a great distance by the sea-birds which perch'd

on

on their backs; so that upon sight of these we used to lay aside the advantages we might have made of the wind to embrace any offer of prolonging our provisions. Upon the whole, tho' we lost some of our way in pursuit of them, yet they had a worse consequence attending them, for whilst they help'd out with our eatables, the dressing them made a great consumption of our water, the quantity of which decreased upon us very suddenly by the continual expences of it in boiling the Turtle with *Plantain* flower.

This relapse into a state of famine, threatening us with speedy and certain perdition, if means were not timely used to avoid it, made me propose the plundering of some small town as we coasted along shore. *Guatulco* was the nearest to us of any that was taken notice of in any of our Charts, lying in the latitude of 16 deg. 40 min. *North*. But the very morning that we were standing in for it, at sun-rising we saw a sail a considerable way to leeward of us. We thought it properer to take this ship than to venture ashore, and therefore bore down to her, which, in the end, prov'd to be the *Success*. I had forgot to mention the signal that was agreed on between us at first, in case of our meeting at sea, which was

Reduced to great extremities for want of provisions, &c.

Meet the *Success* a third time near the port of *Guatulco*, on the coast of *Mexico*.

to clew up the main-top-gallant-sail, and fire a gun to leeward. This signal I made as soon as I thought we were near enough for him to perceive it. Whereupon he haul'd on a wind, and did not so much as lay by a moment for us to come up with him, so that we met a double baulk, both as to our hopes of *Guatulco*, and the ship; for we were now so far to the leeward of our port by bearing down to him, that it was needless to have beat up against the wind for an uncertainty, when we had a gale we might make a pretty good advantage of, which would, at once, (if it had continued) have forwarded us in our way, and have brought us into the neighbourhood of some other port in a day or two.

But the winds were but a few hours propitious to us, and were succeeded by perpetual contrary gales, which destroy'd all our hopes of a speedy refreshment, and brought us down to a small earthen plate of *Calavances* (a kind of small bean) for 24 hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoaked congers, which had, for some months, been neglected, and had been soaking and rotting in the bulge water, and was certainly as disagreeable food as could be tasted.

Unde

Under these calamitous circumstances did we meet the *Success* a fourth time, near the port of *Angels*, in the latitude of 16 deg. 50 min. *North*, and after having made the appointed signal, stood so near to one another, that, (to use the sea phrase) a basket might have been tofs'd from ship to ship, but did not exchange a word with each other; for Capt. *Clipperton* (as I have been since inform'd) had order'd all his Officers and ship's company to take no notice of us; which, I presume, was the greatest indication of an inhuman disposition in our relentless countryman, and former consort, who could unconcernedly see us wandering up and down an inhospitable coast, in want of every thing necessary to keep the sea, and under too well grounded apprehensions that we should never have an opportunity of taking any thing that might be of advantage to us any way, or ever be able to get safe over the vast ocean we had to cross in going to *India*, in a ship not at all fitted for the purpose, and fitter now for a dock than to be at sea a day longer. Nor was the faultiness of our ship all, but we had also our provisions to seek, and where to find any none of us could tell; for all of the coast that we had seen was so wild and open to the sea, that it would have

Meet the *Success* a fourth time near the port of *Angels*, on the coast of *Mexico*.

have been impossible for us to have landed, which, indeed, (considering how our force was diminish'd) nothing could have urged us to on this savage coast, but such an extremity of want as we were in at this time. And so truly sensible was *Clipperton* of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with, if my design was for going to *India*, that he said, that the child that was born the day before would be grey headed with age before we should arrive there; intimating by that expression, that it was impossible for us to do it. Notwithstanding which, he, without any remorse, could see us on the brink of undergoing the greatest severities our ill fortune could load us with, and not lend us a helping hand to deliver us from impending ruin; although he could foresee no means by which we might avoid a lingering death by sea, or throwing ourselves upon the mercy of the barbarous *Indians*, or *Creolian Spaniards*, (who are little better here) who, if we had escaped the fury of the surf on the strand, might have put an obscure ignominious end to our lives, they having been rarely known to have given any quarter.

Thus surrounded on all sides by the threats of approaching disasters, and some melancholy catastrophe, we, on *March* 12. (being, at that

that time, off the port of *Aquapulco*) towards the evening saw a ship between us and the shore. I bore down to her, till perceiving her to be a large *Europe* built ship, (she appear'd the larger by reason of a small mist on the surface of the water) with *Spanish* colours flying, I concluded that she was the *Peregrine*, who, as I have been inform'd, was to have carried the Prince of *St. Bueno* (who had been Vice-Roy of *Peru*) to this port, in his way to *Spain*. With these suspicions (being as yet unwilling to run ourselves so voluntarily into the enemy's clutches) I haul'd again on a wind, which he seeing, pull'd down his *Spanish*, and hoisted an *English* ensign, and made the signal agreed on between *Clipperton* and me for knowing one another, and also made his old signal to speak with me, as fix'd amongst other signals between us, before we came out of *England*. Notwithstanding which I should hardly have trusted him, had we not been so near *Aquapulco*, where I thought *Clipperton* might have come to a resolution of cruising for the *Manila* ship, and wait for her coming out of that harbour, and thinking himself too weak, was now willing to reinforce himself by what strength I could assist him with. But had it been in any other part, I should have

have been so far from entertaining any thoughts of such a change in him, that I should have look'd on all his signals as the artifice of the enemy, who might have acquainted themselves with them by the information of such of our men as had been taken prisoners. But now making no doubt that it was he, I bore down to him, and being come along his side, he sent Capt. *Cook*, his second Lieutenant, in his yaul, with an obliging letter to me, wherein he inform'd me, that he was cruising for the homeward bound *Manila* ship, and desir'd I would assist him in the enterprize, and come on board of him the next morning to consult on the properest methods of attacking her, and propos'd an union of our two ships companies. I was very well pleas'd with this offer, and without hesitation, returned him word, that I would be with him early.

In the mean time I read over his letter publickly to my people, and exhorted them seriously to consider the great benefits that would accrue to us on all sides from it. Upon which they all express'd the most resign'd willingness to join in such an undertaking. But as *Clipperton* had us'd us so unhand somely, they desir'd I would get some security for their shares, sign'd by Capt. *Clipperton*, Mr. *Godfrey*, the

Agent,

Agent, and the rest of their Officers; so I went on board according to appointment with Mr. *Brooks* and *Randall* my Lieutenants, and was received with a seeming unreserved civility, and all animosities being as it were lost in oblivion, nothing now appear'd among us but a perfect harmony. I first told Capt. *Clipperton* and Mr. *Godfrey*, that my Officers, &c. expected such a paper from under their hands as should entitle them to such shares as were allowed them by the *Owners* Articles; to which they answer'd, that it was but reasonable that they should be satisfied in that, and immediately drew up an instrument fully worded, and sign'd it, which was all my people wanted to make them easy.

We then proceeded upon our main business, and after a mature deliberation, it was thought most advisable that I should send the greatest part of my men on board the *Success* as soon as we saw the *Manila* ship come out of *Aquapulco*, and leave only a boat's crew with me to bring me away in case I should have occasion to make use of mine as a Fire-ship, or a Smoaker, as we propos'd, if we found them too hard for us; and it

Y

was

was determin'd to board her at once, because otherwise we should have had much the worst of it on account of their superiour weight of metal, and the better capacity of their ships (which are built very strong) to bear a cannonading. *Clipperton* assur'd me, he was certain of the time when she would sail from this port, which the *Spaniards* say is always within a day or two after *Passion* week, of which we had a fortnight yet to come.

I propos'd if we should have the misfortune of failing to meet her here, (as we might easily miss her if she should happen to come out in the night,) that we should go directly to *Guam*, one of the *Ladron* Islands, where she always stopt for refreshments; but this being a point we should have time enough to consider on, before the time of our cruize was elapsed, it was left undetermin'd, and refer'd to another meeting. However, we now projected such a scheme, that if we had met her, and vigorously prosecuted what we design'd, I think she could not have got clear of us without being singed at least, for my ship was very fit for that purpose, and the *Succes*s could have fought twenty four guns on a side.

But

But before I return'd to my own ship, I acquainted Capt. *Clipperton* with our slender stock of provisions, but particularly our shortness of water; upon which he told me, he had 80 tons, and that he would spare me as much as I would have, or any thing else his ship afforded. I had now the pleasure of enjoying my Command in as regular a manner as ever, every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the satisfaction they had in the prospect before us. But *Morpheo*, that ringleader of all our disorders, fearing my resentment would fall heavily upon him, was contriving how to skreen himself from me, and after all thought, it was his best way to insinuate himself into the favour of the Captain and Officers of the *Success*, which he did effectually by an humble submissive outward deportment, and prevailing presents. In short, he had his end, and left me to go on board there on *March* the 14th in the evening, and the next afternoon Mr. *Rainer* (who acted with us afterwards as Captain of *Marines*) came on board of us to visit his old shipmates, and to stay with us all night. I constantly kept reminding *Clipperton* of our want of water, and he as often promised to supply us with a large quantity at once.

*Clipperton's
Treachery.*

Thus we cruised in good order, and with a great deal of hope, until *March* the 17th, the time appointed for me to suffer the most perfidious piece of treachery that could be committed. But in order to give my Reader an exact account of the circumstances of it, I must inform him, that we used to cruize off and on the shore, at such a convenient distance as not to be discover'd from the land; and, at the same time, it was next to impossible for any ship to stir out of the harbour of *Aquapulco*, without our seeing them; and we not sailing so well as the *Success*, it was *Clipperton's* custom to shorten sail for us, particularly in the night, and shew us lights on all necessary occasions. But towards this evening he stretch'd a head of us about 2 leagues, and I could not perceive that he so much as lower'd a top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him. I could not but be a little startled at this, as being quite contrary to his usual method. However, I kept standing after him (as I thought in the night) till we were almost on the breakers on the shore, which, of consequence, obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea (admiring that we had had no signal for going about) and the next morning had no sight of any ship near us, which laid
me

me under the most terrible apprehensions, considering the sad condition we were in for want of water, and the vast distance we were from any place where we could expect to get any, having now no choice left but either to beat up 220 leagues against the wind to go to the *Tres Marias*, or bear away a much more considerable distance for the Gulph of *Amapala*, in the latitude of 12 deg. 20 min. *North*, on this coast, or the Island of *Cocos*, in the latitude of 5 deg. 00 min. *North*.

But notwithstanding our distress, I kept our cruising station for him two or three days, not doubting but that it was the fault of my people on the watch, who neglected to keep a good look out; till, at last, they resum'd the authority that *Morphew, &c.* had endued them with, and would be perswaded to nothing but to bear away to the first convenient place to water at, and in truth it was time; for we were now 40 odd men who had but 3 butts of water for a run of 300 leagues and upwards, on a coast subject to long calms, variable winds, and uncertain currents.

But before I go farther, it will be necessary to set this dishonourable and cruel behaviour of *Clipperton* in a true light, by the information I had from the mouths of his chief Of-

ficers, after my arrival in *China*, which was, that the night they left us, he assembled all his Officers, and told them, that it was his intention to leave the cruize clandestinely, and go off the coast; upon which his Officers remonstrated to him the barbarity of such an action, and told him, that if he really proposed to leave off all thoughts of the *Manila* ship, yet, since I had been so ready to assist him, and that we were now friends, that he could do no less than defer his design till the next evening, and, in the mean time, take an opportunity of sparing us some water. But he put off their serious and just expostulations with an inhuman sneer, saying, What could it signify if I should, through want, be obliged to surrender, I should only undergo the same fate, that, perhaps, some others had before me; and, in short, order'd all the lights in his ship to be kept close, and tack'd directly from the shore, and took his departure from the last land they saw the foregoing evening, leaving us standing in for the land to cruize by ourselves, and every moment expecting the *Success's* signals, who was soon far enough out of the reach of our sight, if it had been daylight.

Thus

Thus this Man, through an excess of mean spiritedness, dreading the engagement with a ship that was always known to defend itself with some obstinacy, neglected as fine an opportunity as most of our nation ever had of taking this ship, who, (as I was inform'd by some *Spaniards* from *Manila*, when I was in *China*) came out of *Aquapulco* about a week after we left the cruize; she was call'd the *Santo Christo*, had 40 odd brass guns, and was extremely rich. How great a prospect we had, how great an opportunity we lost of taking this, which is always the richest trading ship that goes to sea, I leave the world to judge, when I assure them it was hardly possible to have miss'd her at one of the ports I have mention'd, and as we were prepar'd, the action would not have been very extraordinary if we had subdued her.

Thus was I (as I at first thought) happily rescued from the constant anxiety of mind I had had ever since the loss of my ship, and lifted up to the highest pitch of satisfaction, in the good fortune I had of being join'd with my consort in so noble and profitable a design, after so long a separation, only to be plung'd the deeper in the sea of despair. My people happen'd to guess right in this affair, be-

ing convinced of the strictness of their look-out, and blamed my easy credulity in a man who had just before so openly and maliciously expressed his mind to me. That which made our case the worse was, that we depending upon promised supplies of what we wanted, had liv'd at a larger allowance than ordinary, which now we had reason to repent, because it had reduced us lower than ever, whereas, if I had not cruised with him, we might have spun out what we had by good husbandry to have lasted us much longer. But nothing now remain'd but to apply all our thoughts on returning back again, let the event be what it would; and having reduced ourselves to a very small allowance, we turn'd our head to the *South-east-ward*.





C H A P. XI.

Arrival in the Road of Sonsonate, in the Latitude of 13 deg. 00 min. North, on the coast of Mexico, where we take a Spanish ship call'd the Sacra Familia.

WE had very favourable gales, inso-
 much that on *March* the 30th. in the
 evening, we saw the road of *Sonson-*
nate, and, as the sun set, saw a ship at anchor
 there. It being a moon-light night, I sent
 the first Lieutenant, with some of the
 best hands, in our yawl, to discover what she
 was, and to try what he could do with her ;
 she had not been gone above two hours be-
 fore I heard two guns fir'd, and my boat soon
 after return'd, and inform'd me, she was a large
 ship of one tier of guns at least.

However,

However, I continued to ply in all night, and prepar'd ourselves for action. At daylight we found she did not make so formidable a figure as we expected. But at sun-rising the land breeze blew so fresh off from the shore, that we work'd in but slowly; in the mean time we receiv'd all their fire upon every board we made without making them the least return, and their boat was employ'd to transport Soldiers from the shore to the ship. They hoisted a jar of powder (containing about 10 gallons) with lighted match, at each main and fore yard arms and bowsprit end, to let fall on our decks if we boarded them, which contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have soon made an end of both our ships, and those that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations to receive us, I could do no less than expect a warm dispute and by what I could see they were, in all points, superiour by much to our strength: but as our case would not admit of the neglect of getting what offer'd, though at ever so hazardous a rate, their more than ordinary contrivances for defence, did not much dismay us.

At

At 11 in the morning (after having received all their fire since day-light without the least return) the sea-breeze came in, and that I might make our small force the most beneficial to us, I order'd our three guns to be brought over on the side we were like to engage them, and being within less than musquet-shot, discharged them. The sea breeze freshning, run us upon them very fast, whilst our small arms were briskly and effectually employ'd to break their powder jars before we boarded them, which we did without delay, and after the exchange of a few shot, when aboard of each other, they submitted.

This ship was call'd the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, 6 guns, and 70 men; she had a great number of small arms, grenade shells and shot. They had been, for some time before, arrived from *Callao*, with wine and brandy; but had now nothing in her but 50 jars of gun-powder, a small parcel of rusk and jerk'd beef; in short, she could hardly be said to be worth the trouble we took, or the risques we ran; but she having the character of being a better sailer, and visibly better fitted than ours, I changed ships, and we all went on board our Prize, who was equipt in the war-like manner we found her, and commission'd
on

on purpose to take us, if she should chance to meet us in her way. Our small arms (to do justice to my people) were handled with the greatest dexterity; but being employ'd mostly in shattering the powder jars, that the combustible matter in them might fall into the water, there was none kill'd but the *Contre-master*, and only one slightly wounded; but if our small arms had not been so usefully diverted, there could not have fail'd of being a considerable slaughter amongst them; on our part, we did not receive the least damage.

The Merchant we had taken in this action seem'd inclinable to purchase the *Jesus Maria*, which we had quitted, and when he heard that her cargo consisted of *Pitch, Tarr, and Copper*, he approved of my demand, and went ashore to raise the sum. We had so little provisions to spare, that we could not afford to keep any prisoners in possession, and therefore turn'd all the *Whites, Indians, &c.* ashore, detaining only the *Negroes*. And that we might lose as little time as possible, we set immediately to work to overhaul our rigging and sails, that we might get our new ship ready for the sea. But I was interrupted

rupted in this by a letter which came from the Governour of the place in the evening, which none of us could understand, (for our chief and only interpreter of the *Spanish* stay'd behind on *Juan Fernandes*) but by the Messenger which brought it, we found it was some account of a Truce on foot between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and that the Governour requested me to stay five days, that he might thoroughly satisfy me in it, by shewing me the Articles of accommodation. I thought this very odd, and told the *Spanish* Gentleman, that it was not a peaceable or friendly reception I met withal, and asked how they came to arm themselves in so desperate a manner, and why the Governour did not rather chuse to send a flag of Truce to me with this information before we engaged, having the whole morning before hand, and why these Articles were not on board the ship, she coming from *Lima*, from whence they said they received these papers, and continued to tell him, that it was very strange to me, that none of the Officers we had taken Prisoners should know any thing of the matter; but that, notwithstanding all this, I had such a regard for the name of Peace, that I would

would stay 15 days, if the Governour would supply us with water and provisions, and that if he did not, I could not pretend to make above 24 hours stay here, and therefore I sent the following.

March the 31st.

Honourable Sir,

1721.

I could not fully understand your letter for want of a sufficient interpreter of the Spanish language; but from a farther consideration, and the best interpretation I can get of it, I understand you say there is a treaty of Peace between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, (whom God preserve). I should be glad to see the Proclamation and Articles, and promise with Faith and Honour most religiously to observe them as a British subject, not doubting but that you will do the same, and therefore desire you would supply me, and my ship's company with some small refreshments, being now, as you say, no longer enemies but friends. I am, with the greatest respect, S I R,

Yours, &c.

George Shelvocke, *Sen.*

This

This being deliver'd to the Governour, he consented to the request I made in it, and our boat went ashore every morning with a flag of Truce. The first four days we were supply'd with 8 small jars of water, and on the fifth were reduced to 5, and during the whole time had but one small cow, which was attended by a large boatful of men, amongst which were two Priests, who, with a great deal of familiarity, and shew of friendship, brought with them a paper in *Spanisht*, which they call'd the Articles of Peace, which they knew very well we could not understand; and it was so wretchedly written and blotted, that had it been in *English*, we should have been puzzled to read it; I therefore desir'd the Priests to translate it fairly into *Latin*, which they promised to do as soon as they came ashore, so they took the papers with them, and for my farther satisfaction told me, that the Governour would send for some *Englishmen* who lived at the city of *Guatimala*, if I would continue in the road three days longer, to which I, in a word, answer'd, that he might take his own time.

In two days after this, when my boat went ashore as usual, the Governour order'd them to be taken prisoners as soon as they landed.

I was all the day in suspense, not being able to guess what could so long detain them ashore, but was far from imagining that the Governour would make such a breach in the laws of Nations, and the security of a flag of Truce, as to violate the protection of it, which even some of the most barbarous nations esteem sacred. But in the evening I was astonish'd to see only two of my boat's crew in a small leaky canoe, with 2 letters, the one from the Governour, and the other from Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant; the Governour in his, requir'd me to deliver up the *Sacro Familia*, and surrender myself, and that otherwise he would declare us pyrates; and Mr. *Brooks* in his told me, that all he could learn since he had been a prisoner was, that the Governour was endeavouring to bully me. The Governour in his propos'd two ways of conveying us out of the *Spanish* dominions, the one to *Vera Cruz* by land, or to *Lima*, in *Peru*, by sea. These offers I equally disliked; for I did not like a journey of 1300 miles at least thro' such a country of barbarous people; nor yet a voyage to *Lima* under their conduct. My two men who brought these letters told me, that *Frederick Mackenzey* (one of the boat's crew) had let the Governour into the secret of our necessities,

sities,

sities, and of my former design of getting water on the Island of *Tygers*, in the Gulph of *Amapala*, which, he said, he would take care to prevent, if we dar'd be so hardy as to attempt it, and believed that he had us now safe enough, knowing that we had no other boat now, but a very small canoe, which he thought would be unsafe to send from the ship in that Gulph, where the Inhabitants are all warlike *Indians*.

Notwithstanding the ungenerous and unlawful treatment we had met, and though I saw there was no relying on the honour of these people, I was willing to come to a farther treaty; for I could not foresee but that our shortness of provisions of all species would oblige us to submit, whether peace or war, yet was resolv'd to do it in a handsome manner, or suffer to the last extremity. But I knew not how to communicate my mind to the Governour, since it would have been an unreasonable request in me, to have desir'd any of my men to carry a message to a place where certain captivity attended them. But the two who brought the letters off, liked the shore so well, that they voluntarily offer'd their service, and a third went with them to throw out the

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water;

water; and I sent the following letter by them, in *French*.

Honourable Sir,

You know very well that I have lain here some time for a right interpretation of your papers, and, consequently, did not refuse any thing contain'd in them. I think you treat us worse than enemies, when you detain my people under a Flag of Truce. I never will act any thing contrary to the orders of my Sovereign Lord, his Britannick Majesty; but withal must consult the credit of my Country, and my own safety. If I can be assur'd of a safe and sure conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and from thence, by the way of Porto Bel, to some of the British Plantations, we will come to a farther treaty; which, if you intend, you must signify to night by firing two guns, and by sending my boat and people, and the usual supply, otherwise necessity will oblige me to sail to night.

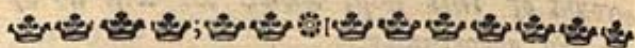
If we treat no farther, I leave the Jesus Maria in the possession of the Captain of the

the Sacra Familia, until we make a farther account of this ship, which we will do by the first opportunity.

I am, &c.

George Shelvocke, Sen.

I did not think that the Governour could have neglected this offer. But I received no manner of answer to this, therefore I weigh'd before day the next morning, and lay to in the bay till 10 of the clock, expecting I should hear from the shore every moment; but nothing appearing, I made sail, leaving behind me the *Jesus Maria*, a much more valuable ship than the other. The actions of this Gentleman were sufficiently convincing that there could be no peace, or likely accommodation. However, I instantly order'd the following formal protest to be drawn up against him.



The Protest against Don Manuel de Medino Solerzaro, the Governour of Sonfonate, or la Trinidad, in the Latitude of 13 deg. 00 min. North, on the Western Coast of the Kingdom of Mexico.

M E M O R A N D U M, *That on the 31st of March, 1721, in the morning, as we, the Captain, Officers, and Ship's Company of the ship call'd by the Spaniards the Jesus Maria, and by us, the Happy Return, were standing into Sonfonate road, in the Latitude of 13 deg. 00 min. North, on the coast of Mexico, we spy'd a ship lying at an anchor there, who cannonaded us some time before we made any return, and made all preparations to receive us as an enemy, being supply'd with a number of men from the shore, and having powder jars hanging at each yard arm; but after an engagement of about an hour's time, we carried her by boarding at 11 of the clock in the forenoon.*

forenoon. The Escrivan of the said ship being aboard, desir'd we would sell him the Jesus Maria, which we agreed to, and sent him ashore to raise the money for that purpose, and, at night, he came off with another Spanish Gentleman, and brought us a letter of advice from the Governour ashore, signifying that there was a Treaty of Peace on foot between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, which was what we never before heard of. However, the Captain sent a letter to the Governour ashore, signifying that he should be very glad to see the Proclamation and Articles; and that thereupon he should be ready to obey the Commands of his Sovereign Lord King GEORGE to the utmost of his power; so we came to an agreement with the Governour to lye in the road until he sent to Guatimala (a place 50 leagues distant from this) for these papers, provided he would supply us with Water and Provisions; and on the 5th of April in the afternoon, the Governour sent aboard two papers, which, by the best interpretation we could get of them, did not appear to us after the form of Proclamations. We told them who brought these papers aboard, that we were in great want of an Interpreter;

upon which they told us, there were some Englishmen at Guatimala, whom they would send for, if we would stay 3 days for them, and that they would supply us with water and provisions till that time, which we agreed to, and they desir'd we would send our boat ashore every morning for the supply; accordingly on the 7th of April, 1721, we sent our boat ashore with Mr. Brooks, our first Lieutenant, and five men, which Officer, Men and Boat the Governour detain'd under a Flag of Truce, being one day before the time was expir'd, wherein they determin'd to bring the Englishmen from Guatimala, and, at night, he sent off a small boat, with two of our men with a letter from himself, and another from Mr. Brooks to the Captain; his letter signified, that if we did not deliver our ship up to him, he would proclaim us pyrates. And Mr. Brooks by his informed him, that it was his opinion that the Governour was endeavouring to bully us into a surrender, having spoken very ambiguously of a Cessation of Arms. Notwithstanding which, the Captain sent the Governour a letter, signifying, that if we could be secur'd of a safe and sure conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and from thence by way

of Porto Bello be convey'd to any of our British Plantations, we would come to a farther treaty; which, if he intended, he was desir'd to signify it by firing two guns as soon as he had receiv'd this advice, and send us the usual supply, if not, we should be oblig'd by necessity to sail. At 3 in the morning, (the Governour having shewn no signal, nor sent any word) we weigh'd our anchor and laid to in the bay till ten, and made sail, being forced thereto for want of water, not having for above 5 days at most aboard; which, if we made any longer delay, would have reduced us to surrender up ourselves at discretion. For these Considerations We, the Underwritten do protest against the proceedings of the said Governour of Soufonnate, for all damages that may arise by carrying this ship out of the said Port; having no other intent, in case of the certainty of a Peace, than to deliver her up at the first convenient Port, as was signified to the Governour by letter; In Witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, on board the Sacra Familia, lying in the road of Soufonnate, on the seventh day of April, in the eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE, of Great-

Britain, France, and Ireland, King, &c. Annoq;
Domini, 1721.

George Shelvocke, *Captain*,
 Samuel Randall,
 John Rainor,
 Blowfield Coldsea,
 Nicho. Adams,
 Pierre le Maistre,
 George Shelvocke, *Jun.*
 Matthew Stewart,
 George Hinfall,
 John Doidge,
 James Daniel,
 William Morgan,
 David Griffin,
 John Pearson,
 Christopher Hawkins,
 William Clement,
 James Moulville,
 John Giles,
 James Moyer,
 John Popplestone,
 John Theobald,
 George Chappell,
 Richard Crofts.

Voyage

Voyage continued in the Sacra Familia, or Holy Family.

Before I proceed, I must take notice that this road is formed by a long point of land running out into the sea, call'd *Point Remedios*, you must give this a good berth, it diminishes in height as it advances into the sea, and off it are two or three high rocks; when you are at the anchoring place, which is uncertain, all that side of the bay being equally safe, you will see very little appearance of any town or fortification; and indeed there is no great need of the latter, for the surf is constantly so violent, that it would be almost impossible to make a regular descent there. A little to the *Westward* of the town, is the opening of a small river, call'd the river of *Sonsonate*, and close to the *Westward* of the entrance of that, is a mountain call'd the *Volcano* of *Sonsonate*, though, I believe, it never burns now. But the most remarkable sign to know this place by are the highlands of *Paneca*, seemingly contiguous to the *Volcano*, and appear like a cluster of 6 or 7 pecks of the same height and bigness belonging to one mountain, and appearing to be all in
a row.

a row. This is the sea-port of *Guatimala* and some other considerable towns situated up in the country.

Direct our
course to
the Gulph
of *Ama-
pala*.

Having got out to sea, we reduced ourselves to a pint of water for 24 hours, and directed our course for the Gulph of *Amapala*, which was about 35 leagues to the E. S. E. of this place, in order to get water there on the Island of *Tygers*. The loss of my Officer and boat's crew, sensibly diminish'd the number of white faces amongst us, and our strength would have been so much weaken'd by it, that we should never have been able to manage this great ship, with her large heavy cotton-sails, if we had not taken our *Negroe* prisoners along with us, who proved to be very good sailors. The loss of our boat was a great inconveniency to us; but as I thought of only taking water enough to carry us to *Panama*, where we were fully bent to surrender ourselves, if it was really Peace, I thought we could make shift with her, and get such a quantity as we should want in two or three days time.

Arrival in
the Gulph
of *Ama-
pala*.

The winds being favourable, we arrived there on the 10th following in the evening; as soon as we had enter'd the Gulph, we found ourselves in the midst of several small Islands, and

and amongst the rest, the Island of *Tygers*, where we expected a supply of water; but our expectations proved vain, for after a hazardous and fruitless search for it, not only on that, but some of the greenest of the other Isles, there was not the least drop of fresh water to be found on any of them. Under this misfortune we could not, at first, so much as think of venturing to sea, so slenderly provided with the most necessary article to keep us alive in so hot a Climate, nor of throwing ourselves into the power of the *Savages* inhabiting the borders of this Gulph; as to returning to *Sonsonate*, which was 35 leagues to windward of us, we might be a month, or more, in gaining so much on this coast, and perish in the attempt; and though *Rio Lego* was to leeward of us; yet there were substantial objections to be made against surrendering there; for all who have attempted to describe it, and to give instructions for going in there, agree that it is very dangerous and unsafe to go in with a large ship without a Pilot, or being well acquainted with it.

Now, as people in such a forlorn way, are apt to form innumerable apprehensions upon the ill event of any thing they fix upon, we presently

After a fruitless search amongst the greenest Islands in that gulph, could find no fresh water.

presently concluded, (and with good reason) that before we could get there we should be so weak, by the want of sustenance, that we should not have it in our power to manage our ship with so much activity as to avoid any unforeseen danger that we might inadvertently run upon; this inconvenience being attended by our entire ignorance of that harbour, made me fear any unhappy accident with the ship in going in there, which, if it had happen'd, would have been imputed to us as a wilful destruction of the ship, after finding she could be no farther useful to us, the consequence of which would be, that our lives or perpetual loss of liberty, must have paid for it; for right or wrong we must have implicitly submitted to such constructions as they would have put upon it; and these parts of *Mexico* are so little known to the *Europeans*, that the Inhabitants never stick at satisfying their cruel revenge, not only on account of the easiness of keeping it a secret amongst themselves, but also from their natural propensity to use their enemies with all the barbarity they can devise.

In vain should we have pleaded our surrender on the hearing of a cessation of arms; for their universal jealousy and haughty contempt

of strangers would have been sufficient to have driven them on to pay themselves for the stoppage of the free course of their trade for these two years past, with the lives of those who had not only done them such a prejudice at this time, but also would be ready, and sufficiently skill'd in the navigation of these seas, to give them perpetual disturbances, in case of a future rupture. I had these considerations in my head when I was treating with the Governour of *Sonsonate*, especially after he had disregarded our Flag of Truce; for I consider'd with myself that it would not be difficult for a man of so little honour, and so base a mind, to have laid a plot to cut us off in so long a journey as we should have had in crossing the kingdom of *Mexico*, by ambuscades of *Indians* laid in our way, and then (though it might be by his own order) report, that it was the outrage of the *Indians*, which he could not be accountable for. 'Twas these considerations that made me chuse to go to *Panama* (since we could think of nothing else but surrendering, whether peace or war) that being, in a manner, in the neighbourhood of the *English*, and if it was really peace, the constant residence of some, or other, of our country-men; and, at the worst, we could not be so liable,

or

or openly exposed here to the inhuman artifices of the *Spaniards*, who stick at nothing they can privately do to keep Foreigners in a dark ignorance of these great and rich kingdoms.

Surrounded on all sides with these unhappy circumstances, and brought down to the most miserable condition imaginable, threatened on all sides by inevitable destruction, unfit for the sea, fearful of trusting ourselves in the cruel hands of the Inhabitants ashore, quite dispirited by the continued run of misfortunes which had hitherto been our constant attendants; but above all, lamenting this unhappy baulk, which had reduced us to such extremities as we had never known; in short, ready to sink under the burthen of our calamities, we weigh'd our anchor on the 13th of *April* before day-break; and having now the open sea before us, I brought my people in general to an obstinate resolution not, by any means, to surrender on this part of the coast, let the consequences be ever so miserable. Upon this unanimous agreement, we having not forty gallons of water in the ship, and no other liquids, we came to so small an allowance as half a pint of water for 24 hours, and even this allowance was rather too large, considering

considering that there was no place that we knew of where we could get any nearer than the Island of *Quibo*, which was about 200 leagues distant from us, and we were forty three in number, reckoning our *Negroes*. Thus resolv'd, we shaped our coast for *Quibo*, but having very uncertain winds and weather, were 13 days at this allowance; during which time there is none that has not experienced it, can conceive what we suffer'd in a sultry clime, by the perpetual extremity of thirst, which would not permit us to eat an ounce of victuals in a day. We constantly drank our urine, which, though it moisten'd our mouths for a time, excited our thirst the more; some attempted to drink large quantities of the sea water, which had lik'd to have kill'd them. An universal Fever, and languid decay of spirits now reign'd amongst us, and there was not one of us, at that time, that was not fitter to be carried to a sick bed, than to be obliged to labour at the hard work, which is requisite to manage a large ship, in a place subject to sudden violent gusts and squalls of wind; yet, at the hazard of losing our masts or canvass, we were forced to crowd along with all our sail, to reach the place where we hoped to be rescued from a lingering death.

But

But we were unexpectedly assisted; for on *April* the 25th, towards the evening, we came up with the Island of *Cano*, in the latitude of 9 deg. 00 min. *North*; which, by the verdure of it, promised to yield us water if we could get our canoe ashore. Under hopes of succour from this little Isle, we came to an anchor on the N. W. side of it, and it was as much as we could do to hand our sails, stop the cable, &c. We soon began to imagine that we could see a run of water; but, at the same time, dreaded the dangerous surf which broke on the beach all around those parts we had seen of it. Nevertheless Mr. *Randall* was sent with some jars to try what could be done, but they not returning till it was very late at night, I was fearful they were lost, or that not finding water there, they were gone to the continent (which was about 3 leagues from it) but, at length, to my unspeakable satisfaction, they came on board with their jars filled. Any one may guess at the excess of joy which there must naturally be amongst men who were thus opportunely deliver'd from the hands of death, but as they did not bring off above 60 or 70 gallons, I took care to restrain them in the use of it allowing to each man only a quart to be immediately

mediately distributed to them; what made me the more strict in this was, that Mr. *Randall* assur'd me that the Breakers were so hazardous, that he believed we should not be able to get any more; but that very night we chanced to have a heavy shower of rain, which we made the best use of, by catching what we could of it in sheets, blankets, &c. During this long interval of thirst, we constantly wish'd for rainy weather, and had often good reason to expect it by lowring black clouds, which seem'd every minute to be ready to discharge their burthens, yet never did before to any purpose, which tantaliz'd us in a wretched manner.

Being willing to make another essay, the next day I sent the Boatswain, and some with him, to make a second attempt; but after having been quite round the Island, and wasted the whole day in search of a smooth beach, he could not see one spot where he durst venture ashore. Therefore, thinking we had a stock sufficient to carry us to *Quibo*, which was about 30 leagues from us, I weigh'd the next day, and in ranging near the Island, saw a smooth beach, which induced me to send the boat a third time, that we might

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be provided against such contrary winds, currents, or calms as we might meet with in our way. Accordingly they went, and fill'd 9 jars, which done, we held our way to the *South-eastward*, and, in a few days, arrived at *Quibo*, and anchor'd at the same place where we had been twice before.



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C H A P. XII.

Second Arrival at the Island of Quibo, in the Latitude of 7 deg. 30 min. North, on the Western Coast of Mexico.

B E I N G here, we pursu'd our main business in coming to this place; but not in a great deal of haste; for it was requisite, since we were now within less than 80 leagues of *Panama*, where we propos'd to surrender, to think of it a little before hand, and contrive proper methods to carry on our treaty. We had this certain advantage, that as *Panama* is a place of little or no strength towards the sea, and but little frequented by their ships of war, we could treat with them at a distance, and be truly inform'd how affairs stood in *Europe*, especially if there was any of the *South Sea* company's Officers there, who would, no doubt, be ready to assist us with their advice. During our considerations

on this point, which was likely to put an end to what had as yet been an unfortunate expedition, we wooded and water'd at leisure; and some search'd the woods for fruits, to refresh us who had been so long confin'd to the grossest eating, by way of prevention against the *Scurvy*, which we had all along been less subject to than any ship I ever saw or heard of in such long runs. Those who, as we thought, were thus usefully employ'd, brought us *Pappas*, *Guayavas*, *Cassia*, *Limes*, and a small kind of white soure Plumb, which was much eaten, and admir'd by most of us; but they had such an effect upon us as to purge us for several days successively; but those more especially who had been likewise fond of the physical lusciousness of the *Cassia*. Thus were we universally out of order, and a stop put to our work for a day or two, and detain'd here some time longer than we should otherwise have been; but being recover'd of this, we made an end of getting our wood and water, and sail'd from hence by the way of *Canal Bueno*, or *Good Channel*, fully determin'd to surrender at *Panama*.

Description

Description of the Island of Quibo,
and Canal Bueno.



THIS Island of *Coiba*, or *Quibo*, is almost in the same parallel of Latitude with *Panama*, and is about 9 leagues in length, and 4 in breadth, of a moderate height, all over cover'd with inaccessible woods, always green, and though it is not, and perhaps never was inhabited, but as wild as nature first made it, abounds with *Papas*, *Guayavas*, *Limes*, and some other fruits I never saw before, and can give no name to, which are near as good, though wholly neglected, and none to tend them, as those that have the greatest care taken of them in some other Islands in as promising a latitude; from whence we may infer, that the soil is fruitful, and if it should ever be inhabited, and clear'd of the incumbrances of woods and wildernesses it is choak'd with at present, it might be made productive of every thing that any of the best of our Islands do yield in *America*.

But the *Spaniards* having so much more on the Continent than they know what to do with, and it being prudence in them not to send away colonies from amongst them to people Islands, which might weaken their force on the Continent, and knowing (or at least thinking) that they are secure from the attempt of any *European* nation to settle on them, who might, by that means, annoy their coasts, it lies neglected, though I can but think, that since there is (or it might certainly be made) a very considerable Pearl-fishery, it would be worth while to make a small settlement here; but the Pearl-fishers not being able to dive with their piraguas in the time of the *Vendevals*, which is a black stormy season for four or five months in the year, beginning about *June*, and ending in *November*, and being withal so near the Continent, and *Panama* in particular, which must be the market for a commodity of that price, they have not yet thought it worth the while; so that all the settlement they have here are a few huts scatter'd up and down in several parts of this Island and *Quivetta*, made use of by the Divers at the season they come here, to open their
oysters;

oysters, and sleep in. The sandy beach is cover'd with shells of fine Mother of Pearl of all sorts of sizes, and in going no farther than up to the middle in the sea, you may stoop down and reach large oysters from the bottom. This pleased us at first, not so much upon the hopes of finding any valuable Pearl in them, as to eat them; but when we came to make tryal, we found that Nature had not ordain'd this fish to be at once endued with riches, and afford a savoury agreeable food, for they are as hard and tough as so much leather, and by no means palatable. As to any other sorts of fish as we had no seyne, (though there is every where a good conveniency for hauling it), I can't say much of them, nor give any account of their various sorts; but only take notice that we used to observe a large kind of flat fish that often jump'd a great height out of the water; these are reported to be very destructive to the Pearl divers, for when they return up again, if they take not great heed, these wrap their broad fins about them, and keep them in their mortal embraces till they are drown'd; therefore, to prevent this the Divers (who are all *Negroes*) always carry a sharp pointed knife, and upon sight of any of these as they look upwards, they carry the point of it above them, and, by

that means as they rise stick it into his belly, and hinder him from his mischievous intent. There is yet another thing which must make diving here a matter of great danger, since the sea hereabouts is undoubtedly troubled with Alligators, one of which some of us saw, or fancy'd we saw, swimming under the water near point *Mariato*, which is but a few leagues from hence.

Birds.

There is a great variety of birds, which the woods would not permit us to follow, and also great numbers of black Monkeys and Guanoes, who mostly frequent the streams of fresh water. There are some Guanoes here of an extraordinary size, but as they have been often described by Travellers, I shall only take notice to such of my Readers who never before heard of them, that they are large kind of Lizards, of various colours in different places; as for example, the Guanoes here are mostly of a brown with yellow streaks about the head, and in other places of grey with black streaks, &c.

Convenience in watering and wooding.

You may be as expeditious as you please in watering and wooding, for the fresh water runs in several streams, larger and smaller, on the sand of the beach, and your wood grows within less than 20 yards of the sea side; this advantage you will have, especially if you come to anchor

anchor in the manner and place as shall be hereafter directed.

This Island lying about three and a half, or ^{Of Canal} four leagues from the Continent, forms the ^{Bueno.} West side of *Canal Bueno*, so call'd, as I have already said, from its safety from rocks and shoals, though you must take care not to be very free with the *South* end of *Quibo*, which is low, and has a flat which runs a considerable way out. In the *North* entrance of this channel lyes the Island of *Quivetta*, within 2 miles and a half of the Island of *Quibo*, between which I always anchor'd, but took care to be within half a mile of *Quibo*. In the little channel between it and *Quivetta* are two or three small Islands, and some rocks which run along the *South* end of it. Having gain'd the *Northern* coast of *Quibo*, you must so continue till you see the opening of the channel (for till you are near it, this Island seems to be a part of the continent) which being done you will immediately see *Quivetta*, which may be easily known by two large rocks off the *Northermost* end of it; you may then make bold with the shore of *Quibo*, and so continue till you have shot a little within the land, and then come to an anchor, but not in less than eighteen fathom. But take care,
in

in coming in and going out, that you are not drawn too near to those rocks off *Quivetta*, by an eddy that will drive you towards them, as happen'd to me the first time I weigh'd from thence, insomuch, that it was with much ado that I got clear of them. The tide, or rather the currents, are very uncertain there, for we have had them setting violently one way for a day or two successively, then slack, and run with as much rapidity back again; in short, by what I could observe of them, they are very uncertain as to duration or swiftness.

In weighing from hence, if you intend to go through *Canal Bueno*, to the *Southward*, you must take care to get well to the *Northward* of those rocks off *Quivetta*, and then turn down the channel, because you have not a clear passage between *Quibo* and *Quivetta*. For my part, though my people inform'd me that there was a deep commodious bay, to the *Southward* of where I usually lay, where a ship might anchor in the greatest safety, I never sought after it, having the fair season before me, and I was, at the same time, unwilling to be closely confin'd; but if any ship should come there in the time of the *Vendevals*, it might, perhaps, be a good place of refuge both for wooding, watering, and laying a ship ashore; in short, it is a place I would recommend to any ship,

ship, after the coasts are alarm'd and that there are the enemy's ships of war at sea, who infallibly search all the noted places that have hitherto been frequented by the *English* cruisers; but this being as yet unknown, and never made use of (that I ever heard of) by any *English* before us, you may be there without any great fear of being pursued so far; but if you should have reason to apprehend it, you lye so near the shore, and the water and wood so near at hand, that you may make your stay as short as you please, and if you should, at same the time, be short of provisions, you may furnish yourself at Point *Mariato*, as I have already related.

There are between *Quibo* and Cape *Burica* a great many small Islands, but the most remarkable is *Montuosa*. the situation and appearance of which I have already given in my account of our first arrival here, as also of the Island of *Sebaco* and point *Mariato*. I must not pass by the Isle of *Picaro*, which lies on the *Western* side of *Quibo*.

Voyage continued.

Having got clear of this place, and nothing thought of but our speedy surrender, we met with very strong currents against us, together with contrary winds and calms, which detain'd us several' days under the mountains of *Guanacho*.

On

On *May 15*, a small bark taking us for *Spaniards*, bore down to us ; the Master of her was mightily surprized when he found his mistake, but soon recover'd upon hearing that we were bound for *Panama*, and readily offer'd to pilot us thither, but had heard of nothing like a Truce ; he belong'd to, and was bound for that port ; his vessel was call'd the *Holy Sacrament*, and came last from *Che-riqui* laden with dry'd beef, pork, and live hogs ; he desir'd I would take her in tow, complaining that the currents drove him off shore, so that he could not fetch the land, although he had constant sight of it, and that, by this means, all his live cattle were almost dead for want of water, and that she was at the same time so leaky that his people were no longer able to stand at the pumps ; upon the hearing of this I took her in tow, and kept the Master of her on board, sending some of my hands to assist them, and spared them as much water and *Indian* corn as I could.

It may appear strange that this opportunity of supplying ourselves with provisions, did not make an alteration in our intended proceedings. But every one was so tired of the sea, so worn out by a continual want of all necessaries, and dishearten'd by our perpetual misfortunes, that they were willing to embrace
any

any opportunity of going ashore at any rate. Indeed, as to myself, I was glad that this bark fell into our hands, because, if we found the Governour of *Sonsonate's* account to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled by this help to go to *India*. To this end I design'd to anchor a great way short of the town, and keep possession of the *Holy Sacrament*, in case the President there should not have comply'd with such terms as I should have esteem'd safe and honourable, and then we should have it in our power to redress ourselves by keeping out of their hands; but all this while we had not fully determin'd who should be the person intrusted with the Flag of Truce; for my people having known so much treachery acted amongst themselves, were apprehensive that the person sent would only, or chiefly make his own case good to the Governour, and not return again; therefore, after all my Son was thought the properest to go, as being sure of his return, if it was purely for my sake. This, and many other objections were started that could not be so easily remov'd, notwithstanding we kept on our way, fix'd in our resolution.

May 17. Another small bark came down upon us, but having come pretty near to us, stood away from us again; I therefore order'd

der'd Mr. *Randall* to go in our canoe to inform them of our design, and prevent their loss of time and way; but as soon as they were almost on board of them, they hoisted their *Spanish* Colours and fir'd into our canoe, which made my people be glad to retire, and get out of their reach, after which she stood in towards a *Rocky Bay*, and we after her, till night coming on, it was no longer safe for us to do it. The next morning, being *May 18*, my people were divided amongst themselves whether we should look into the bay to see if this vessel had lain there at anchor all night, or not, and the affirmative carrying it, we stood for the place where we left her. As soon as they saw us coming in, they weigh'd their anchor, and hoisted all their sail, and stood directly in for the bottom of the bay. When I saw this I tack'd, and lay braced to, with our head to the Seaward to prevent their going ashore, and also sent the Master of our bark (at his own request) with four of our *Negroes* in our canoe, with a *Flag of Truce*, with orders to tell them, that if it was peace we would do them no farther damage. But they neither minded our ship's lying to, nor the *Flag of Truce* flying in our canoe,

but

but ran ashore directly, and destroy'd their vessel, perhaps, with the loss of some of their lives.

In the mean time, while we were lying to for our boat to return to us again, there arose a violent gale at S. S. W. (which the *Spaniards* call a *Popagallio*) attended with a prodigious shower of rain, thunder and lightning. This violent gust driving us right upon the land, we were in the greatest danger of being lost on a lee-shore; but it pleased God that it did not last above 2 hours, then came round a little more *Westerly*, and soon after fell quite calm; however, by this flurry we lost our canoe, and the people in her, that is, they were driven on shore; but there was no room for a fear that such good swimmers should be drown'd. The unaccountable shy behaviour of those who thus voluntarily shipwreck'd themselves rather than fall into our hands, gave us another good reason to believe that the Governour of *Sonsonate's* account of a *Cesation of Arms*, was groundless and false.

The next morning, *viz.* *May*, 19, We saw a sail a head of us, standing along shore, and having now lost our Pilot, I was the more desirous to speak with her, and therefore let go the bark we had in tow, and made all the sail we could after her; we gain'd very little upon

upon her all the day; but had, nevertheless, got a great way a head of our Bark, wherein were four of our own people, and five *Spaniards*. The night coming on, and perceiving that we did not come near the ship before us very fast, and seeing but little probability of coming up with her, I was inclin'd to bring to, that the *Holy Sacrament* might come up with us, rather than run the hazard of losing her by making so much sail all night, but every one was averse to it from the highest to the lowest, who were obstinate in their opinion that there could be no cessation, and would give ear to nothing I could say, so all our sail was kept abroad all night; and the next morning, *May 20*, by day-break, we were within less than gun-shot of the chase. I immediately order'd our colours to be spread, and fir'd a gun to leeward, and sent a man upon our poop to wave a *Flag of Truce*; but they, upon the first sight of our *English Ensign*, fir'd at us, and so continued to do, with their decks full of men, hollowing and abusing us with the grossest appellations; notwithstanding this, I made no return until I came close upon their quarter, and then sent one of their countrymen to the bow-sprit-end to inform them in *Spanish*, that we were bound

to *Panama*, and desir'd to treat peaceably with them, and hoped, at least, that they would have some regard to the white Flag which they saw flying; but still they continued their fire, and *Borachos*, and *Peros Ingleses*, *i. e.* Drunkards and *English Dogs*, and vile threatnings was all we could get from them; therefore finding they were deaf to every thing we could say to them, and that while we were suing for Peace we expos'd ourselves in a tame manner to be knock'd on the head, and perceiving that the more compliant our deportment was, the more inhumanly they insulted us, imagining, perhaps, that our strength consisted but of one gun, as when we formerly engaged the *Margarita* and *St. Francisco Palacio*, and presuming thereupon, that they were sure of a compleat victory, whereby they should have the satisfaction of carrying us by force prisoners to *Panama*; in short, not doubting but by our quiet behaviour, that we had it not in our power to defend ourselves; they, with that presumption, were coming to board us, which as soon as I perceiv'd, I deem'd it full time to begin with them, and therefore met them with our helm, and soon convinced

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them of their error; for instead of one gun, we had now nine; and, in a word, gave them so warm and unexpected a reception, that they sheer'd round off from us; we just mis'd getting hold of them, but it falling almost calm, we continued our engagement for the space of two or three hours at the distance of musquet-shot; but, at length, a breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found that as fast as we approach'd so fast did their courage cool; but their Captain still bravely persisting, and encouraging them to renew their vigour, and exposing himself in the most open manner, was, at length, shot through the body, and dropp'd down dead; upon this they immediately, with one voice, cry'd out for quarter, and put an end to our dispute; we call'd out to them to hoist out their launch, but they answer'd, that their tackles, and all their rigging in general was so shatter'd that they could not possibly do it in any time; therefore we hoisted out our canoe, which we had taken out of the *Holy Sacrament* the morning before, and Mr. *Randall*, and two or three more went in her on board the prize. They found all the Prisoners in the most submissive posture, asking for mercy, which they could have

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no great cause to expect, after their direct breach of the laws of *Arms* and *Nations*.

Mr. *Randall* sent away the most considerable of the Prisoners, who inform'd me that their ship was call'd the *de Conception de Reco-va*, belonging to *Callao*, but came last from *Guanchaco*, of the burthen of 200 ton, laden with *Flour*, *Loaves of Sugar*, *Bales of Boxes of Marmalade*, *Jars of preserv'd Peaches*, *Grapes*, *Limes*, &c. mounted 6 guns, and had 70 odd men well provided with small arms, &c. and was in particular one of those ships who were fitted out in an extraordinary manner, and commission'd to take us, so that she was the second of those warlike Merchant ships that we had taken. In this engagement the *Spanish Captain* and a *Negro* were kill'd, and one or two slightly wounded; but their rigging, masts, and sails were much disabled, particularly their fore-mast, which, by a shot that pass'd through the body of it, was much shattered. On our part, there was little or no hurt done, except to our Gunner who was slightly wounded in the forehead by a pistol-ball, and our Main-mast, which had a small piece carried out of the side of it. We had now about 80 Prisoners of all colours, and not above 26 of ourselves.

When the *Spanish* Gentlemen came on board, they would not give me time to ask them, how it came to pass that they would not hearken to our peaceable offers, but fell upon excusing themselves, and laying all the fault upon their dead Captain, though they afterwards confessed that they were all in general glad that they had met us in the morning, and made no doubt but that they should easily master us, and thinking they were well assur'd of our weakness, made but little account of us; but that after seeing we suffer'd their fire so long, and heard what we said to them, they all declar'd against using any farther violence. But the poor Gentleman who was dead (*Don Joseph Desorio*) vow'd, in a passion, that we should have no terms but his own, and that he would take us by force. And indeed it is my opinion that this was the inclination of all of them, till they found our strength and resolution, and then seeing their own case desperate, would have been for a Parley. It would certainly have been a welcome morsel to have feasted their Pride, if they could have obtain'd what they propos'd to themselves, but it pleas'd Providence to order it otherwise, and their insulting haughtiness was soon converted to an abject submission. Amongst our Prisoners

soners we had several of note, particularly Don *Baltazzar de Abarca Conde de la Rosa*, an *European Nobleman*, who had been for some time Governour of *Pisco*, on the coast of *Peru*, and was now upon his return to *Spain*, and Capt. *Morel*, who had formerly been taken by Capt. *Rogers*, &c. all of them were treated with the utmost civilities, which they the more wonder'd at, because from a prevailing notion they have formerly had of our cruisers, and from a self-conviction of their own un-enerous behaviour towards their Prisoners, they could not but have expected to have been dealt with very roughly. I must here observe, that upon their being first sent on board of us, they were astonish'd to see my people so thin-sown, our scanty number not making any manner of show in so large a ship as ours, and those that remain'd of us being clean shav'd, they pronounced my people to be lads, from the artificial smoothness of their faces, and regretted their hard fate in being taken by such an inconsiderable company of boys, as they term'd them.

We were now within 30 leagues of *Panama*, and in the tract of all the shipping bound thither, therefore, as we could not think of doing any thing with the *Conception*, who was

so heavily laden with such things (mostly) as could only serve us by way of provisions. We spent two days in overhauling her cargoe, which was tedious and laborious; but the Prisoners did the greatest part of the work.

All this while little winds and calms prevented us from joining our Bark till *May* the 22d. We bore down to her, and being pretty near, wonder'd that she only came to and fell off, although all her sail was set; nor could I perceive any body stirring in her. As soon as we came up with her, I sent the boat aboard, and the Officer that went in her immediately call'd out to me, telling me that there was no soul in her, but that her decks and quarters were cover'd with blood. This was a melancholy hearing, since it plainly appear'd by many positive circumstances, that the *Spanish* crew had murder'd those of my people who were sent to assist them; A cruel return for our civilities and services to them! It seem'd strange to me that our men should suffer themselves, or run the least hazard of exposing themselves to be thus butcher'd; for they were four in number, compleatly arm'd, and there were but five of the *Spanish* crew, two of which were boys. These vile wretches,
doubtless,

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Men who
were sent
to assist
them.

doubtless, took the opportunity of the *English* being lost in sleep, and then, murder'd them, not doubting but that they should meet with thanks and encouragement for so foul a barbarity. The names of those thus destroy'd were *John Giles, John Emblin, John Williams* and *George Chappel*. But it is very probable that those murderers paid with their lives the loss of those lives they had taken away, for being above 4 leagues from the land, and having no boat, they probably jump'd into the sea on the approach of our ship, thinking they should meet immediate death if they had fallen into our power, as a just reward of so horrid a crime, which they themselves were so sensible of, that they endeavour'd to conceal the deck, which was dy'd with gore, by throwing the flocks, &c. of beds over it, so that till they were removed, the blood was not to be seen.

This tragical accident was the cause of a general melancholy amongst us, and spoil'd the satisfaction we had enjoy'd a day or two past on the account of our late Prize. Our Prisoners seeing such a universal sudden change in us, began to be alarm'd, and look'd at one

another, as if they all expected to undergo the same fate our unhappy fellows met with.

This made me fearful on the other side, least their dreadful apprehensions of our revenge upon them, should stir them up to offer at some desperate attempt upon us, they being 80 in number, and we not above 17 on board at that time, and when we were all together not above 25 that could stand on their legs; therefore I was directly forced to shew some heat in ordering all our Prisoners to go into the stern gallery (which was very large) except the Nobleman, and some of the Chief of them; whilst we kept a guard in the great cabin. The *Spanish* Gentlemen who had not this confinement, in a very moving manner lamented to me the unhappy deaths of my men, and their own hard fate in having been, in some measure, eye-witnesses of this bloody murder, and let fall some expressions whereby I perceived they were afraid that I intended to use some severities towards their people on this occasion. Having a good interpreter between us (who was an *Englishman* we had taken on board the *Conception*) I assur'd them, that if I had so revengeful an inclination, the Laws of my Country deterr'd me from putting it in execution; that I acted by virtue of my *King's Commission*,

Commission, who, in his Orders, forbad, in the strictest manner, all acts of inhumanity or unwarrantable oppression towards our Prisoners, which assurance I desir'd might make them perfectly easy, if they had not a confidence sufficient to convince them of the natural abhorrence our *Nation* had to barbarity. This dispersed their fears, and our discourse on this head was ended by them with compliments of the highest nature on the *British Crown* and *Government*; and solemnly promised, that if it was possible any of those murderers could be living, the two kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* should be alarm'd to bring them to Justice, and begg'd of me to think myself secure as to themselves, and the rest of their country-men, my Prisoners, who would sooner suffer any thing than harbour any thought in their heads that might be any way preiudicial to our lives or liberties, even though they should have the most encouraging opportunity of putting it in practice, and assur'd me, on their Honour, that they thought they never should be able to make a just return for the generous entertainment they had met with from me.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding this, I took some measures to secure our Prisoners of the meaner sort, and then haul'd the *Holy Sacrament* along side of us; she was half full of water, and the greatest part of her dry'd beef was wet and spoil'd, but all that was not damaged we took out, together with some live hogs, and then gave her to Don *Baltazzar de Espina*, who, by the death of Capt. *Joseph Desorio*, became Captain of the *Conception*; and that night kept a stricter watch than we had before, though none of us had had scarce any sleep since we had taken this ship.

The next day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to have their own ship restored to them, and pursue their voyage; I deliver'd the *Conception* into the possession of Don *Baltazzar de Espina*, &c. after having taken out of her twelve months provision of *Bread, Flour, Sugar, and Sweetmeats*, and a like proportion for the *Succes*, whom I expected to find at the *Tres Marias*, being then a stranger to *Clipperton's* faithless desertion. I likewise took away their launch, and their *Negroes* to assist us in the management of our ship, knowing that we could not well hold out much longer, if the work was not made more easy, and since we had a large ship, and

and a run of 175 degrees to sail, I thought we could do no other than reinforce ourselves by the assistance of these *Blacks*, who are commonly good sailors in these parts, and indeed, as it afterwards happen'd, we should never have reach'd the coasts of *Asia*, or any other land without them.

Thus having supply'd ourselves with every thing the *Conception* afforded, I suffer'd our Prisoners to return to their ship, but the chief of them would not leave me till they had drawn up a writing, sign'd by themselves, whereby they acknowledged the circumstances of our engagement, as I have already observ'd, and the civility they met with from me, &c. In short, none could part in a more friendly manner than we did; for I order'd the *Conde de Rosa* should be saluted with 9 guns when he put off from our ship, and they, in return, wish'd us a good voyage by way of *Huzza*, which they often repeated. We had them but 3 days in our possession, and now restor'd them to their liberty; the *Conception* and *Bark* standing with their heads towards *Panama*, and we with ours to *Seawards*. Thus were we put by our design of surrendering, and were now going to undertake a long hazardous Voyage for *Asia*; it might be call'd hazardous

zardous to us, on account of our being but indifferently prepar'd for it, either in rigging or sails, (although we had taken what we thought could be of any use to us out of the *Conception*) and for many other reasons unnecessary to mention. Our strength indeed was considerably augmented, for we had now 15 guns and ammunition enough to supply them; this might be serviceable to us when we arrived on the *Asian* coast against Pyrates; but as we were on the point of departing from these seas, the *Spaniards* would receive no farther damage by it.

But before we proceeded any farther, it was requisite to think of getting our full stock of water. The Island of *Quibo* was too near, and had this other inconveniency attending, that the *Vendavals* began to approach, which is, as I have already observ'd, is a season of black squally weather, and therefore did not care to trust our ground tackling to stand the proof of such strong gusts, amidst so many small Islands; and, in the next place, we should be there too near to *Panama*, from whence, if there should happen to be a ship of war, they might soon be with us. Upon these considerations, it was determin'd to ply up to *Cano*, where, having a good boat, we soon did our business.

In our passage thither the sweetmeats, of all kinds, were divided among the messes, but one of the fellows complain'd he had a box of marmalade he could not stick his knife into, and desir'd it might be changed. I open'd it, and found a cake of virgin silver in it, moulded on purpose to fill such boxes, and being very porous, was of near the same weight of so much marmalade, the weight being 200 pieces of Eight; in overhauling the rest we found five more; this was a contrivance to defraud the King of *Spain* of his fifths, which he lays a claim to in all the silver taken out of any of the mines in *Peru*. We, doubtless, left a great many behind us, so that this deceit serv'd them in a double capacity, of wronging their King, and blinding their Enemies. An affair as vexatious as this fell out on board a prize the *Succefs* had taken, where they found a very considerable quantity of *Pinnas*, or virgin silver, in the form of bricks, very artfully plaster'd over with clay, and dry'd in the sun, as they never burn their bricks in that country, they took them to be really such, and therefore threw a great number of them overboard as so much rubbish, and made no discovery till the four or five last pieces. How true this is I can't say, but it was reported to me,

me, as matter of fact, by several of the Officers belonging to Capt. *Clipperton*.

I must here observe, that every thing we took in the *Conception*, was divided according to the *Juan Fernandian* Articles, and I had no more than six instead of sixty shares, and they would not even allow me the money I had laid out at *St. Catherines*, which was upwards of 100 pounds; but the thoughts and hopes I then had of meeting the *Sucesso* at the *Tres Marias*, or *Puerto Seguro*, made me easy, both on the Owners account, and my own, and I did not doubt of being a welcome guest to Capt. *Clipperton*. That which confirm'd me in my hopes was the repeated assurances that Capt. *Clipperton* gave me, that he would not return to the *Southward* in five months, that he should be obliged to go to one of these ports to refit, and that he had a great deal of work to do, but I was at a loss to know how to prevail with my people to go so far to the *Northward*; for they had learned that our track to *India* lay in the parallel of 23 deg. 00 min. *North*, or thereabouts, so that I when talk'd to them of going to *California*, in the latitude of 23 deg. 5 min. *North*, they seem'd surprized, and told me that it was a madness to run so much out of

our way to windward, and grumbling said, that they should get to *India* in the time we should get to *Porto Seguro*, and that we should beat and tear our rigging and sails to pieces.

Thus they argued with a great deal of reason; but I was resolv'd to acquit myself in the best manner I could, and not have it said, that I left these coasts without using my endeavours to join the *Success* again, and therefore form'd all the pretences I could to gain my ends; I told them they were all strangers to the nature of the *Mousoons* and *Tussoons* on the coast of *India* and *China*, and that I was well acquainted with the seasons on both coasts, and assured them, that we should run into the greatest dangers imaginable if we arrived in those seas before the latter end of *October*. I desired them seriously to consider that we had almost one half of the circumference of the Globe to go, before we should have an opportunity to make any repair, or get a supply of any thing; that therefore we ought carefully to look for any defects in the ship's bottom which was but single, and pretty much worm-eaten already, and bream as low as we could to destroy the worm, and give her a good coat of pitch and tallow, since our whole run would be in the way of those destroyers, and that we ought, moreover, to
make

make a farther tryal of our *Tank*, which had always fail'd us hitherto, whether by roguery, or leaks we could never yet tell, and since it contain'd the greatest part of our water, our lives depended upon the firmness of that.

They all approved of what I had said, but were extremely unwilling to sail so far to the *Northward*, and propos'd doing all this in the Gulph of *Amapala*, or that of *Nicoya*, or somewhere thereabouts. But in answer to this I told them, that it would be unsafe to attempt to do any thing in those places, the enemy having several ports near at hand; that, in short, it was in such a manner that Capt. *Clipperton* formerly had a rich prize retaken from him though he had one ship of 24 and another of 16 guns, yet a parcel of canoes took them both; besides, that the worm had a much greater effect on the ships bottom by lying in still muddy water, than at sea; therefore going to *California* would divert our time in waiting for a safe season to venture to the other side of the *World*, and that there we should be out of danger of being surprized. That the *Westing* we should gain in going to *California*, would make amends for what we should lose by going so far to the *Northward*, and that from thence I did not doubt (after we had done

done our business) but that we should gain our passage in forty or fifty days.

Having thus effected my desire, I weigh'd from *Cano*, steering to the *Northward*, and had favourable gales for 48 hours; then came on the constant, or what may be call'd the trade wind on this coast, blowing from the W. N. W, except in the night, that it comes about more *Northberly*, and sometimes (but very rarely) in the height of the sea-breeze it is at W. S. W. and S. W. These winds being as contrary to us as any could be, we made but a bad hand on't in gaining to windward; and having before experienced the tediousness of coasting along this shore, I was willing to try how far off shore these winds prevail'd, which, in my opinion, may be call'd the eddy of the true trade, whose course is perverted by the interposition of this vast mountainous continent.

Accordingly I found that at 60 leagues distance we had light winds, and variable, and between 70 and 80 leagues distance, it settled at E. N. E. and N. E. therefore I kept this distance from the land till we had run the height of 20 deg. 00 min. *North*, and were not, in all this passage, in the least sensible of any currents, and were entirely out of the way of the

frightful riplings and over-falls of the water, which we frequently met withal nearer to the land, which often alarm'd us in the night, when we have been becalm'd in deep water.

We used to hear a noise as of the fall of water passing through a bridge, a considerable time before it came to us, which would pass by us at a very swift rate; all the effect it had on the ship was to make her answer her helm wildly, if we had any wind; but when it has happen'd that we met these moving waters very near the shore, we could not perceive that we either gain'd or lost any way by them, tho' we have continued in them for a quarter of an hour together. I have observed these over-falls to come both from the *Westward* and *Eastward*, but by getting out to sea, we were not only clear of the inconveniences I have been mentioning, but were also out of the way of the black season, which began to be fix'd on the coasts, for at *Cano*, and in going thither, we felt very hard gusts, with black lowring weather, frequent and violent thunder and lightning, attended by heavy showers of rain.

In this passage we were continually accompanied by vast shoals of fish, such as *Dolphin*, *Bonita*, *Albicore*, and *Angel-fish*, which is
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in shape like a *Salmon* and has scales like them, but has a tail like a *Dolphin*, and also nearly resemble them, when in the water, they appearing in all the beautiful colours that the *Dolphin* has, and as for eating, it is by much the best fish that swims near the surface. But we were continually incommoded by numerous flocks of the birds so well known by the name of *Boobies*, which are generally the attendants of such shoals of fish; they disoblged us very much by the stench of their dung, for our ship being their resting place, they had painted all our yards, tops and decks, which they foul'd as fast as we could clean them. However, for change of diet, some of my people made ragouts of them, and the smoakers made stems for their pipes of their long wing bones.

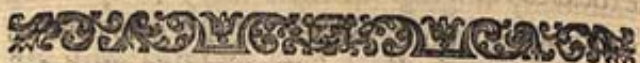
We fell in with *Cape Corientes* in the beginning of *August*, and were immediately carried to the *Tres Marias* by a hard gale at *South*, and anchor'd under the lee of the middlemost Island, but had no sight of the *Success*, and could see no sign of her having been there. After a tedious search on all the three Islands for fresh water, there was nothing like a stream to be found. This was the more astonishing to us, by as much as one or two of

our late Navigators have reported that it was to be found there in sufficient plenty; perhaps it might have been so when they were there, but there was no such thing now, so that all that a ship must expect in going there now, must be only Turtle, except those runs of water which were formerly there, should be renew'd again, which I would not advise any one to depend upon.

After having been 3 days among these Islands, I stretch'd over for *California*, and arriv'd upon that coast on the 11th of *August*. The Inhabitants, as soon as they discover'd us, made fires on the shore as we ran by them; towards the evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us on a *Bark-log*, but were a long time before they would accept of our invitation to come into the ship; at length, after a great many pressing signs which we made to them they ventur'd in, when, in a moment, seeing the *Whites* and our *Blacks* promiscuously standing together, they, with very angry countenances, separated them from us, and would hardly suffer them to look upon us; they then made signs to us all to set down, which done, one of them put himself into strange postures, and ran from one to the other of us, talking to us with much vehemence, and seem'd


seem'd to be in a perfect transport of extasy, continually singing (in their way) or speaking and running about so fast till he was out of breath, so that it was doubtless an adoration they paid us, from doing which nothing could divert them for some time. The night coming on they were for departing, and we gave them a knife or two, an old coat, and some other trifles, which pleased them very well; they express'd themselves by signs in such a manner that we could guess that they gave us repeated invitations to go ashore with them.





C H A P. XIII.

*Arrival in Puerto Seguro in the
Latitude of 23 deg. 05 min.
North, on the Southermost Part
of California.*


ON Sunday, August 13. 1721. At day-
 break we found ourselves near *Pu-
 erto Seguro*, which may be readily
 known by three white rocks, not much unlike
 the *Needles* of the *Ile of Wight*. You will
 not discover the road until you are round these
 rocks, and must keep close aboard the outer-
 most to fetch into the bay. But of this I shall
 speak more fully when I come to the descrip-
 tion of this place; and shall, therefore, return
 to give an account of the behaviour of the
 Inhabitants upon our approach to them; some
 of whom came out on *Bark-logs* to meet us,
 whilst others got upon the tops of the hills
 and rocks near the sea-side, making fires for
 us. There was an universal joy spread through
 the

the whole body of them ; those that were near the rocks to see us come in, incessantly running up and down to one another, and those who came out to us on *Bark-logs*, paddled with all their strength, impatient to have a nearer view of us. Thus we enter'd *Puerto Seguro*, surrounded by these small embarkations, and the shore, on all sides, crowded with the *Indians*, whose number encreased by multitudes which flock'd from the adjacent parts.

Our anchor was no sooner down, than they came off to us in shoals, some few on their *Bark-logs*, but most of them swimming, talking and calling out to one another in a confused manner. Our ship was in an instant full of these swarthy Gentlemen quite naked, amongst the rest was their *King*, or *Chief-man*, whom we could not distinguish by any particular ornament, nor by any deference that was paid to him more than to the rest ; the only ensign of *Sovereignty* which he bore about him, was a black round stick made of a hard wood, of about two foot and an half in length ; this being observ'd by some of my people, they brought him to me ; upon which he concluding that I was the Chief of the ship, in a very handsome manner, deliver'd his black Sceptre to me, which I immediately return'd

to him. This Man, notwithstanding his savage appearance, had a good countenance, and his behaviour had something of the genteel in it. I was, at first, at a loss to know how to entertain our numerous guests, but soon found out a way to regale them, for we had a great quantity of *liquid sweetmeats*; I therefore order'd what deep dishes I had to be brought on the deck, the jars were broach'd, and the dishes we fill'd with the choicest of *Peruvian* conserves; they were every one accommodated with spoons, and though they could not sit very regularly to their entertainment, because of their numbers, who had all an equal welcome to the good cheer, yet, as we kept continually replenishing their empty dishes, they were all satisfied with as much as they car'd to eat; their food they liked extreamly well, if I may have leave to affirm it from the eagerness wherewith they ate it; and the spoons, which were mostly silver, they return'd with great honesty, which they would doubtless have done had they been gold, the value of those metals being, (and perhaps always will be) unknown to them.

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Having thus commenced a friendship with them, I thought it would not be unsafe to send an Officer ashore to view the watering place; but to make him the more welcome, I sent with him some coarse blue baize, and some sugar, as a present to the women, amongst whom it was to be equally distributed. The King seeing our boat ready to put off, was for waiting on her with his *Bark-log*, but I, (as well as I could) entreated him to take a passage in our boat, which he seem'd to be mightily pleas'd with.

The remainder of the day was spent in an interview between us and our wild visitors, who behaved themselves in general very quietly and peaceably. The Officer returning with an account of his civil reception, we prepar'd our casks to send ashore the next morning. Indeed from some accounts which I had read concerning these people, I did not apprehend any molestation from them in wooding and watering, though a first view of the country and inhabitants would dishearten one a little from venturing freely amongst them; they even appear'd so terrible to our *Negroes*, who had been born in *Guinea*, (where they are not very polite) that one of them who was sent with the Officer on shore, was afraid to stir from

from the boat, and all the while kept an ax in his hand to defend himself from any that might attack him; but this dread perhaps proceeded from the contempt which the two first that came off to us had express'd towards our *Negroes*, in driving them from the *Whites*. As soon as the night approach'd, all the *Indians* swam ashore again, so that we had the pleasure of a clear ship to rest ourselves in after the fatigue of the day.

By day-break the next morning our boat went ashore with those design'd to cut the wood, and fill the water, and before the sun was up, we were again crowded with our former guests, who seem'd as if they never could be tired with gazing at us and our ship. But that nothing should be wanting in us to keep up the amity we had already contracted, I order'd a great boiler to be carried ashore, with good store of flower and sugar, and a *Negro* Cook to be continually boiling hafty-pudding, for the numerous spectators on the beach; and it really behoved us to endeavour to keep in their favour, since, whether in the ship, or on the strand, we were wholly in their power, those on shore being perpetually surrounded by multitudes, and we in the ship were from

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morning till night so incommoded by them that we could hardly move fore and aft through the throng of them.

They, at first, prov'd to be idle lookers on, till their natural compassion for the few of my men, whom they saw rolling of great casks of water over the heavy sand in the sultry heat of the day, enclin'd them to help us, together with the kind treatment they met with from us, and the particular readiness of their Chief to serve us, by shewing his people a good example; for, after Mr. *Randall*, my Lieutenant, he took up the second log of wood to carry to the boat, and was immediately follow'd by two or three hundred of them, so that they eased my men of a great fatigue, and shortned the time we should have occasion to stay at this place; they likewise roll'd our cask down to the boat, but always expected a white face to assist them, who, if he did but touch it with his finger, it was sufficient encouragement for them to preserve in their labour; we even found means to make those that used to be all day on board useful to us, for when we came to heel the ship, we crowded them all over on one side, which, together with other shifts, gave us a very considerable heel, while we
clean'd

clean'd and pay'd our bottom with pitch and tallow, and so tractable were they, that they would sit very quietly on the side they were bid to go to, till we order'd them to disperse themselves that we might bring the ship upright again. Thus they repay'd our civilities by their services, and every day they seem'd more and more fond of us. When our boat went ashore in the morning, there was a constant equipage waiting for our people on the beach, and particularly for those who by a better dress, they guess'd to be above the common rank; these they always receiv'd with such formal ceremonies as could not be expected in such a place; for as soon as they came out of the boat they were immediately laid hold of by two *Indians*, who led them between them, and were follow'd by a great many couples, hand in hand; thus they led them up to the river, and then left them to their own liberty to proceed in the direction and execution of their business.

Mean while the rumour of our arrival was spread through all the neighbouring parts, and some of different clans from those who inhabited the land about this bay, came daily to view us; those who came from any distance in the country could not swim, and that they
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were different from those we had first seen, appear'd by their manner of painting themselves, and other little distinctions which were visible amongst them; but they all united in one to assist us, and hardly any were idle but the women, who us'd to sit in circles on the scorching sand to give attendance for their share of what was going forwards, which they us'd to receive without any quarrelling amongst them about the inequality of the distribution, although some, who had nothing to serve them instead of spoons, far'd but poorly. But at last there were few of them that had not something to serve them to eat their spoon meat, encouraged thereto by our constant supplies of it, with which we fed several hundreds every day. Thus by a mutual exchange of good offices towards one another, they thought themselves happy in us, and we thought ourselves fortunate in meeting so timely and necessary assistance; for it is probable that my men might have contracted some dangerous sickness in working so laboriously in the heat of the day, after being, in a manner, worn out by what they had already undergone.

Having compleated our business in the space of five days, we, on *August 18* in the

the morning, prepar'd for our departure in the afternoon, and employ'd the morning in making a large distribution of sugar amongst the women, and to the men we gave a great many knives, old axes, and old iron, which we had taken in our prizes, these were the most useful things to them, and of which they stood most in need; in return, some of them gave us bows and arrows, deer-skin-bags, live foxes, and squirrels, &c.

That we might appear as awful to them as possible, I order'd five guns to be fir'd on the loosing our top-sails, the noise of which mightily frightned them, and upon seeing our sails loosed, there was an universal damp upon their spirits, which might be easily perceiv'd by the lively sorrow that was painted upon all their countenances; their women were all intears, when my people had executed their orders, and were coming off to the ship; and a great many of the men stay'd in the ship all the while we were purchasing our anchor, and did not offer to stir till we were under sail, and then with the most dejected aspects leap'd overboard with the most apparent regret. That evening we took our departure from Cape St. Lucas, in our way to *China*. But I must

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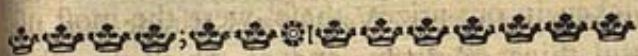
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stop here to give some account of this part of this country and Inhabitants, which we are as little acquainted with as any of the known parts of the World.



Description of the Southermost Part of California, and its Inhabitants.

AS to the bounds and extent of *California*, our Geographers have never yet been able to determine either by their own observations, or information from others, whether it is an Island, or a part of the Continent of *North America*. Those of the *English* who have been here, neither had time nor power to go about the discovery of it, which, when done, would be perhaps more a satisfaction to the curious, than of any real advantage to us, since it would be much the same to us whether it be an Island, or a part of the Continent, if we had any advantageous views of making any settlements there, the *Manila* ship indeed in her way to *Acapulco*, might, with an inconsiderable loss of time, make this and other discoveries; but the

the *Spaniards* are now grown indolent and incurious, and in that ship in particular they are so intent on the great profits they extract from their wealthy commerce that they scarce think of any thing else. As they are oblig'd to run into very *Northern* Latitude for the benefit of *Westerly* winds, they have some times had soundings in their mid passage; but I never heard that they attempted to make any land near it. But by this, and for some other reasons, I believe that *America* and *Asia* are join'd by a tract of land to the *Northward*; but since that, and, probably, many other countries are as yet hid from us, I shall leave them to future discoveries.

The *Eastern* coast of that part of *California*, which I had a sight of, appears to be mountainous, barren, and sandy, and very like some parts of *Peru*; but, nevertheless, the soil about *Puerto Seguro*, and (very likely in most of the vallies) is a rich black mould, which, as you turn it fresh up to the sun, appears as if intermingled with gold-dust, some of which we endeavour'd to wash and purify from the dirt; but tho' we were a little prejudiced against the thoughts that it could be possible that this metal should be so promiscuously

scarcely and universally mingled with common earth, yet we endeavour'd to cleanse and wash the earth from some of it, and the more we did, the more it appear'd like gold; but in order to be farther satisfied, I brought away some of it, which we lost in our confusions in *China*. But be that as it will, it is very probable that this country abounds in metals of all sorts, though the Inhabitants had no utensils or ornaments of any metal whatsoever, which is no wonder, since they are so perfectly ignorant in all arts. This soil produces a plenty of wood, but the trees are very small, hardly deserving a better name than that of bushes. But woods, which are an ornament to most other countries, serve only to make this appear the more desolate; for the *Locusts* swarm there in such abundance, that they don't leave a green leaf on any of the trees; in the day time these destructive insects are perpetually on the wing, flying in clouds (if I may so call it) and are extremely troublesome by flying in one's face. They are in shape and bigness the nearest like our green grasshoppers, but differ from them in their colour, which is yellow; no sooner had we come to an anchor, than they came off to us in such abundance, that the sea about us was strew'd with their dead bodies. Thus by

the incessant ravages of these Locusts the prospect of the country about, is stripp'd into the naked appearance of winter, notwithstanding the natural warmth of the Climate, and the seeming goodness of the soil. I don't know that any of our former Navigators have observ'd this in their accounts of this place; and therefore am perswaded that they are troubled with this plague but at this season of the year; and, in confidence of this, I gave them a large quantity of Calavances, and shew'd them how to sow them. But if these creatures are with them all the year round, it will never be of use to them.

Puerto Seguro described.

Puerto Seguro, so call'd by Sir *Thomas Cavendish*, is about 2 leagues to the *North-eastward* of *Cape St. Lucas*, which is the *Southernmost* land of *California*, and is almost right under the tropick of *Cancer*. The marks to know it by, and the chief direction in going in, I have already mention'd, and shall only add, that there is a bank of sand on the *Northern* side as you go in, on which you may anchor from 16 to 8 fathoms; but take care that you do not fall too near the *Southern* side, where there is very deep water; for the bank shelves away very fast from the *Northern* shore; therefore be sure that you are well on the

the

the bank before you come to, and then anchor any where between the depths I have mention'd, and lay your moorings S. E. and N. W. with a good scope of cable ; I rode in 13 fathom, and lay open to the sea, from the E. by N. to the S. E. by S. During my stay there the wind reign'd from the W. S. W. to the W. by N. which render'd it a commodious harbour to us ; but if the wind should come very fresh out of the sea, here is room but for very little drift ; for we were not above half a mile from the shore, and of consequence this would have been an indifferent road in such a case ; from the S. E. to the W. of this bay it is rocky and mountainous, and from the W. to the N. by W. is low, cover'd with bare trees, and from the N. by W. to the N. N. E. there are three indifferent high mountains of the same appearance and bigness with one another, and from these the land shelves very regularly till it forms a low point, which bore E. by N. of us when at anchor, and is the *Eastermost* point that forms the entrance of the bay.

The watering place is on the *North* side, Watering
Place. in a small river, which empties itself through the sand into the sea ; this will be conspicuous from the ship, by the appearance of

the green hollow canes which grow in it, which the Locusts do not touch. This water is excellent for sea service; in short, the Port in general is very convenient for such as may have occasion to lay in wait for the *Manila* ship, or lie for some time conceal'd after the coasts have been throughly alarm'd.

Account of
the Inhabi-
tants.

The Men are tall, strait, and well set, have very large limbs, with coarse black shaggy hair, which does not reach down to their thighs, as a late Navigator reports in his Voyage, or hardly down to their shoulders. The Women are of a much smaller size, their hair much longer than the Men's, with which some of their faces are almost cover'd. Some of both sexes have good countenances, but of a much darker complexion than any *Indians* I saw in these seas, these being of a deep copper colour.

Men go
quite naked

Such is the original simplicity prevailing amongst them, that the men go quite naked, without the least thing to cover them, and wear nothing at all but a few trifles, which they look upon as ornaments, such as a band of red and white silk grass, which some wear round their heads, adorn'd on each side with a tuft of hawk's feathers; others have pieces of mother of pearl, and small shells ty'd in their

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J. King Sculpin Page 209
An Indian of the southernmost parts of California
as Returning from Fishing & another on his Barklog



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their hair, and hanging about their necks; some have a large necklace of 6 or 7 strings, composed of small red and black dry'd berries; some are scarified all over their bodies, others use a kind of paint, some besmearing only their faces and breasts with black, and others are regularly painted all over from the face to the navel with black, and from thence down to their feet with red.

The Women on the contrary wear a thick fringe of silk grass reaching from their middle down to their knees, and have a deer skin carelessly wrap'd over their shoulders, some of the better sort had the skin of a large bird.

But the Women are clothed.

From what I have been relating of their personal appearance, my Reader may reasonably conclude that nothing can be more savage. But there is a wide difference between what one would, upon the first sight, expect to find from them, and what they really are; for by all that I could discern in their behaviour towards one another, and their deportment towards us, they are endued with all the humanity imaginable, and may make some nations (who would give these poor people the epithet of *Savages* and *Barbarians*) blush to think that they deserve that appellation more

Their Manner and Disposition.

than they ; for all the time we were there, and constantly amongst so many hundreds of them, there was nothing to be perceiv'd but the most agreeable harmony, and most affectionate esteem for one another ; insomuch that when any of us gave any thing that was eatable to any one of them in particular, he always divided it into as many shares as there were persons about him, and commonly reserv'd the least for himself ; they seldom walk single, but go most by pairs, hand in hand. They appear to be perfectly meek, and there is no indication of cruelty in either their aspects or actions ; they indeed seem to be pretty haughty towards their women, which perhaps may proceed from too great an opinion of the superiority of their own sex.

In the main, they lead a careless life, and have every thing in common amongst them, and search for nothing except the necessary supports of life, *viz.* meat and drink, by which means they are free from the anxious troubles to which those nations are subject where Luxury and Pride have got any footing ; a solid content seems to dwell in the midst of them, so that they covet (and have no reason for it) nothing belonging to one another ; and never offer'd to pilfer or steal
any

any of our tools, and other utensils, which might have been of great service to them. So strict was their honesty in this particular, that some of my Men, who had been cutting wood all day, and were coming on board in the evening, heedlessly forgetting that they had left their axes in the wood, it was observ'd by one of the *Indians* standing by, that they had not taken their tools with them, who immediately spoke to the King (who was also standing to see our boat go off) who sent him directly into the woods to fetch the axes, which he accordingly did, and deliver'd them to my people with a seeming satisfaction that they did not go away without them. In a word, they seem to pass their lives in the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of amongst Men. They as yet have never been tainted by the conversation or intercourse of other nations, which might have perverted the innocence of their morals, and have never had their spirits chafed by the oppressions of a Conqueror, who by exercising cruelties over them, might have taught them to delight in barbarity, as has happen'd to the *Indians* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, who doubtless had their notions of inhumanity greatly augmented by the *Spaniards*,

ards, who shew'd them a horrid example by their continual butcheries of the *Indians*, not so much as sparing their Kings, and also by their commotions amongst themselves. As yet these *Californians* may be said to act according to the dictates of Nature, whilst We act contrary to the just remonstrances of our reason. One of our late Navigators has represented them as idle, and lazy, and jealous of their Women, alledging that he could never have a sight of any but such as were old. I can't tell how that Gentleman and his People treated them, but we found, that they are not slothful so much by inclination as a disuse from any thing laborious; and as to their Women, we had the company of some hundreds of young and old every day, who never made any scruple of appearing amongst us; nor did the Men shew the least discontent at it; and I may venture to say that we engag'd them so far by trifling presents and entertainments, that no body upon those terms, need want their assistance for the future; though perhaps none may have so much provisions to spare as I had at that time to regale them with. I must not omit one thing, in which they would always have the mastery of us, and that was in taking snuff, which they

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they would never permit any of us to use; but immediately upon seeing any of us take a pinch out of our boxes, they would run to us, and with great earnestness take it from between our fingers, and throw it away. What could be the grounds of this aversion I can't conceive, except that some of them had suffer'd death or sickness by taking some particular thing up their nose; they likewise would never suffer me to look through my Prospective, imagining that there was something extraordinary in that piece of wood; that I had so often recourse to it, to look on the shore, which I did to see how the work went on on the beach, they not apprehending that it was possible that my eyes could receive any assistance by it.

Their Language is guttural and harsh to the ear; they talk'd very much among themselves, but we never could so much as understand one word, so that what I have now deliver'd is not what I learn'd from their language, but from their actions, which are sufficiently expressive of what I have been relating; I had once some thoughts of bringing some of them away with me, especially some of the youngest, that they might learn our language, and give us some information of their country; but

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as we could not make them understand us, we must have seem'd to them to have taken them away by force, which, perhaps, might have exasperated them, which would have been of ill consequence to such ships as may have occasion to go there for the future, and therefore I laid aside all designs of that kind.

Their
Manner of
Living.

As to their manner of living in general; their dwellings are very mean, and can scarce shelter them, and their diet, I believe, is mostly fish, which they frequently eat raw; they sometimes bake it in the sand; they seldom need want a supply of this, the Men being expert Harpooners, they go out to sea on their bark-logs, which are only composed of five logs of a light wood, made fast to one another by wooden pegs; on these they venture out, rowing with a double paddle, and with their Harpoons (which are made of a sort of hard wood) strike the largest Albicores, and bring them in; this was altogether surprizing to us, who had so often experienced the strength of that fish, for though we frequently got hold of them with very large hooks made fast to a strong rope, we were obliged to bring the ship to, to get them in, and that by the help of nine or ten men, which is as much as they can sometimes do, so that
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one would imagine that as soon as these *Indians* had struck one of these on his light embarkation, that it would run away with him and his bark-log, but they have some particular way of managing them, that their resistance and struggling is in vain. When we were there it was their fishing season, but by the number of deer-skins one sees amongst them, it is natural to conclude, that they have a season for deer also; their skins are grey, as are also their foxes and squirrels, all these they eat promiscuously together, with any thing else they can catch. There are hardly any birds there, except a few Pelicans. What they use instead of Bread is very remarkable, being a small black seed of an oily substance, which they grind in some such manner as we do our chocolate, and afterwards make it up in rolls, though the looks of it is not very inviting (being very black) yet the taste is not very disagreeable. When they want to drink they go up to their middle in the river, and there take up the water between their hands, or stoop down and suck it up. Thus between hunting, fishing, eating, and sleeping, their time is divided, which by these exercises, and the sparingness of their diet, is prolong'd to a great duration, and many

many of both sexes live to a very old age, as their grey hairs and extraordinary wrinkles testify.

Their
Arms.

Their arms are bows and arrows; their bows are about 6 foot in length, and their arrows seem to be somewhat too long for their bows; considering they have no tools requisite to make such things, it must take them up a great deal of time in the making and contriving them; their bow-strings are made of deer's sinews, and their arrows are composed of a hollow cane two thirds of their length, and the other next the point is of a heavy kind of wood, headed with a piece of flint, and sometimes agate, the edges of which are cut in teeth like a saw, and the point is pretty sharp. They made no manner of show of their arms to us, and it was rare to see any in the hands of any of the men. The women commonly go out with them in the woods in search of Game, which is their chief employment. They have need of some arms to defend them against wild beasts, for I saw some of the men who had receiv'd great hurts from them, particularly one old man, who had his thigh almost torn in pieces by the paws of some tyger or lyon, and his thigh, tho' quite heal'd, yet appear'd like one continued scar.

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It is impossible for me to say any thing in particular of their Government; but this I may safely affirm, that it is neither very strict nor rigorous; what laws they can have amongst them may be reduced to very narrow bounds where justice can have no employ but to revenge murder, which I am perswaded they are never wilfully guilty of. When their King was ashore he used to be attended by a train of a great many couples, hand in hand. In this manner was he coming out of the woods the first morning after our arrival, when perceiving one of my Officers cutting down a tree, the *Indian* Prince perceiving some silver lace on his wastecoat, judg'd him to be better than ordinary, and immediately took an opportunity of shewing both his Authority and civility, by ordering one of his attendants to take the ax from him, and work in his stead. In short, in every respect, they seem to enjoy a perfect tranquility, to the happiness of which nothing could be added, but the true knowledge of God, and the right way of worshipping him, though even then their condition might appear miserable and forlorn to us who have been bred up in a way so widely different from theirs.

Before

A remarkable instance of their activity in the water.

Before I conclude this Chapter, I cannot but acquaint my Reader with a remarkable instance of their activity in the water, which one would almost take to be their natural element. It happen'd one day whilst I was there, that a monstrous kind of flat fish was sunning himself on the surface of the water near the shore. Some of the *Indians* seeing him, went into the water to the number of twelve, and surrounded him, who finding himself disturb'd, dived, and they went down after him, and twas with much difficulty that he got from them the first time. In an hour afterwards he came again, and 16 or 17 of the *Indians* swam off, and encompass'd him as before, and by tormenting him after a manner peculiar to themselves, they, by their art, insensibly drove him ashore; for all their strength put together was certainly inconsiderable to his when in the water. When his belly touch'd the ground, the force with which he smote the beach with his fins is not to be express'd, no more than the agility of the *Indians* about him, who were endeavouring to kill him, for fear least the surf should set him afloat again. They at length dispatch'd him by the help of a dagger, which *Randall*, my Lieutenant, lent them, who was standing by; they soon cut him in

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pieces, which were distributed to all that came. This fish, by the nearest computation, was 14 or 15 feet broad, but not so much in length; notwithstanding he was of the flat kind he was very thick, and had a hideous large mouth. Thus having given the most exact and faithful relation of what I observed of this Country, and its Inhabitants, I shall proceed to the sequel of my Voyage.





CHAP. XIV.

Containing some Remarks on the Passage into the Great South Sea, and some Instructions to such as may for the future go to cruise on the Western Coasts of North and South America.



BEING now upon the point of departing from this quarter of the World; I think no place could be more proper than this, to give some farther, and more general account of the Navigation in these seas, and on these coasts; for the more particular use of such who may have a call thither for the future, who can never receive too much instruction and advice in the most prudent methods of carrying on their Voyage, so as to answer the end of their Expedition; I shall therefore, as I go along, point
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at the rocks on which we split; partly by means of our necessitous misfortunes, and partly by the want of sufficient advice in some of the most material things relating to these coasts, in which our Voyages, in general, hitherto are very short and imperfect.

First, then, if your design is to cruise in the *Great South Sea*, I would not have you touch on the coast of *Brasil*, except the greatest necessity or distress obliges you, for they trade to the river of *Plate*, from whence the *Spaniards* may have advice of you overland, on the coast of *Chili*, before you can arrive there with your ship; but if you should be so unfortunate as to be obliged to stop on that coast, I would recommend the Island of *St. Catherine's*, as the most proper place in all respects.

The coasts of *Brasil* and *Patagonia*, otherwise call'd the *Desart Coast*, are fix'd in their most exact situation by our worthy Countryman *Dr. Edmund Halley*, Royal Astronomer, &c. whose general Sea-chart I strictly observ'd, and never found any material error in my account, that I could attribute to that Gentleman's work. When I was shipwreck'd on the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, I, amongst many other things, lost some particular re-

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marks and memorandums of the ship's way, &c. therefore in general have not been particular as to the Longitudes, but I believe my Reader will think that as well omitted as borrow'd.

I must observe to you, that as you advance towards the coast of *Brasil* you'll see in the night a sort of faint light'ning, flashing and playing (if I may so call it) in that part of the Horizon extended over the coast; when you begin to observe this, you may assure your self that you are not above 25 leagues from the land; thus I found it, and this is the general remark (as I was inform'd) of all the *Portuguese* Pilots.

Having gain'd to the *Southward* of the river of *Plate*, it would be proper to make it your endeavour to get in with the land till you come into soundings, and so continue to do all along the coast of *Patagonia*, the winds on that coast being commonly off shore, you have nothing to dread, so that by all means I would have you keep within the limits of my soundings on that coast; the soundings I have already given in the Book, and by our accounts, compar'd with Dr. *Halley's* chart, were never within less than thirty, or farther off than forty leagues from the land;

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land; when you come into the Latitude of 51, you may expect to meet shoal water on the bank I have already mention'd, therefore then take the most proper measures you can think of.

The course I took is probably the best tract for ships to follow who have a design to go through either the streights of *Magellan*, or the streights of *le Mair*, one of which is doubtless to be preferr'd by any who are bound to the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*; for by keeping to the *Eastward* as some have done, who have chosen to go without the Island of *Staten-land*, the extent of which being uncertain, they have been oblig'd to give it a good berth to the *Eastward*; I say, that by this step in their Navigation, they brought themselves under great difficulties to regain so much *Westing* as is necessary to double cape *Horn*, against almost constant contrary winds, which blow very frequently with tempestuous violence from the *Western* board, where they are mostly fix'd; thus they expos'd themselves much longer than they need have done, to bear the shocks of that uncertain navigation, weaken'd their ships, and introduced sickness, and decay of health amongst their people; therefore let this course be carefully

avoided, by making sure of a passage through the streights of *Magellan*, or those of *le Mair*, the latter of which I should prefer; the former being unavoidably attended by the hazard of wearing out your ground tackling too soon by the frequent anchoring there, and fatiguing and wearing out your people's strength, by their constant work in so unfavourable a climate, not to mention what other risques you may run there; I would therefore recommend the streights of *le Mair*, as a medium between the two extreams of going round to the *Eastward* of *Staten land*, or through the streights of *Magellan*, (which, I must confess, I thought was the best when I first set out on this Expedition), for in the streights of *le Mair* you may gain your passage in 3 hours, and by that means avoid all the fatiguing troubles of the one, and cut off the greatest part of the inconveniences of the other by having so little a way to gain to the *Westward* before you may double cape *Horn*, and venture upon a *Northerly* course; this is the tract the *French* have generally endeavour'd to follow, and what I would from my experience (who, as far as ever I have read, or heard, was the first of our nation who has made use of those streights) would recommend to my Countrymen for the future. But

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But I must not forget to remind you of a caution you are to make use of in approaching the coasts of *Tierra del Fuego*, if you have misty weather, and that is, not to advance nearer to the shore than 60 fathom; for I found 40 fathoms within less than 8 leagues of the land; and also to take care that you are not deceived by a distant prospect of the land, which being cover'd with snow, it may be mistaken for a white cloud in the Horizon. Being pass'd the streights of *le Mair*, I would advise to gain a very good offing of 3 days drift at least, for we made the coast of *Chili* in the latitude of 48 deg. 00 min. *South*, when we, by our accounts, imagin'd that we had been, at least, 50 leagues distant from it.

Cautions
to be used
in coming
on the coast
of *Tierra
del Fuego*.

I would not have you think of coming in with the coast of *Chili* till you have got so far to the *Northward* as *Narbourough's* Island, in the latitude of 44 deg. 30 min. *South*, nor even there, except you stand in need of wood and water, and have settled fair weather to deal with; for you will, in that part, find a frightful coast, rapid tides and breakers, 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The *Spaniards* say, that the coast of *Chili*, near the sea-side, is uninhabited till you

come so far to the *Northward* as the Island of *Chiloe*, which is a place so abounding with provisions, that even a Squadron of ships might there supply themselves. The dread of falling short of provisions has been no small discouragement to warlike undertakings in these parts of the world; but I can assure you, that there are many places, and great opportunities of getting recruits of it on these coasts, which I don't remember to have seen sufficiently observ'd in any of our Voyages hitherto; therefore for the ease and satisfaction of such as may follow me in that Navigation, I shall, as I go along these coasts, take particular notice of such places as afford provision, and of whatsoever means may be conducive toward attaining it, which will be really serviceable, and in the greatest measure chase away the melancholy apprehensions of being in danger of starving, or being forced to surrender through want of a necessary subsistence to keep the sea.

Coast of
Chili.

First, then, the coast of *Chili* extends from cape *Victoria*, in the *Western* entrance of the streights of *Magellan* to *Cobija*, in the latitude of 22 deg. 30 min. *South*; the coast is generally very high, and you have all the way a sight of some of the *Cordeliers*; the sea bordering

dering all along this coast can by no means be term'd a part of the *Pacific* ocean, especially when the sun is to the *Northward* of the *Æquator*, it being subject to tempestuous weather very often in that half of the year. Upon this coast you have the ports of *Conception*, in the latitude of 36 deg. 40 min. *South*; *Valparaiso*, in the latitude of 32 deg. 55 min. *South*; and *Coquimbo* in 29 deg. 50 min. *South*; the trade of these ports, which is considerable, consists in the exportation of provisions of all sorts, wherewith they supply the greatest part of the numerous settlements in *Peru*; you can scarce fail of meeting with provisions, if you cruise in the tract of these ports; but if immediate necessity obliges you, or if you are in a condition of not valuing whether the coasts are alarm'd or not, you may take their ships out of the harbour, or make a descent upon the Towns, except at *Valparaiso*, where they have a fortress, but the other two have no fortified strength to defend the shipping in the road; you may get cattle and some dry provisions, likewise at the Island of *St. Mary's*, which is about 9 or 10 leagues to the *Southward* of *Conception*.

You ought not to think of proceeding to leeward of the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, till

Not to be term'd a part of the *Pacific* Ocean when the Sun is to the *Northward* of the *Æquator*.

you have compleatly stock'd your self with wood and water there, which you must husband with care, for there is no certain opportunity of getting any more till you get the length of the Island of *Gorgona* in the bay of *Panama*. At the Island of *Juan Fernandes* you may likewise save a good quantity of fish, which you may catch with hooks although there is no convenience for hauling the feyne; of these you may salt and save a good stock in a little while, and you may also save Seal to serve, if not for your own use, yet for your *Negroes* and *Indians*, &c.

Coast of
Peru.

We now come to the coast of *Peru*, which extends from *Cobija*, into the Latitude of 22 deg. 30 min. *South*, to the city of *Panama*, in the Latitude of 8 deg. 5 min. *North*. From *Cobija* to *Tumbez*, in the Latitude of 4 deg. 5 min. *South*, which is 480 leagues, this coast is extreemly mountainous, barren, and sandy. I had sight of but two green spots in all this extent, which were the vale of *Arica*, and the land about the town of *Pisco*; within the limits of this part of the coast, the navigation may be justly term'd *Pacific*, for it enjoys a certain equality of weather, which I never heard of in any other part of the world, and the *Spaniards*, from their
long

long experience there, affirm, that it is never subject to boisterous gales of wind, heavy showers of rain, or indeed any at all, except a little way out at sea, where a small shower may happen, but that is very rare; nor do they suffer any immoderate heats, nor is the noise of thunder ever heard throughout all this extensive part of the *Peruvian* coast, which the learned say proceeds from the constancy of the *Southwesterly* winds blowing along shore, which do not admit of a mixture of those contrary nitrous and sulphurous particles which are waisted in the air by adverse winds, which are reputed to be the cause of thunder. Close under the land indeed you have in the night regular breezes off shore, but a little in the offing the trade-wind prevails briskly. On the contrary, that part of the coast of *Peru*, lying between *Tumbez* and *Panama*, is subject to violent squalls and gusts of wind, thunder, and lightning, and great rains, especially when the sun is near the *Æquator*. This coast is bold, and free from any hidden danger, until you come near the bay of *Panama*, and there is no difficulty in going so far as *Gorgona*, if you keep your lead going. One thing very remarkable

remarkable is, that there is but one navigable river on all the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, which is the river of *Guayaquil*.

Places
which afford
Provisions on
the Coast
of *Peru*.

If on this coast you should want provision, you can't well miss of finding enough (for a single ship at least) on the Island of *Iquique*; for they having nothing of their own growth, are obliged to keep a stock before-hand for the Inhabitants; for the same reason you may meet with it at *Payta*, if they have not a previous alarm. From *le Nasco* and *Pisco* they export great quantities of wine and brandy; off the highland of *le Nasco* is a good cruising station for meeting with the *Chilian* traders, who commonly fall in hercabouts. From the road of *Guanchaco*, the port for *Truxillo*, they likewise export great quantities of wheat, flour, bread, wine, brandy, sweetmeats and fruits, plate, &c. these ships generally trade to *Panama*; the same trade is carried on from *Guayaquil* to the same place. *Cobija* and *Hilo* have been lately the rendezvous of the *French* trading ships; they are both open roads: Here they dispose of their cargoes, and in the first of these, *Martinet* in the *Gloucester*, and *le Jonquiere* in the *Ruby*, two *Spanish* men of war, took 7 or 8 *French* ships in one morning

morning, without firing a gun; if I say they were worth one million sterling, it will not be near so much as they valued themselves at, as I was inform'd.

We now come to the coast of *Mexico*, a Coast of Mexico. place less frequented than the former two, and of consequence less known. I can say nothing farther of the extent of this coast, than from near *Panama* to cape *Corientes*, in the latitude of about 21 deg. 00 min. *North*, lying nearest N. W. and W. and S. E. by E. The situation of it, its little commerce, uncertainty of weather, unaccountable currents, and frequent long calms, render it a tedious solitary navigation.

This coast appears to be a vast continued mountainous wilderness, most of the largest and highest peaks are by the *Spaniards* call'd *Volcanos*, but hardly any of them burn now, I saw but one of them that burn'd, which was that of *Rumbao*, in the latitude of 14 deg. 20 min. *North*, from whence we heard both the times we pass'd by it, a rumbling noise as of remote thunder; this we did not hear only twice or thrice, but once every 8 or 10 minutes.

From *Rio Lego* to *Aquapulco* we used every night to see the shore illuminated, as it were

were, by a great many fires, the reason or use of which we never could learn.

From *Rio Lego* to the bay of *Tegoantepeque*, or *la Ventosa*, the land next the sea is low, and full of *Mangroves*, though a little behind that in the country you discover ridges of mountains of a great height; all the way that we ply'd up this coast we had gradual soundings close home to the shore. The sea falls very heavy upon this coast, insomuch, that we could not find a place to put the boat ashore from *Aquapulco* to the Gulph of *Amapala*, where the *Sucefs* water'd, but we, as I have already related, could not find any after the most diligent searches we could make for it, therefore it is a place not to be much depended upon, so that there is no certainty of getting any supply of fresh water in this part from the Island of *Cano* to *Puerto Seguro* in *California*. I never heard of any navigable river on this coast, though perhaps there may be such amongst the many deep Gulphs and Bays on this coast, which are but little known, even to the *Spaniards* themselves.

The chief trade of *Mexico* lies on the *Eastern* side of it, which makes the navigation on this part inconsiderable, therefore it is not much

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much worth while to cruise here, except you are strong enough to cope with the *Manila* ship, and when she is in *Aquapulco* you will also be in the way of such ships from *Peru* who come thither at that season, with silver to purchase *Indian* and *Chinese* Commodities.

If you leave the coast of *Peru* to cruise on the coast of *Mexico*, be sure to compleat your stock of wood and water at *Quibo*, rather than run so deep into the bay of *Panama*, as the Island of *Gorgona*; for I met with a great deal of trouble in getting out from hence; and if the coasts are alarm'd, the enemy's men of war never fail to search for you at that place: besides at *Quibo* you may not only find wood and water, but also, as I have already observ'd, meet with provisions, looking out for the small vessels which pass through *Canal Bueno* from *Cheriqui*, *Pueblo-Nuevo*, &c. to *Panama*, and also by landing at *Mariato*, as I have before directed, where you will find sufficient of every thing, especially of live cattle. I must observe to you, that as I went to *Mariato* in a *Spanish*-built ship, I did not alarm them, although they saw me come to an anchor in the evening; but it would require you to make use of all imaginable precaution to go there

there in one of our *Europe*-built ships, which the *Indians* would soon distinguish; but if you should happen to have any ship of the *Spanish*-built in your possession, you may send her in as I have already directed, and keep out with your own ship, you will see the clear green spot, as I have already observed, and the two farm houses. You may land on the beach overagainst the houses, and save yourself the trouble of going round by the river of *St. Martin*, as I did, so contrive it as to get some of the Inhabitants in your hands, who will be very useful to you, and without whom you can do but little good; if you land but a small number of men, you need not fear being attack'd withing 30 hours; for there are no *Spaniards* dwelling nearer to that place than 17 or 18 leagues, which is the distance of the City of *Santa Maria*, but if you can land 150 or 200 men, you may venture to keep your ground, and save all your cattle ashore, for all the strength they can muster up (according to the best of my information) will not be able to drive such a number of you from thence, and you may take your own time; this, with what I said before, will be sufficient instruction in relation to this, or any of the other places I have mention'd, and I shall conclude with assuring my Reader, that

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if proper methods were taken in the conduct of warlike or peaceable enterprizes to this part, there is not a more agreeable navigation than these coasts in general, but that of *Peru* in particular, whose natural tranquillity, and the great prospects of reaping advantage there, would (if possible) make amends for all the troubles to be undergone before you arrive there, and in coming from thence.





C H A P. XV.

Transactions in our Passage between Puerto Seguro in California and the River of Canton in China.

THOUGH I could not but be pleas'd in having compleated our work at *Puerto Seguro* in a few days, which if we had not been so opportunely assisted, would have taken us a month or two; yet I had vexation enough to over-ballance the satisfaction of that, when I reflected on the hazards I had run in coming so far in hopes of seeing the *Success*, and the disappointment I lay under in not meeting her, either at the *Tres Marias*, or *California*, which gave me the greatest uneasiness; having sail'd a great deal out of my way, and incurr'd the danger of rendering my ship almost incapable of proceeding to *Asia*; for at best our sails and rigging were hardly ever fit to cope with a brisk gale, and were now grown so very thin and rotten, that

that if in crossing the vast ocean we were going to launch ourselves into, any accident should happen to us in the loss of any of our sails or masts, it would have gone very hard with us, who had no change of either, and far distant from any place where we might find relief. But I had the satisfaction within myself of having added this instance of my endeavours toward the advantage of the expedition in general.

Friday, August 18, 1721. As beforemention'd, I sail'd from *Puerto Seguro*, and the same evening took my departure from cape *St. Lucas*, in the Latitude of 23 deg. 50 min. *North*, bound to *Canton* in *China*, as the most likely place to find *English* ships homeward bound.

August 21. We discover'd an Island bearing W. S. W. 110 leagues distant from cape *St. Lucas*; I endeavour'd to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the distance of 2 leagues. And the night coming on, and it blowing very fresh, I did not think it proper to lose so much way as we might in the night by laying by, or plying in for it. I judg'd it to be 7 or 8 leagues in circumference; on the S. W. of it there appear'd a large bay with a high rock in the middle

Discover
an Island.

Meet with
contrary
winds.

of it; this Isle my People call'd after my name. From hence we steer'd down gradually into the parallel of 13 deg. *North*, but had our way stopp'd for two or three days by *Westerly* winds, which none could ever have expected in such Latitudes, and at a distance of 5 or 600 leagues from any land; we grew impatient at such an uncommon delay, and began to dread that we might meet with many such contrary winds in this passage; we made several conjectures on what might be the cause of it, but none that were very probable; but the trade wind prevailing again, we kept in the tract of 13 deg. *North*, except when we judg'd ourselves to be near the *Shoals* of *St. Bartholomew*, and then haul'd a degree more *Northerly*, and so continued for a run of about 60 or 70 leagues.

People taken with a
sickness,

A fortnight after we had left *California*, my People, who had hitherto enjoy'd an uninterrupted state of health, began to be afflicted with a sickness, which particularly affected their stomachs, which was undoubtedly in the greatest measure owing to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually devouring, and also to our common food, which was puddings made of very coarse flour and sweetmeats, and salt water instead of fresh to moisten them,

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them, and dry'd beef, which was partly destroyed by ants, cockroaches, and other vermin; we could not afford fresh water to boil the kettle once in the whole passage, so that this way of living brought the *Scurvey* and other distempers upon us, which was a melancholy condition for us to be in who had no medicines to apply to those who were already sick, nor to prevent those who were well, from falling into the same state; this sickness increased upon us every day, insomuch that out of our small number we buried two in one day, which were *John Popplestone*, the ingenious Armourer, and the *Carpenter's Mate*; besides whom the *Carpenter*, *Gunner*, and several others, together with some of our best *Negroes* dy'd, and those who survived, had no great reason to expect otherwise than that they should follow them very speedily. We now labour'd under the greatest misfortunes that could happen to us, the greatest part of my People being disabled, and my ship beginning to be very leaky; and we had, just at this time, the ill luck of having one of our pumps split, and render'd useless. Under these unhappy circumstances were we push'd forward by favourable gales, till we came within 80 leagues of *Guam*, one of the *Ladron*

Islands, where we met with black dismal weather, with tempestuous winds, varying all around the Compass; this was the more frightful to us by as much as we were not in a condition of helping ourselves, there not being above 6 or 7 that were fit to do any work, though necessity obliged even those that were extremely out of order to lend what help they could. These boisterous gales had raised such a tumbling sea, wherein our ship labour'd so much, that the knee of her head, and the whole beak-head became loose (this may appear strange to one who is not acquainted with their manner of building), so that the bowsprit fetch'd way, and play'd with the motion of the ship, and so continued to do all the rest of the time we were out at sea. Our main-mast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old ones till our labour was in vain. In *Peru*, where our ship was built and rigg'd, they seem to have but little regard to the support of their masts, to which their stays and shrouds hold no proportion, and had not our masts at this time been extraordinarily substantial, nothing but a miracle could have preserved us from ending our days upon the sea.

In

In the midst of all this, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no expectation of living much longer, till the Gout seizing upon me, gave me some painful hopes of the continuance of my life. But I, as well as the rest, was void of every necessary requir'd by a sick person, and had not so much as the least drop of spirituous liquor, nor any kind of food that a sick stomach could digest; those of us that were thus out of order, were very subject to fainting fits, in which my people had two or three times given me over for dead, but they did not last long.

Come in sight of the *Ladron* Islands.

In the beginning of *October*, 1721, we made the Island of *Guam*, 100 leagues short of Capt. *Rogers's* account, who makes 105 degrees difference of Longitude, between this and cape *Sr. Lucas*, and we did not make quite 100 degrees. We pass'd between the foremention'd Island and *Serpana*, and saw several flying prows, but none came near us; that day we had heavy squally weather, which obliged me to keep the deck, where, in the rain, I caught a cold, which threw me into a worse condition than before, in which I continued all the time I was in *China*. The Island of *Guam* appears very green, and is of a moderate height; the prospect of land was

Myself taken with a dangerous sickness.

very agreeable to us, after having run so great a length, and we could, with the greatest pleasure, have stopp'd to have purchased some refreshment of fruits, such as *Lemons, Seville Oranges, &c.* which would have been very good for such of us as had the *Scurvey*. But though we were upon the point of perishing, we dar'd not venture in for fear the Inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness to make some attempt upon us. The night after we had seen the Island of *Guam*, we had our maintopsail split, which, as it happen'd, prov'd no loss of way; for, during several days afterwards, we had such weather that we could bear no more than our lower canvas, which sufficiently try'd the strength of our ship, which was now very much impair'd, our main beam working and playing at every heel the ship gave.

Meet with stormy weather.

From *Guam* I directed my course for the Island *Formosa*, and now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, our sickness was daily encreasing upon us in a much greater proportion, so that we, and our ship too, stood in the greatest need of a harbour, but we had a very long passage from the *Ladron* Islands to *Formosa*, insomuch that it was the 3d of *November* before we had any sight of that Island

Direct our course for the Island of *Formosa*.

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land; just before we discover'd it, we had a sight of the Isle of *Bottal Tobacco Xima*, lying about 9 leagues to the *North-eastward* of the *Southernmost* cape of *Formosa*, and, as the sun set, we saw *Formosa* itself, appearing to be very high land. The next day we rounded the *Southern* cape of it, and pass'd within a league of the rocks of *Vele Rete*, and by them were sensible of a very strong tide or current. The *Formosians* made several fires as we pass'd, but we were not in a condition to take any notice of them.

Mike the
Island of
Formosa.

From hence I directed a course for *Pedro Blanco*, on the coast of *China*. But on *November* the 6th, at day break, fell in with the mouth of the river of *Loma* on that coast, in 12 fathom water. We saw great numbers of fishing boats coming out of that river, and from the adjacent parts, but it proving very hazey, could not make the land plain enough to discover whereabouts we were, therefore endeavour'd to entice some of the fishermen aboard of us to Pilot us to *Macao*; but for want of understanding each others meanings we could not effect it. We were obliged to keep the land close aboard, and to come to an anchor every evening, which was a mighty fatigue to my ship's company, who were so

Arrival on
the Coast
of *China*.

universally down with the distemper reigning amongst us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to steer the ship; thus we were four days lost in the mist, and surprized at the sight of a great many Islands which are omitted in our charts, on some of which we saw large fortifications; this made us believe that the current had carried us to the *Southward* of our port, and suggested to us every thing that might cast us down; for though the sea was cover'd with fishing barks, we could not find any of them that could set us right, or give us any directions we could understand.

But on *November* the 10th, towards the evening, as we were passing through a very narrow channel, between a couple of Islands, a fisherman that was near us, observing by our manner of working that we were half afraid to venture through, made signs with his cap to us to bring to till he came up with us; when he came, he seem'd to understand in general, that we enquir'd of him about the situation of *Macao*, and therefore made signs to us, that he would conduct us thither if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he had counted little fish out of his basket, which amounted to forty, we accordingly counted out
 forty

forty dollars in a hat, and gave them to him, upon which he came into the ship, and took us in charge, and carried us through the narrow channel, and at sun set brought us to an anchor; the next morning we weigh'd again, and kept the main land of *China* close aboard, and at noon he brought us abreast of *Pulo Lantoon*, from whence we could see two *English* ships under sail, who were passing by the Island of *Macao*, in their way from the river of *Canton*: they took no notice of us, and kept on their way. This made me very uneasy, fearing that we should miss of a passage to *England* this season.

November 11. In the afternoon we anchor'd in the road of *Macao*, a *Portuguese* settlement near the entrance of the river of *Canton*, which we never should have found out by any thing we could learn from any of our charts; I much admire at the incorrectness of these coasts to the *Eastward* of *Pulo Lantoon*, for there runs a cluster of Islands extending upwards of 20 leagues, which are not in the least taken notice of by our *Geographers*, nor did I ever meet with any *Navigator* that knew any thing of them. The coast of *China* near them is rocky, mountainous, and barren; but as to the particular situation of these Isles my sickness

Arrival in
the road of
Macao.

ness deprived me of all observations I should have made of them.

Macao being a place where ships always stop for a Pilot to carry them up the river of *Canton*; I sent an Officer with a compliment to the *Governour*, and with orders to bring off a Pilot with him. But I heard nothing of him till the next morning, which gave me many disquiet apprehensions. Early the next day there came off a great many of the *Success's* people from *Macao* aboard of us; I was amazed at the sight of them, and was, at first, very glad to see them, but my mind chang'd a little when I heard their story, whercin they acquainted me, that their Commander *Clipperton* had left me designedly, (as I have before related) that they went directly to *Guam*, one of the *Ladron* Islands, where they were very well refresh'd, and supply'd with provisions. That their Captain there sold the *Governour* a great quantity of Powder and Shot, and several other valuable things, and permitted the Marquis of *Villa Rocha* (who was his Prisoner) to go ashore with Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent, and a *Marine Officer*, who went to settle the accounts. As soon as they were landed and the boat come off again, Capt. *Clipperton* weigh'd with his ship in order to attack a ship

Some of
Clipperton's
People
who were
at *Macao*,
come a-
board of us

Clipperton's
behaviour
at
the Island
of *Guam*.

of

of 20 guns from *Manila*, who had lain quietly in the road with them all the time till now. In approaching her he ran his ship upon the rocks, and soon found the enemy was prepar'd for him, for they had rais'd two batteries of half the ships guns to receive him. I am almost ashamed to relate this man's behaviour in this skirmish; but as I think he deserves to be expos'd, I shall divulge it in the manner I receiv'd it from his chief Officers, who talk'd of it publickly at *Canton*; for *Clipperton* perceiving his case desperate, and the loss of his ship past redemption to all appearance, had recourse to his case of brandy for a supply of spirits to animate him in making a vigorous defence; but he took so abundantly of that intoxicating cordial, that he in an instant became dead drunk, and tumbled on the deck, and snor'd out his time in a beastly manner, whilst his first Lieutenant *Davidson* undertook the command of the ship, which he bravely executed till he was kill'd: he was succeeded by Capt. *Cook*, their second Lieutenant, who made a handsome resistance, and got the ship afloat again, after she had lain on the rocks 48 hours, all which time *Clipperton* had been lost between sleeping and drinking as fast as he wak'd, so that he did not recover himself

himself till they were out at sea, and then by his impertinent questions and behaviour, sufficiently convinced them that he knew nothing of what had pass'd during their engagement, &c. which lasted two days and two nights. Thus they lost their Prisoner the *Marquis de la Rocha*, and also Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent-General, and one of their Marine Officers; which gave the ship's company such a distaste of *Clipperton*, that they would not suffer him to have the command of them, and lock'd him up in his cabin, and entreated Captain *Cook* to take the charge of them.

They endured much bad weather between *Guam* and *Amoy* in *China*, whither they got with much difficulty; there they made a dividend of all they had taken, half to the Owners, and half to the ship's company; from thence *Clipperton* design'd for the streights of *Malacca*, but his People fearing he had no good intentions in his head, would go no farther than *Macao*, that being a Christian port; upon their arrival there, the Governour order'd *Clipperton* into custody; it seems he had broke prison formerly from thence, where he had been confin'd (as far as could be learn'd) on account of having formerly run away with *Dampier's* Commission, and one of his Prizes; but

but upon producing his *Majesty's* Commission now for the *Success*, they gave him no farther trouble, and only contented themselves with fleecing him a little. They told me, that the *Gentlemen-Adventurers* in *England* were much obliged to the Governour of this place, who being inform'd that *Clipperton* could not be prevail'd on to remit their effects home in the *English* ships lying at *Canton*, obliged him to send what belong'd to them, in one of their own ships, which was ready to depart for *Lisbon*: here he sold his ship the *Success* for about 1000 pounds sterling. I thought it proper to make this digression for the information of such of the *Gentlemen-Owners* who have thought him blameless that they might pass a judgment on his conduct, since it is certain that he will never, either privately or publickly, let them into the truth of his story.

But to go on with that which concerns myself, on *November* 12, 1721. About noon a Pilot came off to us, and we immediately weigh'd, and enter'd the river of *Canton*, being assur'd that there still remain'd some *European* ships at *Wampo*, which is the name of the place where they lie in this river, about 10 miles short of the city of *Canton*; we were four days plying up to the road between the

A Chinese
Pilot takes
us in
charge.

two lower bars, where finding the *Bonita* and *Hastings*, two *English* Indian traders, I anchor'd, and sent an Officer to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this port, and to acquaint me with the customs of it, to which they answer'd, that since the *Cadogan* and *Frances*, two *European English* ships were lying at *Wampo*, they would advise me to send up to their *Factories* at *Canton*, to acquaint them of our arrival, &c. and the reasons which obliged me to come there; which I accordingly did the next day, and borrow'd one of their flags to hoist in our boat, without which we should have met with great trouble from the *Hoppo-men*, or Custom-house Officers; I sent by my Officer letters to the Captains of the *English* ships, signifying the necessity which forced me into these parts, and desir'd they would, as far as in them lay, make the port safe and useful to us, assuring them that I acted by virtue of his *Majesty's* Commission, which I also sent to them, that they might peruse it.

My boat being gone before me, I weigh'd the next morning, and work'd up to *Wampo*, where I found, besides two *English* ships, three *French* ones, viz. the *Galatea*, the *Prince of Conti*, and the *Maw*, and also one *Ostender*, and

Arrival at
Wampo, in
the river
of *Canton*.


and a small ship from *Manila*. I now thought I was going to rest a little from my labours, not expecting but that I should find such treatment (at least from my own Countrymen) as consisted with humanity and common civility, and with all the tender regard and service as is usually administred to people in distress, by such as have it in their power to assist them, though even under no such obligation, as the *English* especially lay under here of affording me all succour and aid, which his *Majesty* required from the hands of all such as were in amity with him; but, to my misfortune, felt heavier hardships here (all circumstances consider'd) than in all the preceding part of my voyage.





C H A P. XVI.

Arrival in the River of Canton, and Transactions there.


 HE same evening that we anchor'd at *Wampo*, there happen'd an accident which gave much trouble afterwards to myself and others of the *English Gentlemen*; for one of my men being in a hurry to remove his effects on board the *Bonita*, in order to go in her to *Fort St. George*, the *Bonita's* boat, in which he was, was in her way to their ship pursued by a *Hoppo*, or Custom-house boat, who wanted to search them; the fellow being a little in liquor, and fearing they would take away what silver he had from him, fired a musquet at them, and kill'd a *Hoppo-man*, or Custom-house Officer; early the next morning the corpse was laid at the

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the door of the *English Factories*, and there were *Chinese Officers* lying in wait for the first considerable *Englishman* that came out, notwithstanding that they had none in particular that they could tax with this murder; it happen'd that one Mr. C-----k, a Supercargoe belonging to the *Bonita*, was one of the first that came out, and they immediately seized on him after their manner, and carried him away, and afterwards led him about the Suburbs of *Canton* in chains: all that could be said or done by the most considerable of the *Chinese Merchants*, who were Correspondents with the *English*, avail'd nothing. In the mean time my man *David Griffith*, who had committed the fact, and another, were put in irons on board the *Frances*, who was *chopp'd*, that is, seiz'd till the man who was guilty of the crime was deliver'd to them, and accordingly he was put into their hands, and carried to *Canton* in chains, and Mr. C-----k was soon after released.

It is the custom in *China* to exact a certain sum of money from all ships that come there according to their measurement, which is divided in first, second, and third rates; I

every day expected the *Hoppo* to come to measure my ship, but was given to understand that I must go up to *Canton* first, though even at the hazard of my life: I accordingly went, and stay'd two days at the *Cadogan's Factory*, during which time I was hourly alarm'd by such stories as made me fear that I should (indisposed as I was) be dragg'd away off my bed, on the pretence, that it was one of my Men who had kill'd the Custom-house Officer, though I, nor any belonging to me, knew nothing of the matter any farther than had been related to me. At the end of two days I was obliged to go down again to the ship to be present at the measurement, and a day afterwards the *Hoppo* came with a numerous retinue, and seem'd to do his business very quietly, but would not let me know what he intended to exact. This gave me much trouble, for I began to think that the *Chinese*, through a false report of our great riches, had an intention to gratify their love of money at any rate.

I had not been here many days before I was deserted by all my Officers and ship's company, who were continually employ'd in removing their effects from on board my ship,

to some of the *European*, contrary to my knowledge, who was all the time confin'd to my sick bed. My Officers were engaging the *India* Gentlemen in their interest, and had left me and my Son, with a few *Negroes* to look after the ship, and defend my effects, which I thought on the brink of falling into the pit of the *Chinese* Avarice; In short, my ship's company had so many ways of disposing of their effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought justice to the Gentlemen in *England*, and to myself; in a word, they were all soon recover'd of their illness by the assistance they met with, and were become their own masters; there was no Magistrate to appeal to on the shore, that would have done me so much service as to have oblig'd them to keep to their own ship, and my Brother-Officers, commanding the *English* ships, could not, through fear of a misrepresentation of their actions to the *India* Company by their Super cargoes, afford me such help as, perhaps, they would have been inclin'd to, through a sense of their duty in complying with the

tenour of my Commission; but the Gentlemen who presided over the trade so little regarded it, that they had half a mind to refuse me a passage in one of their ships, and, in effect, I was treated by them as one enemy would treat another in a neutral port, for as such they look'd upon me for offering to come within the *East-India Company's* limits, without considering the necessities which forced me thither. The Captains *Hill* and *Newsham*, when they first came to see me, were astonish'd at the ruin'd appearance of my ship, and could scarce think it was possible she could have undertaken so long a stretch as from *California* hither; the rottenness of our cordage, and the raggedness of our sails, the bad state of the ship, and sickness of my ships company fill'd them, at first, with admiration and pity of my condition; infomuch, that at their first visit, when I had given them a short history of my voyage, and of the difficulties and hazards I had struggled with to obtain a passage, and desir'd they would receive me, my Officers, and ship's company, with their effects, which I assur'd them were not inconsiderable, and would take
up

up but little room, (which I desir'd might be done as soon as possible for many reasons which I thought of weight enough to induce them to it) they answer'd, that since they plainly saw that my ship was in no condition to stir any farther, upon paying for our passages they would entertain us as soon as we pleased. This I depended upon, and expected no farther trouble than to remove ourselves at any time; but, on the contrary, I found that I had, through ignorance, apply'd to the wrong Persons, for the Supercargoes were angry that I had not sent up my story to them, who, when ashore, are the chief men, though they are only passengers when aboard, so that I was left neglected, and the *English* Captains order'd to fall down with their ships 5 or 6 miles below us. Thus was I left destitute in the company of five foreign ships, who seeing that my own Countrymen were so careless of me, were so kind, as to offer me their service, and assisted me with what they could, and had it not been for them, I don't know but that I might have suffer'd to the last degree, for I was under perpetual alarms

G g 3

that

that the *Chinese* had a design to chop my ship, that is, seize her.

Soon after, the murder of the Custom-house Officer seem'd to be accommodated, by having the criminal in their own possession, and by the revenge they thought fit to take on others. When every thing of that fact was hush'd, there was an outrageous action committed by what they call a little *Mandarin*, who (it seems) at the beginning of these troubles had warrants given him to take all the *English* he should meet, which duty he neglected till all was well over; but passing by the *European Factories*, he order'd his attendance to seize on all the *English* they saw in the shops thereabouts, and accordingly they took nine or ten, as well *French* as *English*, and carry'd them away with halters about their necks, to the *Chantuck's* (or Viceroy of the Province his) palace in the city. Upon this there was application made to the *Hoppo*, who represented matters to the *Chantuck* in favour of the injur'd *Europeans*, whereupon the *Mandarin* who was guilty of this violence was sent for, who being unable to vindicate himself, was immediately degraded from his post, and stripp'd of the ensigns of his Office, and

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and (as they told us) was bamboo'd, which is a severe punishment used in most of the *Eastern* Governments, and render'd for ever after incapable of acting again, and the *Europeans* directly discharged.

However, in the main, the *English* seem to me to be tyrannised over by the *Chinese*, and exposed to the caprices of every Magistrate, which made me the more urgent to be on board one of the *European* ships, having good reason to fear, by reports, and their actual ill treatment of the *English* in general, that I, and my effects would fall a sacrifice to their immoderate love of money, since opportunities could not be wanting to them, who, in the night, might strip my abandon'd ship, in which scarce any body but myself, (who could not stir out of my bed,) and my Son took up their lodging; and to that purpose, finding my error in having apply'd to the Captains, which had disgusted the Supercargoes, and suggested to them an unreasonable cause to use me in a careless manner; I sent up a letter to them, not to desire, but to demand a passage for me, my Officers, and ship's Company, which I was sensible they could not refuse, and indeed they did not;

but their condescension was accompanied with a charge to the *India* Captains not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consign'd to to the *India* Company in *England*. I think this Article might as well have been kept in silence as declar'd; for it so far enrag'd my People, that they vow'd they would as soon throw what they had into the sea, as comply with such a demand; for my part, it gave me no concern, who was conscious to myself) and their Officers, both of the Trade and Navigation, were fully convinc'd) that it was a thing impossible for me to have converted any of my silver into the commodities of the country, which I hop'd they would represent to the *East-India* Company in such a light as to leave them no room to detain what I should consign on pretence of having infring'd on their Privileges any farther than having the misfortune to be driven into the limits of their commerce, without doing them the least prejudice; but at the same time that I was acquainted with this intention of receiving us as Passengers, I was also inform'd of the *Hoppo's* demand for anchorage in the river. I had been long in suspence upon that head, and all a long apprehended that I should have
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some unusual exaction imposed upon me, and indeed so it happen'd, for they demanded 6000 Tahl; and to quicken me in the payment of it, and to shew me they were in earnest, there was a penalty annex'd to this extortion of 500 additional Tahl for every day we fail'd in the payment; in short, there was no means by which I could evade this unconscionable imposition; in vain had I shewn the *Hoppo* my Commission, which was also read in the *Chinese* Tongue to him; and to as little purpose did I also remonstrate to him that I came with no other design than to obtain a passage home in one of our Country ships, my own being incapable of going farther. But, right or wrong, it was insisted upon; but it was a day before I could possibly send that sum up, for which they requir'd 500 Tahl for neglect of payment, so that they receiv'd from me 6500 Tahl, which is 2166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Sterling*, which was about six times as much as the *Cadogan* paid, who was the largest *English* ship there, and measured a third more than mine; this was the more vexatious by as much as instead of receiving the benefits of the port, I had been every way oppress'd; however, before I quitted my
ship

ship, I sold her for 2000 Tachel, which money, and the rest of my effects were consign'd to the *India* Company, and I prevail'd with most of my Officers, and ship's company, to take their passages in the *English* home-ward bound ships.

The *English* have no settled Factory at *Canton*, and are only permitted to hire large *Hongs*, or *Houses*, near the water side, conveniently accommodated with ware-houses to receive their goods before they are shipp'd off; which they quit when the time comes for their departure upon paying the sum agreed (at first) upon to the owner of the house or houses.



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C H A P. XVII.

Containing an Account of our Passage from China to England in the Cadogan East-India-Man, Commanded by Captain John Hill.



I AM obliged to leave this place abruptly, without entertaining my Reader with a description of it; for the shortness of my stay there, the many troubles I struggled with, but chiefly my sickness all the time I was in *China*, which did not permit me to stir out of my cabin, render'd me incapable of giving any account of the City and River of *Canton*, by what observations I might have made there, or informing

informing myself of the general genius, policy, and customs of its Inhabitants, therefore I rather chuse to pass it by (since I can give no other account of it from my own knowledge, than what is commonly known to every body who have been inquisitive about this great Monarchy) than to make a large quotation out of any other Traveller.

All that I propose to myself in this Chapter, is to conduct my Reader home, after having lead him round so large a portion of the Earth's circumference through so many different climates, and unfortunate occurrences; but as the *Asiatick* seas and countries are well known to us, and I having observed nothing in this passage, but what we have had a great many relations of already, I shall be as brief as possible.

Departure
from Canton
in China.

Towards the latter end of *December*, 1721. I sail'd in the *Cadogan*, Commanded by Capt. *John Hill*, in company with the *Frances*, Capt. *Newsham*, who sailing better than we, left us as soon as we got out to sea.

Capt

Capt. Hill finding his ship very tender, put into *Batavia* to bring her into a better trim. At *Batavia* we continued about ten days; but I can give no particular description of this place, I being, at that time, not able to stand on my legs, and was abroad but twice in a coach to take an airing two or three miles out of the city, in which little tour we had a great variety of very beautiful prospects of fine country seats and gardens, &c. and indeed every thing round us appear'd a shew of the greatest industry; as to the city itself, the buildings are, in general very handsome, which form very regular streets, having canals running through most of them, with trees planted on each side of them, so that this city may be justly call'd a fine place; but I confess that I think the sight is the only sense that is gratified here, for when the tide is low in the canals they smell very offensively; and breed great numbers of *Moskitoes*, &c. which are more troublesome here than ever I felt them in any other part of the World. As to eatables, they are in general but indifferent, scarce, and dear. The city
itself

Put into
Batavia.

Capt

itself is strongly fortified, but there is no-
thing to protect the ships in the road.

Remarks
on the
Chinese liv-
ing in *Ba-*
tavia.

A great part of the Inhabitants of *Ba-*
tavia are *Chinese*, who are remarkable there
for wearing their ancient *Chinese* dress, with
their hair rowl'd up in such a manner that
there is no great difference between the
mens appearance and the womens; ever
since the *Tartarian* revolution in *China*,
the *Tartarian* dress has been imposed upon
the whole kingdom, which was not effect-
ed without great bloodshed, for many of the
Chinese were so superstitiously fond of their
old modes (as they are reported to be
great lovers of every thing that is anti-
ent) that many of them preferr'd the loss
of life to the loss of their hair, it being
the *Tartarian* custom to shave their heads
all over, except the crown, from whence
hangs a long lock, which they plat in
much such a manner as we do a thong.
The *Dutch*, that politick and wise nation,
have laid hold of the superstitious folly of
those *Chinese* who live under their protection,
and exact from all the men a Poll-Tax of
a dollar a month (if I am not mistaken)

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for the liberty of wearing their hair, which if they paid but a dollar a year would amount to a considerable revenue, which, I should think, would be an unreasonable and an unjustifiable taxation upon the *Chinese*, especially when it is reported that the *Chinese* are so far from being a burthen to this great Colony, that they are the chief supporters of it.

Whilst we were at *Batavia*, Captain *Hill* was inform'd that there were several pirates in these seas; he therefore, when he departed from *Batavia* joined the *Dutch* homeward bound fleet in *Bantam-bay*. The *Dutch* Commodore promised Capt. *Hill* to assist him in wooding and watering at *Mew-Island*, the water at *Batavia* being very bad.

Departure
from *Ba-
tavia*.

We met the *Frances* in the streights of *Sunda*, who we imagin'd had been a great way a head of us, upon our joining Capt. *Newsham*, the *Dutch* made it a pretence to leave us before we had got the length of *Mew-Island*, and Capt. *Newsham* also deserted us the same evening, so that we were left by ourselves.

We meet
the *Frances*
in the
streights
of *Sunda*.

We

Arrival at
Mew-Island

We continued at *Mew-Island* six or seven days, during which time several boats came from *Princes-Island*, and brought us Turtle, Coco-nut, Pine-apples, and other fruits; some of these inform'd us, that there had been two or three ships at this Island a few days before us, which gave us some uneasiness, not knowing what they could be.

Some of the People having seen some wild cattle grazing near the strand, went on shore with design to kill them; but before they had advanced near enough, they discover'd a small Tyger, and saw the tract of an old one, upon which they retir'd to the boat; at this place some of the Gentlemen belonging to this ship, in their outward bound passage saw a *Rhinoceros*.

Departure
from *Mew-Island*.

From *Mew-Island* we had a very pleasant passage to and about the cape of *Good Hope*, which, in my opinion, was greatly owing to Capt. *Hill's* good conduct in coming in with the land betimes, I mean upon the *Eastermost* part of the bank and keeping a moderate distance from the land; I cannot be positive, but I think we never exceeded a degree, generally less, and sometimes

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sometimes even made the land; the three Voyages I have been this way I had the good fortune of being with Gentlemen who proceeded in the same manner as Capt. *Hill* did with the like success.

The small experience of my own before, and an instance or two in this last passage (which I shall relate) makes me of opinion that there is too much caution used in coming in with the land in soundings; for it is known that the severest gales in this part, (*viz.* near the Cape of *Good-Hope*) reign from the *North-west* to the *South-west*; the first quarter blows off from the land, and the other is a bold wind on the coast, and it is likewise known, that the wind out of the sea has scarce ever been observ'd to blow strong for a time, and never home to the shore, this I have been inform'd of, both by *English* and *Dutch-men* of greater experience than myself in these parts of the world.

I don't remember that in all the time we were approaching the Cape of *Good-Hope*, that we took in our top-sails above once for a squall, which was over in an hours time, and another time, being threaten'd by the

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appearance

Remarks
on the
Passage
round the
Cape of
Good-Hope.

appearance of bad weather, Capt. *Hill* made all the requisite preparations to receive it, which done, he stood in for the land under hopes of avoiding the seemingly approaching storm, in which he was undoubtedly right in his judgment, for in a few hours we had fair weather, a favourable gale, and all our small sails set, and, at the same time, there remain'd great appearance of foul weather to the *Southward* of us, and so continued to do for several days afterwards. This I should not have observ'd, did not what I am going to relate evidently demonstrate that it blows hard *Westwardly* at some distance from the land, when you have fair weather nearer the shore.

I have observ'd before, that the *Frances*, and the *Dutch-ships* had 7 days advantage of us, by leaving us in the streights of *Sunda*, notwithstanding which we gain'd the Cape about as many days before the *Frances* did, although, at the same time, she sail'd very considerably better than we, and as to the *Dutch-ships*, there was no shew of their arrival when we left the Cape.

The Officers of our ship, by comparing their accounts with some of the Gentlemen belonging to the *Frances*, found that she had

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suffer'd a great deal of bad weather, whilst we, who were within ten leagues, or there-about, to the *Northward* of them, or nearer shore, enjoy'd fine pleasant weather, and fair winds continually, till we arriv'd in *Table-bay*, which we did the latter end of *March*, 1722. this I should think of sufficient weight for any others to pursue the same tract. Here we found Governor *Boon*, in the *London East-India-Man*, and others bound for *England*.

Whilst we lay at the Cape of *Good-Hope* nothing remarkable occur'd, and it has been so often described, that I can say nothing of it that has not been said by most who have been here before.

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

Departure
from the
Cape.

We made the lands end in the latter end of *July*, 1722, and being come into the *British* channel, met with brisk gales from the *Western* quarter, with thick foggy weather.

Arrival in
the chan-
nel.

On *July* 30. In the evening we anchor'd under *Dungeness*, and the same night some of the Super-cargoes and Passengers, and amongst the rest myself, hir'd a small vessel to carry us to *Dover*, where we arriv'd early the next Morning,

Anchor at
Dungeness.

Arrival at
London. morning, and the same day proceeded to-
ward *London*, where we arrived on the first
of *August*, 1722.

Thus ended a long fatiguing Voyage of 3
years, 7 months, and 11 days; after having
sail'd considerably more than round the cir-
cumference of the Earth, and having under-
gone a great variety of inexpressible trouble
and hardships both by Land and Sea.

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F I N I S.

