

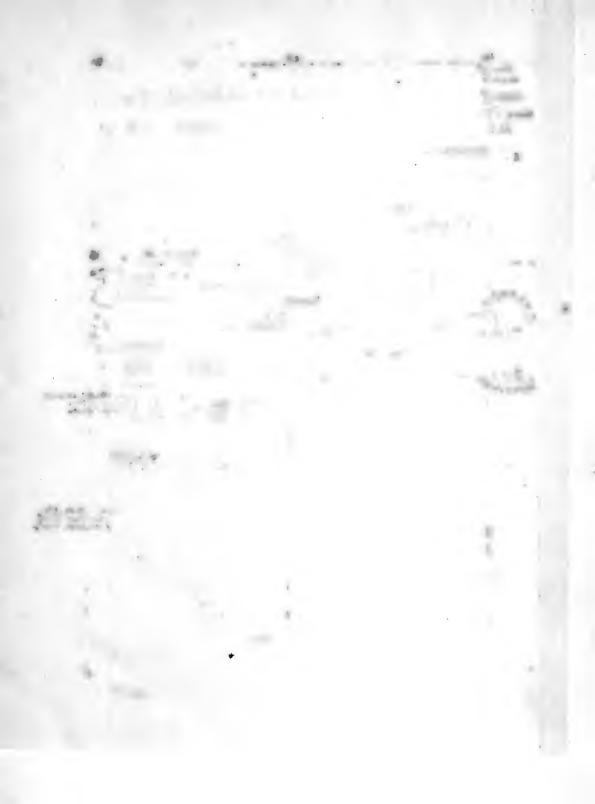


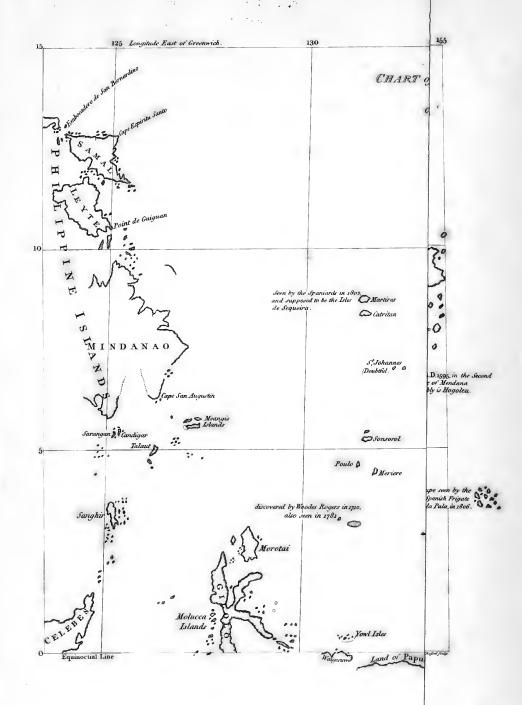




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A

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE

SOUTH SEA

OR

PACIFIC OCEAN.

VOLUME V.

To the Year 1764.

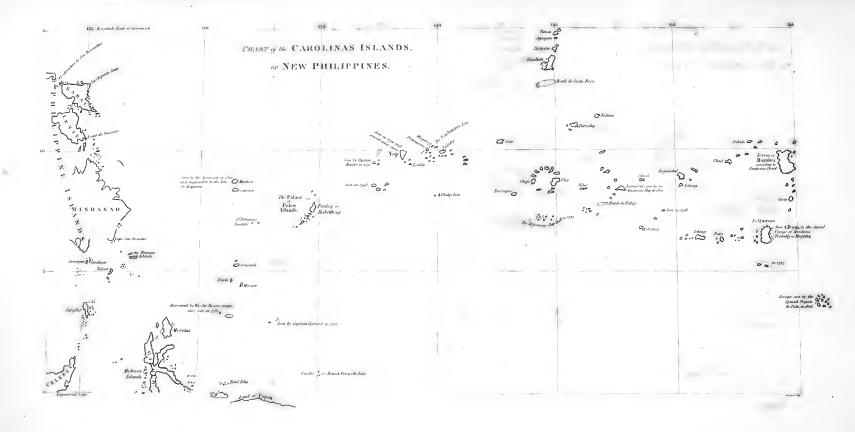
By JAMES BURNEY, F.R.S.

London:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields;

AND SOLD BY

G. & W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY, AND T. PAYNE & H. FOSS, PALL-MALL; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME & BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW; CADELL & DAVIES, IN THE STRAND; NORNAVILLE & FELL, BOND-STREET; AND J. MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.



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CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

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HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERIES

IN THE

SOUTH SEA.

CHAPTER I.

The Carolinas, or New Philippine Islands.

A L L the Islands situated Eastward of the Philippines, to as far as thirty-five degrees of longitude, and between the parallels of 5°N and of the Island Guahan, for considerably more than a century past have been distinguished by the general name of the Carolinas, or Caroline Islands. They have also been called the New Philippine Islands, a name which is of later date, but has not superseded the other. The situations of the Islands of this large range which have not been determined or verified by European voyagers within our own time, cannot be supposed to be known with accuracy; and accordingly the best chart that can be made of them is to be regarded as composed of authorities differing much in character with respect to correctness of situations, although satisfactory to the general fact of the existence of the Islands named.

The first Europeans who saw land within the above space, were Diogo da Rocha, a Portuguese, and Alvaro de Saavedra, a Spaniard. In 1526, da Rocha discovered Islands Eastward of Mindanao, in latitude 9° or 10° North, which were named Vol. V.

B. Sequeira,

1526.

2

Sequeira, after the Pilot of his vessel. The Isles de Sequeira have been supposed to be the Pelew Islands; but very lately, Islands have been found better corresponding with the account of da Rocha's discovery. They were seen in 1802, or the beginning of 1803, by a Spanish frigate from Manila bound for New Spain*, and are inserted in the charts with the names Martires and Catritan.

Isles de Sequeira.

1528.

In 1528, Saavedra, going from the Ladrones to the Philippines, discovered Islands in latitude 11° N, which he named de los Reyes. Also, within the limits above described, Islands were seen in the voyages of Villalobos and Legaspie; but the situations of the Islands discovered in those early voyages, are so uncertainly described (and differently in many instances) that they are not admitted in the present charts when they in the least interfere with lands whose situations are better certified, and among which it is probable most of them are included. In 1579, Drake saw the Islands which, on account of the disposition and practices of the natives, he named the Islands of Thieves; and which, the circumstances related in his voyage The Palaos, identify with the Pelew Islands (by the Spaniards called Palaos).

1579.

or Pelew Islands.

1595. 1sland seen in the Second Voyage of Mendana.

The next discovery to be noticed within the limits specified. was made in the Second Voyage of Alvaro de Mendana, A. D. 1595, in the passage from the Island Santa Cruz to the Ladrones. Pedro Fernandez de Quiros was Pilot in Mendana's ship, and he relates, that 'in latitude full six degrees North. ' they saw an Island which appeared to be 25 Spanish leagues

- ' in circuit, well covered with trees, and very populous. The
- inhabitants were like the people of the Ladrones, as was seen
- ' in some of their canoes which went towards the ship. From
- ' the SE part, round by the North, and as far as to the SW,
- ' it is environed with great reefs; and about four leagues to
- ' the West of it, are some small low Islands.' Texeira has inserted this Island, with the name la Quirosa, in his chart, in latitude

^{*} Supplement to the Madrid Gazette of June 19th, 1804.

latitude 6° 40′ N, and 14° East of Guahan. Figueroa also, CHAP. 1. remarks of the same Island, that it lies 'in full six degrees

- ' North; is nearly round, in circuit 30 leagues, and is not
- ' very high. There were many trees and plantations on it.
- 'At three leagues from its West side are four low Islands, and
- ' close to it are many others; the whole surrounded with reefs;
- ' but it had the appearance of being more clear on the

' Southern part*.

Many of the Lands discovered by Mendana have been seen and verified in later navigations, and have been found nearly in the situations described in the accounts of his voyage; there is no reason, therefore, for questioning the existence of the Island 'in full six degrees North.' Its situation in longitude has been computed at about 154° East of Greenwich.

In 1625, the Nassau Fleet, sailing from the Island Guahan for the Molucca Islands, saw two Islands, one of them in latitude 10° 18′ N, according to their reckoning; the other in 9° 45′ N. The last-mentioned, i. e. the Southernmost of the two, was 'high land like Guahan,' and its extent on the Northern side was estimated to be four German miles. From its NE point, a great reef ran out into the sea about two German miles.

The Spaniards were more anxious to avoid the Islands Southward of the Ladrones, than to obtain farther knowledge of them, on account of the dangers to the navigation, most of them being low, and environed with reefs. In the communication between New Spain and the Philippine Islands, a track was prescribed to the ships from New Spain, calculated to keep them clear of all land in that passage, except of the Ladrone Islands; whence in time, the existence of other Islands in their neighbourhood and to the Southward, fell so much out of common remembrance, that when knowledge of them

1625. Islands seen by the Nassau Fleet.

was

was again obtained, they were regarded as newly discovered Lands.

1668. The Ladrone Islands seized by Spain.

In 1668, the Spaniards established themselves in the Island Guahan, and before the end of the century all the Northern Islands of the same range, before populous, were disfurnished of inhabitants. The greater number it is supposed fell victims to the oppressive rule of their conquerors; but many escaped that fate by emigrating to other Islands. From the excellent sailing of the canoes of the Ladrones and Carolinas Islands, it may be imagined that the Islanders had a general knowledge of, and probably an habitual intercourse with, each other; consequently that there were few of the Carolinas Isles to which some of the emigrant Ladroners did not fly for refuge: and on the other hand, that the inhabitants of the Carolinas Islands, would thenceforth avoid communication with the Ladrone Islands. To these causes is to be attributed the slenderness of the information which for so long a time the Spaniards possessed concerning the Carolinas Islands.

Before the Spanish conquest and settlement, the Ladrone Islands had very seldom been visited by ships, except in the passage from America; but after the conquest, a direct intercourse with them from the Philippine Islands, was established. and as the winds were usually unfavourable for sailing direct Eastward, the navigation could not be restricted to one course. In the year 1686, Don Francisco Lazeano discovered Southward of the Ladrones, a large Island, which, in honour and named of the King of Spain, Carlos the IId, he named la Carolina. The same name was afterwards applied to other Islands, from the simple defect of not knowing one Island from another, and in time all the Islands in this part of the Pacific Ocean came to be designated collectively under the name of las Carolinas.

1686. An Island discovered Carolina.

> When Josef de Quiroga was Governor at Guahan, he wished to turn the discovery of Lazeano to account, and to convert, after his manner, the infidel inhabitants. For that purpose, he

> > sent

sent a party of soldiers, and with them a Marian Islander CHAP. 1. who had been baptised, and to whom had been given the name of Don Alonso Soon. After much cruising on various courses, they returned to Guahan without having been able to find Lazeano's Carolina.

In 1696, a vessel under the direction of Juan Rodriguez, a pilot, was wrecked on the Bank de Santa Rosa, near the South end of Guahan. But in the same voyage, he discovered an Island named Faroilep, and two smaller Islands near it, between the 10th and 11th degree of latitude; and he estimated the distance of Faroilep from Guahan to be scarcely 45 [Spanish] leagues*. In a chart which was afterwards made by P. Cantova, the Bank de Santa Rosa is drawn extending 20 leagues in length in an ENE and WSW direction, and about half as much in breadth. Faroilep he lays down to the SE from the Bank.

1696. Bank de Sta Rosa.

Faroilep.

Towards the end of the year 1696, two canoes were driven by tempests on the coast of Samal, from some of the Islands to the Eastward. This event came within the observation of some Missionaries then near the spot, one of whom, Paul Clain, of the Company of Jesus, wrote an interesting description of the Islanders and of what passed, which he addressed to the General of his Order. This Letter was published in the First Volume of the Letters of the Jesuit Missionaries (the ancient edition). The following extract contains the principal circumstances related in it.

Manila, June the 10th, 1697.

- ' My very Reverend Father;'
- ' After the departure of the vessel by which I wrote to you
- ' the last year, there came to me an order to accompany the
- ' Reverend Father Antonio, the new Provincial of this Pro-
- ' vince. In making with him the visitation of our Houses,

Letter of P. Paul Clain.

^{*} Lettre du Pere J. Ant. Cantova. Lettres edif. & curieux. Tom xv. p. 297. edit. of 1781.

1697. Letter of P. Paul Clain.

- 'I have travelled through the countries of los Pintados*. They are large Islands, and in them are 70,000 Christians, under the spiritual guidance of forty-one Missionaries of our Society.'
- 'I cannot express to you, my Reverend Father, how much I have been affected at seeing these poor Indians, many of whom die without receiving the holy sacraments, because the priests here are so few, that most of them have the charge of two districts at the same time. I have been yet more deeply touched at the lost and deserted state of many other people who inhabit Islands which are called Pais. Although these Islands are not far distant from the Marianas, their inhabitants have no intercourse with the people of the Marianas. The discovery of this new country has lately been confirmed to

' us, which came to pass in the manner following.' ' In making the visit I have mentioned with the Father 'Provincial, we arrived at the Town of Guivam in the Island ' Samal. We found there twenty-nine people of the Palaos ' Islands lately discovered. The winds which reign in these ' seas from the month of December to May, had forced them ' 300 leagues from their Islands to this Island of Samal. They ' had come in two small vessels called Paraos; according to ' their relation of their adventures, they had embarked to the ' number of thirty-five persons to go to a neighbouring Island, ' when the wind became so violent that they could not reach ' either that, or their own Island again, but were driven into ' the open sea, where they wandered at the will of the winds ' during 70 days, without being able to get to land. They were on the point of perishing for want of fresh water and ' food, when they came in sight of Guivan. One of the people ' of Guivan who was by the sea-side, concluded from the ' structure of their small vessels, that they were strangers who ' had

^{*} A name given to the natives of some of the *Philippine Islands* who had a peculiar manner of painting themselves.

' had lost their way, and he made signs to them with a linen CHAP. 1.

' flag, to direct them clear of the rocks and sand banks. These Letter of

' poor people were so much frightened at seeing this man, that

' they began to paddle off to sea again; but the wind, not-' withstanding their endeavours, forced them towards the land.

' The Guivamois continued making signs for their direction,

' but finding his signs not regarded, and that they were in

' danger of being lost, he went into the water and swam off,

' with the intention to pilot them safe into port. When he

' arrived at one of the vessels, those who were within, women

' even who had small infants, threw themselves from their

canoe and swam to the other, so much were they in dread of

' his approach. Nevertheless, he followed them, and entering

the second Parao, conducted her to a safe landing place,

' whilst the terrified people belonging to her remained

' motionless.'

'They landed on the day of the Holy Innocents, the 28th of December, 1696. The inhabitants of Guivam ran to the ' shore and received them with charity, carrying to them wine and refreshments, of which they eat willingly. The people of Guivam likewise brought to them two women who had ' formerly been driven by the winds from some Island to this ' same coast, and they served as interpreters. One of these ' women found among the people newly arrived, some who ' were of kin to her, and they no sooner recollected one another · than they fell a weeping. The Padre who has the care of this ' district sent for them. As soon as they saw him and per-' ceived the respect which every one paid to him, they imagined ' that he was the king of the country, and they cast themselves ' on the ground to implore his mercy. The Padre did every ' thing to console them, caressed their infants, of which there ' were three at the breast, and promised the parents all the

' succour in his power. Of thirty-five persons which they were

P. Paul

Clain.

Letter of P. Paul Clain. ' at first, there remained only thirty; and shortly after their arrival one died, but who had the happiness to be baptized.'

'They reported that their country consisted of thirty-two ' Islands. They cannot be far distant from the Marianas, if ' we judge by the structure of their little vessels and the form ' of the sails, as they are the same. There is reason to believe that it was one of these Islands which was seen some years ' ago. A vessel of the Philippine Islands having quitted the ' usual route, which is under the 13th parallel, and being a ' little to the SW, perceived it for the first time. Some called ' this Island after the name of the King (Carlos II.); others 'called it the Isle de San Barnabé, because it was discovered on the festival of that Apostle. Is was again seen the last ' year by another vessel, in going from here to the Marianas. 'The Governor of the Philippines had often given orders to ' the vessel which goes almost every year to the Marianas, to ' make search for this Island and others which are thought to be near it, but God reserved for the present time the dis-' covery, and, we hope, the entire conversion of these people.' Of these 32 Islands, they say three are inhabited by birds only; but that the rest are very full of people. The names of the Islands are Paiz, Lamululutup, Saraon, Yaropie, · Valayyay, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaluc, Piraulop, Ytai, Pic, Piga, Lamurrec, Puc, Falait, Caruvaruvon, Ylatu, Lamuliur, Tavas, Saypen, Tacaulap, Rapiyang, Tavon, Mutacusan, Piylu, Olatan, ⁶ Palu, Cucumyat, Pyalcunung. The three which are inhabited by birds are Piculat, Hulatan, and Tagitan. The most con-' siderable in rank of all the Islands is Lamurrec. It is there ' that the king of all these countries holds his court. The men ' have their bodies painted with certain lines which form ' various figures. The women and children are not so marked. 'Those here are nineteen males and ten females, of different ages. In complexion and the contour of their faces, they ' resemble

resemble the natives of the Philippines; but their language CHAP. 1.

P. Paul

Clain.

- ' differs both from that of the Philippines, and from that of
- ' the Marianas Islanders, and their pronunciation has some ' resemblance to that of the Arabs. The woman who appeared
- of the most consideration, had rings and ornaments of tortoise
- 'shell, and some of a substance unknown to us, which had
- ' some resemblance to ambergris; it was not transparent.' During the many days they were at sea, they subsisted
- ' upon fish, which they caught in a kind of basket with an
- opening contrived to admit the entrance of fish and to pre-
- ' vent their escaping out again. Rain at times furnished them
- with fresh water.'
- 'They manifest civility and respect by taking the hand or ' the foot of the person whom they mean to honour, and
- rubbing it softly over their own face. They are of a peace-
- ' able disposition, yet have much vivacity. They are not so
- corpulent or robust as the people of the Marianas Isles; but
- they are well proportioned, and their size or stature is much
- on a par with that of the Philippine Islanders.
- ' They are so content to find here in abundance all that is
- e necessary to life, that they have offered to return to their
- country for the purpose of drawing hither their countrymen,
- and to persuade them to enter into commerce with our
- ' Islands. Our Governor much relishes their proposition, which
- ' promises to gain all these countries to the King of Spain, and
- opens a wide field for the propagation of the Gospel. The
- oldest of these strangers had formerly been cast on the coast
- of Mindanao, where he had seen only infidels who live in the
- ' mountains. He found the way back to his own country. He
- ' has been more happy in this his second voyage: we have
- ' already baptized the children, and are giving instruction to
- ' the others; but we are much in want of labourers.'
 - ' With profound respect, I remain, &c.'

From circumstances mentioned in Pere Clain's letter, it is Vol. V.

seen that the Philippine Islanders and the natives of the Islands Eastward, were not wholly strangers to each other. A Caroline Islander had landed on Mindanao, and had returned to his own country. It is also remarked that from the mountains of Samal smokes had been observed to rise in the East, which indicated lands in that direction. What Pere Clain has said of the two canoes driven on Samal having come from the Palaos Islands, appears, from information afterwards obtained, to have been only on his own conjecture.

The wrecked Islanders falling so immediately into the protection and under the guardianship of the Missionary Fathers, disposed the College of the Jesuits at Manila to undertake the establishment of a Mission in their country, and they prepared a vessel at considerable expence; but their purpose was at this time frustrated by a hurricane of wind which wrecked their vessel. They did not, however, relinquish their intention; but deputed two of their company to go to Europe to solicit assist-P. Serrano's ance. One of them, P. André Serrano, made a chart of the

Chart of the New

Islands, according to information which he collected from the Philippines natives, who placed stones on the ground to represent the different Islands. This chart, of which there is a copy in the Lettres Edifiantes, is more unshapen, and conveys less of distinct idea respecting size and situation, than was to have been expected even from the rude manner in which it was composed. In January 1705, Serrano presented his chart to Pope Clement the XIth, who approved the project of establishing a Mission among the Islands, and wrote to the Kings of Spain and France to recommend it to their patronage.

Some particulars in P. Serrano's chart are remarkable. First, in the title, he compliments Philip the Vth, the new Monarch of Spain, at the expence of the memory of his predecessor, and of truth, by calling it, ' A Chart of the New Philippines, ' discovered under the auspices of Philip the Vth.' It contains many more Islands than the number specified in P. Clain's

letter,

letter, and every one with a name; among which, nevertheless, CHAP. 1. few of those in P. Clain's letter are found. An Island Amorsot is marked as the Island whence the two canoes departed; and an Island named Paiz, which is placed considerably to the Westward of Amorsot, for the Island to which they had designed to go. Falu, or Lamuirec, which is the residence of the King of the Islands, is placed in as low a latitude as between 2° and 3° N. These three Islands have situations assigned them far to the East of the Palaos. The largest Island of those which are in the Eastern part of his Chart, is marked with the name Torres. It is placed in about 7° N latitude, and probably is the Island which was seen in Mendana's Voyage.

place at this time from the Philippine Islands, in another direction. Jean Baptiste Sidoti, a native of Palermo, who was educated for the Church, was seized, whilst a youth, with the desire to preach the Gospel in Japan. To qualify himself for such an undertaking, he went to Rome, where he studied the Japanese language, and attained to speak it with facility. He solicited and prevailed with the Pope to appoint him Missionary to Japan, and with this appointment he departed from Rome in 1702, to travel by land to the East Indies. The difficulties he encountered retarded his arrival to Manila, which he did not reach till the year 1707, and was then unprovided with the means to prosecute farther his intention. By contributions from charitable and pious persons, at the end of two years more, he had saved sufficient to equip a vessel to convey him to the shores of Japan. The vessel was commanded by Don Miguel de Eloriaga, who appears to have embarked from religious motives. They came in sight of Japan on the 9th of October, 1709, and P. Sidoti landed during the obscurity of

The Abbé Sidoti, though he landed without being discovered,

the night. Eloriaga, as had been before settled, to avoid giving alarm, departed from the Japanese coast with all speed, and

returned to Manila.

A Missionary expedition of a very extraordinary nature took J. Baptiste Japan.

1700.

CHAP. 1.

covered, did not escape almost immediate detection. He was apprehended, and sent to Nangasaki, where he underwent examination, at which the Magistrates required the Hollanders of the Dutch Comptoir to attend to assist the interpreters; but their assistance was not necessary, as Sidoti, to the astonishment of the Japanese Magistrates, answered the interrogatories readily in the Japanese language. From Nangasaki he was sent prisoner to Jedo, and was kept there some years in prison, the Japanese government being unwilling to take his life. But at length it was discovered, that during his imprisonment, he had baptized several Japanese people. On this discovery, Sidoti, whose constancy and zeal merit to be regarded with admiration and reverence, was condemned to death, and executed, as were all his converts*.

Becomes Martyr.

P. P.
Duberron
and Cortil
to the
Palaos
Islands,

In 1710, the Jesuit College at Manila equipped another vessel for the Carolinas Isles, which sailed late in the year. The number of people who embarked in her, shews the undertaking to have received great countenance and support. A narrative of the Voyage written by the Pilot, Josef Somera, and accompanied with a chart, was published in 1715, with the Lettres des Missions Etrangéres +. Somera relates;

The Pilot's Journal.

- ' The ship in which we went to make discovery of the Palaos ' Isles, was called the San Trinidad, and had on board 36 men.
- ' She was commanded by the Serjeant Major Don Francisco
- ' Padilla. With him embarked the Fathers Duberron and
- ' Cortil, and the Friar Etienne Baudin, who all went on this
- ' voyage to introduce the Holy Religion among the Islanders.'

November.

- 'November the 14th, we departed from the Philippine
- ' Islands, shaping a course to make the Palaos Isles, supposing
- ' myself then in 13° 9' N latitude, and in 144° 22' of longitude
- ' [from the meridian of Teneriffe].'

· We

^{*} Lettres Edifiantes, Tom. xi. edit. of 1781.

⁺ Josef Somera's journal and narrative is also printed in the IId Volume of the Voyages of Coreal.

We sailed fifteen days, as marked in the chart, day by CHAP. 1. day, and on November the 30th, we discovered land which November bore from us NE 3° N, having observed the variation in this ' route to be from 4° to 5° N Easterly. We steered for the land, ' and on nearer approach, discovered there were two Isles,

' which P. Duberron named the Isles of St. André.'

20th.

Sonsorol Isles.

' We perceived a canoe coming towards us; the people in ' her cried out whilst far off, mapia, mapia, which signifies ' good people. A Palaos Islander who had been baptized at ' Manila, was with us; he shewed himself and spoke to them, ' and they immediately came on board. They told us these ' Islands were called Sonsorol, and that they were part of the ' Palaos Islands. They testified much joy at being with us, 'kissing our hands and embracing us.'

'After mid-day, two other boats came to us, with eight ' men in each. As they approached our vessel, they began ' to chant, regulating the cadence by striking their hands on ' their thighs. When they were on board, they measured the ! length of our ship, and counted the number of men who were on the deck. They brought cocoa nuts, fish, and some herbs. 'The Islands are covered with trees close down to the edge of ' the sea.'

We asked in what direction lay their principal Island. ' which is called Panloq, and they pointed to the NNE. They ' added, that to the SbW and to the SbE, are also two Islands, ' one of which is named Merieres, and the other Poulo.'

' I sent my assistant pilot to sound for a place where we ' might anchor. The boat being arrived within a quarter of a ' league of the shore, two boats of the country went to her. ' One of the Islanders seeing a sabre, took it in his hand to ' examine, and in the midst of his admiration, jumped overboard and swam off with it. Anchorage was not found,

' the depth being every where great, and the bottom rocky.'

A current set towards the SE, and the wind failing, the 'ship

Merieres. Poulo.

CHAP. 1.

' ship was carried from the land. The Missionaries taught

' some of the Islanders to pronounce the holy names of Jesus'

' and Maria, and endeavoured to persuade some of them to

' remain in the ship; but could not prevail with any.'

'One of these Islands was full two Spanish leagues and a half in circuit, and was supposed to contain about 800 persons. I observed the latitude at noon, 5° 16' N; and the

' variation at sunrise was found 5° North Easterly.'

December 4th.

5th.

6

'It was the 4th of December before we could regain our position near the Sonsorolles. We again tried in vain for

' anchoring ground. The next morning, the Fathers Duberron

' and Cortil, formed the resolution of landing to plant the

'Cross. Don Padilla, and myself, tried to dissuade them

'from their design, but their zeal made them disregard all

' difficulties and objections, and they persisted in their deter-

' mination.'

P. P. Duberron and Cortil land on Sonsorol. 'They left the Fray Baudin in the ship, and went in the boat with the Quarter Master, the Ensign of the Troops, and the native of the *Palaos Isles* whom I have mentioned, whose wife and children also went with him in the boat.'

6th.

'After they departed from the ship, by the assistance of the wind, we held our ground against the current, and kept near the Island all the day: but in the night fine wind failed, and the ship was carried to a distance. We shewed lights all night. In the morning the larger Island bore from us NbW, and was 8 leagues distant.'

9th.

'Till the 9th at noon we spent in endeavours to approach the Sonsorol Isles, but the current carried us farther off. That day, I observed the latitude 5° 28' N. Don Padilla, after

' consulting with the Pilots and the Friar Baudin, agreed to

' try to discover the Island Panloq, which we conjectured to

' be 50 leagues distant from the Sonsorolles.'

11th. Palaos or Pelew Islands. 'On the 11th, at 9 in the morning, we discovered Panloq.
'At noon, the latitude was 7° 14' N; we were then a league
'distant

' distant from the Island. In the afternoon, some boats came ' from the land to us, and some of the Islanders swam from them to the ship. When on board, they attempted to steal December. ' whatever they could lay their hands on. Don Padilla seeing ' their avidity, ordered the Soldiers under arms, and made ' signs to the Islanders to keep from the ship, for there were ' at least 80 in their six boats. Not long after they began to ' paddle towards the land, and at the same time shot several ' arrows, four of which struck the ship. Don Padilla ordered ' a discharge of musquetry. At the report, they all leaped ' into the sea, and abandoned their canoes; but finding the

' firing not continued, they regained their canoes, and paddled

' off as quick as they could.'

' The 12th, we had but little wind. At 9 in the evening ' a breeze sprung up from the SSE, and the current carried ' us fast to the North. I took the resolution of passing between ' two Islands, the channel between them being a small league ' across. The 13th, we were to the Westward of these Islands, ' and we bent our course for returning to Sonsorol, to enquire ' after the two Missionaries and our boat left there. The 18th, ' we were North and South with the Isle, and so remained all Sonsorolles. ' day, without perceiving any boat, although we were within ' cannon shot of the shore. We plied near the West side of ' the Isle till the 20th, when strong squalls of wind from the ' SE and NE drove us to a distance.'

' The 21st, we again approached the Island, and at two in ' the afternoon were not more than three quarters of a league ' distant, but no boat appeared. A second storm of wind then ' came on so strong that it obliged us to run to the WNW. We ' again held council, and considering that we had no boat, and ' were short of fresh water, without knowing where or how to ' get supplied, we were all of opinion, that the only course ' we could pursue, was to return to Manila with the sorrowful ' news of what had happened; but the season of the NNE ' winds

1710. Palaos, or Pelew Islands.

18th.

Padilla returns to Manila.

' winds was already begun, and we were obliged to make the ' tour of Mindanao.'

> With the Missionaries Duberron and Cortil, fourteen other persons from the ship landed on the Island Sonsorol, among whom were the Caroline Islander Moac, his wife and two children. The intention of the Fathers when they landed, was to erect a Cross, and to go back to the ship the same day.

> Before Padilla's return to Manila another ship had sailed thence to search for the Palaos Islands, commanded by Don Miguel Eloriaga; but no account appears of that voyage.

1711.

In December 1711, P. Serrano departed from Manila in a December. vessel fitted out expressly to seek after the Fathers Duberron and Cortil and their companions. She sailed on the 15th of the month, but the third day after, foundered in a gale of wind, near the Island Marindague, one of the Philippines. Many of the crew got into the boat, but in their consternation they neglected to cast off or cut the rope by which she was fastened to the vessel, so that when the vessel went down, the boat was drawn after, and every person perished excepting one Spaniard and two Indians, who carried intelligence of the misfortune to Manila. P. Du Halde remarks, that this was the fourth time the Missionary Fathers in Manila in vain attempted to penetrate into the Palaos Islands *.'

Death of P. Serrano.

1712. Islands discovered de Egui.

In 1712, a Spanish ship commanded by Bernard de Egui, discovered a groupe of Islands, situated to the SW of Guahan, by Bernard in about the 10th degree of North latitude, and in longitude from 3° to 4° West of the meridian of Guahan. It was two of these Islands which the Nassau Fleet discovered in 1625. The whole groupe was estimated to spread over a space 25 Spanish leagues in length, and 15 in breadth. One of the largest was named Falalep, and was reckoned five Spanish leagues in circuit.

^{*} Extracts of letters from P. Du Halde and P. Cazier. Lettres des Missions Etrangeres. Tom xi. and xvi. anc. edit.

circuit. The King of these Islands resided at a smaller Island CHAP. 1. named Momog or Mogmog.

What other attempts were made to obtain intelligence of the Fathers Duberron and Cortil, does not clearly appear. Pere Cazier, a Missionary in China, relates, in a letter dated November the 5th, 1720, that a merchant who came to China from the Philippine Islands, reported to him, that a Spanish vessel went to the Palaos Isles, and on her approaching one, a boat with many natives went off to her; but though much invited, no one of them would venture into the ship without a hostage being first given: that a Spaniard, therefore, went down into the ship's boat which was lying alongside, and some of the Islanders then ascended into the ship, where they were immediately secured, and musquetry was fired into the Island canoe, which gave their own man opportunity to escape. That the inveigled islanders were carried to Manila, where, on being examined, they acknowledged that the natives had killed the Father Missionaries and their companions, and had eaten them. This story, however, appears contradicted, in a letter dated from Manila a year later, i. e. in December 1721, wherein it is said, 'whatsoever efforts have been made during ' the last ten years to learn news of the Fathers Duberron and ' Cortil, who landed in one of the Palaos Isles to preach the ' Faith to the Natives, nothing has been discovered concerning ' them; but it is not doubted that they have been massacred ' by those barbarians *.' P. Cantova also, in a letter of yet later date, affirms that no news had been obtained of the two

The next information that appears concerning the Carolinas, is the most important of any which has been given. One of the Missionary Fathers at Guahan, P. Juan Antonio Cantova, an intelligent man, wrote a description of the Islands, and their

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Fathers left at Sonsorol.

1720.

^{*} Letter of P. G. Wibault. Tom. xxiii. ancient edition. D

CHAP. 1.

their inhabitants, in the form of a letter, addressed to the King of Spain's Confessor; to which he added a chart made by himself, from the best information he was able to procure, combining what he gathered from the natives with the Spanish discoveries. Cantova's letter and chart were published in the 18th volume of the Lettres Edifiantes. Abridged in some of the less material particulars, his letter is as follows:

'To the Reverend Pere d'Aubenton, of the Company of Jesus, 'and Confessor of His Catholic Majesty.

Agadna, March 22d, 1722.

' My Reverend Father;

Letter of P. Juan Antonio Cantova.

- 'The Peace of Our Lord remain with you. I make it my duty and pleasure to write you an account of the discovery which has been lately made of a new Archipelago of Islands,
- ' inhabited by a nation of infidels, who offer themselves in
- ' multitudes to the zeal of the Missionaries.'
- 'Almost immediately on taking possession of the Marianas
- ' Islands, knowledge was obtained of some of the Islands of
- ' which I am about to speak, and Guahan was regarded as the
- ' gate which should open an entrance to innumerable Southern
- ' Isles till then unknown, which are now called the Carolinas.
- ' Hitherto, all our attempts to profit by so important a dis-
- ' covery have been unsuccessful. P. Luis de Sanvitores, justly
- called the Apostle of the Marianas, said, "Be not impatient:
- " wait till the harvest is ripened. Then shall you see the
- " inhabitants of the Carolinas of their own accord come to seek
- " the labourers, and to gather the fruit." The accomplishment
- ' of his prediction has been reserved to these times. You will
- ' judge by the recital I shall make.'
- 'On the 19th of June last year, a strange bark, differing little in its construction from the vessels of the Marianas, but
- ' more lofty, so as at a distance to be taken for a frigate, put
- on shore at a desert spot on the East side of Guahan. In this
 - ' bark

' bark were eleven men, seven women, and six children. They ' were perceived by a native of the Island who was fishing, and

' saw some of them land, which they did in terror, gliding ' under the palm trees for concealment and to supply them-

' selves with cocoa nuts. He went and gave information to

' the P. Muscati, our Vice Provincial, who was in that district, ' and the Padré immediately went with some of the Marian

' Islanders to succour the strangers. The women among them

' were terrified and made lamentable cries, but one of the men

' more courageous than the rest, jumped on shore from the

' canoe, and advanced to the Father Missionary, to whom he

' offered some things of his Island. The Father received his

' present, and embraced him, and this dissipated all terror.'

' Two days after, another strange canoe, in which were four ' men, one woman and a child, landed on the West side of

' Guahan. Relief was given to them, and they were conducted

' to Umatag, where the Governor was. The people who landed

' from the first canoe were sent for, to see if they were of the

' same country. Their joy at meeting was indescribable, and

' expressed by continual embracings. It appeared that these

' two canoes had departed in company with four others, from

an Island named Farroilep, intending to go to an Island

' named Ulée; but a violent West wind dispersed them, and ' for twenty days they had been driven about without knowing

' where they were. They had suffered much from hunger and

' thirst, and one of them, a young man strong in appearance,

' did not long survive the fatigue he had undergone. He was

' instructed as much as was possible in the mysteries of the

' Faith, and baptism was conferred on him before he departed.' ' The principal people among these Islanders were called

' Tamoles. They wore a garment open at the sides, which

' covered the shoulders and breast and hung down to their

' knees. The women had also a piece of linen or stuff round

their waist in manner of a petticoat, which reached half way

CHAP. 1.

1722. Letter of P. Juan Antonio Cantova.

' down

1722. Letter of P. Juan Antonio

' down the leg. The Tamoles painted their bodies, and their ' ears were pierced, in which they stuck flowers and orna-' ments. The greater part of these Islanders have curly hair, ' the nose large, eyes large and extremely penetrating, and Cantova. ' beard moderately thick. In complexion, there is among ' them this difference, that some are of the colour of pure ' Indians, and others it can scarcely be doubted are Mestizes, born of Spaniards and Indian women. I have seen among ' them Mulattoes, that is to say, of a breed between a Negro ' and an Indian.'

> ' We took some of these Islanders to live in our house, and ' in less than two months, I was able to translate into their ' language the Commandments, and an abridgment of the ' Catechism, which they learnt by heart.'

> 'When they had been four months at Guahan, they had ' collected a number of hatchets, nails, and other instruments ' of iron, which appeared to them of inestimable value. Their ' desire to carry these treasures to their own country, and to ' see again their wives and children from whom they were ' separated, rendered them impatient to return; and they solicited with great earnestness for leave to depart. The 'Governor wished to make them contented; but his design was to keep at Guahan the principal persons among them. and to send the others back, by which means he might be ' able to establish a regular intercourse between the Marianas ' and the Carolinas. He communicated to me his views, and ' I wrote to our Reverend Padré Provincial to ask his per-' mission to accompany the first of the Islanders who were to return, that I might gain information of their country and of ' their customs, and thereby judge how they would be disposed ' to receive the Christian Religion. The Governor, Don Luis 'Sanchez, promised to accommodate me with a vessel, and to ' give leave to any Spaniard, or other inhabitant of Guahan 6 who should desire it, to go with me. The Father Provincial. ' however.

' however, was of opinion that such an enterprise would not be CHAP. 1.

' approved by our Superiors at Manila, and would not give ' his consent.'

' Our Carolinas Islanders in the mean time grew more ' pressing and importunate. They incessantly besieged the

' Governor, supplicating him with tears. The bitterness of 'absence from their kindred, they said, took from them

' appetite and sleep, and rendered life insupportable. The

' Governor, however, had changed his plan, but he consoled

' them with good words to amuse them till the Winter set in,

' when the sea would be no longer safe; it being his design to

' detain them till the Spring, that he might have leisure to

' make all the preparation he wished for a visitation of their

'Islands.'

' As the departure of the Islanders was deferred, and I had ' acquired a competent knowledge of their language, I profited

' by their stay to get instructed more in detail concerning the ' number and situations of their Islands, and concerning their

' Religion, Customs, and Government.'

' Having much examined into these matters, I think I do ' not deceive myself in saying that all the Islands of which they

' have given me information, are between the 6th and 11th

' degree of North latitude, and that some of them reach to ' 30° of longitude East of the Cape del Espiritu Santo.'

' The Isles of this Archipelago are divided in five Provinces, which have each their particular language, but apparently Carolinas Islands con-

' all these languages are derived from one common origin: and sist of Five

' to judge from the resemblance of terms, it seems probable

' that this mother language is the Arabic.'

' The FIRST Province, which is to the East, is called Cittac.

'The principal Island is Torres or Hogoleu. It is of much ' greater extent than the Island Guahan; its inhabitants are

' negroes, mulattoes, and whites; it is governed by a King

' named Tahulucapit, who has under his dominion a great ' number

1722. Letter of P. Juan Antonio Cantova.

Cittac. The First Province.

1722. Letter of P. Juan Antonio Cantova.	'number of Isles. The following are the names of those which extend from the NE towards the West: Etel, Ruao, Pis, Lamoil, Falalu, Ulalu, Magur, Vloul, Pullep, Leguischel, Teme-tem, Schoug. Those which are situated from the SE to the SW, are Cuop, Capeugeug, Foup, Peule, Pata, Scheug. Besides these, they reckon a great number of little Islands.'
Second Province.	'The Second Province reaches about four degrees and a half to the East of the meridian of <i>Guahan</i> . It contains about 26 Islands not very considerable, 14 of which however
	' are very fully peopled. They are situated between the 8th and 9th degree of N latitude. The names of the principal of these Isles are <i>Ulée</i> , <i>Lamurrec</i> , <i>Seteoel</i> , <i>Ifeluc</i> , <i>Eurrupuc</i> , <i>Farroilep</i> , and others, as marked distinctly in the chart.
Ulée.	 Farroilep with its two small collateral Isles was discovered in 1796, by the Pilot Juan Rodriguez. This Province is divided into two Principalities; that of Ulée, and that of Lamurrec.
Lamurrec.	'The Indians who were forced by the tempest to the Island 'Guahan, from whom I gathered this information, were all born in this Province, and the greater part of them are from
Third Province.	' the Islands Ulée and Farroilep.' 'The Third Province begins at two degrees to the West of the Island Guahan. Feis, the principal Island, is very populous and fertile, and is about 6 leagues in circuit. About
	' a degree more to the West is a groupe of Isles which spread ' 25 leagues in length and 15 in breadth, and with Feis, com- ' pose this Province. They were discovered in 1712 by Captain
Falalep.	'Don Bernard de Egui. Their names are Falalep, which is '5 leagues in circuit, Oiescur, Mogmog, and others marked in
Mogmog.	' the chart. The Lord of these Isles resides at Mogmog; and ' the barks which navigate in this sea, when they come in sight ' of Mogmog, lower their sails, in token of respect and submission to their Chief. The Isle of Zaraol which is 15 leagues ' from this groupe, belongs to the same Province*.
	' The

^{*} Zaraol is not marked in Cantova's chart.

' The FOURTH Province is to the West of the THIRD about CHAP. 1.

' 30 leagues. Yap, which is the principal Island, is more than ' 40 leagues in circuit. It is very populous and fruitful. They

' have a kind of potatoes which they call Camotes, which one

of our Caroline Islanders told me came to them from the

' Philippines. At six or eight leagues distance are three small

' Islands, which form a triangle. They are named Ngolii,

' Laddo, and Petangaras.'

' The FIFTH Province is about 45 leagues from the Island ' Yap: it contains a certain number of Islands, to which is The Palaos, ' commonly given the name of Palaos, but which our Indians

' name Panleu. They affirm that they are in great number,

but they only reckon seven principal Islands, which are

' situated from North to South; these are named Pelilieu,

· Coaengal, Tagaleteu, Cogeal, Yalap, Mogulibec, and Nagarool.

'These Islands are inhabited by a numerous people, but who

' they say are barbarous, that both the men and women go

' entirely naked, and feed on human flesh; and that the in-

' habitants of the other Carolinas Islands regard them with ' horror.'

'To the SW from the last of these Islands are the two

' Islands of St. André, which the natives call Sonrol and Cado-

' copuci. They are situated in five degrees and some minutes

' of North latitude. Sonrol is the Island on which the Fathers

' Duberron and Cortil, with 14 other persons, remained in the

' year 1710, and amongst them the Indian Moac. There has

' not been since that time any news received of the two Fathers.

' I questioned much our Carolinas Indians on the subject, but

' did not find that they had any knowledge of the matter.'

'They farther reported to me, that to the East of all the

' Islands I have named, there are a great number of others,

one especially of great extent, named Falupet, the inhabitants

of which pay adoration to the Shark; and that the greatest

' part of them are negroes, and of barbarous savage manners.

1722. Fourth Province. Yap, the

principal Island.

Fifth Province. or Pelew Islands.

Falupet.

' They

P. Juan Antonio Cantova.

CHAP. 1. 'They have this knowledge of the more distant Islands only ' by means of some of the natives who had been driven thence Letter of 'by tempests.'

' Here then, my good Father, you see a great Archipelago of Islands, whose inhabitants are worthy of compassion; who ' live without worship and with scarcely any idea of religion. 'Their ignorance in this respect will probably render their ' conversion more easy, their minds not being pre-occupied ' with fabulous systems. They nevertheless acknowledge the ' existence of good and evil spirits; who according to their ' manner of thinking are material, but composed of celestial ' substances, different from those of the inhabitants of the ' Earth. Lugueileng, one of these spirits, had two wives, a ' celestial and a terrestial. They believe that there is a Paradise where good people are rewarded, and also a place where the ' wicked are punished. They say that the souls which go to ' Heaven, return to the Earth on the fourth day, and remain ' invisible in the midst of their kindred. They have priests ' who pretend to have commerce with the souls or spirits of the ' departed.'

' There are amongst these Islanders, Mestizes [i. e. a mixed ' breed], mulattoes, and negroes. For those which are of the whiter colour, I will simply report to you my conjectures, ' founded on what P. Colin says in the 20th Chapter of his · History of the Philippine Islands. He relates that Martin Lopez, Pilot of the first ship which went from New Spain to the succour of the Philippines in the year 1566, (the galeon San Geronimo), conspired with 28 others to make themselves ' masters of the ship, and to land the Captain and the rest of ' the crew on a desert Island, but their plot being discovered ' and prevented, they were themselves set on shore and aban-' doned on an Island inhabited by barbarians to the East of the Marianas. It is to be believed that these rebels were cast on one of the Carolinas Islands, and that they married ' with

with the native women there, whence has sprung this race CHAP. 1.

1722.

6 of Mestizes, who have so extremely multiplied in all these ' Islands *.

Letter of P. Juan Antonio Cantova.

- 'At this moment in which I am concluding my letter,
- ' I receive permission to visit these infidel countries, and to 'embark in a vessel which our Governor intends to send there
- ' immediately after Easter. Thus, my Reverend Father, my
- ' wishes are at length accomplished. May the Lord vouchsafe
- 6 to bless this enterprize, and not for my unworthiness withhold
- ' his mercies from this numerous people. Intreat this for me
- ' in your holy prayers, in participation of which, I am, &c.'
 - ' P. J. A. Cantova.'

No information is given in the Missionary Letters concerning Cantova's visit to the Carolinas Islands in 1722. But it appears by an amended chart which he made of some of the Islands, a copy of which is preserved in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Plans, that either then, or at some time afterwards, he visited the Islands of the Third Province, which in the amended chart are called the Garbanzos Islands, probably on account of Garbanzos herbage found on them, Garbanzos signifying in the Spanish language what we call chick-pease.

Islands.

In

Vol. V.

^{*} P. Cantova's letter contains more particulars of the customs of the Carolinas Islanders than it has been thought necessary to recite above. The Story of Martin Lopez required being noticed, that the foundation for believing the light olivecoloured natives of the Arath Sea Islands to be a mixed breed, descending from Spaniards and native Islanders, might be examined. Thirty-eight years before the voyage of the San Gcronimo, Alvaro de Saavedra discovered an Island de Hombres blancos, which there is every appearance was one of the Islands since named the Carolinas; and the natives are described in the account given of his voyage to be of white complexions and to have beards. Afterwards, in the same voyage, Islands more to the Eastward were discovered, which were named los buenos Jardines, of whose inhabitants it is said, 'these Islanders were of a ' light colour, like the people of los Pintados;' that is to say, of the Philippine Islands. See Vol. I. p. 152-155. Mendana also found the inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands 'almost white,' with which Islands it has never been supposed that Martin Lopez or his companions had any communication.

CHAP. 1. 1731.

In the year 1731, P. Cantova went again to the Islands of the Third Province, which are situated about SW from Guahan, and midway towards the Palaos or Pelew Islands, with design to labour at the conversion of the inhabitants. An account of this unfortunate mission is given in a Memoir written by the Governor of the Philippine Islands, Don Fernando Valdez Tamon: which is as follows:

Memoir of the Governor of the

'The Fathers Cantova and Walter departed from Guahan on February the 2d, 1731, to go to the Islands lately dis-' covered. They arrived happily at one of the Carolinas, on Philippines. ' the 2d of March following, and sojourned there three months, coccupied with their missionary duties. As they were in want of many things, Walter embarked with the intention to return ' to Guahan to procure them. Pere Cantova remained behind ' with fourteen of the people who had accompanied him from ' Guahan. Walter, instead of returning to Guahan, was forced ' by contrary winds to go to the Philippines, and was obliged ' to wait there a whole year for the opportunity of the vessel ' which is sent thence every two years to the Marianas. Accord-' ingly, he did not embark again before the 12th of November 1732; and this vessel did not perform the voyage, but ' was wrecked. The Missionaries at Manila were not dis-' couraged, but at a great expence caused another vessel to be constructed and furnished with provisions, and Walter embarked in her on the 31st of May 1733, with forty-four

1733. June.

' persons. After nine days navigation, they found themselves ' near the Islands, and fired cannon to inform P. Cantova of ' their arrival. The same was done repeatedly, but no bark. of the Island appeared, which gave suspicion that the barba-' rians might have killed him. They took the resolution to 'enter a bay formed by two Islands, the largest of which is ' Falaley, and when they came within a musket shot of the ' shore, they observed that their former habitation had been burnt, and that the Cross which had been erected near the

sea.

' sea side was no longer there. After some time, four small CHAP. 1. ' canoes of the Islanders approached the vessel, bringing ' cocoa-nuts. They were questioned in their language concern-'ing Father Cantova and his companions; they answered, but ' with symptoms of embarrassment, that they were gone to the ' great Island Yap. Their countenances at the same time ' expressed fear, and they refused to come on board, although ' offered biscuit, tobacco, and other things of which they were ' fond, which left no doubt that our people had perished by ' the hands of barbarians, At length it was contrived to seize ' one of these Islanders, and to get him into the ship, whereupon the others forsook their barks, and threw themselves into the sea, swimming away with loud eries. The vessel ' stopped the night in this bay, and the next day sailed with * the design to go to the Island Yap; but not knowing in what ' degree it is situated, nor the course it was necessary to follow, they were not able to discover it. During this time they ' repeatedly questioned the Islander, giving him every assurance ' that no harm should be done to him if he would speak the ' truth. At length, he confessed, that a short time after the ' departure of Walter, the natives killed the Father Cantova ' and all his companions.'

P. Cantova, it seems, went with his interpreter and two ' soldiers to the Island Mogmog to baptise, whilst the rest of his ' company remained at Falalep. Scarcely had he set foot in Death of ' Mogmog, when the inhabitants came round him armed with ' lances, and setting up great cries. Cantova demanded mildly " why they wished to take away his life who had never done ' them harm? "You come," said they, " to destroy our " ancient usages, and we will have none of your Religion." With these words, they pierced him through and through ' with their lances. They afterwards enveloped the dead body of the Father in a mat, and buried him under a small house, which among them is an honourable mode of interment, and ' given

CHAP. 1. 'given only to their principal people. They killed at the same ' time the three men who were with him, whose bodies they put ' into a canoe, which they turned loose to the will of the ' waves. They afterwards went to the Island Falalep where ' the other persons of the mission were. The soldiers, seeing ' the Islanders approach, and that they were transported with ' rage, put themselves on their defence, and fired some small ' cannon which they had placed before their house, by which ' four of the Islanders were killed; and they continued to ' defend themselves with their sabres, till they were overpow-' ered by numbers. There perished on this occasion, besides the Father Cantova, eight Spaniards, four natives of the ' Philippine Islands, and a slave. A young native of the Philip-' pine Islands was spared, because one of the principal people ' took compassion on him, and adopted him for his son.'

> This is the latest expedition to the Carolinas Islands noticed in the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries, published under the title of 'Edifiante et Curieuse.' The untimely death of so zealous and capable a fellow labourer as Father Cantova, must have been felt as a severe loss by the whole Order. Much may be said in palliation of the conduct of the Islanders in this transaction. In consequence of the Spanish conquest and settlement of the Ladrones, many natives of those Islands emigrated in all directions, by which the usurpation of the Spaniards became known in every Island with which the Ladroners had communication. Cantova's last mission to Falalep went attended with soldiers and with cannon, circumstances which threatened the Garbanzos Isles with a fate similar to that which had fallen on the Ladrone Islands, and justified the natives in their determination to root it out. Their manner of doing this, as it was in their power to have effected it without bloodshed, was the act of a barbarous people, retrieved in some degree from that character by the

act of interring their principal victim with the honours bestowed CHAP. 1. by them only on Chiefs.

Remarks on the Chart.

The chart which accompanies this account of the Carolinas Islands has been composed, by inserting first all the lands whose positions have been best authenticated, as the Palaos or Pelew Islands, from Lieutenant John Mac Cluer's survey, and other Islands from authorities whose dates are noted on the chart. The rest, with the exception of a very few of the more early discoveries, are furnished from P. Cantova's chart. One defect in the present chart must be, the having some Islands laid down twice; for it cannot be doubted that most of the Islands seen by Europeans within its limits, are part of those which on native information are laid down in Cantova's chart, but which, from the situation there assigned them, could not possibly be recognised with certainty; as for example, it may be conjectured, but not affirmed, that the Island seen in Mendana's second voyage, is the Torres or Hogoleu of the missionary chart; also that the Islands seen by the English missionary ship the Duff, in 1797, are part of Cantova's Second Province, of which *Ulee* is the principal Island. In either case, it would be hazarding too much to assume identity; and it must be expected that among the Carolinas Islands which appear in the present charts, some duplicates will be found.

CHAP. II.

Voyage of Lozier Bouvet, in 1738-9, to search for Lands in the Southern Atlantic Ocean.

IN the year 1735, M. Lozier Bouvet, a French Sea Officer, presented a memorial to the French Compagnie des Indes, recommending to them to cause search to be made for the countries long before discovered by the Sieur de Gonneville, which were supposed to lie to the South of the Cape of Good Hope, not many degrees distant from the same meridian; and offering to undertake the search if they would furnish the means. The Company conceived that an establishment on a land so situated, would be convenient for the refreshment of their ships bound to or from *India*, that thence they might hold commerce with the Brasils, or the South Sea; and that in times of war, it would give them a general controll over the Southern navigation. On these considerations, they appointed two ships to be fitted out under the command of M. Bouvet, for making the proposed discovery, which equipment took place in the year 1738.

A short abstract of M. Bouvet's journal was printed at *Paris* in *les Journaux de Trevoux*, for February 1740; from which M. de Brosses inserted an account in his *Navigations aux Terres Australes**, since which time, Mr. Dalrymple published the sea reckonings kept day by day in the ships under Bouvet, which were communicated to him by M. D'Apres de Mannevillette, the editor, and of the greater part author, of the well known and serviceable book of charts, entitled *le Neptune Oriental*.

July

July the 19th, 1738, the Frigate l'Aigle, commanded by CHAP. 2. M. Lozier Bouvet, and the Frigate la Marie, commanded by M. Hays, departed from Port l'Orient. Their instructions directed them to search for land, in and about the latitude of 44° S, and longitude 355°, reckoned Eastward from the meridian of Teneriffe; in which situation some old charts had placed a Cape of the Terra Australis Incognita. The Isla Grande of La Roché probably was also in the contemplation of the projectors of the voyage.

1738. July.

In October, they arrived at the Island Santa Katalina on the November. coast of Brasil, whence they sailed November the 13th, directing their course SEward. In latitude 35° S, they began to experience fogs. December the 6th, in latitude 43° S, and December. longitude 355°, they saw sea-weed, and birds like moor fowl. They tried for soundings, but found no bottom with 180 fathoms of line. The fogs now became so thick that it required long 355°. the utmost attention in both ships to prevent a separation; they wetted like rain, and continued with very little intermission during the whole time the ships remained in a high South latitude.

Sail from Santa Katalina.

and birds, lat. 43° S.

The 7th, in 44°S, longitude 356°, the variation was observed 7° 30′ North-Easterly.

In latitude 49° S, they saw three Islands of Ice. Many Ice Islands. smaller pieces were floating about, which were remarked to lat. 40°S. have great diversity of shapes, as of ships, buildings, fortresses, and other things. 'These pieces had probably broken loose

- ' from the larger Islands, and were very dangerous to the ships,
- ' making the navigation like to sailing among large floating ' rocks, some of which scarcely appeared above water. The
- · larger Ice Islands were two or three leagues in circuit,
- ' and some of an elevation 200 fathoms above the level of ' the sca.'

About the 20th, in latitude 50° S, and longitude 15°, seals Seals and and penguins were seen. The ships were obliged to sail towards

lat. 50° S. the long. 15%.

CHAP. 2. the East to get clear of ice. Soundings were tried, but no bottom was found.

The journal of the Aigle relates,

1739. January the 1st. Land

- January the 1st, 1739, at half-past 3 P.M. the weather ' having became a little clear, the latitude being then by ' reckoning 54° 20' S, and the longitude 25° 47' [East] from discovered, the meridian of Teneriffe, land was seen to the ENE at the
 - ' distance of 8 or 10 leagues. It appeared very high and
 - ' covered with snow, and was encircled to 7 or 8 leagues dis-
 - ' tance with pieces of ice that seemed so many islands. The
 - ' extent of the land appeared to be 4 or 5 leagues from North
 - 6 to South. Estimating the run of the last 24 hours, it appears
 - ' that the ships were on the preceding day (December the 31st)
 - ' within four leagues of the land, and that they must have been ' prevented from seeing it by the fog *.'

and named Circoncision.

The Chief Pilot of the Aigle, who first saw the land, was Cape de la rewarded with twenty dollars. On account of the day, M. Bouvet named it Cape de la Circoncision. The indications remarked in approaching it were penguins, and white birds similar in size and in their manner of flight to pigeons. The variation was observed in sight of the land 7° North-Westerly; but the compasses were found to differ from each other in a very unusual degree.

The journal of the Marie gives the following description:-' January the 1st, we perceived a land high and steep. The ' mountains were the greater part covered with snow. On the ' afternoon of the 3d, the weather being serene, we saw the ' land very distinctly. The coast, which was bordered with ice. ' seemed to form many coves or small bays [enfoncemens], and ' the shore appeared steep in its whole extent. The tops of ' the mountains were covered with snow; and in the places

' where there was not snow, there appeared much wood †.

From

^{*} Journal on board the Aigle, p. 4.

⁺ Journal of the Frigate la Marie, p. 11.

From the 1st to the 10th of January, the two ships kept in CHAP. 2. the neighbourhood of the land, and were on its SW, West, and Northern sides, endeavouring to make examination; but January. the weather was so foggy, or if not foggy so uncertain, that a Cape de la Circoncision. boat could not be sent to the land without much danger of her not being able to find the ship again; nor could any view be obtained that yielded other information of the nature of the country than what is above mentioned. Their nearest approach was to within four or five leagues distance. No soundings were obtained. A current was thought to set Eastward, but so trifling as to make only half a degree difference from the reckoning in nine days. On the 8th and 9th, an appearance like land was seen to the NNE of the Cape Circoncision, which appearance was afterwards believed to have been only a fog bank.

On the 10th, at four in the morning, the wind was moderately fresh from the Westward, and Cape de la Circoncision was in sight, bearing from SSW to SSE. At this last point of bearing the land was observed to be a low point. The boats were made ready; but at five o'clock, the land was again obscured by fog, and the wind and sea became rough; no boat expedition therefore was undertaken, nor was this land again seen by the Aigle and Marie. The variation of the compass was observed on the 10th to be 7° 35' NEasterly.

The endeavour to explore a rocky coast in a stormy climate and in foggy weather was harassing to the crews of the ships, and it appeared to M. Bouvet that this was not a land proper for a settlement; therefore, with the advice of his officers, he determined to leave it. The journal of the Aigle remarks, 'Whilst we have had sight of this land, we have reaped no ' other advantage than being able to affirm its existence, and that it extends 8 or 10 leagues to the ENE [from the Cape, which is the Western extremity, and 6 or 7 leagues towards ' the SE, without being able, nevertheless, to decide whether ' it is part of a Continent or an Island.' The reckonings of the two ships appear not to have differed more than a few minutes in Vol. V. \mathbf{F}

1739.

10th.

in longitude in making the Cape de la Circoncision. That of the Aigle gives for the situation of the Cape, latitude 54° S, and longitude 53° 45′ E from Santa Katalina, which is equivalent to 4° 30′ E of Greenwich. The Marie's reckoning makes the Cape in latitude 54° 6′ South, and the longitude a quarter of a degree less than the Aigle.

From the Cape Circoncision, the two ships sailed in company North Eastward, until February the 5th, when M. Bouvet embarked in the Marie to return to Europe; and M. Hays, to whom the command of the Aigle was delivered, continued his course Eastward for India. The Marie made the land of the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of February, and the longitude by her reckoning, from Cape Circoncision to the Cape of Good Hope, was 7° 13′, which gives for the longitude of Cape Circoncision 11° 10′ E a Greenwich.

The time occupied in the navigation from Santa Katalina to Cape Circoncision was 49 days; thence to the Cape of Good Hope 45 days. The reckoning of the Aigle after leaving Cape Circoncision affords another basis for computing the longitude.

The Aigle arrived at the Island Rodriguez the 7th of March, which was a passage of 56 days, making longitude by reckoning 49° 44′. This applied to the longitude assigned in the tables to the Island Rodriguez, will give for the longitude of Cape de la Circoncision 13° 6′ E from the meridian of Greenwich. The results of these three methods of computing, differ widely: the mean, making some allowance in favour of the shorter passages, may be stated at 9° East of Greenwich.

A View of the Island of Cape de la Circoncision, taken in Lozier Bouvet's Voyage.

N. EbN.

NOTE.

The following account of a recent navigation to a high South latitude, CHAP. 2. will serve as a Supplement to the Voyage of Lozier Bouvet. The Cape de la Circoncision had been sought after from the longitude of six degrees and a half to above twenty degrees, East from Greenwich; and no land being found in that extent, caused it to be conjectured that M. Bouvet had been deceived by a large ice Island. In 1808, however, Bouvet's land was made by two English vessels in the Southern Whale Fishery, the Snow Swan, Mr. James Lindsay Master, and Brig Otter, Mr. Thomas Hopper Master, both in the employ of Messieurs Enderby, Merchants of London, who have had the kindness to communicate the journals in their possession.

The Swan and Otter in their passage Southward, stopped at San Sebastian on the coast of Brasil, and departed thence on August the 22d, 1808, being directed by the Owners to search in the parallel of Bouvet's land from the longitude of 10° W to 14° E of Greenwich. On the 25th of September, in latitude 54° S and longitude 11° W, the two vessels lost company.

October the 6th, in the forenoon, the Swan being in latitude by account 53° 58' S, and in longitude by the reckoning 3° 55' E, saw land bearing SSE, distant by estimation 8 or 10 leagues. The next day (the 7th) she was so near as to be embayed and almost inclosed in a bason formed by Circoncision. field ice with the land. At noon that day the body of the land was set bearing S b W 1 W, per compass, distant 4 or 5 miles. The latitude was then observed 54° 15' S, and the longitude by reckoning was 4° 15' E. [Variation about a point and a half Westerly.]

The land was covered with snow. Captain Lindsay of the Swan, says in his journal, 'the West point is very high and steep; the East point low ' and level. This Island appeared to be 5 miles from East to West, and ' was surrounded with ice on the North and West sides to as far as three ' miles from the shore; but from the East point, the ice was seen to extend ' in one continued body to the distance of 7 or 8 leagues. Some thousands of penguins were about us. We tried for soundings, but found no bottom. The extent of the land from East to West afterwards appears to be greater than F 2

TheEnglish Vessels Swan and Otter, in 1808,

make the land of Cape de la

Note continued.

CHAP. 2. than remarked in the above extract; for at one time it was set by the compass bearing from SSW to Sb E \(\frac{1}{2} \) E at the distance of 7 or 8 leagues; which will give 5 leagues of extent East and West. It may be supposed, therefore, that the word miles was written by mistake instead of leagues.

> It is not probable that much of the ice with which Cape Circoncision was surrounded was formed there, but that it accumulated by being arrested in the course of drifting. Captain Lindsay seems of opinion that this land may afford harbour at a less rigid season of the year. He says, ' I have used every exertion I could with prudence to find a harbour, but ' it is impossible to gain one at this time, on the account of fogs and ' dangerous ice.'

> On the 13th, the Swan left the land, sailing NEward. The center of the Island, according to the above account, is in latitude 54° 22' S, and in longitude, by the reckoning, 4° 15' East from Greenwich. Captain Lindsay had a time-keeper which gave the longitude 2° more East than the reckoning; but in long passages, without the check of lunar observations, and without opportunity of any kind to examine whether the time-keeper preserves its rate, it is most safe to be guided by the reckoning. In this instance, the time-keeper on board the Swan would place Cape de la Circoncision too near the spot where Captain Cook missed finding it in 1775. At noon on the 17th of February that year, Captain Cook, coming from the SW, was in latitude 54° 20' S, and longitude 6° 33' E, but did not see land, and was doubtless then to the Eastward of it, as he prosecuted his search towards the East, keeping in the same parallel many degrees without finding land.

> On the 10th of October, the Otter also made Cape Circoncision, and by a noon observation found its latitude 54° 24' S. The variation observed on board the Otter, when 20 leagues to the NE of the land, was 21° Westerly.

> The discouragements from ice, fogs, and tempestuous weather, experienced by M. Bouvet, and by the English vessels, are not to be regarded as proofs that the Cape de la Circoncision is unapproachable at all times, or that it is more so in general than the Southern coast of the Tierra del Fuego, which is in a higher South latitude. One of the journals of Bouvet's voyage remarks only the mountainous parts being covered with snow, and

> > that

Note continued.

that in places where there was not snow, there was much wood. Captain CHAP. 2. Lindsay likewise affirmed, though it escaped being noticed by him in his journal, that he saw either trees or brush-wood on different parts of the land. It is further to be observed, that M. Bouvet remained but a few days near his discovery; and it was made by the Swan and Otter at a season of the year unfavourable for exploring a strange coast in a high South latitude.

Another remarkable occurrence in the voyage of the Swan, which it is proper to notice here, is, that in her homeward passage to England, which was by the way of Cape Horne, on May the 15th, 1810, she came in sight of Beauchesne's Island, which in Captain Lindsay's journal is men-Beauchesne's tioned as a single Island. An observation on that day at noon gave its latitude 52° 26' S.

CHAP. III.

Voyage round The World, by Commodore George Anson.

снар. 3.

THE unlicensed commerce which was carried on, mostly in British bottoms, between subjects of Great Britain and Spanish colonists in the West Indies, and the means resorted to by the Spanish Government for its prevention, had long furnished matter for complaint to both nations. The Spanish armed ships employed to watch the coasts, were authorised and directed to stop and search all British merchant vessels which should be found near any of their settlements; an extent which might be construed to comprehend every avenue to the Caribbean Sea. These orders gave opportunity to the guarda costas, when nothing contraband was found, to plague, detain, and in various ways to incommode, the ships that fell under their examination, and by that means to extort presents, as was practised by Shelvocke with the Portuguese ship on the coast of Brasil. Several English vessels were also wrongfully carried into Spanish ports and condemned. After much mutual remonstrance, the British Government peremptorily demanded that Spain should relinquish all claim to a right of visiting British ships except in her own ports. Spain, on the contrary, insisted on a general right to search suspected vessels, as the only way by which a contraband trade could be prevented. In 1739, these disputes ran so high, that letters of reprisal were issued by both parties, and declarations of war soon followed. On the first breaking out of this War, the British administration determined to attack the Spanish trade and Settlements in the South Sea. Their first plan was to employ two separate squadrons of slips of war; one to go by Cape Horne, the other by the Cape of Good

Good Hope. The first was to scour the coasts of Chili, Peru, CHAP. 3. and New Spain, and afterwards to proceed to the Philippine Islands. The other squadron it is said, was to sail from England, ' with express orders to touch at no place till they came to ' Java Head; to stop there only to take in water, and thence ' to proceed directly to Manila, where the two squadrons ' were appointed to meet, and in concert to proceed on ' new enterprises *'. So wild and romantic a project could scarcely have been seriously intended. In the then state of navigation and maritime management, a squadron of ships of war could not be expected to make the passage from Europe to Java in one stage, without the loss of half of the crews by the scurvy; and there was small probability of the two squadrons , meeting at so distant an appointed rendezvous. These dangers were too obvious for the two-fold plan to be persevered in; and it was finally settled, that a single expedition should be sent to the South Sea.

A squadron of ships was destined for this service, and put under the command of Captain George Anson in November, 1739; but whether in consequence of the contraction of the plan, or of some change in the naval department, the interest taken in the expedition suffered so much diminution, that the ships remained nine months in port for want of men. In July 1740, the deficiency was in part supplied by draughts from other ships. It had been originally settled that part of each ship's company should consist of land forces, and the regiments which were to furnish them had been specified; but a most unhappy change was made in this particular, and instead of able and effective men from regiments in service, orders were issued for 500 invalids to be collected from among the out-pensioners of Chelsea College, to compleat the manning of the squadron. It is not too much to say, that in no country, civilised

1739.

1740.

^{*} Commodore Anson's Voyage round the World, by the Rev. Richard Walter, p. 3.

civilised or uncivilised, was ever a more barbarous and ignorant measure adopted. So many of the worn-out defenders of their country were ordered to repair to Portsmouth to embark on board the squadron, and they had the distressing choice of entering on a service to which they were no longer competent, or being deprived of the support due to them, and which their country had provided, in return for long services past. Above two hundred of the number deserted. Two hundred and fifty-nine submitted to the fate to which they were so unworthily consigned; the majority of these men were above 60 years of age. Some upwards of 70 were made to go against all protestations of inability. A history of the voyage says, 'A more moving ' scene could not be conceived, than the embarkation of these ' unhappy veterans, who were fully apprised of the disasters ' they would be exposed to; which was strongly marked by the ' concern which appeared in their countenances, mixed with no ' small degree of indignation.' That this act may be seen in its true colours, it is right to mention here, as well as in the regular course of the narrative, that not one of these aged warriors who entered the South Sea lived to revisit his native land *.

Αt

^{*} Two histories have been published of this expedition, written by persons who sailed in it. The most early of the two appeared in 1745, with the title of, A true and impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas and round the Globe, under the Command of Commodore George Auson. By Pascoe Thomas, Teacher of the Mathematics on board the Centurion. To this title it seems to have fair pretensions, as there no where appears cause to doubt the fidelity of his history, or that he committed to paper, as he professes to have done, the material occurrences at the time they happened. The style of his narrative and of his descriptions is plain and sensible, but rather what may be called dry, and inclining to moroseness, which was rendered the more apparent by the other narrative of the voyage which was shortly afterwards published, with which it makes a striking contrast. Thomas procured a handsome list of subscribers to his book, but it does not appear to have arrived at a second edition, and at present is very little known. It is nevertheless a valuable and good journal. The publication by which it has been eclipsed, was written by the Reverend Richard Walter, M. A. who sailed as-Chaplain on board the ship of the Commander in Chief, and has the advantage of being accompanied with Charts, and Views of Land.

At length, to compleat the companies of the ships, as many CHAP. 3. men were supplied from the marine regiments as with the invalids made the number of troops in the squadron 470, of whom the officer chief in command was Lieutenant Colonel Cracherode. In August, the squadron was ready for sea, and consisted of the following ships:

1740.

The Centurion of 60 guns, Captain George Anson.

Richard Norris. Gloucester - 50

Hon. Edward Legg. Severn - - 50

Matthew Mitchell.

- Wager - - 28 Dandy Kid.

 Tryal Sloop Hon. John Murray.

Store ships, laden chiefly with provisions.

The total number of men in this armament was 1,980, besides the crews of the two victuallers. Merchandise to the value of £,15,000 was shipped in the victuallers at the cost of Government, on the supposition that in the course of the voyage situations and circumstances would occur, in which provisions might be more readily procured in exchange for goods, than for money.

The squadron got under sail from St. Helen's Road in the September. beginning of September, but was three times forced back by adverse winds. On the 18th, they finally departed on the voyage, sailing down Channel with two fleets of merchant ships under convoy, one bound for the Mediterranean, the other for different parts of North America, the whole in company being 150 sail. Before they quitted the British Channel, Captain Anson hoisted a distinguishing broad pendant, and was saluted as Commodore by the ships of war in company. On the 25th the ships for America parted company, as, on the 29th, did the Mediterranean fleet; and the Commodore with his squadron pursued his course Southward.

October the 25th, after an unusually long passage, they October. anchored VOL. V.

anchored at *Madeira*. The Captain of the Gloucester obtained leave here to relinquish his command, and to return home on account of ill health, which occasioned some removals among the Commanders, and David Cheap, the First Lieutenant of the Centurion, was appointed to command the Tryal Sloop.

Whilst the British squadron lay at Madeira, seven or eight large ships were seen Westward of the Island, and were supposed to be Spanish ships of war. The Commodore dispatched one of his officers in a small English privateer that was in the Road, to reconnoitre Westward; but the strange ships were gone. It seems that in consequence of the delays which took place in the outfit of Mr. Anson's squadron, its destination as well as its strength remained no secret, and the Spaniards had fitted out a squadron for the protection of their settlements in the South Sea. The ships seen to the Westward were supposed to be this squadron.

November.

November the 3d, Commodore Anson sailed from Madeira. On the 19th, the Industry storeship was cleared and dismissed.

At this early period of the voyage much sickness prevailed in the squadron, on which account the Commodore ordered air scuttles to be cut in the sides of the ships, which could be kept open when the lower ports could not.

December.

Bank in lat. 20° S, and long. 37° 34′ W. December the 10th, in latitude 20° or 20° 5′ S, and in longitude by the reckonings 36° 30′ to 37° 28′ W from London, they struck soundings on a bank, finding ground at from 37 to 60 fathoms, coarse sand or gravel, with broken shells. Thirty-seven fathoms was the smallest depth, and they were quickly off the bank and out of soundings. By the reckoning of Pascoe Thomas carried on to the coast of Brasil, this bank appears to be 11° 42′ East of the Island Santa Katalina, which is equal to 37° 34′ West longitude from the meridian of Greenwich.

At Santa Katalina. The 18th, the squadron anchored at the Island Santa Katalina, where

where they obtained fresh provisions. This was the wet season. CHAP. 3. The rains were heavy, and the weather at the same time excessively hot. Thomas says, 'the country was so thick of wood, December. ' that the air must needs be stagnated and rendered unhealthful.' From these unfavourable circumstances, notwithstanding the rest and refreshments obtained, the Centurion buried 28 men there; and the number of the sick on board her, increased from 80 to 96. The other ships were in the like sickly state, 'their disorders being in general those kind of fevers which 'they call Calentures.'

1740. At Sauta Katalina.

Whilst they lay at Santa Katalina the Moon was eclipsed. Pascoe Thomas relates, 'December the 21st, I observed an ' Eclipse of the Moon, and comparing the time of its ending ' with a calculation I purposely made of it for the meridian of London, from Sir Isaac Newton's New Theory of the Moon, ' I found the place where the ship lay, to be 49° 53' W of the ' meridian of London. I am sorry to be obliged in justice to ' myself to notice, that when I presented to our Commander ' my account of the said Eclipse, some other gentlemen pre-' sented theirs, which differed from mine, as I was told, about ' 20° of longitude. However, on a sight of my calculation ' (though I had never the satisfaction of seeing theirs) they ' soon discovered their mistake, and brought in a new account ' differing from mine but one minute. I have since heard that ' the principal of these persons got credit in England for having settled the longitude of the Island Saint Katherine.

The variation was observed here 11° 20' Easterly.

Defects in the lower masts of the Tryal occasioned some detention to the squadron. Previous to sailing, the Commodore delivered instructions to the ships, appointing places of rendezvous in cases of separation.

On January the 18th (1741), they quitted Santa Katalina. On the 22d, in foggy weather, the Pearl was separated from the squadron. A current had been observed to set Southward

1741: January. 1741. January. on their first approach to the coast of *Brasil*; but on coming to the latitude of 36° S, a current was found setting in the opposite direction: and as they proceeded Southward beyond that parallel, they were constantly in soundings, the greatest depth of water being 60 fathoms, although part of the track sailed was reckoned to be 70 leagues distant from the American coast.

February.

February the 18th, the Pearl rejoined company. During her separation, her Commander, Captain Kidd, had died. The officer next in command, Lieutenant Salt, informed the Commodore, that on the 10th instant he had fallen in with five large ships, which he at first took for the English squadron; and the commanding ship carrying a red broad pendant at the topgallant-mast head, so much favoured the deception, that he was within gun-shot before he discovered his mistake, and that they were Spanish; but he escaped by standing across a ripling in the water, through which the Spanish ships did not think it safe to follow him. These were the ships that had been seen off Madeira. They were under the command of Admiral Josef Pizarro, and had put in at the River de la Plata. Whilst there, the Spanish Admiral learnt the arrival of the British squadron at Santa Katalina; on which intelligence he hastened again to sea, directing his course Southward, anxious to arrive first on the coast of Chili.

Port San Julian. On the 18th of February, the English squadron was off *Port San Julian*, and a boat was sent to discover the entrance of the Port, 'which is not visible with much offing, nor easy to 'find without the help of such a mark as *Wood's Mount*.

Port San Julian is a barred harbour. Pascoe Thomas says, Before any ship or vessel pretends to venture in, they ought to send their boats at low water to fix buoys on the ends of the shoals, which in a manner block up the passage. This is the more necessary because the bar is often shifting. Commodore Anson anchored his squadron about two miles without

the

the entrance, in 12 fathoms depth, the bottom a mixture of CHAP. 3. mud and sand; the Northernmost land in sight bearing N b E, and Wood's Mount WSW. In the time of Magalhanes the entrance of this port was probably more free; but that which was a sufficient harbour for the ships of Magalhanes, might ill suit the ships of war of more modern times.

1741. February.

The Hon. Captain Murray was appointed to the Pearl in the room of her late Commander; Captain David Cheap to the Wager, and Lieutenant Charles Saunders to the command of the Tryal Sloop. Here the squadron was again delayed by repairs wanting for the Tryal. No fresh water was found in Port San Julian, and it became necessary to put the ships' companies to the short allowance of a quart one day and three pints the next, alternately.

To reduce the weight in the upper works that the ships might be less strained in stormy weather, for such was to be expected in the passage round Cape Horne, some of the heavy guns had been struck down into the hold; but on the notice received by the Pearl of an enemy being near, they were again got up and remounted.

The rise and fall of tide at San Julian was four fathoms: the variation of the compass, 17° Easterly.

The 27th of February, the squadron sailed, and March the 4th, passed in sight of Cape de las Virgenes, which afforded Cape de las a view resembling the land of the North and South Forelands on the Kentish coast.

March. ${
m Virgenes.}$

On arriving at Strait le Maire, Mr. Walter blames M. Frezier for not having given a view of the Staten Island side of the Strait, as a companion to the one he gave of the Tierra del Fuego side; owing to which neglect he says, they found it difficult to determine exactly where the Strait lay. Landmen who write histories of sea voyages, are sometimes apt to be prompted by an apprehension that their accounts will appear barren of nautical information; which occasions them

Strait le Maire.

1741. March. to be on the watch for opportunity to introduce something of the kind. This has happened to Mr. Walter. Frezier had described marks for knowing Strait le Maire, with some shew of their being necessary. But it is evident on the slightest consideration, that the geographical position of the Western side of the Staten Island, without other mark, secures it from the smallest probability of being mistaken for any other land. It is only to the charge of neglect against Frezier that this remark applies; for good views of land, though they are not all of equal service or equally necessary, are always satisfactory. Those published with Mr. Walter's narrative, among which is a prospect of the West of Staten Island, were engraved after drawings made by an officer of the Centurion, Lieutenant Piercy Brett, and have every appearance of being correct representations.

The Squadron entered Strait le Maire on the morning of March the 7th, with fair weather, and were hurried through by a brisk gale and rapid tide, in about two hours; but this prospect of a speedy passage into the South Sea was of short duration. The very next day they experienced a change both in the wind and the weather. The wind blew strong from the SW, and by the 9th increased to a storm, which lasted several days, and they had the ill fortune to encounter violent Cape Horne, tempests from one or the other of the Western quarters, with very small intervals of abatement, for many weeks. Thomas says, 'As far forward as to passing Strait le Maire, we had ' indifferent good weather. But now began a new and dread-' ful scene. The very next day we were attacked with a storm, ' which was nothing to what we afterwards experienced. From

> ' this time to the 25th of May, we had, excepting only some ' short intervals, the most terrible and dreadful storms that it ' is possible to conceive. The sea went continually mountains ' high; for the intervals of the storms never lasted so long as to

Passage round

> ' allay the raging of the waves. Our ship, the Centurion, was ' nothing to them, but was tossed and bandied about as if she

> > had

6 had been a small wherry.' These gales were generally accom- CHAP. 3. panied with snow or sleet, and the crews were dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy; so that the history of the squadron whilst labouring to get round Cape Horne, presents a most Cape Horne. melancholy and long continued scene of extreme distress and calamity.

1741. Passage round

On the 10th of April, the Severn and the Pearl were separated from the squadron. They did not again join the Commodore, The Severn who afterwards, whilst he was in the South Sea, heard of their Pearl return arriving at Rio Janeiro.

April. homeward.

On the 13th, by the reckoning on board the Centurion, the longitude was estimated to be 10 degrees West of the most Western part of the Tierra del Fuego; their latitude was one degree more South than the Western entrance of the Strait of Magalhanes; the wind was from the WNW, and the squadron was standing to the North, in the belief that they were running clear into the South Sea; when, in the night, the moon suddenly shining out bright, they saw land a-head about two leagues distant; which appeared like two Islands. The squadron immediately wore round to the Southward. The land seen was supposed to be Cape Noir. Its latitude was estimated to be 54° 20' S.

This was a most depressing disappointment. The scurvy had terribly increased, and the disease was so aggravated by the bad weather, that in the month of April, the Centurion alone buried in the deep no less than forty-three men. The mortality in the other ships was equally dreadful. Among the invalids so inhumanly sent on this expedition, wounds which had been received in their early days, and which had been healed, some of them forty years, in one instance fifty years, now by the scurvy and the violent motion of the ship broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed. A great majority of the seamen were incapable of performing any duty, whilst the tempestuous weather occasioned

a continual

.1741. April. a continual demand for exertion, and rendered the care and management of the ships so laborious a task, that those on whom it fell, were scarcely able to support themselves.

The squadron was now reduced to the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Wager Frigate, the Tryal Sloop, and the Victualler Pink Anna. On the 21st, they were in 60° 5′ S latitude, which is the farthest they went South during the voyage.

The Squadron dispersed. On the night of the 23d, in a very hard gale with thick weather, the five ships were separated from each other, and so completely dispersed, that when daylight came no two of them were in sight of each other. The next day the wind became favourable, and the ships, each singly, made sail towards the NW. Mr. Walter has appropriated a chapter to directions for the passage round Cape Horne. He recommends 'as a piece 'of advice which in prudence ought never to be departed from, that all ships bound to the South Sea, instead of passing through Strait le Maire should constantly pass to the Eastward of Staten Land; and should be invariably bent on running to the Southward as far as to the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the Westward. Here again Mr. Walter unnecessarily holds up his Flambeau de Mer, and it gives worse light than before.

To this part of Mr. Walter's narrative is a chart, in which is described the track of the Centurion round the Southern parts of America. The course by the reckoning, and the corrected course, are both drawn, for the purpose of shewing the effect of the currents. A peculiarity to be remarked in this chart is, the current which ran Eastward being named a Westerly current, analagous to the custom of designating the direction of the wind, or current of the air, by the point of the horizon whence it comes, instead of by that to which it travels, as the wind is said to be at West when it blows Eastward. It would doubtless be more accommodating to our apprehension, if the current of the air and the current of the water were designated alike, whether by the

point

point of the horizon whence they come, or by the direction in CHAP. 3. which they flow. The practice which has been adopted by Europeans generally (universally would have been said but for the instance to the contrary in the chart just noticed) involves direct contradiction in the signification of the same terms, a Westerly current and a West wind, being understood a stream of water and a stream of air in direct opposition to each other; and on the other hand an Easterly current and a West wind travel in the same direction.

The first appointed rendezvous for the ships after passing Cape Horne, was the Island Nuestra Senora del Socorro, in latitude, according to Sir John Narbrough, 45° S; with directions to cruise near the Island ten days, and then to proceed to Baldivia, near the entrance of which port they were to remain a fortnight; and if in all that time they did not meet the Commodore, they were to sail to the Island Juan Fernandez.

May the 5th, the Centurion being in latitude 45° 39' S, came in sight of the land of America, which appeared mountainous and much covered with snow; the coast rocky and barren. The weather was too rough for the ship to venture near with safety. An Island was seen in 45° 30' S, which was believed to be N. S. del Socorro. The distressed state of the Centurion's crew, induced the Commodore to stop at this rendezvous no longer than till the 10th, as well as to forego the design he had formed of attacking Baldivia, and to repair with all possible speed to the Island Juan Fernandez for their relief.

The Centurion did not get into the parallel of Juan Fernandez before the 28th, when, having had much bad weather, and having seen no land for many days, they were uncertain whether the Island was to the East or West of them. It was deemed the safest course to steer East, which on the 30th, brought them in sight of the main land of Chili: the course was then Η directed VOL. V.

1741.

May.

N. S. del Socorro.

June. The Centurion arrives at Fernandez.

CHAP. 3. directed Westward, and on the 10th of June, the Centurion anchored at Juan Fernandez.

> The description in Mr. Walter's Narrative of the approach of the Centurion to this Island, is too interesting not to give in his own words. 'On the oth of June, at daybreak, we first ' descried the Island of Juan Fernandez, and on this first view, ' it appeared to be a mountainous place, extremely ragged and ' irregular; yet it was land, and was to us a most agreeable ' sight; because here only we could hope to put a period to ' the terrible calamities which had swept away above half our ' crew. On the 10th, in the afternoon, we got near the lee of ' the Island, and kept ranging along it at about two miles dis-' tance, to look for proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the North side. Being now nearer in with the ' shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were ' covered with woods, and between them were interspersed the ' finest vallies clothed with most beautiful verdure, watered ' with numerous streams and cascades of clear water. In our ' distressed situation, languishing for the land and its vegetable ' productions, it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and ' transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments then in ' sight, and particularly for the water. Those who have endured ' a long series of thirst, and who can readily recal the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have ' raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eved a large cascade of transparent water, which poured from a ' rock a hundred feet high into the sea. All those amongst the diseased who were not in the last stages of the distemper, exerted the small remains of strength left them, and ' crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with the reviving ' prospect.'

This

This was not a heightened picture. In the passage CHAP. 3. from Brasil to Juan Fernandez the Centurion had buried 200 men, and of her remaining company, 130 were now in the sick list.

1741. June. At Juan

Fernandez.

Good anchorage was not obtained on the 10th, and in the night the ship was set by a current near to the East end of the Island, where she anchored in 56 fathoms, not more than half a mile distant. The next morning early, a boat was dispatched to find the proper bay, and she returned in the forenoon laden with seals and vegetables. The ship was got under sail, and at two in the afternoon anchored again in a bay on the North or North Eastern side of the Island, called Cumberland Bay. The same afternoon the Tryal sloop arrived and anchored near the Centurion, having lost 34 men of her small complement. Tents were erected on shore, and the sick landed with as much speed as was practicable. Many were conveyed in their hammocks all the way from the ships to the tents, which was a work of much fatigue to the few who could be so employed. In this duty the Commodore assisted with his personal labour, as did all the officers after his example. Twelve of the Centurion's sick men died in their removal to the shore.

Is joined by the Trial;

On the 21st, the Gloucester was seen to the Northward of the Island, and apparently, from the little sail she had set, in distress. The wind was from the South, and a current set Northward, by which, the same day, after having made her appearance, she was carried out of sight; and was not again seen till the 26th, when boats were directly sent to her assistance with fresh water and other refreshments. Two thirds of the Gloucester's crew had been carried off by the scurvy, and not a man remained in her who could be termed healthy. Owing to the current and baffling winds, this distressed ship was not got to the anchorage till the 23d of July, which was 146 days from her quitting Port San Julian, the anchorage from And by the

CHAP. 3.

which she had last departed, and is the longest unbroken continuance of a ship being under sail that is known.

1741. July.

The chief sufferers in these miseries were the invalids. Of fifty who sailed from England in the Centurion, there remained only four; and every one that had been embarked on board the Gloucester died before her arrival at Juan Fernandez.

Mas-afuera. The Gloucester had been close to the Island Mas-a-fuera, on which were seen streams of fresh water. Her boat endeavoured to land, which she could not for the surf; but she returned to the ship with a load of fish. The Island was estimated to be four miles in length, and was covered with trees. As it was thought probable that some of the missing ships of the squadron might fall in with Mas-a-fuera, and mistake it for Juan Fernandez, the Tryal, as soon as she could be fitted for sailing, was dispatched to look round the Island.

Refreshments at Juan Fernandez. The refreshments obtained at Juan Fernandez by Commodore Anson's ships, were of the same kind as had been found by former navigators. Goats were seen only among precipices. The vegetables were, the cabbage tree, celery, water-cresses, sorrel, parsley, turnips and radishes. The Commodore added to these productions by sowing garden-seeds and fruit-stones in his possession, some of which it was afterwards learnt prospered well. Fish was always a certain and plentiful supply, and in great variety, and to contribute to the restoration of the health of the sick, ovens were put up on shore and fresh bread baked for them daily.

Mr. Walter relates that some goats were taken here whose ears had been slit, and he conjectured them to have been so marked by Alexander Selkirk, above thirty years before.

August.
The Anna
Pink rejoins the
Commodore.

On the 16th of August the Anna Pink arrived at Juan Fernandez, which caused much rejoicing, as it removed the apprehensions of a scarcity of provisions. After being separated from the Commodore by the gale on the night of

the

the 23d of April, she directed her course for the Island N. S. del CHAV. 3. Socorro, and made the American coast on the 16th of May, in latitude by her reckoning 45° 15' S. Many Islands lay between them and the main-land. The wind was fresh from WSW, and in a squall the foretop sail split, which made it doubtful if they could keep clear of the land; the Master therefore steered in between two of the Islands, where the passage proved good, and cast anchor on the East side of an Island which, as was afterwards learnt, was named Inchin * by the native Americans who inhabited near it. The anchor was let go in 25 fathoms depth; but the cable not being veered away in time, the anchor did not take good hold of the ground, and the ship drove into deeper water. Another anchor was let go, which brought the ship up and held her fast till the 18th, when she dragged both the anchors and came into 65 fathoms depth, the land to leeward being then not more than a mile distant. An opening was perceived in this land which seemed to offer secure shelter, upon which they cut both the cables, and leaving the anchors, sailed into the opening, which proved to be a channel between an Island and the main-land, and led them to a safe and quiet harbour, where they anchored with a small anchor and hawser Harbour on in 25 fathoms depth, which held the ship fast, and gave time to look to their farther security.

1741. August. Account of the Anna during her separation.

> Inchin Island.

Coast of Patagonia.

In Mr. Walter's Narrative a plan is given of this harbour, ' composed from the memorandums and rude sketches made

by the Master and Surgeon of the Pink, who were not the

'ablest draughtsmen. The latitude is not well ascertained, the

' Pink having no observation either the day before she came

in, or within a day of her leaving the Port; but it was sup-

oposed to be not very distant from 45° 30′ S†.

Here

^{*} In the Spanish Chart, Inche-moo.

[†] In the description of the Province of Chiloe, by P. Gonz. de Agueros, it is mentioned, that a Spanish pilot named Francisco de Machado, was sent in the year 1769 to examine the coast to the South of Chiloe, and that in about latitude 45° 50' S, at a part of the Coast where are many Islands, he found the Port in which the Anna Pink had anchored.

1741.
August.
The
Anna Pink.

Here was fresh water, wood, wild celery, and other herbs, shell fish, and in a fresh water river were caught mullets of good flavour. Wild geese, shags, and penguins were also in abundance.

The Pink lay in this harbour a month without seeing any inhabitant. At the end of that time a small canoe came in, and the Master of the Pink sent his boat, which brought her and the people in her, to the ship. These were an Indian family consisting of a man, his wife, and two children. They had with them, a dog, a cat, a fishing net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, a reel and some worsted, a flint and steel, some pieces of bark intended for the covering of a hut, and some roots of a yellow colour and disagreeable taste, but which they used as bread. They were taken into the ship, the Master thinking it necessary to detain them, lest they should carry intelligence to the Spaniards of the English being on the coast. They were allowed to go about the ship as they pleased in the daytime, and the man sometimes accompanied the Master of the Pink when he went on a shooting party; but at night they were locked up in the forecastle. After being detained and confined in this manner eight days, the man contrived to loosen the scuttle of the forecastle, and a bad watch being kept on board, in a dark night, he, his wife, and their two children, got quietly into the ship's yawl, and, first cutting adrift the long boat and his own canoe to prevent pursuit, put off for the shore. The noise of the oars gave notice to the crew of the Pink of the escape of their prisoners; but no means remained to prevent it, and they were under the necessity to contrive rafts to go in search of their own boats. In a short time after this, the Anna sailed, and joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandez, as above related.

Mas-afuera. The Tryal returned from sailing round Mas-a-fuera without seeing any vessel. The Island abounded with goats, for as there was no good anchorage or shelter for shipping, the Spaniards

Spaniards were not anxious to destroy them, and had not put CHAP. 3. dogs on the Island, as they had done at Juan Fernandez. 'Near

1741. August.

- ' the North side of Mas-a-fuera is a place where a ship
- ' may come to an anchor, though the anchorage is inconve-' nient; for the bank extends but a little way, is steep, and
- ' has very deep water on it, so that you must anchor very near
- ' to the shore, and be exposed to all winds except it be a
- ' Southerly one. A reef of rocks runs off the Eastern point of
- ' the Island, about two miles in length, but always visible from
- ' the sea breaking over it.*

On account of the rockiness of the bottom in the bay where the Centurion lay at Juan Fernandez, it is recommended, in addition to the usual guard of rope wound round the cable called service, to arm the cable from the anchor to five or six fathoms up, with an iron chain.

By the beginning of September, the health of the remaining September. people was much restored. The stores which remained in the At Juan Fernandez. Anna Pink were distributed among the ships of war, as were her men, and she was broken up.

On the 8th, whilst they were yet at anchor, a sail was seen to the NE of the Island, which at first was believed to be one of the missing ships of the squadron; but as she did not make for the anchorage, the Commodore in the Centurion, his ship being the most in readiness, weighed anchor and gave chace, but in the night lost sight of her. In returning to the Island, however, another sail was seen, and after a short chace captured. This was a ship named Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo, of 450 tons burthen, from Calluo bound to Valparaiso, with a cargo of sugar, Quito cloth, tobacco, some wrought plate, and 23 packages of dollars weighing each about two hundred weight. She had left Callao in company with two other ships, one of which was the ship the Centurion had chaced on the 8th. From this prize, information was obtained that the Spanish

^{*} Walter's Hist. of Commodore Anson's Voyage. Book II, Chap. 4.

1741.
September.
On the Coast of Chili.

squadron under Admiral Pizarro had wholly failed in their attempt to get into the South Sea, that two of the largest ships had been lost, and that the remainder had put back to Brasil. On this intelligence, the Commodore determined to divide his force; and on getting back to Juan Fernandez, he dispatched the Tryal Sloop to cruise off Valparaiso. On the 19th, he followed in the Centurion, accompanied by the Monte Carmelo prize equipped for a cruiser with the guns of the Anna Pink, and a crew under the command of Lieutenant Saumarez. The Gloucester not being yet ready for sea, was ordered as soon as she was able to join the Commodore off Payta.

The Tryal had captured a ship with a cargo of the same kind with that of the Carmelo, but the silver on board her was not of more than £.5,000 value. The mainmast of the Tryal was sprung, and she was otherwise much out of repair; and as her prize was a good sailing vessel and in good condition, the Commodore ordered the Tryal to be abandoned, and her officers and crew to establish themselves on board the prize, which he commissioned by the name of the Tryal's Prize; and 20 guns were mounted in her.

October.

The month of October was occupied in cruising along the Coast of *Chili*, the ships occasionally separating for the better chance of making captures.

November. On the Coast of Peru. On the 5th of November, they took a ship from Guayaquil bound for Panama, laden with variety of goods, among which were cocoa-nuts and tobacco. Mr. Peter Dennis, the third Lieutenant of the Centurion, was put in charge of this prize.

The 12th, near the Lobos Isles, they captured a ship named the Nuestra Señora del Carmen, from Panama, bound for Callao, laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, snuff, and other merchandize, the value of the whole to the Spaniards being estimated at 400,000 dollars. The alarm of the English being in the South Sea had spread along the coast, and treasure which had been collected at Payta on the King of Spain's account,

had

had been removed to Piura, a town about 14 leagues within CHAP. 3. land; but money and merchandize to a great amount in European and Asiatic goods, belonging to individuals, remained November. lodged in the Custom-house and in warehouses at Payta. The del Carmen had put in there, by which means the Commodore became informed of the above circumstances, and he determined to endeavour to surprise the town.

174. On the Coast of Peru.

At 10 that night, being within five leagues of the land, three boats with 58 men were sent under the command of Lieutenant Brett, with whom went Lieutenants Dennis and Hughes, and Mr. Keppel (afterwards Admiral Lord Keppel) then a Midshipman. They entered the Bay of Payta before daylight. Some of the crew of a vessel at anchor gave alarm; but the boats reached the shore so soon after, that the inhabitants had not time to recover from the surprise so as to collect for defence, or to remove much of value. The fort, which had neither ditch nor out-work, was abandoned. The Governor and his lady, then newly married, narrowly escaped being made prisoners, having so little notice of the enemy being landed, that the lady, it is related, was carried off in her shift by two Spanish soldiers.* Some shot were fired from the gallery of the Governor's house, which killed one of the Centurion's men, and wounded two others. In the morning, the English ships anchored in the port.

Payta surprised.

Two days were occupied in embarking plunder, which consisted of coin and plate, in value about £.32,000, some jewels, brocades, and bales of fine linen; besides which, hogs, poultry, and other provisions were found in great abundance, and a bark was lying in the port laden with Spanish brandy and wine.

In

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^{*} Mr. Tristian Clark, Master of a British whaling vessel, in the year 1791, on putting into Payta to procure refreshments, was invited to the house of this lady, who still resided in Payta; and she took that opportunity to acknowledge the liberal conduct observed towards prisoners in Commodore Anson's expedition.

Vol. V.

1741.
November.
At Payta.

In pillaging the houses a quantity of rich clothing was found, which the captors were unwilling to leave behind, and as a convenient as well as triumphant mode of conveyance, they put them on, either in lieu of, or over, their own jackets and trowsers, without regarding for which sex they had been intended. Their ludicrous and motley appearance in these habiliments has been made the subject of a humourous print.

The Spaniards would not ransom, and on the afternoon of the 15th, the Commodore ordered the town to be set on fire, with the exception of two churches which stood separate from the houses. Five vessels of six which were in the port shared the like fate, and the sixth was kept as a tender. Mr. Langdon, a Midshipman, in one of the Centurion's boats, took a balsa laden with dried fish.

The damage sustained by the Spaniards at Payta was estimated by the English at a million and a half of dollars, which must have been by the destruction of merchandise; as the town consisted only of about 150 houses without upper stories, the walls built of split cane and mud, and the roofs of thatching.

Pascoe Thomas remarks that 'Payta is very unhappily situated, for they have no water but what is brought from several leagues distance, and they are obliged to keep large quantities by them in earthen jars, not only for their own use, but for ships which touch here. They are in the same case as to grain and vegetables; and lie so open to an enemy, that the town has often been taken and ruined; but the conveniency of the port overbalances all other considerations. Much of the fresh water used at Payta is brought in balsas from an Indian town two or three leagues distant to the Northward, called Colan. This water is whitish, and of disagreeable appearance; but it is reckoned wholesome, and is said to run through large woods of sarsaparilla, with which it is sensibly impregnated.

impregnated.* During the time that the English were in pos- CHAP. 3. session of the town, the slaves of the Spaniards crept in by stealth in the dark, and carried away jars of water for their November. masters. Some negroes were taken in this employment, and At Payta. several others deserted from the Spaniards, desiring to serve on board the British ships, where they were gladly accepted.

The Commodore released here 88 prisoners, among whom were some females of distinction.

Some of the plunder taken at Payta not being thrown into the general stock, gave dissatisfaction to those among the ships companies who had not been employed on shore, who reasoned that the personal danger incurred in attacking the town, had not been a matter of choice, but of obedience to the order of superiors; and that if permitted, every man would have gone on the landing party, in preference to being left in care of the ships. Disputes on this head were terminated by the Commodore deciding, that all plunder should be regarded as belonging to the general stock, and be shared in the same manner as other prize money or goods.

The second day after leaving Payta, the Gloucester joined the Commodore with two prizes, having on board coin and plate to the value of £.18,000. Two horses were in one of these prizes, which being in good condition, shared the fate of oxen.

The Commodore now directed his course for New Spain, his intention being to cruise near the Cape of California for a Manila ship, which was expected. One of the prize vessels was sent to examine at the Isle of Plata for fresh water, but none was found.

From this place to the Island Quibo, they had Westerly winds December. with heavy rains. On December the 5th, the Centurion and the other ships anchored in a bay on the East side of Quibo, where they obtained fresh water, green turtle, monkies, and guanoes:

17th.

Island Quibo.

1741. December. Island Quibo.

CHAP. 3. guanoes: herds of deer were seen, but only two were killed. Quibo is covered with trees; nevertheless few birds were seen, except of the parrot kind. The mackaws were in prodigious flights. It was reported that there were tigers in the woods, also serpents of a kind called the flying snake. Lussan has related that two buccaneers were killed at Quibo by the bite of serpents; the sea shore likewise is infested with alligators.

At the anchorage at Quibo the weather was fine, but to seaward there appeared continually a dark sky; and on putting again to sea, which was done on the 9th, they came into rains and unsettled weather; the winds for the most part Westerly. On the 10th, they took a small vessel with salt, and about f. 40 in small silver money, intended for the purchase of provisions at Cheripe for the Panama market.

1742. January. On the Coast of

Their progress NWward was much too slow to suit their design upon the Manila ship. On the 28th of January, they made the coast of New Spain Westward of Acapulco, and the New Spain. Commodore spread his ships to command an extensive lookout. A current was found setting to the Westward along the coast, at the rate of 15 miles in 24 hours.

> On February the 12th, the Centurion's barge was sent to reconnoitre near the shore, and after a week's absence she returned with a fishing canoe and three negroes, from whom it was learnt, that the Manila ship arrived at Acapulco on the 9th of January. Also, that she was preparing to return to Manila, and that the 14th of March was the day fixed for her departure.

> It was believed that this ship would sail as richly laden from New Spain as from the Philippines, and the Commodore determined to remain on the look-out near Acapulco, proposing to take such a position as should prevent his ships being seen from the land.

Commerce between New Spain and the Philippine Islands.

The commerce between the Philippine Islands and New Spain, according to the information obtained by Mr. Walter, employed

one

one ship, in some years two. They generally sailed from CHAP. 3. Manila in July, and arrived at Acapulco about the end, or early in the beginning, of the year. This limited trade was carved into small monopolies. The ships always belonged to New Spain. the Crown, and the tonnage was allotted in grants of privileges for a specified number of bales of a prescribed size. Some of these grants were bestowed on convents and religious houses at Manila, principally as donations towards the support of missions for the propagation of the Faith. The grants were transferable, and were frequently sold. It was not unusual for persons to purchase grants who were not rich enough to make the most advantage of them without borrowing; in which case, the convents would lend money upon interest. This was called bottomry. Among the East India goods sent from Manila, it is said that 50,000 pairs of silk stockings went annually to Mexico and Peru, and that on this account, remonstrances were made to the Court of Spain against permitting the Kingdom of Mexico to trade with the Philippine Islands or with China, to the prejudice of the silk manufactories of Valencia. It was also believed that the Manila trade rendered both Mexico and Peru less dependent upon Spain for supplies than they ought to be; and these considerations had so much influence, that at one time it was contemplated to suppress all commerce between the Spanish possessions in America, and the Philippine Islands, or the East Indies.

The English squadron, consisting of the Centurion, the Gloucester, and three armed prizes, continued cruising to the Westward of Acapulco according to the plan adopted. The weather was fine, and turtle were caught every day. As the time drew near that the galeon was expected, the Commodore stationed boats to keep midway between the ships and the land during the day, and to make nearer approach to the entrance of the harbour in the night. By some accident, however, one of the English boats was perceived by the Spaniards, and being very different

1742. On the Coast of

1742. March. from the canoes and boats in use upon that coast, alarm was taken, and the sailing of the galeon was stopped for that year.

Towards the end of March, the Commodore entertained little doubt of what was the fact, and the ships being in want of fresh water, he left a boat under Lieutenant Hughes to watch off Acapulco, and sailed with the ships for Chequetan.

April. Coast between Acapulco and Chequetan.

'There is a beach of sand which extends 18 leagues West-' ward from the harbour of Acapulco, against which the sea breaks with violence. The land adjacent to this beach is low, 'full of villages and thickly planted with trees. On some eminences were look-out towers. The face of the country ' affords an agreeable prospect, for the cultivated part extends ' some leagues back from the shore, where it is bounded by a ' chain of mountains. Yet along this extent of coast, though ' the land appeared populous and well planted, there was not

Directions Chequetan Harbour.

seen either boat, fishing canoe, or other embarkation. ' Five miles Westward of the end of this beach there is a for entering ' hummock, which at first makes like an Island, and is not unlike in shape to the Hill of Petaplan, but is smaller. Three ' miles Westward of the hummock is a white rock lying near the ' shore, which cannot easily be passed unobserved. It is about ' a quarter of a mile from the main land, and lies in a large bay ' which is about nine leagues over. The Western part of the bay is the Hill of Petaplan, which also makes like an Island, but is ' in reality a peninsula, being joined to the Continent by a low ' narrow Isthmus. 'The Bay of Petaplan is part of the Bay of Seguataneo, which extends a great way Westward of the Hill of Petaplan. About half a league Westward from the Hill of ' Petaplan is an assemblage of rocks, which are white from the excrement of birds, and are called the White Friars. Between ' them and the main is good depth of water, 15 fathoms in mid-' channel. Seven miles to the Westward of the rocks lies the harbour of *Chequetan*, which is still more minutely distinguished ' by a large single Rock, or small Island, of a moderate height, ' which

- which lies before the middle of the harbour, bearing from the CHAP. 3.
- ' entrance S ½ W, and distant half a league. The harbour is
- ' little more than a mile deep to the innermost part. The
- ' entrance is about half a mile broad, the two points forming
- ' it bearing from each other NW and SE, and there is good
- ' depth of water in all parts, from 11 fathoms to four fathoms
- ' close in shore. In the approach to this harbour whilst in
- ' deep water, the bottom was found rocky with some sand;
- ' but when the depth was under 24 fathoms, the bottom was
- ' coarse sand and small stones. The Centurion anchored in
- ' the harbour in 11 fathoms, soft mud; and moored, a whole
- cable on each anchor, the outer points of the harbour bear-
- ' ing WSW & W and SbE, and the rock before the entrance
- SbW. There is good depth on each side of the Rock*.' In the sandy bays within the harbour were found great variety of fine shells.

Chequetan was an unquiet port at this time, a swell setting in from sea, which made much surf on the shore. Mr. Walter remarks, that here is no danger of bad weather from the middle of October to the beginning of May.

The ships watered from a small lagune or lake near the Eastern end of a beach, so concealed by woods, that it required some search to discover it. The farther from the sea the fresher and softer was the water; but notwithstanding the utmost care and pains the water taken here proved bad, being not only brackish, but in a short time breeding in it a great number of worms. A Spanish Table of Situations which Pascoe Thomas has printed at the end of his Journal, places Chequetan 36 minutes of latitude to the North, and 1° 22′ of longitude to the West of Acapulco. The variation was ob erved 3° 30′ Easterly; and the rise and fall of the tide about five feet perpendicular.

The

1742. April.

Chequetan Harbour.

^{*} Pascoe Thomas, p. 114 & seq. And Walter's Narrative, Book II, Chap. 12, where is given a plan of the harbour.

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1742. April. Chequetan Harbour. The day after the Centurion anchored, a detachment of 40 men was sent into the country, to endeavour to discover some town or village. They marched 16 or 18 miles, the first ten in a frequented road, but found neither town, village, nor habitation, although the grounds were cultivated. They met one man on horseback, who was so near them before he perceived his danger, that in the hurry of his escape he dropped his hat and a pistol. Some squadrons of horsemen were afterwards seen hovering about in the neighbourhood of Chequetan, and the Commodore's cook straggling into the woods fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and was sent prisoner to the City of Mexico. By a quick succession of adventures he found his way to London, in time to give there the first authentic account of the English Squadron having arrived in the South Sea.

It was now the Commodore's intention to leave the American coast; but the boat which had been left off Acapulco under Lieutenant Hughes, had not as directed joined the Commodore at Chequetan; and it was apprehended she had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. The prizes which had been kept as tenders were no longer wanted for that purpose, and were therefore cleared and destroyed. On the 2sth, the Centurion and Gloucester, the two remaining ships of the squadron, sailed from Chequetan Eastward along the coast, to look for the cutter.

May.

On May the 2d, being near Acapulco, the Commodore sent a letter by some prisoners, to the Governor, proposing to release all the prisoners in his possession, and a number of negroes, in exchange for the officer and crew of the Centurion's cutter. On the 5th, in the forenoon, before an answer had arrived from the Governor of Acapulco, a boat was seen to the Eastward, which proved to be the long missing cutter, with Lieutenant Hughes and his people. The great length of their cruise had been caused at first by currents which set them to the Eastward;

Eastward; and afterwards by the want of fresh water, which in- CHAP. 3. duced them to run farther Eastward in search of a supply; but in 80 leagues they found no place where they could land. Providentially, they were relieved by a fall of rain, and the last two days there was a change of wind and current in their favour for returning Westward.

1742. May.

On recovering the cutter, the Commodore released his Spanish and Indian prisoners, giving them two prize launches and provisions for their subsistence to Panama; and immediately on their departure, made sail from the American coast, with the Gloucester in company, for *China*.

The next day, May the 6th, they lost sight of the Mountains of Mexico; but instead of the general trade wind expected, New Spain they had, both in the immediate neighbourhood of the American coast, and to a considerable distance from it, Westerly or unsettled winds, with rain and thunder storms. At the distance of 30 leagues from the land, they ceased to see turtle; but took many fish, as skipjacks and albacores. At the end of forty days they had not advanced more than 600 leagues on their passage, and symptoms of the scurvy appeared among the crews. During the latter half of June and for the greater part of July, they had the trade wind, but it was so light that they seldom advanced more than a degree in the 24 hours.

Passage to the Ladrones.

July the 10th, three gannets and some sea weed were seen, Indications by which it was supposed that they were near some Island. Their latitude on that day at noon was 12° 50' N, and longitude by reckoning 70° West of Acapulco. In the latter part of July they had again variable winds, and were much retarded by the slow sailing of the Gloucester, which ship was frequently taken in tow by the Centurion.

of being near Land. latitude 12° 50′ N, long. from Greenwich 170° W.

The people now fell down daily with the scurvy, and the unfortunate experience of this voyage furnished opportunity to compare the effects of a cold and of a warm climate upon that disease. In the passage round Cape Horne the scorbutic patients

VOL. V.

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suffered

CHAP. 3. 1742. July. Passage from to the Ladrones.

suffered from scarcity of water, and in this passage from the badness of the water taken at Chequetan; but rains gave them some relief in this particular, and a circumstance in this tropical passage which might have been expected to have been efficacious New Spain in stopping the progress of the disease, was, that they caught albacores, bonetas, and dolphins, in such numbers as often to serve the whole of the crews. The provisions in their remaining store were in a corrupted or decayed state. The Journalists however, were both of opinion, that being a long time at sea was as great a promoter of the scurvy as subsisting upon decayed provisions; that 'the steams arising from the ocean ' rendered the air through which they were diffused ill adapted ' for supporting the life of terrestrial animals;' and that 'in ' some instances the prevention or cure of this malady is ' impossible to be effected by any management, or by the 'application of any remedies which can be made use of at sea.' A regulation was established by Captain Mitchel in the Gloucester, which in cases of sickness or of distress from scarcity of provisions is well worth adopting. Some of the crew who best understood fishing, were employed, as a matter of duty, to fish for the whole ship's company, the sick to be first provided for: if other persons desired to fish, they were permitted only on condition that whatever they caught should be on the general account.

Finding the disorder to increase, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, trial was made of Dr. Ward's pills on some of the patients. Those who took them seemed to be a little easier for a day or two, but they always relapsed and became worse than before; which is not to be wondered at, the sea scurvy being in this case, and indeed generally, produced by bad provisions and scarcity, by which the body is in too impoverished a state to endure farther exhaustion. 'Before I quit ' this subject,' says Thomas, 'I shall endeavour to remove a ' prejudice by which persons under this affliction have long ' severely

1742.

Passage from

to the

Ladrones.

- ' severely and unjustly suffered, which is, a belief that none but CHAP. 3.
- ' the idle and indolent are ever sick of the scurvy; and this
- ' opinion has caused many sufferers to endure more from their
- ' commanding officers than from the distemper itself; being New Spain
- ' driven to do their duty when incapable, and sometimes when
- ' ready to expire; with the epithets of lazy and sculking be-
- ' stowed on them. Our experience abundantly testified that
- ' continuance of labour instead of curing only helps to kill the
- ' sooner *.'

It was observed in this passage, that the fish took the bait more readily in rain, or in showery, than in fair weather. The Gloucester had constantly greater success in fishing than the Centurion; for which difference no cause is assigned. But it has been frequently found by ships sailing in company, and especially before coppering the bottoms was so general a custom as it is at present, that the bottom which was most conspicuous in the water (for example, that which is called the white boot top, which is a broad bright white streak extending along the hull just above and below the water line), has attracted fish in greater numbers than dark coloured bottoms, which have passed on without a fish being seen near them; probably owing to their not being seen by a fish. This is worth attending to in ships sailing between the Tropics.

The Gloucester had long been leaky. On August the 13th, she put forth signals of distress. At this time, the scurvy had so much increased in both the ships, that scarcely a day passed without five or six men being carried off by it. The Gloucester had six feet water in her hold, and in the weakened state of her crew, though assisted with men from the Centurion, the leak gained upon their endeavours. It was found necessary therefore to abandon her. The ship's company, and such stores as abandoned. could be saved and received, were taken into the Centurion,

August.

and

^{*} Smollet has exactly described this kind of discipline and its effects in Captain Oakum's ship.

1742. August.

CHAP. 3. and on the 15th of August, she was set on fire, having in her prize goods to the value of many thousand pounds, and 40 cask of brandy, which they were unable to save.

Passage from New Spain to the Ladrones.

As the Centurion approached the *Ladrones*, the winds proved Westerly, which threw her out of the usual track. In the evening of the 22d, she made two of the Islands, and the next day at noon, was within three miles of the largest of the two, which was hilly and full of trees. The latitude by Pascoc Thomas was 16° 34′ N. These were supposed to be the Islands Anatacan and Serigan. Serigan appeared as a high rock, and not a place where anchorage could be expected. Mr. Walter mentions a third Island or Rock named Paxaros, 'small and very low, which they passed within a mile of in the night, without sceing.

Anatacan and Serigan.

> A boat was sent to the Island supposed to be Anatacan, to look for anchorage and fresh water. No anchorage was found; landing was effected with difficulty; the Island was over-run with a kind of cane or rush; there were cocoa-nut trees, but no fresh water. This was a great disappointment to the sick, allayed in a small degree by a few cocoa-nuts which were taken off in the boat.

26th.

In the night, the ship was set Southward, and two days were spent in endeavours to get near Anatacan again to send for more cocoa-nuts; but being foiled by the wind, the Commodore stood for the Islands to the Southward. On the morning of the 26th, they saw three Islands, the middle of the three being Tinian, which bore from them East. The next day the Centurion stood into Tinian Road, under Spanish colours. An Indian proa or canoe, in which were a Spaniard and four Indians, put off from the Island, and was met by the Centurion's cutter which was on her way to the shore. The proa belonged to a bark of about 15 tons, then at anchor near the shore, which was come to Tinian to kill cattle and hogs, and to jerk beef (i. e. to cure it with salt and by drying) for the Spanish

Spanish garrison at Guahan. The bark was taken possession of CHAP. 3. by the Centurion's boat, and part of her crew made prisoners: the remainder escaped into the woods. In the evening, the Centurion anchored in Tinian Road, in 22 fathoms, the ground foul, being spots of sand interspersed with coral rocks.

1742. August 27th. At Tinian.

The ship was soon removed to cleaner anchorage nearer the shore, which however was two miles distant, and with the same depth of water; the extremes in sight of the Island bearing NW b N and SE & E, and the body of Aguigan Island SSW. A reef of rocks lay between the Centurion and the shore, bearing from her ESE 1/2 E; and the Peak of Saypan was seen over the land of Tinian, NNE & E. The latitude observed by Thomas was 14° 58′ N.

The Anchorage.

The passage of the Centurion from New Spain to the Ladrone Islands occupied twice the length of time usually required. Thomas says, 'We left the Coast of Mexico on May the 5th, two months later than the Spanish ships do, and we did not ' meet with any trade wind before we were about 400 leagues ' from the American shore: and after we had it, it blew neither so fresh nor so constant as the trade winds in the Atlantic or • Ethiopic Seas, but was frequently interrupted by NW or SW winds, with rains, storms, and calms, which troubled and hindered us greatly. The Spaniards say this sea is very tem-' pestuous in the months of June, July, and August, and they • have lost some rich ships by venturing to proceed in the latter ' end of April; in consequence of which, the merchants procured ' an order to be issued by the Spanish Government, that the ' ships from Acapulco for the East Indies should sail on or before ' the 1st of April: and if not then ready, that they should not ' presume to sail till the next season.' The variation of the compass in this navigation was,

Near Acapulco o' Easterly. At 14° West of Acapulco -2 At 26° East of the Ladrones - 11 30 And at Tinian 6 36 -

Cattle

CHAP. 3. 1742.

Cattle and hogs bred wild at *Tinian* in great herds. Mr. Walter says, we computed the number of the cattle to be at At Tinian. least ten thousand, and they were not at all shy. A large thatched building to serve as a store-house, and some huts, had been erected by people who occasionally went there from Guahan to hunt. The store-house was immediately cleared of some packages of provisions, and converted to an hospital for the sick of the Centurion, who were landed to the number of 128. A large penn had twenty live hogs in it. Fowls were numerous and not difficult to catch; and near the middle of the Island were two pieces of fresh water, the resort of wild ducks, curlews, snipes, and plovers.

The cattle on *Tinian* were mostly white with black or brown ears. They were obtained by shooting, and sometimes by being run down by the seamen. The Indians of the bark had brought large dogs of the mastiff and pointer breeds to assist them in hunting, and these dogs readily entered into the service of new masters.

The supplies of most moment to the present visitors were the vegetables. 'Cocoa nuts were in inconceivable quantities;' bread-fruit (by the Indians called Rima), limes, oranges of the sweet and sour kinds, water-melons, some other tropical fruits, and variety of wholesome herbage, as mint, scurvy grass, purslain, &c. were in abundance; and patches of Indian corn were found.

When the Centurion first anchored in the road, some fish were caught, which Mr. Walter says 'surfeited those who eat ' of them, and it was thought prudent afterwards to abstain totally from fish *.'

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^{*} Commodore Byron stopped at Tinian in 1765. He relates, 'several of our ' men were so much disordered by eating of a very fine looking fish which we

^{&#}x27; caught here, that their recovery was for a long time doubtful. The author of

the account of Commodore Anson's voyage says, the people on board the Cenf turion thought it prudent to abstain from fish, as the few which they caught at

their first arrival surfeited those who eat of them. But not attending sufficiently

To the crew of the Centurion, Tinian was an earthly paradise. CHAP. 3. On the day, however, that the ship anchored and the day which next followed, more men died than on any two days At Tinian. preceding. This increased mortality seems to have been occasioned by agitation of mind at the near prospect of relief. In those two days they buried twenty-one men. About ten more proved past recovery. The rest found such immediate benefit from the change of diet and the land, that at the end of a week they were out of danger, and some were quite recovered.

1742.

It is proper, however, to speak of some inconveniences experienced at Tinian. Here were no running streams. The Island depended upon the rains for fresh water, which was found only in pools or ponds; and in the course of the different seasons the water varies much both in quantity and quality. At this time, water was to be obtained every where by digging, good and near the surface. The Island swarmed with rats, who were bold and familiar; flies, moskitoes, and an insect called the tick, were numerous and tormenting. The tick, if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the skin and raise a painful inflammation. In the woods were scorpions and centipedes, but no injury was sustained from them.

The repairs wanted for the Centurion were taken in hand according to usual course, and one of the Indian prisoners who was by trade a carpenter, entered as part of her crew. By the middle of September many recovered men had returned to the September. ship. The weather now began to be wet and squally. On the 21st, it blew a hard gale from the Eastward, which caused a great sea to come into the road round the South end of Tinian. A strong tide runs between Tinian and the small Island Aguigan, setting in a SSE and NNW direction, but the SSE

^{&#}x27; to this caution, and too hastily taking the word surfeit in its literal and common

^{&#}x27; acceptation, we imagined that Commodore Anson's men were made sick by . ' eating too much. All of our people who tasted this fish eat sparingly, yet they

^{&#}x27; were all soon afterwards dangerously ill.' Commodore Byron's Voyage round the World, p. 120.

September. 6

tide, which is the tide of flood, was found to be the longest and the strongest. Thomas remarks, that 'contrary to the common phenomena of the tides, at the quartering of the moon, the Peculiarity tide at Tinian rose and fell eight feet perpendicularly, which at Tinian. ' was two feet more than the rise and fall at the full and ' change.' A South West wind occasioned the tides to rise much above their usual level.

21st.

In the afternoon of the 21st, the small bower cable of the Centurion broke; but the ship was brought up and rode fast by the best bower. In the evening, the tide set strong to windward: the long-boat which had been fastened by a rope to the stern, was forced under the ship's counter, and there being much swell, she was overset and broken to pieces; the boatkeeper was saved with difficulty. In the night, the cable of the best bower anchor parted. Another anchor was immediately dropped, but it did not hold the ship, and she was driven out to sea.

The Commodore was on shore, with several of the officers, the sick people, and men attending the watering and wooding, amounting in the whole to 112 men; a number rather greater, it is remarked, than that of the people who were in the ship; by which it appears, that of the original crews of the four ships, Centurion, Gloucester, Tryal Sloop, and Anna Pink, consisting of 900 men at the time of leaving England, not quite one fourth remained alive, now composing the company of the single ship the Centurion.

On the 24th the storm abated; but there was reason to apprehend that the Centurion would not be able to regain her station, and that she might be driven wholly from the Island. To be prepared for such an event, the Commodore immediately set to work to lengthen the prize bark, to make her capable of carrying the present company to Macao. The smith's . forge had been taken on shore, but without the bellows, which necessary part they made shift to supply by bullocks hides and

the

the barrel of a musket. Tents had been erected on shore, which CHAP. 3: with the sails and furniture in the bark were sufficient for her sailing equipment. The Island furnished jerked beef, old cocoa- At Tinian. nuts, and other requisites for sea provisions.

October the 5th, two Indian-built proas approached the October. Island. The Centurion's people kept out of sight, in hopes they would come to land; but after remaining two hours within a quarter of a mile of the shore, they sailed away to the Southward.

On the 8th the prize bark was sawed asunder, and the two parts were placed at the proposed distance from each other for lengthening her: On the 10th, however, which was Sunday, they had the satisfaction to descry their ship in the offing. A boat was dispatched to her with provisions and a reinforcement of men, and the next day she anchored in the road. On the 13th, she was again driven to sea, but recovered the anchorage again on the 17th.

The tents, stores, and people were now embarked with all expedition. By a very extraordinary accident two of the men employed in the watering lost their lives. The casks were filled at a well dug at some distance from the sea shore, and were not removed as soon as filled; the consequence of which was, that the weight at the edge of the well accumulated, till the soil, which was only sand, gave way, and the casks rolling down, the two men who were dipping water, were bruised to death or suffocated.

The Eastern monsoon had set in and began to produce a favourable change in the weather. One of the first good effects apparent from this was a decrease in the number of flies, mosquitos, and other insects. Preparatory to sailing, a man from each mess was employed to gather a sea stock of herbage and oranges.

Mr. Walter has given a description of the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands, in which is to be observed some marks of European Vol. V.

Flying Proa.

1742. October. At Tinian. European improvement in the support given to the mast, and in the use of the pulley. In other respects, Mr. Walter's description does not materially differ from that given by Dampier. It is mentioned that an experiment was made at Portsmouth (subsequent to Commodore Anson's Voyage) with a proa built there in imitation of the Ladrone proa, and that her swiftness was wonderful; but the rate of her sailing is not specified.

Ruins there. Tinian is said to have formerly contained 30,000 inhabitants. At the time the Centurion was there, marks were fresh of the Island having been once fully peopled. 'Ruins of buildings' were seen in all parts. They usually consisted of two rows of 'pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the 'next, and the distance between the rows about twelve feet. 'The pillars were about five feet square at the base and thirteen feet high, and on the top of each was a semi-globe with 'the flat surface upwards. The whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented 'together and plaistered over *.'

The equal height of the pillars and shape of the capitals explain that they were designed for lodging a floor or platform, and for preventing the ascent of rats and other noxious vermin. In many parts of the East Indies the inhabitants have houses elevated upon pillars for their residence during the rainy seasons, or in low situations. In the voyage of Magalhanes, the city of Borneo, containing many thousand inhabitants, is described to consist of houses resting upon posts which were washed by the tide. The Ladrone Islanders might derive the custom either from the East Indies or from similar necessity. The pillars at Tinian were in a style of grandeur surpassing any thing which has been seen in the dwellings of the natives of the more Eastern Islands of the South Sea. The kindness of a friend,

Vol. I. p. 90.



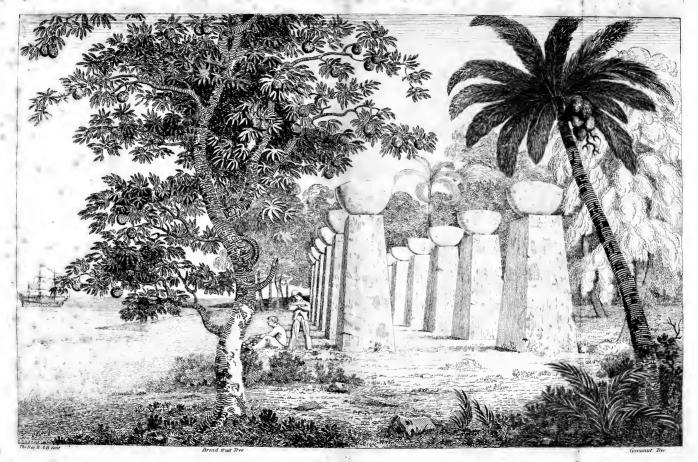
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RUINS ON THE ISLAND OF TINIAN.



friend, not professionally an artist, has contributed to the present CHAP. 3. account of Commodore Anson's voyage a representation of the ruins at Tinian, designed and executed by him after the At Tinian description given by Mr. Walter.

Petrifactions were found at Tinian of substances of various kinds, but chiefly of the vegetable. The Island Guahan is said to have contained at this time 4,000 inhabitants; and on the Island Rota were about 250 Indians, placed there to cultivate rice for the garrison at Guahan.

It is remarked that in the whole range of the Ladrone Islands there is not one good harbour. The Road at Tinian is reckoned insecure from the middle of June to the middle of October. The rest of the year is generally a season of settled weather.

October the 21st, the Centurion sailed from Tinian for China. November the 3d, she passed the two Islands of Botel Tobago Xima. Mr. Walter says ' the first, is a small islet or rock lying five or six miles due East of the other.' The old Dutch charts as well as later charts lay down the smaller Island in a direction nearly SE from the larger.

Botel Tobago Xima.

The Centurion passed to the South of the Vele Rete Rocks, some of which appeared 'as high out of water as a ship's hull. 'They are environed on all sides with breakers, and there is a

Vele Rete Rocks.

' shoal stretching from them at least a mile and a half to the · Southward*.

November the 5th, they made the coast of China, and the next morning were in the midst of a throng of fishing boats. supposed to be not so few as 6,000 within their view. A pilot was wanted, and the ship passed many of the boats so close as to touch them, but no signs of invitation, though made with the offer of dollars held out, could prevail on a single Chinaman

^{*} Walter, Book III, Chap. 6.

1742. The Typa of Macao.

CHAP. 3. Chinaman to board her; and in the afternoon, on a horn being blown and a flag displayed from one of the boats, they all left November. off fishing, and made for the shore. On the 8th, a pilot was procured, and on the 11th, the Centurion anchored 'in a harbour framed by several Islands,' called the Typa of Macao.

> The reckoning which had been kept of time was rectified here, the day next after Thursday the 11th of November according to the ship's log-book, being called Saturday the 13th. It is said that the Spaniards at Manila differ a day in their reckoning of time from the Portuguese at Macao, occasioned by the Spaniards having gone from Europe Westward (by the way of New Spain) to the Philippines, and the Portuguese reckoning having been carried Eastward (by the Cape of Good Hope) to China.

> The Centurion on her first arrival, purchased provisions and refreshments from either Portuguese or Chinese dealers, without obstruction; but before the expiration of a week, the principal officer of the Chinese customs at Macao, called the Hoppo, stationed a jonk near the Centurion, with officers, who examined the Chinese boats that went to her, and exacted from them duties upon every article, which for a time made provisions scarce and dear. The Chinese dealers soon contrived to carry goods to the ship by stealth, but this was attended with inconvenience. On shore at Macao likewise, difficulties were thrown in the way of procuring provisions. Application was made to the Portuguese Governor of Macao to cause the Centurion to be supplied, who in answer acknowledged that he could not venture to do it without a licence was produced from the Viceroy of Canton. Macao, with a large Portuguese population, a number of churches and convents, with a Portuguese Governor, and fortifications garrisoned by Portuguese troops, and with other marks of being a European city, was nevertheless only a large factory, held by permission of the Chinese Government. The Chinese had Magistrates, and Officers of Customs at Macao, whose authority

authority over the Port of Macao was of much more weight than that of the Portuguese. These difficulties induced the Commodore to go to Canton to consult with the supercargoes At Macao. and commanders of the English ships in the river; and he endeavoured to make personal application to the Viceroy, but was ill served by his Chinese agents, who, after much evasion and delay, confessed that the Viceroy was too great a man for persons in their condition to dare to disturb.

When the Commodore returned to Macao, he caused a letter to be written and addressed to the Viceroy of Canton in the Chinese language, in which, as Commander of a ship of war belonging to the King of Great Britain, he requested the Viceroy would give order that his ship should be permitted to victual and repair, that he might be able to pursue his voyage to Great Britain. He delivered this letter into the hands of the Hoppo at Macao, who would have excused himself from taking charge of it; but seeing the Commodore intended in case of his refusal, to send an officer of the Centurion to Canton in one of the ship's boats, he thought proper to receive and undertake for its delivery.

The method now taken was effectual: the letter was given in charge to the Hoppo on the 17th of December; and on the 19th, a Mandarine of the first rank, with two of inferior rank and a large train of attendants, in eighteen gallies decorated with streamers, and furnished with music, arrived in the Typa. The chief Mandarine, at his own desire, was conveyed from his galley in the ship's barge to the Centurion, where he was received with a salute, and as much state as could be provided. After inspecting the condition of the ship, which was the business of their visit, the Commodore entertained them with a dinner. The principal Mandarine was a little embarrassed in his management of the knife and fork, but in handling the bottle and glass he was sufficiently expert, and enjoyed the

CHAP. 3. 1742. At Macao.

afternoon with frankness and conviviality. In a few days after this visit, the order arrived from the Viceroy for the repair and supply of the Centurion.

A belief had been encouraged that the Commodore designed on leaving China to sail direct homeward; but in the month of December, the Reverend Richard Walter, Chaplain of the Centurion, Colonel Cracherode, Captains Mitchel and Saunders who had commanded the Gloucester and Tryal, and two or three other persons of the expedition, obtained leave of the Commodore to take their passage to England in homeward bound East India ships. At the same time, it continued to be given out that the Commodore was about to sail for England in the Centurion.

1743.

Chinese shipwrights were hired, and the ship was careened. The sheathing which covered the bottom was found in a bad state, but the plank within it was sound, except at some of the ends near the stern, and in that part the ship had been leaky.

Chinese Caulking.

The Chinese caulkers, instead of oakum, make use of a sort ' of bamboo, beat very soft till it becomes finer than our finest

Chinam.

- ' flax: and for paying the seams they mix oil and lime, well
- ' incorporating them together by pounding in a trough with no
- 6 little labour and fatigue; and in this they appear more like
- ' masons than carpenters, for they spread this stuff with small
- trowels as masons do lime and mortar: it is called Chinani,
- ' and is very tight and durable, and looks on the seams exactly

' like a vellowish sort of lime *.'

March.

Whilst the repairs were forwarding, on the evening of the 3d of March, a sail was seen coming in from sea, and was supposed to be a ship from Manila, concerning which some notice had been received. The Centurion's boats were sent out to her armed, but she proved to be a Portuguese snow. During the same night, favoured by the darkness, the expected Manila ship passed unseen, and the next morning anchored safely in the

harbour

harbour of Macao. The Portuguese and Chinese were both CHAP. 3. offended at boats being sent by a foreign ship of war lying in their port, to examine vessels coming in or going out. 'One ' of the Mandarines,' says Thomas, 'intimated to us, that if At Macao.

1743. March.

' we wanted to take ships, we should not pretend to send boats

' to attack them here, but must go to sea after them.'

On the 6th of the same month, the Centurion's pinnace and cutter were again sent to watch and cruise among the outer Islands for a ship or ships expected from Manila. Mr. Walter's representation of this matter is not so plain, nor so free from the appearance of invention, as that given by Pascoe Thomas. It was apprehended, he says, on board the Centurion, that she would be attacked in the Typa by the Spaniards, whilst on the careen; that a Spanish Captain at Manila had undertaken to burn her for 40,000 dollars; and that whilst completing the repairs a Chinese fisherman alarmed them with the news of three large Spanish ships approaching from sea. Upon which the Centurion made preparation for defence, imagining this to be the aforesaid expedition from Manila, and notice was sent to the pinnace and cutter, 'which were then in the offing, having been ordered to examine a Portuguese vessel.

The plain statement is as represented by Thomas; that is to say, that the boats of the Centurion were employed on the lookout, to intercept the ships of an enemy coming into the port of a friend, in which port the Centurion herself was lying at the time. If this had been plainly acknowledged by Mr. Walter as well as by Thomas, he might have alledged in excuse that it was in conformity with the general standard of respect which had at all times been shewn by Europeans for the neutrality of Asiatic ports or territory. The Hollanders, when at war with the Portuguese, made war on the Chinese for giving shelter in their ports to the Portuguese. And it was acting not unfairly towards the Spaniards, inasmuch as it is something more than probable, that a Spanish ship of war (or any other European ship

of war) would at that time, under similar circumstances have acted in the like manner.

At Macao.

April.

The ship's company of the Centurion whilst she lay in the Typa, was strengthened by the entering of 23 men, part Lascars. Between the 1st and 15th of April, the change of the monsoon took place with much stormy weather, heavy rains, and 'terrifying claps of thunder and flashes of lightning;' after which time, the Westerly monsoon was regularly set in.

19th.

On the 19th, the Centurion put to sea, with 227 men on board. The Commodore now made known to them that it was his intention to sail to the *Philippine Islands*, to cruise near them for the Manila ship from *New Spain*. He remarked that as the sailing of the Acapulco ship had been stopped the preceding year, on account of the English being on the coast of *New Spain*, there was good reason to expect that this year two ships would be sent.

This determination is a strong instance of patient perseverance, and it was seconded with cheerfulness by the ship's company, who, notwithstanding an absence of 31 months from England and witnessing the death of so many of their companions, entered with eagerness into the views of their commander.

- 'The Commodore's speech,' says Thomas, 'was received by
- the people with great joy, for we knew him to be a person of
- ' consummate prudence, and that he would not rashly under-
- ' take a wild goose chace.'

May.

The course was directed Eastward. May the 2d, they made the South end of Formosa, and on the 5th, saw the Northernmost of the range of the Islands by Dampier named the Bashees; at the same time the Island Botel Tobago Xima was seen in the opposite direction, and by the observations then made was remarked to be situated from the Northern Bashee NNW; and their distance asunder was estimated to be 20 leagues.

The 20th, they came in sight of Cape Espiritu Santo, the NE Cape

Cape of the Island Samal, in latitude, according to Thomas, CHAP. 3. 12° 30′ N. Mr. Walter gives the latitude of the Cape, 12° 40′ N. 1743.

1743. June. Off Cape Espiritu Santo.

Near the Cape the Centurion cruised a month without any strange vessel being seen. It had been endeavoured to preserve a station so distant from the land as to prevent the ship being thence discerned; but once, by indraught of tide in the night, she came considerably within the proposed boundary, and news of her being on the coast reached *Manila*. It was not however an easy matter for the Spaniards to contrive means that should have any probable chance of communicating warning or notice to a ship on her passage from *America*; and it does not appear that it was attempted.

On the 20th of June, at sunrise, Mr. Charles Proby, mid-shipman, who had the look-out at the topmast head, called out a sail to windward' (which was to the SE). She was soon after seen from the deck, coming down before the wind towards the Centurion.

As had been conjectured, two ships were sent this season from New Spain; and no enemy being apprehended, they were allowed to sail separately. The first, in consequence of the former detention, was ready and had departed from Acapulco considerably earlier than the customary time. The ship now seen was the largest and the latest, and was commanded by the General of the Galeons. On sight of the Centurion, he conjectured her to be what she was, but trusting to her being weakly manned, and more probably being under a conviction that an action could not be avoided, he hoisted Spanish colours at the ensign staff, and the standard of Spain at the main-top gallant-mast-head, and preparing his ship as well as he could for battle, boldly stood on for the enemy.

The crew of the Centurion, though short in number, were in good health, well trained, and their strength was distributed to advantage. The men appointed to the lower tier of guns were not Vol. V.

M sufficient

1743. June.

sufficient for fighting more than one half of them in the manner usually practised, which is, for every gun to have its appropriate gang attached solely and exclusively to its management: but on this occasion, that all the guns might be employed, only two men were made stationary to each, whose business it was to load and make preparation; the rest of the men on that deck were divided into parties of ten or twelve each, and went from gun to gun to run it out when loaded.

The galeon had on board, including passengers, 550 men. In other respects she was much inferior to the Centurion. She had ports for 64 cannon, but had only 36 mounted, of which 17 were brass, not any two of them alike. She had piedraroes mounted on swivels along the gunwale, which were generally loaded with a mixture of bullets and stones.

At half an hour past noon, the two ships were near each other, and commenced action, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, with great slaughter to the galeon and little mischief to the Centurion, when the galeon struck her colours. She was named the Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese, who was styled General, and also *Piloto Mayor* of *Manila*. The Centurion lost two men in the action, and had 17 wounded, all of whom recovered except one. On board the galeon 67 men were killed and 84 wounded; the General among the latter.

The cargo of the galeon consisted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, and a large quantity of merchandise. As soon as she was secured, the Commodore directed the course for the North of *Luconia*, to return to *Canton*. He commissioned the prize as a fifth rate ship of war in the British navy, and appointed Lieutenant Philip Saumarez to command her. Other promotions which took place at the same time were, Mr. Justinian Nutt, Master, and the Hon. Augustus Keppel, Midshipman, to be Lieutenants; Mr. John Campbell,

Mate,

Mate, was made Master, and Robert Mann, Gunner, of the CHAP. 3. Centurion.*

1743. June.

30th.

July.

Islands.

A chart of the Northern part of the Pacific Ocean was found on board the galeon, on which was marked the track which she had sailed in both the passages between New Spain and the Philippines. A copy of this chart was published with Mr. Walter's history of the voyage, which has since been much cited and referred to, as authority for some of the early discoveries †.

On the 25th, it blew strong. The Centurion's long boat and the Galeon's launch had been hoisted out, and were towing a-stern of their respective ships; and the sea getting up with the wind, both the boats filled and broke adrift. Towards evening of the 30th, they had sight of Islands near the North end of Luconia, bearing W b S, about 9 leagues distant. The next day, they made the Bashee Islands. Thomas relates, ' Being very near, and the wind so much Northward that we The Bashee

- ' could not well weather them, and observing a large opening
- ' between the two most noted Islands, we cast off our prize,
- ' which we had had in tow, resolving to pass through this
- ' opening if possible, which we effected with good success,
- ' steering through SW b W. The Island on our starboard side
- ' we took to be Grafton, the other Monmouth, as they are
- ' named by Dampier. Grafton is a fine level Island, and
- ' appears very pleasant, and there is a very remarkable high
- ' round rock lying off the NE end of it: but Monmouth is
- ' chiefly high and craggy, especially towards the SE end. Those
- ' Islands are about four or five leagues distant from each other.
- We saw several small boats between them, which seemed
- ' desirous to speak with us, but having a fair wind, we would

^{*} These, and some other promotions made in the course of this expedition, are noticed chiefly on account of being the first public mention of names which afterwards became distinguished in the service of the British Navy.

⁺ The chart here mentioned will be farther noticed in the sequel.

1743. July. ' not give ourselves hindrance on that account.' A strong tide ran between the Islands, causing a ripling and foam, which made the channel appear as if full of breakers.

In the River of Canton. On the 10th, the Centurion anchored with her prize off Macao. A few days afterwards, they entered the River of Canton.

- ' I know no country in the World,' says Thomas, ' where
- ' there are more beautiful and romantic rural scenes than are
- ' to be met with on the banks of this River; their towns and
- ' villages are so intermixed with fields and trees, all green and
- ' flourishing, that nothing can be more entertaining to an eye
- ' and mind turned to delights of this nature: and among their
- ' buildings are many which appear not only grand pleasure
- ' houses, but also from their rural situations, perfect paradises.'

Payment of port duties was demanded of the Centurion, but resisted by the Commodore on the ground of her being a ship of war, sailing under the commission of a sovereign prince, and that she did not enter their port to trade. These reasons were not acknowledged sufficient for an exemption, and the payment continued to be demanded for some days; but the perseverance of the Chinese officers gave way at length to the steadiness of the Commodore's refusal. The Spanish prisoners taken in the galeon being a great incumbrance, release was granted to them as fast as they could procure passages for *Manila*, or otherwise provide for themselves.

On the 16th, the Commodore sent one of his Lieutenants to Canton with a letter to the Chantuck (or Viceroy) of Canton, in which he explained the reason of the Centurion's putting into a port of China, and requested to be permitted to pay his respects to his Excellency. The Commodore succeeded in this his second attempt to obtain an audience of the Chantuck; but not speedily nor without trouble. In the steps taken to procure this distinction, it was found, that on almost every occasion in which verbal application was made to the Mandarines or Chinese officers, promises of service or assistance

were

1743.

were obtained with little difficulty, and disappointment most CHAP. 3. generally followed; but whenever he had recourse to writing, attention was immediately paid to his application.

July. In the River of Canton.

crew,

It is not said to whom the Lieutenant delivered the Commodore's letter, but he was civilly received, and informed that an answer would soon be sent. On the 20th of the month, three Mandarines, with a large retinue, went on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore an order from the Chantuck for the daily supply of the ship, and a message in answer to his letter, purporting that he desired to be excused from receiving the Commodore's visit during the then excessive hot weather, because the assembling the Mandarines and soldiers necessary to that ceremony would be extremely fatiguing; but that in September, when more temperate weather was to be expected, he should be glad to see the Commodore. It was supposed the Chantuck named so distant a time to enable him to learn the Emperor's pleasure.

September came, and the Mandarine who had the superintendence of the port, intimated to the Commodore that a day of audience would shortly be appointed. That month, however, and the greater part of the next, passed, and the business seemed to have been dropped or forgotten. On the 24th of November. November the Commodore sent another letter, written in Chinese characters and directed for the Chantuck, by one of his officers, who delivered it to the Mandarine commanding the guard at the principal gate of Canton.

On the 26th of the same month, a fire broke out at a tailor's house in the suburbs of Canton. The houses being composed principally of wood, and the Chinese not being very expert firemen, the fire spread with great rapidity. Several streets of houses, and with them the Swedish factory, were burnt down in a short time. Fortunately, the Swedes had shipped their goods intended for Europe that season. The Commodore was at Canton at the time, with some of his officers and his barge's

CHAP. 3. 1743. In the River of Canton.

crew, and on the alarm of fire, they hastened to the assistance of the Chinese. The service they did in stopping the progress November, of the flames was witnessed by the Chantuck who came in person to the place; and immediately after the fire was extinguished, the Commodore received a message from him, appointing the 30th of the month for his audience.

> On the 30th, the Commodore, attended by Captain Saumarez and Mr. Keppel, an interpreter, and a small retinue, waited on the Chantuck. The forms and manner of the procession are briefly described by Mr. Walter, who relates, that a body of 10,000 troops new clothed for this ceremony, were drawn up on a parade before the palace. The Commodore was conducted to a great hall, where the Chantuck was seated under a canopy in a chair of state, and the Mandarines forming his court were seated in order near him. 'A vacant seat was prepared for ' the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the Viceroy or Chantuck, there being above him the Chief of the Law and the Chief of ' the Treasury, who in the Chinese Government have precedence of all military officers. The Commodore when seated addressed the Viceroy by his interpreter. On the mention of the methods he had formerly taken to obtain an audience, the Viceroy ' interrupted the interpreter, and bid him assure Mr. Anson, that the first knowledge he had of his being at Canton, was ' from the letter which he sent by his own officer to the gate.' The Commodore in the remainder of his address, represented some causes of complaint given by the Chinese Custom-house to British ships and merchants; and lastly, he requested a license from the Viceroy, that would obviate all difficulties in procuring supplies for his own ship. The Chantuck in his answer, avoided noticing the complaints against the Chinese Custom-house: to the rest he replied in obliging terms, and promised the Commodore that the license desired should be forthwith issued. He acknowledged the great service rendered

to the city by the exertions of the Commodore and his people CHAP. 3. at the fire, and concluded his discourse by wishing the Commodore a prosperous voyage to Europe. During the audience, November. not a word was said on either side concerning port duties.

Early in November the Centurion was ready for sea.

In the River of Canton.

It is not by travellers only that the Chinese are described to be sharp and imposing traders. They are reputed to claim for themselves the merit of being more acute and ready in overreaching, than other people. Pluming themselves on their superior dexterity, they say that Europeans see with one eye, and China men with two. They are little in the habit of robbing by violent means, and still less of letting slip an opportunity where they think profit can be made without danger. A topmast having been stolen in the night from the Centurion's stern, a reward was offered for its recovery. A Mandarine who was successfully active on the occasion was paid the advertised reward; and a short time after, the Commodore, as a farther gratuity, sent him a sum of money by his Chinese linguist. The linguist, not knowing that the Mandarine had expectation of such an additional present, for it had been promised him by the Commodore, kept the money. The Mandarine soon began to suspect there was some interception in the case, and took an opportunity, with the decorum of seeming to speak without design, to make the Commodore comprehend that he had received no gratuity beyond the one first paid; which brought on an explanation and laid open the roguery of the linguist. The next day he was seized by order of the Mandarine, and besides being mulcted of all he had earned in the service of the Commodore, was so severely bastinadoed with the bamboo as scarcely to escape with life. 'When he was afterwards ' upbraided by the Commodore, to whom he went begging, ' with his folly in risking this severe chastisement and the loss of all he was worth for the lucre of a few dollars, he had no other excuse to make than the strong bias of his nation, say-

снар. 3. 1743.

'ing in broken jargon, "Chinese man very great rogue truly, but " have fashion, no can help."

November. In the River of Canton.

Much of the live stock purchased for the Centurion, died in a very short time after being on board, the poultry in consesequence of having been crammed with stones and gravel, and the hogs from salt feeding given to excite them to drink, that their weight might be increased: Many Chinese do not object to feeding on animals that die a natural death. In the present case however, the animals cannot be said to have died a natural death; they were killed, but not in the usual manner; in which light doubtless it was considered by the Chinese, and not by the English; for all that died were thrown overboard from the Centurion, and were eagerly seized on by the Chinese; and when the Centurion and her prize sailed from the River, which was on the 10th of December, Chinese boats followed in their wake to pick up what was thrown overboard.

December.

10th.

12th. 15th.

On the 12th, they anchored off Macao, where the prize ship was sold for 6,000 dollars. On the 15th, the Centurion sailed from Macao, directing her course homeward by the Cape of Good Hope.

1744. June.

June the 10th, 1744, near the entrance of the English channel. they spoke an English merchant ship, and learnt that war had broken out between England and France. A French fleet was then cruising in the channel, but, favoured by foggy weather, the Centurion passed undiscovered, and on the 15th anchored safely at Spithead, after an absence of three years and nine months.

15th. Arrival at Spithead.

Recapitulation.

Thus, of a squadron of six ships of war and two victuallers which sailed from England on an expedition to the South Sea, one ship only, the Centurion, returned of those which performed the prescribed plan of the voyage. The Severn and the Pearl missed making the passage into the South Sea; one of the victuallers, having delivered her lading, was dismissed whilst in

the

the Atlantic; the Gloucester, the Tryal, and the other victualler, were broken up in the South Sea, for being worn out or no longer serviceable. The Wager frigate was parted from the Commodore by a gale of wind on first entering the South Sea; and what afterwards befel that ship, her officers, and ship's company, being distinct from other circumstances of the expedition, will be related in a separate Chapter.

Vol. V. N CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Wreck of the British Frigate the Wager*, and the subsequent Proceedings and Adventures of Captain David Cheap, and his Ship's company.

1741. April. A PRIL the 23d, 1741, in latitude 58° S, and about 10 degrees of longitude Westward of Cape Horne, in a heavy gale of wind, and in the night, the Wager frigate, commanded by David Cheap, was separated from Commodore Anson's squadron. A short time before this happened, the Wager had carried away her mizen-mast, without any sail being set on it, by a sudden and violent roll of the ship, which snapped all the chain plates to windward.

May 13th.

After the separation, Captain Cheap directed his course for the Island Socorro, which was the first appointed place of rendezvous. On May the 13th, in latitude between 48° and 49°; the ship was steering to the NE, with a fresh gale from the SE. The sight of birds and sea-weed indicated that the American coast was not far distant, and some uneasiness was felt at running in to make the land in stormy weather without a mizenmast. It was known to Captain Cheap that Commodore Anson intended to attack Baldivia, and most of the ordnance and military stores had been shipped in the Wager; her junction with the squadron at Socorro therefore appeared to him of material consequence, and as the coast of Chili in that latitude was believed to lay in a North and South direction, and was so drawn in the charts, no doubt was entertained of the ship being able to run off from the land at any time, if they should see occasion. The course was accordingly continued.

The

^{*} So named after Admiral Sir Charles Wager.

The next day, the 14th, at eight in the morning, the straps of the blocks by which the fore-yard was suspended, broke, and the yard came down. About an hour after, the carpenter and the boatswain's mate, being on the forecastle, thought they saw land, and pointed it out to the Lieutenant who had the watch; but as the appearance seen bore NNW, and the belief was general that all to the Westward was a clear sea, it was concluded this could not be land, and either the Lieutenant did not inform his commander, or the commander coincided in opinion with him, and no farther notice of it was then taken.

At two in the afternoon, land was plainly seen bearing NW b N, ' high with hillocks, and one remarkable hummock ' like a sugar-loaf, very high *.' The ship's company of the Wager were in a very sickly state; of 130 men, the number on board, not more than thirteen, officers included, were capable of duty, and owing to this, the repair of the rigging of the foreyard was not sooner completed. The ship was at this time lying with her head to the ENE, and was drifting in a direct line towards the land seen; but the fore-yard was now got up with all speed, and the ship's head veered round SWward. Unfortunately, as Captain Cheap was exerting himself on this occasion, he fell down the after ladder and dislocated his shoulder, by which accident he was disabled from keeping the deck. He gave order for carrying as much sail as the weather would allow, and endeavour was made to set the main topsail; but the wind was too strong, and the ship was therefore continued under the lower sails only, with her head to the SSW, all the remainder of the day, and through a dark stormy night. About four o'clock in the morning, the wind headed her, and she fell off to West; but no danger was apprehended, it being supposed that she had been going directly from the land

1741. May 14th.

> On the Southern Coast of Chili.

> > 15th.

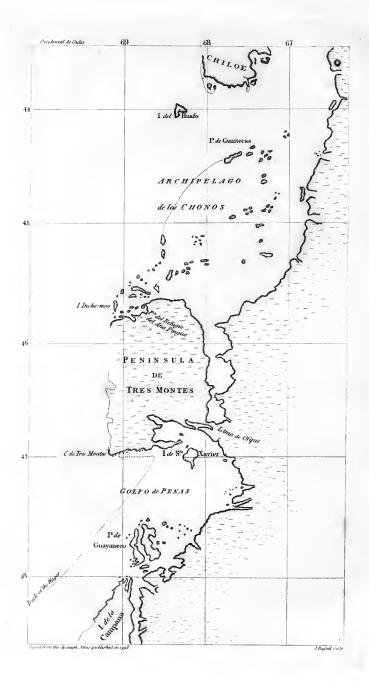
^{*} Narrative of the loss of the Wager. By John Buikeley and John Cummins, gunner and carpenter of the Wuger. London, 1743, p. 15.

1741.
May.
On the
Southern
Coast of
Chili.

land all night. At half past four, a violent shock was felt, but the ship went on. Mr. Campbell, one of the midshipmen of the Wager, relates, 'I ran upon deck and asked what was the ' matter. The Master answered, "Nothing; only a great sea " under the counter." He had no sooner spoken these words, than the ship struck again with a more dreadful shock than ' before;' nevertheless it did not stop her, and on heaving the lead, 14 fathoms depth was found. The Captain ordered an anchor to be let go, but before the order could be executed, the ship struck again, and with so much violence that the shock broke the tiller, and forced one of the flukes of an anchor of 48 cwt. belonging to the Centurion, which had been stowed in the Wager's hold, through her bottom. For a small time she lay nearly on her beam ends, till a mountainous sea threw her over the rock on which she had struck, and she was again afloat, but was fast filling. The mainsail was then clued up, and they endeavoured under the foresail to run right in for the land, giving direction to the steerage as well as they could by the braces and sheets. The dawn of day just began to appear when the ship ran between two rocks which were above water, and immediately after she took the ground. One of the rocks or small islets being to windward, kept off the violence of the sea, and they were distant not more than a musket shot from the shore of a larger land, 'whether Continent or Island, they ' could not tell.'

Among statistical accounts which were printed at the ends of some of the Lima almanacks about that time, is found the remark following: 'The part of the coast of Chili near which the Wager was lost, and thence as far as to the Cape de Pilares at the entrance of the Strait of Magalhanes, runs North and South: and it is not accurate what Captain Cheap has affirmed, that the cause of his being wrecked was the error of the charts in laying down the coast in the direction North and South; for this point has been newly confirmed, and 'what





what he asserts is rather an excuse for his own error, than CHAP. 4. 'a truth which ought to be relied on and followed.' The writer of this remark, it is evident, boasted of information which the Spaniards did not then possess. Captain Cheap had for his guidance a chart which was published with Narbrough's voyage, wherein the coast is drawn, not from what Captain Narbrough saw himself, but copied from former charts, in a direction about N b E and S b W, with little of indent or projection. The land de Tres Montes (of the Three Mountains) was not then known to be a peninsula, nor had the Gulf de Peñas been discovered. The coast nevertheless was laid down confidently without any mark of doubt, the chart-maker choosing to supply from conjecture rather than leave a chasm in his chart. It is compleat proof of this part of the American coast not having been explored, that Don Antonio de Ulloa, who spared no pains to collect information concerning Peru and Chili, composed his map of the West coast of South America with a knowledge of the wreck of the Wager, yet did not draw there either gulf or peninsula; on the contrary, he remarks that the European charts, and all the notices which had been obtained, shew the coast at that part to lie North and South*.

Such being the general persuasion, it cannot be said that Captain Cheap, in running in to make the land, acted less according to the dictates of prudence than of duty. As represented in the charts, with a SE wind there could appear no danger of sufficient weight to obstruct the pursuit of an important object in view.

The late Spanish survey shews clearly, that the Wager, when she first made the land, was deeply embayed in the Gulf de Peñas. The course made good after she wore round with her head towards the SW, she being under low sail, without a mizen-mast, and there being one point of Easterly variation, could be little if at all better than West. When the ship was finally aground between

1741. May. On the

Southern Coast of Chili.

^{*} The chart in present use does not pretend to any knowledge of the West side of the Peninsula de Tres Montes, but properly leaves a vacancy.

1741.
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Coast of
Chili.

the two rocks, the larger land near them, which 'whether Island or Continent, they could not tell,' answers to the South coast of the *Peninsula de Tres Montes*, and to no other land; and by their having run Westward during the whole of the night, the place of wreck must have been at no great distance from its Western Cape. The latitude in one account is stated to be between 47 and 48 degrees* South. Bulkeley and Alexander Campbell give the latitude 47° 00' S.

Alexander Campbell was at variance with his Captain when he published his Narrative; nevertheless in relating the accident of the fall by which the Captain's shoulder was dislocated, he says, 'This was the more unfortunate, as it happened at a 'juneture when his care, skill, and authority were most wanted. 'Probably, had he not been thus disabled, the ship had not been lost; for not a man in her ever doubted his abilities both as a commander and a sailor, and his authority, had he been capable of exerting himself, would have kept every one to the duty of his station.'

The ship beat violently, and to ease her, the masts and anchors were cut away. From the shelter afforded by the rocks, the sea was not too rough for the boats to be used; the barge, yawl, and cutter were accordingly launched over the ship's gunwale. The Captain, who was confined to his bed with his dislocated shoulder, gave directions for the sick to be landed first, but would not be moved himself, intending to be the last to quit the ship. The yawl was sent on shore the first, with as many as she could safely carry. No difficulty was found in landing, and all the sick, the commander excepted, were taken on shore early in the day.

The laud on which they were cast, was hilly with precipices, but well furnished with trees, and though no inhabitants were seen, did not appear quite desolate, for two or three Indian huts were found, in which were some wooden lances and fishing tackle, whence it was conjectured that the owners were not far distant. The huts were immediately occupied, and all of the

crew

^{*} Narrative by the Hon. John Byron, Midshipman on board the Wager.

crew who chose to go on shore were landed; for some, and CHAP. 4. amongst them the boatswain, had got at the spirits and refused to guit the ship. Night approached, and the Captain, notwithstanding his anxiety to see every one out of the ship before him, finding his authority unavailing with the drinkers, and being in no condition to enforce it, in preference to being left among them in his helpless state, consented to be carried on shore.

1741. May.

> On the Southern Coast of Chili.

The huts were not large enough to admit the whole, and some had no other shelter than what the trees afforded. The night was cold and wet, and before morning a Lieutenant of the Invalids and two other men died. A small quantity of provision had been brought from the ship, part of which was some biscuit dust; but in the hurry and confusion attending their situation, it had been swept into a bag that had before contained tobacco. A sea gull was cut up and cooked with some of the biscuit dust, some wild celery, and a large quantity of water. This soup was shared out in small portions, but those first served were immediately on tasting it seized with reachings and swoonings; and till the cause was discovered, it was apprehended that poisonous herbs had been mistaken for celery.

16th.

On the 16th, the sea ran high. The boatswain and his companions, in spite of intoxication, became alarmed at their situation, and apprehensive that the ship would break to pieces. In their impatience because a boat was not sent to them from the shore so soon as they wished, they pointed one of the quarter deck guns at the hut in which the Captain was lodged, and fired two four-pound shot, which just went over it. 'The ' Captain,' says Campbell, 'did not like that they should send ' cannon balls on messages to him,' and ordered four of the petty officers to go and fetch all the people from the ship; but the wreck of the masts lay entangled about her, and the sea ran high, which made it impracticable for the boat to go along-

side;

CHAP. 4.

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17th.

side; and those on board had no other resource than to return to the liquor again for consolation; and to such a pitch did they carry their drunkenness, that some of them tumbled into the water in the ship's hold, and were there drowned. The next day, which was Whitsunday, the remaining people were brought from the ship, except the boatswain, who chose to stay where he was, rather than meet his offended commander, who was by this time so far recovered from his fall as to be able to move about. This day several wild fowl were taken.

What is extraordinary, and must particularly appear so at this time, is, that the refusal to obey command on the part of the Wager's people, was not mutiny. So defective were then the naval laws of Great Britain, that upon the Wager being wrecked, from that time her ship's company ceased to be entitled to pay, and consequently all right of command in the officers ceased. Two seamen of the Wager's crew had some time before, suffered shipwreck in the King's ship Biddeford, and had not been allowed wages beyond the day on which the ship was lost. It was by no means unreasonable in these men to propagate the doctrine, that when pay and maintenance were withheld, there could be no claim to service, and that it then behoved every man to look to himself. That in merchant vessels the wages of the seamen shall cease, or be forfeited, on the loss of the ship, is to be justified on reasons which do not apply to the public service of a nation; for frequently by the wreck of his ship the merchant is ruined. In the public service, the only motive that could be assigned for so parsimonious a regulation is, the apprehension that shipwreck may be carelessly incurred; but the desire of self-preservation is so paramount to all other considerations, that no additional motive is requisite to make men vigilant to avoid shipwreck. The seamen brought up in the British coal trade, from the shortness of their voyage can never suffer much by the loss of pay, yet they become habitually vigilant and expert from the constant

constant exercise of their profession on a coast, the most dangerous of any frequented in the world.

1741. May. On the Coast of Chili.

Captain Cheap insisted to the refractory that he was by rightful authority their commander as long as it was possible to save any thing from the wreck, and that they would continue so long to be entitled to pay. Alexander Campbell remarks, 'I did not afterwards find it so, for I received pay 'only to the day the ship was wrecked.' The Captain, however, had sufficient influence over the crew to make them for the present obey him as their commander.

The plan he meant to pursue was, to proceed Northward in the boats to seek the Commodore. If they should miss finding him, it was next to certain that they would capture some vessel or vessels in which they could either go in farther quest of him, or proceed to Juan Fernandez. This plan was so obviously pointed out by all circumstances as the best that could be adopted, that it is most probable the ship's company, or at least the majority, would have concurred in it, if an unfortunate accident had not intervened.

A river was near them which was navigable for boats, and there they shot wild geese, one kind of which Mr. Byron calls the painted goose for its bright and variegated plumage, ducks, shags, and water fowl. Among the rocks and along shore were muscles and shell fish. Celery was the only vegetable they could find of use to them. All this did not furnish sufficient for their subsistence. A few years before (i. e. in 1737), an earth-quake attended with volcanic eruptions had nearly destroyed all vegetation on this part of the American coast. The earth-quake took place on the 23d and 24th of December; and on the 30th, a great exhalation or cloud of fire came from the North, which passed over the whole of the Archipelago of the Chiloe Islands, and fell more particularly on the Isles called Guaitecas, which were left covered with cinders*.

As

^{*} Descripcion Historial de Chiloe, p. 105.

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Chili.

As often as the weather permitted, the wreck was visited, and what could be recovered of the provisions and stores, was lodged in a tent erected for the purpose, over which the petty officers were ordered to keep watch in turn during the nights, to prevent robbery.

On the 20th, part of the ship's side was cut away to make room for launching the long boat overboard, which was done.

'This day,' says Bulkeley, 'was the first time of the boatswain's coming on shore. The Captain called him rogue and villain, and felled him to the ground with his cane. When he got up, the Captain told him he deserved to be shot, and said no more to him.'

Natives.

They had been something more than a week in this situation, and a party of the crew were at work on the wreck, when three canoes full of Indians were seen. On signs of invitation being made by the people at the wreck, they approached without hesitation, and after a short friendly intercourse as well as either side could be understood, they went on shore to the Captain, with whose reception of them they were so well pleased, that the next day they came again with a present of three sheep and a quantity of large muscles. 'These Indians are of 'a very dark swarthy complexion, of a middling stature; but 'extremely courteous in their behaviour. Their cloathing is

' but thin, though the climate is very cold. They only wear a

' cloth about their middle, and something like a blanket which

' they wear about their shoulders, having a hole to put their

' head through; and this they call a Punch*.'

Preparations were made for lengthening the long boat. Captain Cheap gave all directions, and did not consult any of his officers in forming a plan for their future proceedings; at the same time he made no secret of his intentions. His Licutenant and the Master were both of weak intellect; and as he had not himself any doubt or irresolution on the subject, it did not appear

to

^{*} Campbell.

^{*} Narrative by an eye witness, 8° 1751.

to him necessary to seek counsel. Among the crew, however, CHAP. 4. parties began to be formed, as if to assert their independence; and on June the 3d, ten of the men absented themselves. The Narrative published in the names of Bulkeley and Cummins, but which was written by Bulkeley, says, the ten had conspired to kill the Captain, and that they absconded in consequence of their plot being discovered. Alexander Campbell, whose Narrative is more reasonably written than Bulkeley's, mentions the desertion, but discredits the story of a plot against the Captain's life; and some of the deserters soon returned, Mr. Byron says, 'having convinced themselves we were not upon ' the main land as they had imagined, but upon an Island.' From this it appears that their intention was to travel Northward towards the Spanish Settlements; and that being stopped by the sea from proceeding either in that direction or NEward, they concluded that the land they were on was an Island, and returned; and hence probably the land on which the Wager's people were cast came to be called Wager's Island.

On the 6th, Mr. Henry Cozens, a Midshipman, who it seems messed with the Boatswain, getting intoxicated, behaved with much insolence to the Captain, for which the Captain confined him. Bulkeley relates that 'Cozens said something to Captain ' Cheap about one Captain Shelvocke; and after he was in ' confinement, I heard him tell the Captain that he was come ' into these seas to pay Captain Shelvocke's debts; and he ' added, "though Captain Shelvocke was a rogue, he was not " a fool, and by G-you are both." In the evening of the same day, however, the Captain ordered him to be released. A day or two after, Cozens quarrelled with both the Purser and the Surgeon, with the latter of whom he came to blows; but the Surgeon had the advantage of Cozens, and tied his hands behind him.

On the 10th, this unhappy young man, misapprehending something said by the Boatswain's servant, a Portuguese boy

1741. June.

On the Coast of Chili.

June.
On the
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Chili.

who spoke bad English, and imagining that one of the men's allowance of provisions had been stopped, and having, from intoxication and the circumstances above related, been for some days in a constant state of irritation, he went to the store tent and quarrelled with the Purser who was serving out the provisions. After some high words, the Purser aimed a pistol at him and discharged it; but the Cooper who was near them, struck it aside at the instant of its going off. The Captain, hearing the report of the pistol, and the Purser calling out at the same time, "Captain Cheap! here is Cozens come to kill us," believed it had been fired by Cozens, and thereupon taking up another pistol, he discharged it at Cozens, and mortally wounded him in the head. 'The unfortunate Midshipman,' says Campbell, 'languished several days after, and then died; who when 'sober was one of the best natured men I ever knew.'

The situation in which Captain Cheap found himself, and the particular circumstances which preceded this act, clear him from any imputation of blame. His personal safety was threatened. Whilst helpless in his bed, his turbulent crew, and one in particular who was the messmate of Cozens, had fired cannon balls at his tent; and Cozens from his disorderly conduct had become a dangerous man. When Captain Cheap heard the report of the pistol and the outcry of the Purser, he must naturally have concluded that it was necessary to his own preservation to act with promptitude, that there was no time for him to bestow on enquiry, and that if he did not immediately quell the rioters he should fall by their hands.

This unfortunate occurrence rather preserved an appearance of respect and obedience for the instant than otherwise; but it created deep discontent, and added strength to a party who wished to return homeward by the *Strait of Magalhanes*, which was an undertaking much more dangerous than the plan of their Captain, and not accompanied as his was with the prospect of credit and other advantage.

On the 18th, the long boat was cut in two, and the parts CHAP. 4. separated, for lengthening her eleven feet ten inches by the keel.

1741.

June.

On the Coast of Chili.

On the 24th, Henry Cozens died. Bulkeley says that proper care was not taken of him, that he was left to the Surgeon's mate, and that the Captain would not allow the principal Surgeon to dress his wound. Campbell notices the charge, and remarks that such a circumstance was never intimated to him except by Bulkeley's journal. According to Bulkeley, from the time the ship struck to this day, the 24th of June, there had died in sundry ways 45 men of the Wager's crew; seven had deserted, and there yet remained together 100 men.

Natives.

The 25th, about fifty native Americans, men women and children, came in five canoes, to take up their abode near Captain Cheap and his people. They built four wigwams or huts, which they covered with bark and seal skins. They had four sheep with them. 'They appeared a very simple people, ' were of low stature, with flat noses, and their eyes were sunk ' deep in their heads owing to their living continually in smoke.' They had long coarse black hair which hung over their faces. Every day when the tide was low, the women of this tribe went to seek fish and sea eggs. They dived with a small basket in their hand, into which they put the sea eggs or what else they found; and they sometimes remained under water an astonishing length of time. In the labours of providing food, the larger share seemed to be laid on the women.

On the 30th, one of the Wager's crew died. Until the corpse was buried, some of the Indians sate constantly watching over it, often 'looking in the face of the deceased with abundance of gravity, and then carefully covering him. At the burial, seeing our people with their hats off during the service, they ' were very attentive.' On the 9th of July, they embarked in their canoes with their effects, and went away. It was apparently not usual with these people to remain long in a place; but

their

1741. July.

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their departure at this time was supposed to be in consequence of some jealousy respecting their women.

On the 30th of July, died Nathaniel Robinson, who was the last remaining private man of the invalids embarked in the Wager.

A small thin weed of a dark green colour that grew on the rocks, which the seamen called Slaugh, and another sea-weed which they called *Tangle*, were found palatable, and made some addition to their means of subsistence. Provisions still continued to be recovered from the wreck, or to be found along shore which had broke loose from her. On the 1st of August, a regular allowance was established of a quarter of a pound of flour, and a pint of wine per day to each man, Many of the men made for themselves punts, catamarans, and small boats of empty casks, to hunt among the rocks and by the shore, for seal, fish, and birds; and occasionally when the weather would not admit of such excursions, a small allowance of salt beef was issued: so that at this time, though there was scarcity, it was far from distress. Some of the men nevertheless were detected in committing depredations on the store tent, and were severely punished.

The lengthened boat was rigged as a schooner, and being nearly completed, on the 4th of August, Thomas Clark the master, Bulkeley the gunner, Cummins the carpenter, and John King the boatswain, presented to the Captain a written paper, of which the following is a copy:—

We whose names are under mentioned, do upon mature consideration, as we have met with so happy a deliverance, think it the best, surest, and most safe way for the preservation of the people on the spot, to proceed through the Straits of Magellan for England. Dated at a desolate Island on the coast of Patagonia, in the South Sea, in the latitude of 47°00'S, this 2d day of August 1741.'

This paper was subscribed with forty-six names, among which were those of three out of four officers of the Marines. Captain Cheap

August.

Cheap was told that it was the general wish of the ship's CHAP. 4. company that he should signify his approbation and consent by adding his signature. To this demand the Captain made answer, that their scheme was not only inconsistent with reason in as far as regarded their own safety, but was dishonourable, as it would be shamefully turning their backs to the enemy. They nevertheless persisted, and he was fain to satisfy them for the present by saying he would consider of it. The next day, the gunner and others again went to him to press their demand, and their principal argument was 'that it was incumbent on them to preserve life before any other interest;' but he would

not then give any answer.

1741. August. On the Southern Coast of Chili.

On the 6th, the Captain summoned all the officers to attend him. He represented to them that to navigate in their small vessel and open boats to a high latitude, was the most dangerous plan of any they could adopt. He insisted on the almost certainty of making captures if they went Northward, and the ease with which they might at any time go to Juan Fernandez. All that he could urge availed nothing; Bulkeley would not be dissuaded from returning home by the Strait of Magalhanes; he said, if they went Northward they might be taken prisoners by the Spaniards, and be made to work in the mines all their lives. The rest seemed to bind themselves to whatsoever Bulkeley chose to determine, and the Captain found it necessary to conciliate in some degree, by saying, 'Gentle-' men, I am agreeable to take any chance with you; but ' would have you consider this matter once again.' ' We told ' him,' says Bulkeley, 'that we would support him with our ' lives, as long as he would suffer reason to rule: and then we ' parted.'

The season supposed the most favourable for sailing Southward was not yet arrived, and there was no reason for them to hasten their departure, except an apprehension that Captain Cheap would take some step to frustrate their design; for a small 1741.
-August.
On the
Coast of
Chili.

small number of the men yet sided with the Captain. Bulkeley says, 'I being reckoned the projector of the scheme for going 'through the *Streights*, was threatened to be shot by Richard 'Noble, the quarter-master.'

On the 28th, Bulkeley's party, officers and men, assembled under arms, and a deputation from them, at the head of which was Bulkeley, went and again presented a paper to the Captain, signifying the general determination to sail through the Strait of Magalhanes for England. The Captain strenuously opposed the contents of their paper, and finally, on a repetition of their demand for him to sign it, he broke out into a rage; 'upon which,' says Bulkeley, 'we dropped the matter.' During this audience, a flag was hoisted on the tent of the Captain of the marines, and a consultation held under it, in which it was proposed, if Captain Cheap persisted in his refusal to sign their paper, to take the command from him. The people assented to this with three cheers, the noise of which, brought the Captain to the place to inquire what was the occasion. On being informed, he said in an exalted voice, 'Who is he that ' will take the command from me?' No one answered. afterwards sent for some of the officers to his tent, and told them that he would do nothing contrary to what should be agreed on for their welfare and safety.

On the 29th, arrived five canoes with about fifty natives, different people from those who before came. They remained only one night, and the next morning went away. In September, more of the American natives came. They had a number of dogs, and the day after their arrival, they went to a pond, and set their dogs in to hunt, who frightened the fish ashore in great numbers to one side of the pond. The natives sold part to the Wager's people, who afterwards drew a seine through the same pond, but did not catch one fish.

Bulkeley and his confederates became hopeless of persuading the Captain to consent to their project of returning Southward,

and

and they came to a determination to put him under arrest, CHAP. 4. making the death of Henry Cozens their pretext; but to attempt it openly was dangerous, and it was agreed to surprise him in his bed. This they executed early in the morning of the 9th of October, and to compleat their security, they bound his hands behind him. They told him that he was made a prisoner for shooting Cozens, and that they intended to carry him to England to be tried. 'Gentlemen,' said the Captain, ' you have taken me napping, and you are a parcel of brave ' fellows.' They thought it necessary also to their safety to confine Lieutenant Hamilton of the Marines, who had always shewn a readiness to support the Captain's authority.

The crew of the Wager were eminently deficient in that kind of spirit by which mariners engaged in a cruising voyage are generally animated. Many in a situation similar to that in which the Wager's crew were, and under a leader like Captain Cheap, would have thought themselves in the high road to fortune. The difference was doubtless in a great measure attributable to the manuer in which the ships of Commodore Anson's squadron were manned; and it may be supposed not less to the bands of a rigid authority being suddenly broken, and to the desertion of them in their distress by the Government which had allotted them to this service.

It was not the wish of Bulkeley and his party to take Captain Cheap with them, which, besides the inconvenience and danger of carrying such a prisoner so long a voyage in a small vessel, they might expect would involve them in much trouble at their arrival in England; they therefore proposed to him the option of remaining and having one of the boats left with him, or of being taken with them as a prisoner in the lengthened boat, now a schooner; and he chose the former.

On the 12th the schooner was launched, and the same day the party bound Southward embarked. They numbered 81 men, and besides the schooner, occupied the barge and cutter. Captain Cheap, and Lieutenant Hamilton of the Vol. V. Marines,

1741. October. On the Coast of Chili.

12th.

1741. October. On the Coast of Chili. Marines, were then set at liberty. Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Elliot the Surgeon, chose to remain with the Captain, and the yawl was left for them. Seven of the crew who had some time before separated from the rest and had lived in the woods, now agreed to join with the Captain to go Northward. This account makes the number of the Wager's people then remaining ninety-two. The governing party delivered to the Captain fourteen pieces of salted beef, each when first salted weighing four pounds; fourteen pieces of salted pork of two pounds each; and 200 lbs. of flour; as the share of provisions for him and his adherents.

Bulkeley relates, 'I went and took my leave of the Captain. 'He repeated his injunction, that at my return to England, I 'would give an impartial account of all proceedings; and at 'parting, with great chearfulness wished me well and safe to 'England. This was the last time I saw the unfortunate Captain Cheap; and if he never returns to his country, it is 'justice to his character to declare, that he was an excellent 'seaman, and that no misfortunes could dispirit or deject him.'

At noon on the 15th, the schooner, the barge, and cutter, got under sail to depart from *Cheap's Bay*, by which name was distinguished the *Bay* where the ship was wrecked. The Captain, Lieutenant Hamilton, and the Surgeon, were at the sea side, and the departing crew gave them three cheers, which they returned.

The weather was found rough out at sea, which obliged the schooner and boats to put into a small bay not far distant from Cheap's Bay. The barge was dispatched from thence to their old quarters, to fetch some canvas from stores which had been left behind. Messieurs Byron and Campbell, Richard Noble the Quarter-master, and seven other men, were in the barge, and in their way to Cheap's Bay they all agreed to deliver the boat to the Captain, and to remain with him. The next morning, some of them went by land to the bay in which the schooner was lying, it being thought hazardous to trust the barge there.

They

They demanded their proportion of the provisions, but were CHAP. 4. told they should have nothing unless they brought back the barge. The managers in the schooner however, did not think it prudent to make any attempt to recover her, for fear of a farther defection; and contented themselves with the satisfaction of their number of eaters being lessened.

1741. October. On the Coast of Chili.

Some of the people at this time, in searching along the shore for clams and other shell fish, found an anchor about seven feet long in the shank, and a small cannon.

The 26th, the weather was fair, with the wind from the NW. The schooner and the cutter set sail for the Strait of Magalhanes, and were soon out of sight of their former shipmates, and of the land on which their ship had been cast. There remained,

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Captain David Cheap.
             Lieutenant —— Hamilton, of the Marines.
             Mr. William Elliot, Surgeon.
             The Hon. John Byron, Midshipman.
             Mr. Alex. Campbell - Ditto.
                                    Quarter Master.
             Will. Ross - -
                                 - Quarter Master.
 Joined the
             Richard Noble
             William Harvey -
                                   Quarter Gunner.
 Captain
             David Bulkeley
                                   Ditto.
  with the
             John Bosman .-
                                    Seaman.
  barge.
             Joseph Clinch -
                                    Ditto.
             Rowland Creswick
             John Plastow -
                   - Crosslet, Corporal of Marines.
 Returned
              Dennis O'Lare.
              ----- Hales.
from having
                                    Part Seamen.
                    - Hereford.
 absconded
                                    Part Marines.
   in the
                    - Smith.
                    - Demond.
  woods.
                    - Ridwood.
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They

1741.
November.
On the Coast of Chili.

They had the barge and yawl, in which they intended to go along the coast to the Island Chiloe, but the weather set in stormy, and continued bad the whole month of November, which prevented them from putting to sea, and frequently from getting shell fish along the shore; at which times, not to break in upon their small stock of sea provision, they subsisted mostly upon the slaugh and tangle fried with tallow candles. In this distress, three of the company, Plastow, Ridwood, and Creswick, were discovered to have robbed the store tent. Plastow and Creswick escaped into the woods. Ridwood, after receiving a flogging, was carried to a small Island near them, and left to provide for himself there by seeking for shell fish among the rocks. Two or three days after, a boat was sent with some little refreshment for him, and with orders to bring him back; but he was found dead.

December 3d. The 3d of December, the weather being remarkably serene, the boats were employed at the wreck, and had the good fortune to recover three casks of beef, the whole of which was immediately distributed in equal shares.

15th.

On the 15th, the weather appearing moderate, the people were anxious to begin their voyage for the Island Chiloe. Captain Cheap went to the top of a hill, which they had named Mount Misery, whence he perceived that the sea was rough in the offing: but finding the men impatient, he consented to their making the trial, and they put to sea in the barge and yawl, their number in the two boats, it is said, being nineteen men, by which it appears that they had received back Plastow and Creswick. The direction in which they first went is not mentioned. One narrative says, Captain Cheap's plan was, if he found any vessel lying at the Island Chiloe, to board her immediately, 'which he might have done with ease, had it been his good fortune to get round with the boats.' Which expression implies going on the outside (i. e. by the West) of the Cape and Peninsula de Tres Montes.

' They

They had been not quite two hours at sea when 'the wind CHAP. 4. ' shifted more to the Westward and began to blow hard, so

1741.

' that the boats heads could be no longer kept towards the Cape December. or Headland designed for,' and at length they were obliged to

On the Coast of Chili.

bear away before the wind; and the sea ran so high, that for fear of being swallowed up, they threw most of their provisions overboard. Night was approaching, and they put for shelter into an Inlet, so narrow that there was scarcely room for the boat's oars.

16th.

After a rainy and comfortless night, without wood for firing, the gale having abated, in the morning they put again to sea, and rowed against a contrary wind all day. At night they put in among small Islands, which were of swampy ground, and it rained hard; but they found wood, and 'making a good fire, dried one side whilst the other was wetting.'

The boats proceeded Northward with great labour. The distances mentioned in the narratives appear to have been much over-rated, which was natural enough to happen to men fatigued by long struggling against adverse winds and bad weather in an open boat.

> Redwood Cove.

On the fifth night after their departure from Cheap's Bay, they lay in a little cove more convenient for the boats than for the men; for they could procure nothing to eat. A red wood like iron wood grew here; and they named the place Redwood Cove. The next day they put to sea, and were favoured with a gale from the South West, 'our course,' says Campbell, 'being ' North East or near it. The land a-head was high, and there

'appeared an opening for which we steered, and found an

' Island which we called the Duke of Montrose's Island. Here

' we all went ashore and made a fire on a stony beach. We

' had clear weather, and could see a great way. There was a ' large Bay to the North of us, and very low land, so we were

' in hopes the worst of our voyage was over, for we had then

' come forty leagues to the Northward from Wager Island

Island.

' [i. e.

CHAP. 4. 1741.

' [i. e. Cheap's Bay], and flattered ourselves that an Island in ' the offing might be the Island of N. S. del Socorro.'

December. On the Coast of Chili.

On Montrose Island grew large trees of a heavy wood, 'their ' stems running up to a prodigious height without knot or ' branch, and strait as cedars.' Drift wood lay on the shore, some of which was cedar, 'which makes a brisk fire, but is apt ' to snap and fly, so that in the morning, after a sound sleep, ' the men's cloaths were covered with splinters, and singed in ' many places.' Here were 'berries which grew on a bush like

' a thorn and tasted like gooseberries, but were black.'

23d.

On leaving Montrose Island they rowed to the bottom of the Bay they had noticed, hoping to find a passage through, or some inlet, but there was not either, and they were obliged to return back. They then proceeded to a headland which was reckoned about nine leagues from Montrose Island, beyond which was another headland at a great distance, and a great Bay between. On night approaching, the wind having shifted and coming from the North, they put into a Cove near the first headland. A circumstance occurred in the afternoon of this day, which created some discontent and animosity. The Captain, Lieutenant of Marines, Surgeon, and the two Midshipmen, had joined to form one mess. Campbell says, 'We were to eat nothing ' but what was equally shared among us.' On leaving Cheap's Bay, the Captain, the Surgeon, and Mr. Byron were in the barge; Lieutenant Hamilton and Mr. Campbell in the yawl. The Lieutenant shot a shag. 'He and I being by ourselves,' says Campbell, 'dressed the shag and eat it for our supper, not ' thinking such a trifle would give umbrage; but the next ' morning by break of day, we saw the barge going to sea ' without saying any thing to us. However, as we lay in our boat all night, there being no place on shore to lie on, we ' soon got up our anchor and went after them.'

24th.

The wind was contrary all the 24th; that night they could find no landing place, and could procure only a few shell fish,

6

and

and tangle. The two days which next followed, they fared no CHAP. 4. better, except that they were able to get to land. On the morning of the 27th, 'we weighed,' Campbell says, 'to go round December. ' the Cape, which was the last we could see, and which likewise

1741. On the Coast of

Chili.

- ' proved the worst. We doubled one of the headlands, but
- ' the wind coming to blow hard, we were obliged to put back
- ' for the Bay in which we lay the preceding night, and it
- ' was dark before we could reach it, so that we had to con-

' tinue on our oars all night.'

They were detained in this Bay 'some time' by bad weather, but killed seal and found muscles; which enabled them to set off with a good sea stock to try to double the Cape to the Northward. 'This Cape consists of three headlands of equal ' height*. When we came to the first of these headlands, find-' ing the wind right against us, we took down our masts and ' rowed till we passed the second. But now the wind and tide ' being both strong made a sea worse than the Race of Portland, ' and night coming on, and finding no harbour to put into, we ' were forced back to our former Bay.' The boats were there brought to a graplin, and two boatkeepers left in each, whilst the rest went on shore to look for provision.

The next day the weather was bad, and no attempt was made to put to sea. They killed a young seal, and dressed it for dinner. 'No lamb,' says Campbell, 'was ever to be com-' pared with it.' In the evening the wind shifted very suddenly from North to South, and raised so great a sea, that the yawl was overset and broken to pieces, and William Ross one of the boatkeepers drowned; the other was saved. A continuance of the swell prevented the boatkeepers in the barge, one of whom was Mr. Byron, from having communication with the shore till the second day afterwards. The Lieutenant of Marines

shot

^{*} Campbell supposed this Cape, which must be at the North Western part of the Peninsula, to be the Cape named by the Spaniards de Tres Montes. In the present charts that name is given to the South Western Cape.

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shot here a large seal or sea-lion, which on being wounded turned upon him open-mouthed; the Lieutenant quickly fixing his bayonet, thrust it down the animal's throat with a part of the barrel of the gun, 'which the creature bit in two, seemingly 'with as much ease as if it had been a twig.'

The loss of the yawl caused great distress. The wind again settled from the North, and the barge was not capable of carrying their whole number, without being too heavily laden, and too much crowded to make progress against a fresh wind. The only remedy that occurred, was to leave some of their number in this desolate place. It was not decided by lot who should remain; but the four most helpless, which were Hales, Hereford, Smith, and Corporal Croslet, were pitched upon, and arms, ammunition, a frying pan, and a few necessaries, were given to them. What made the case of these men the more deplorable was, that the place furnished but little of shell fish. 'This dismal affair concluded,' says Campbell, 'the rest of us went in the barge to try the aforesaid Cape again. As ' the boat departed, these poor fellows standing on the beach ' gave us a farewell salute with three cheers, and cried "God bless the King." Our hearts melted with compassion, but there ' was no helping their misfortune.'

In more than one instance among the discoveries made by the Russians in the *Icy Sea*, a Headland or Cape which had foiled many attempts to double till it was reckoned impassable, has been named *Swiatoi Noss*, which signifies the *Sacred Cape*. Well might the Wager's people have so called the Cape they were now attempting to pass. As the boat rowed on, the wind freshened and the sea became more rough. The men, nevertheless, were determined to do their utmost, and persevered with extreme labour and resolution, till at length they perceived by the land, that instead of gaining they lost ground. Mr. Byron relates, 'when we came abreast the first Headland, there ran such a sea that we expected every instant the boat would go down. It began

to break at more than half a mile from the shore. Perceiving CHAP. 4.

' now that it was impossible for any boat to get round, the men

' lay upon their oars till the barge was very near the breakers, the

' mountainous swell heaving her in at a great rate. I thought it

' was their intention to put an end to their lives and misery at

' once, for nobody spoke for some time. At last, Captain

'Cheap told them, they must either perish immediately, or pull

' stoutly to get off the shore; but they might do as they ' pleased.' This picture of strenuous unavailing endeavours. presents something of heroic, and awakens a deep sentiment of sympathy and respect for their distress. The men chose to exert themselves, and pulled clear from the break of the surf. They then stood back for the Bay whence they had last departed, and which on account of the four men left they named Marine Bay. It was dark before they arrived, and In Marine they were again obliged to keep on their oars till morning, when they landed and made search for the four men, intending to take them into the boat again; but they were gone from the place, one of them leaving behind his musket and ammu-

The North wind continued all the month of January, and some of the men declared against making any fresh attempt to go Northward whilst the wind was contrary. Some proposed to quit the boat, and to endeavour to find their way by land to the Spanish Settlements, 'which,' says Campbell, ' was the maddest thought imaginable, for the coast is all ' wood and swamp.' At the end of January, it was determined to return to Cheap's Bay, and they were fortunate enough to kill some seals, the flesh of which they boiled to serve as sea stock for their passage back.

nition, and they were not afterwards heard of.

It is related that whilst they remained in Marine Bay, the Surgeon discovered a hollow in the rocks, which seemed to lead to a den or cavern. He had the curiosity to enter, which he did upon his hands and knees, the passage being VOL. V. · low.

1742.

January. On the Chili.

CHAP. 4. 1742. January. On the Coast of Chili.

' low. Having proceeded thus a considerable way, he arrived ' at a spacious chamber; whether hollowed out by hands, or ' natural, he could not be positive. Light entered this ' chamber through a hole at the top. In the midst was a ' kind of bier made of sticks laid crossways, supported by ' props about five feet in height. Upon this bier, five or six ' bodies were extended, which in appearance had been depo-' sited there a long time, but had suffered no decay or diminution. 'They were without covering, and the flesh of these bodies ' was become dry and hard, which whether done by any art ' or secret possessed by the natives, or by the drying virtue ' in the air, could not be guessed. There was another range ' of bodies deposited in the same manner, upon another plat-' form under the bier. This might be the burial place of their ' Caciques; but whence they could be brought we are at a loss ' to conceive, there being no trace of any Indian Settlement ' hereabout, nor had we seen any native, or observed any 4 marks such as of fire places or old huts, since we left Wager

February. Bay.

' Island *.' They had tempestuous weather in returning to Cheap's Bay, In Cheap's and one man died in the passage. They found that during their absence, the huts had been visited by the natives, who had collected the scattered iron and other materials of the wreck, and had lodged them in one of the huts, which they had nailed up.

> At this time, in consequence of former disagreements, the Captain and Surgeon messed together; whilst the Lieutenant of Marines with Messrs. Byron and Campbell, formed another mess. On the 12th of February, by Campbell's account, Lieutenant Hamilton walking along the shore, found several pieces of beef, and carried some of them home to his messmates.

- ' Hereupon,' says Campbell, 'I went with Mr. Byron, and we
- ' took up several pieces more. The same night we asked the ' Captain

^{*} Byron's Narrative, pp. 90-1-2, second edition.

- Captain for his frying pan to melt down the fat, in order to CHAP. 4.
- ' preserve it for frying of slaugh, or any thing else. When we
- carried the frying pan home, with one half of the fat we had

' found, the Captain would not receive the fat.'

A day or two after this affair, two canoes arrived, in one of which was a native of the Island Chiloc, who spoke Spanish, and In Cheap's appeared to be the principal person among them. Mr. Elliot, the Surgeon, had some knowledge of that language, and was directed by Captain Cheap, who had now no other object in view than to return to Europe, to propose to him, that if he would conduct the barge to Chiloc, he should have both boat and furniture for his trouble. The proposal was understood and accepted, and they had little preparation to make. Their number at this time was fourteen, but one man committed a theft, and being detected, to escape punishment, deserted into the woods.

March the 6th, they departed from Cheap's Bay on their new voyage, in the barge, accompanied by the two canoes. They went again to the outer coast, and the wind coming from the South, they got as far as Montrose Island on the next day. The third day they went to the bottom of a great Bay, where they found the wife and two children of their Indian pilot. They stopped here two or three days, and then taking their guide and his family into the barge, went to the mouth of a river, up which their pilot directed them to go; but so rapid a stream ran out that they were unable to advance against it, and after labouring from eight o'clock in the morning till six in the afternoon, they were obliged to relinquish the attempt, overpowered with fatigue and want of sustenance, and on that evening after they came out of the river, John Bosman, one of the strongest men in the boat, died. For two days before, the crew had had scarcely any thing to live upon but boiled tangle: on this night they found small muscles, which they boiled with wild celery. The Captain was supplied by the Indians with provision

1742.
February.
On the Coast of Chili.
In Cheap's

March.

1742.
March.
On the
Coast of
Chili.

provision for his own consumption, and he is accused of want of timely attention to the necessity of Bosman. Campbell relates 'as we lay in the river, and were all faint for want of 'food, he took out before us all, a great piece of boiled seal with 'tangle, and he and the Surgeon eat it without offering a bit 'to any one of us.'

It has been seen that their common stock of provisions, whilst they had one, was frequently broken in upon and pillaged. Some of this party had found large quantities of provisions, which, instead of delivering for general distribution, they had appropriated. Captain Cheap at this time received provisions for his support from the Indians, and probably was apprehensive, that if he supplied his men, the Indians would cease to supply him. But with all that can be said in mitigation, there appears in Captain Cheap an insensibility to the distresses of his companions, some of them the prime of the Wager's crew, who had through so many difficulties adhered thus far to him and his plans. Certain it is, they thought themselves ill treated.

Though the rules of public service do not apply to the situation of Captain Cheap and the men with him, it seems not amiss to notice here an excellent law in the regulations of the British Navy, which prescribes, that 'no officer shall be 'supplied at whole allowance whilst the rest of the company are at short:' This is to be understood of fresh water, as much as of the provisions in the charge of the Purser. Circumstances of distress may occur so great, that the preservation of lives, or the maintaining a fortress against an enemy, shall render it necessary for a Commander to take for public use the private stock of individuals, and to make such distribution as the necessity requires. If this is admitted, it follows, that when circumstances demand such a discretionary exercise of power over the property of others, the Commander is bound not to withhold his own. To return from this digression;—

The next day, their Indian pilot and his wife went in their CHAP. 4. canoe to hunt for seal; the barge at the same time, under the guidance of another Indian, went to a place where shell fish were to be found. On landing, every one employed himself in seeking supply; but the Surgeon being ill, soon after their arrival asked the men to go off in the boat a little way, and try to shoot a sea-gull for him. All the scamen, who were six in number, went into the barge, the Indian also going with them, and putting off from the shore, they rowed away with determination not to return. ' We never saw them again,' says Campbell, 'nor could we conceive whither it was that they ' thought proper to convey themselves.'

There remained with Captain Cheap, the Lieutenant of Marines, the Surgeon, and the two Midshipmen. They were in a short time joined by their Indian pilot and his wife, who could not be made to comprehend the cause of the absence of the barge, until they were relieved from their doubts by the arrival of the Indian who went in her, who had escaped from the deserters on their putting into a Bay, and had found his way back by land. There was now no barge to reward the pilot with, if he should conduct them to a Spanish Settlement; they had only a fowling piece to bestow, and a promise from the Captain that he would endeavour to make him better recompence when he arrived at Castro in Chiloe. With this promise he appeared contented.

The desertion of the barge was afterwards thought a fortunate circumstance; for as she was to have become the property of their pilot, he would by no means have proceeded without her; and being a heavy boat, the men would have been consumed with the labour of rowing against streams, or round headlands; whereas the Indian canoes being light, the pilot, with the assistance of his company, quickly drew his across a neck of the land they were upon, to a Bay on the other side.

Towards the end of March other canoes arrived, and they proceeded

1742. March. On the Coast of

Chili.

T1742.

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On the
Coast of
Chili.

June.

At the Island

Chiloe.

proceeded towards *Chiloe*, frequently putting to shore on account of the weather, or for food. The Surgeon's illness increased, and at length, at one place where they landed, 'Here,' says Alexander Campbell, 'Mr. Elliot, Surgeon of his 'Majesty's ship the Wager, departed this miserable life.'

Their progress cannot be traced with the least certainty. They again carried the canoes over land, at which time they went about eight miles through a wood, then crossed a lagune, and descended rapidly by a river to the sea. By many stoppages, as suited the convenience or inclination of their conductors, they did not arrive at the Island Chiloe till the middle of June. The native inhabitants at whose dwellings they first came, received them with great kindness. Though it was night they killed a sheep; and the Captain being much indisposed, they made him a bed of sheepskins before a good fire, the weather being very cold. The next morning, ' the women ' came from far and near, each bringing a pipkin in her hand, ' with either fowls or mutton made into broth, with potatoes, ' eggs, or other eatables.'

They were soon carried to the Spanish Governor, from whom they received every assistance necessary. They learnt here that the Anna Pink had been on the coast.

December.

In December, a ship from Lima, of 250 tons burthen, anchored at Chiloe; whereupon Campbell remarks that 'if the 'ship's company of the Wager had stood by their Captain, they 'would have been masters of Chiloe, and of the Lima ship into 'the bargain.'

1743. At Valparaiso. In the beginning of January (1743,) Captain Cheap, Lieutenant Hamilton, Messrs. Byron and Campbell, were put on board the Lima ship, and sent as prisoners of war to *Valparaiso*. Before they left *Chiloe*, the barge with two of the men who had gone off with her arrived there; but this did not come to the knowledge of Captain Cheap and his present companions till after their departure from the Island.

They

They remained nearly two years in Chili, experiencing no CHAP. 4. hardship of captivity except in its length. In December 1744, the Captain, with Messrs. Hamilton and Byron, were embarked on board a French ship named the Lys, which had put in at Valparaiso, and was bound for France. In this ship, Don George Juan, who had been employed with other men of science in measuring the length of a degree of the meridian near the Equator, went passenger. They sailed first to La Concepcion, from which place they departed on the 27th of January 1745. in company with three other French ships bound for Europe. Eight days after leaving La Concepcion, the Lys sprung a dangerous leak, so low down that it could not be remedied without going into port, and she returned to Valparaiso. On the 1st of March, she again put to sea, and passing round Cape Horne, went to the West Indies, and thence to France. On the 1st of November she arrived in Brest harbour. Captain Cheap and his two companions remained prisoners of war till an order was obtained from the court of Spain for their release, and they landed in *England* in April 1746.

> Of Alexander Campbell. 1744-6.

Alexander Campbell did not embark from Chili with Captain Cheap, for which he assigns as the cause, that the Captain, having credit, refused to furnish him with as much money as he desired, and that this refusal created such a misunderstanding between them as induced him not to go home in the same ship. Yet from Campbell's own representation, it appears that he had been some time before supplied by the Captain with eighty dollars. Reports current about that time stated a different reason for his remaining in Chili; to wit, that he had become enamoured of a young Spanish woman, on whose account he separated from his former companions; and that he afterwards embraced the Roman Catholic Religion, and married. Not long afterwards however, he went by land to Buenos Ayres, and embarked for Spain with the Spanish Admiral Don Josef Pizarro, on board the Asia, a ship of 66 guns. Campbell relates,

that

1744.

1745.

Of Alexander Campbell.

that among the men composing the crew of the Asia were twelve native Brasilians, who had been taken prisoners by the Spaniards, and were now shipped for Spain to be made to serve in the gallies. On the night of the 17th of October 1745, having then just lost sight of Brasil their native land, these men fell on the watch by surprise, killed many, and made themselves masters of the quarter-deck, of which they remained some time in possession; but what use to make of their victory, they knew not, and probably this matter they had not at all considered beforehand. The Spaniards, when they recovered from their consternation and ascertained the strength of the enemy they had to cope with, attacked in their turn, and the Brasilian Chief falling, his followers jumped into the sea. Mr. Walter has related this story, differing in the name of the Brasilian Chief, whom he calls Orellana: Campbell gives the name Gallidana, and says that eleven Spaniards were killed on the spot, and 38 wounded, five of whom died of their wounds.

Campbell arrived in London in the beginning of May 1746. It had been reported that he had entered into the service of Spain, but his appearance in England so immediately after Captain Cheap, discredited the charge. Still it was said he had offered his services at the Court of Spain. His own statement is, that on arriving at Ferrol he was sent to Madrid, and questioned concerning Commodore Anson's Voyage; that he was at the same time invited to enter into the Spanish service, and that he refused the offers made him. On his coming to London, he presented himself at the Admiralty, and solicited to be employed, but unsuccessfully. He complains chiefly that his preferment was opposed by Captain Cheap. 'Most of the ' hardships I suffered, and of the distresses I underwent,' he says, 'were the consequence of my voluntary attachment to ' that gentleman. In reward for this, the Captain has approved blimself my greatest enemy. On returning to my native f country after such a voyage, I hoped that my services and ' sufferings

- sufferings would have sufficiently pleaded my cause: but CHAP. 4.
- ' instead of which, I now find myself destitute of employment,
- ' and without the least prospect of being provided for in the

' service of my King and Country.' Campbell having become a Roman Catholic, which, as he has not disputed it, was probably the fact, would have disqualified him from being employed as an officer in the British Navy; but hard measure was dealt to him in other respects. In Walter's Narrative he was treated with asperity, and was not favoured with any allowance of pay to beyond the day on which the Wager was wrecked.

The truth is, Captain David Cheap was as much as any man a character of adamant; hardy and hard: with fortitude superior to distress, he felt not much for his own, and still less for that of others. With all this, he possessed in an eminent degree qualities of the highest class for a commander.

Campbell's Narrative is written with modesty and good sense, and his case was much a subject of discourse among officers of the British Navy at that time.

Of Alexander Campbell.

> Captain David Cheap.

An account is yet to be given of the main body of the Wager's crew, who sailed in the schooner and cutter from and others. Cheap's Bay to return homeward by the Strait of Magalhanes. Bulkeley, the principal actor in this business, was a cautious man, and to shield himself from more than his share of responsibility, previous to the schooner's leaving Cheap's Bay, he drew up a paper, to which the principal officers of the same party set their names, certifying, that Captain Pemberton of the Marines had confined Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Hamilton, the former for killing Henry Cozens, and the latter for misdemeanors: that afterwards on a consultation, the officers and people were of opinion it would endanger the safety of them all, if they carried prisoners in their small vessels on so long a voyage VOL. V.

Bulkelev

1741. October. 1741. October. Bulkeley and others. voyage as they were about to undertake; and that it was also in compliance with the request of Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Hamilton that they were left at Wager's Island; and that the Surgeon remained with them at his own desire. This paper was written and attested before the barge had forsaken their party and joined the Captain.

The schooner and cutter finally departed from Cheap's Bay on the 26th of October, having in them 73 men. They kept close in with the land, occasionally stopping for shelter or food. On November. the 6th of November, they lost the cutter, from want of proper care, she breaking adrift in the middle of the night with only one man in her, and whether she drove among the rocks, or what became of her, was not known.

They were now 72 men in their small schooner, and so much crowded that it was determined to make room by putting some on shore. Bulkeley says that eleven men were landed at their own desire, 'the rest of the people at their earnest intreaty 'agreeing to their request. We supplied them with necessaries; 'and they signed a certificate to inform the Lords of the 'Admiralty that they were not compelled to stay, but that of 'their own choice they did it for the preservation of them- 'selves and us.' There can be no doubt that these men were picked out as sacrifices to the safety of the rest. The certificate, whether obtained from them, or a forgery, was probably one of Bulkeley's cunning contrivances. It is dated on board the Speedwell schooner, November the 8th, in latitude 50° 40' S.

Bulkeley describes the coast as they proceeded towards the Strait of Magalhanes, to be dangerous on account of sunken rocks and others which lie scattered about to as far as 14 leagues in the offing.

In the Strait of Magalhanes.

The 10th, they entered the *Strait of Magalhanes*. This was an idle and helpless crew. They had no boat: carpenters were among them, and the shores of the *Strait* abounded with wood: the season of the year did not require of them to be in haste,

and

and a boat was essential to their procuring subsistence; but CHAP. 4. instead of setting to work to build one, they aimed at no better mode of conveying themselves to and from the shore than upon November. a raft, and in consequence, though they continually saw seals, Bulkeley penguins, and birds, seven of the men died for want of food whilst they were in the Strait.

December the 11th, they passed the East entrance of the December. Strait. The next day at noon, being near Cape Virgenes, they were surprised with the sight of three men on the shore mounted Patagonians. on mules or horses. Bulkeley relates, 'When they came

- ' abreast of us, they waved their hats, at which we edged close
- ' to the shore, where we saw to the number of twenty; five of
- ' them rode abreast, the others were on foot, having a large
- ' store of cattle with them. On seeing this, we anchored within
- ' a mile of the shore, but the swell tumbling in would not per-
- ' mit us to speak with them. By their motions, actions,
- clothing, and by their whole behaviour, we took them for
- ' Christians. It being a plain level land, they rode backwards
- ' and forwards like racers, waving what appeared like white
- · handkerchiefs, and making signs for us to go into a Bay which
- ' lay about a league to the Northward. We weighed and stood
- ' Northward, but could not clear the land, the wind being at
- ' NE, and were obliged to put about. The next morning, we
- ' steered in for the Bay, and saw those people again; but the
- ' wind veering to the Westward and blowing strong, we were ' obliged to bear away. We could not by any means come to
- ' the knowledge of these people; and whether they are unfor-
- ' tunate creatures that have been cast away, or are inhabitants
- ' of the country about the River Gallegos, we cannot tell.'

These people were Patagonians, and this is the earliest instance of their being seen by Europeans to make use of horses.

The 20th, the schooner put in at Port Desire, and her crew took seals and sea fowl; but for want of salt could not cure any. They found Pecket's Well full, and supplied themselves

In Port Desire.

Pecket's Well.

1741. Bulkeley and others.

CHAP. 4: from it with fresh water. The spring was noticed to yield about thirty gallons per day. A parcel of bricks were found on the December. shore, on one of which was cut in plain and legible characters, the words Capt. Straiton, 16 cannons, 1687.

They had one cask of flour left. 'The people,' says Bulkeley, 'grew very turbulent, and insisted that the marine officers ' and such people as could not assist in working the boat should ' have but half the allowance of the rest: accordingly they ' pitched upon twenty to be served at half allowance.' The plea of labour was mere pretext, the management of the vessel seldom being employment for more than two or three people.

1742. January.

10th.

On the Coast of Paraguay.

11th.

The 26th, they left Port Desire. The 28th they shared the last of their flour, besides which they had no other provision than putrid seal flesh. January the 6th, Mr. Thomas Harvey, the Purser, died. This man's rash and foolish conduct with regard to Cozens was the principal cause of the defection of the ship's company from their Captain. Nevertheless, he afterwards joined the people in the schooner, and his name appears among the subscribers to a paper in opposition to the Captain. He died a skeleton for want of food, and probably was one of the twenty doomed to half allowance. Bulkeley endeavours to be witty on the occasion, remarking, that he was the first Purser belonging to his Majesty's service that ever perished with hunger. On the 10th, the Serjeant of Marines died from the same cause. They had been some days out of sight of land, but on this day they made the American coast, not far to the South of the entrance of the River de la Plata. Numerous are the specimens of ignorance which may be found in Bulkeley's narrative. Here he says, 'This afternoon we were transported ' at the sight of land, the extremes of which bore NW about ' seven leagues.' In the evening they anchored in eight fathoms depth, about a league distant from the land. On the morning of the 11th, they weighed anchor, and ran NEward along shore. At noon, the latitude, according to Bulkeley, was 38° 40' S; before

before them was a low and long sandy point, off which a shoal CHAP. 4. extended three leagues to the SE. After passing this point, they anchored in three fathoms and a half, in a Bay they named January. Shoal Water Bay.

1742. Shoal Water Bay.

12th.

The next day, the 12th, as they had no boat and nothing on board to eat, 'and to go from here without meat or drink was certain death,' they put the schooner as near to the shore as they dared to venture, and fourteen of the erew jumped overboard and swam to the land; but one man was drowned in the surf. The rest, who got a-shore, found fresh water and seals; besides which, they shot a horse, a wild dog, and caught four armadilloes. Many wild horses and dogs were seen; the horses small; the dogs of a large mongrel breed. Empty water casks being thrown overboard floated to the shore with the swell. But little could be got off to the schooner this day, the wind blowing fresh. The next morning she was veered close in, and three casks of fresh water, the carcass of the horse, and a quantity of seal, were conveyed on board by means of lines and light stages. 'Which things,' says Bulkeley, 'were no sooner in ' the vessel, than a sea breeze came in and blowed so hard, that ' we were obliged to weigh, leaving on shore eight of the ' people.'

13lh.

The schooner was brought to an anchor at a league distance from the shore. The next forenoon, the wind continuing from the ESE as before, Bulkeley and the rest who were in her agreed not to wait longer. Some necessaries were put in a eask, and four muskets fastened to it: these they trusted to the waves to convey to the shore; and having so done, at noon they got under sail, and pursued their course Northward.

Here again it was thought necessary to prepare a justification, and to certify. A memorial was composed, and signed by eight officers, in which was set forth, that it was extreme necessity which made them abandon these their companions on a desert part of the coast of South America, in latitude 37° 25' S. 'It

' being

January.
Bulkeley and others.
On the Coast of Paraguay.

being every man's opinion, that we must put to sea or perish, we got up a scuttled cask, and put into it all manner of necessaries, and a letter to acquaint them of our danger; which cask we saw them receive, as also the letter that was in it; they then fell on their knees, and made signals wishing us well, at which we got under sail and left our brethren, whose names are, &c.

15th.

Among the names is that of Isaac Morris, Midshipman; and he relates, that on the morning of the 15th the schooner was still in sight, and the wind had shifted round to NNW. 'The 'weather was fair, and we expected,' says Morris, 'that the 'schooner would have stretched in for the land, the breeze 'being moderate and withal off shore; but to our surprise, she 'continued under sail from us. The most probable reason we 'could give for such inhuman treatment was, that by lessening 'their number they might be better accommodated with room and provisions, and we could not but look upon it as the 'greatest act of cruelty.' Bulkeley with perfect ease and indifference says, "They had necessaries for shooting, and a good "prospect of getting provisions. We hope to see them again, "but at present we leave them to the care of Providence."

The fifth day after this, the schooner entered the River de la Plata, having on board thirty men. They procured provisions from plantations on the North shore of the River, and to avoid falling into the hands of the Spaniards, proceeded Northward for the Portuguese Settlement of Rio Grande, where they arrived on the 28th. Bulkeley and some others got passages in a Portuguese ship to Lisbon, and thence in an English ship of war named the Stirling Castle, to England. On arriving at Spithead, which was on the 1st of January, 1743, Bulkeley and his companions were detained by the Captain till the pleasure of the Admiralty Board respecting them should be known. At the end of a fortnight they were ordered to be set at liberty; and it was thought proper not to admit any examination into

their

their conduct, till the arrival of the Commodore or of Captain Cheap; and in the mean time that they should not receive any part of the wages due to them. In the course of the year 1743, Bulkeley published his Narrative.

Isaac Morris.

Isaac Morris has related the adventures of himself and those left with him on the coast to the South of the River de la Plata. They attempted to find the way to Buenos Ayres, but the country was so marshy as to be impassable to them, and they lived upwards of a year near the place where they had landed, and trained some puppies which they took from the wild dogs to assist them in hunting deer, of which there were plenty on the coast. One day that they were divided into two parties, the party to which Morris belonged, on returning to their hut, found it had been plundered; and searching about, they discovered at a small distance from the hut, their four comrades lying on the ground with their throats cut. After passing a night of terror, in the morning they saw a number of savages approaching on horseback. They fell on their knees imploring mercy, which they obtained. These Indians sold them to other Indians, by whom they were conducted to Buenos Ayres. Isaac Morris and two others were delivered to the Spanish Governor, on his paying 15 dollars for each. The eighth man, John Duck, a native of London, happened to be of a remarkably dark complexion, and him the Brasilians would not part with on any terms, nor would they be persuaded that he was not an Indian born, and they determined that he should stay and live with them. Morris and his two companions returned to Europe in the Spanish ship Asia, with Alexander Campbell.

The conduct of Bulkeley and his confederates does not appear to have been subjected to any judicial or public enquiry: but in consequence of the circumstances which attended the wreck of the Wager, it was established, that in future every person entering into the service of his Majesty's Navy, should

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CHAP. 4.

be held attached to that service, and be entitled to the pay, maintenance, or emoluments, belonging to his station, until such time as he should be regularly discharged by an order of the Admiralty, or of his superior officer: a regulation no less just to the mariner, than necessary to the public service.

Jorge Juan and Ant. de Ulloa.

It has been mentioned, that Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, two officers of the Spanish marine, were associated with members of the French Academy to measure a degree of the meridian in Peru. On the first certain notice of Commodore Anson being actually in the South Sea, the viceroy appointed them to take the command of two frigates of 30 guns each, which were stationed for the protection of the coast of Peru and Chili. Whilst on this service, they several times went to the Island Juan Fernandez. In one of these visits, Ulloa remarks, that the colony of dogs which had been landed on the Island in the time of the buccaneers, by order of the President of Chili, for the purpose of destroying the goats, consisted of different species, but mostly of the greyhound breed. 'And ' a particularity observed generally of the dogs at Juan Fer-' nandez, was, that they were never heard to bark.' [Possibly from a habit of silence contracted by continual practice of endeavouring to surprise their prey.] 'Some that we took on board, after they had been a little used to the company of our tame dogs, began to imitate them, at first in a very ' awkward manner, as learning a thing quite new to them.'

Of the Dogs at Juan Fernandez.

In July 1743, Don Jorge and Don Antonio were relieved from ship duty, by the arrival of officers of the ships which had formed Admiral Pizarro's squadron, who travelled overland from Buenos Ayres, and they resumed the course of astronomical and other observations in which they had been engaged, and continued so employed till the close of the following year.

inches water per hour, separated from the others, and went back

In January 1745, four French Ships, le Lys, le Delivrance, CHAP. 4. la Marquise D'Antin, and le Louis Erasme, put in at la Concepcion in Chili, bound for France. Don Jorge Juan embarked on board le Lys, as did Don Antonio de Ulloa on board le Delivrance; and the four ships sailed from la Concepcion in company. The ship le Lys springing a leak and making six

to Valparaiso, as already related.

The other ships pursued their passage homeward, passing round Cape Horne, when the Delivrance became extremely leaky. She had on board nearly two millions of dollars: the other ships were also richly laden, the treasure in the three amounting to not less than five millions of dollars. Don Pedro de Arriaga, a Spanish merchant, who had freighted the Delivrance and the Louis Erasme, was on board one of the ships, and advised that they should put into the River de la Plata, where they could refit, and might take the benefit of sailing home under convoy of the Spanish line of battle ship the Asia. The French Captains were in too much haste to reach home to follow the advice of the merchant, instead of which, they made for the Island Fernando Noronha, a small Island which the The Island Portuguese occupied for no other reason than to keep it from the occupancy of any other nation. They anchored at Noronha on the 21st of May, and afterwards proceeded on their passage without any material accident, till July the 21st, when in latitude 43° 57' N, they fell in with, and were attacked by, two large English privateers. After a severe engagement, in which the Captains of the Marquise d'Antin and of the Louis Erasme lost their lives, those two ships were captured. The Delivrance escaped crippled, and afterwards made the best of her way for the harbour of Louisbourg in the Island of Cape Breton, for shelter and repair. 'The Island of Cape Breton had been settled by the French; but at the time now treated of, had very recently been taken from them by the English, who to decoy

1745.

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S

any

1745.

any ship of an enemy that might approach, into the harbour, kept the French colours flying on the Forts. The Delivrance arrived off the entrance of the harbour, August the 13th, and was met by two large ships of war which stood out under French colours. The Captain of the Delivrance had so little suspicion of his coming into the company of an enemy, that he made preparation for saluting, by having the shot drawn out of the cannon. Don Antonio de Ulloa was carried prisoner to England, where he was treated with proper consideration. Soon after his return to his own country, he published an Account of his Voyage, with his Observations and Remarks, which comprehend a general description of the coasts, ports, and of the productions and civil state, of the Kingdoms of Peru and Chili; a work of much information, and held in high estimation.

CHAP.

Missionary Voyage to Patagonia. Voyage of the French Ship Le Condé of St. Malo.

N 1745, a Voyage was ordered by the Spanish Government, to examine the Coast of Patagonia, principally with the design of obtaining communication with the natives, to learn how they were disposed for receiving the light of the Gospel.

1745.

For this voyage a frigate named the Sant Antonio, commanded by D. Joachim de Olivarez, was sent from Spain, first to Buenos Ayres. A Jesuit named Josef de Quiroga, who had many years, previous to his entrance into the Holy Order, followed the profession of a mariner, embarked in the Sant Antonio on this expedition, at the express desire of the Catholic King, and he was especially charged with the care of making observations. The distance of time is much too great for this Josef de Quiroga to be the person of that name who, in 1680, desolated the Ladrone Islands. Other Fathers of the same Order were joined to Quiroga at Buenos Ayres, one of whom, Thomas Falkner, a native of Great Britain or of Ireland, afterwards published in England, A Description of Patagonia, and the adjoining parts of South America. The instructions given to those entrusted with this expedition directed them to make a settlement at Port San Julian. On the 17th of December 1745, the Sant Antonio sailed out of the Rio de la Plata.

Extracts from the observations made by the Fathers Josef Cardiel and Josef de Quiroga, of the Company of Jesus, are given in P. Charlevoix's History of Paraguay. They contain no new nautical information which can be of use. On the 6th of January 1746, the Sant Antonio anchored in Port Desire. They found fresh water pretty good at an ancient pit where formerly

1746. January. Port Desire. 1746. January. formerly the Hollanders had watered, and not any elsewhere except rain water in the hollows of rocks. They saw no luman inhabitant, nor did they see any quadruped, except a dog, who seemed to be domesticated, and barked at them with all his might. The land was every where so naked and barren, 'that' a man would not find here any thing to subsist on, or to build himself a cabin.'

They sailed on the 11th from Port Desire, and the wind being Northerly, they passed San Julian, postponing the examination of that Port to their return. They anchored near an opening which was thought to be the Rio de Gallegos, and were entangled among shoals and breakers. When clear of these, they did not endeavour to pass Cape de las Virgenes, and soon after directed their course back to the North. Near the entrance of the Port and River of Santa Cruz were rocks and shoals, which rendered the approach to that river dangerous.

February. In Port San Julian. On the 9th of February, the Sant Antonio anchored in *Port San Julian*. No inhabitants nor smokes were seen. Parties landed from the ship, and marched into the country. One party travelled four days journey towards the West from the Port, but no human being was seen. Two Spanish soldiers reported that they found a lake of fresh water, about four leagues distant Westward from the Port, and saw at it ostriches and guanacoes. Burial places were seen, but no mark or trace of any people having lately made their abode near *Port San Julian*.

28th.

On the 28th, a Council was held by the Fathers, in conjunction with the Captain of the ship, and the Pilots; and they were unanimously of opinion, that it was not the intention of the King for the Missionaries to make an establishment in a place where it was not possible to find subsistence, and where there were no Infidels to convert.

The Journal notices a report, originating with some former navigator, that a large river fell into the Bay of San Julian, which

which river came from a great Lake; and that from the other CHAP. 5. side of the said Lake, another River, named la Campana, issued Westward, and discharged itself into the South Sea. On this head the Journalists remark, that every part of the shore of Port San Julian was visited by them, and no River found to accord with such description.

1746. February.

Falkner mentions as a matter deserving more credit, a River of South America which falls into the Atlantic at a Bay called Sin Fondo (without bottom) in latitude according to some 40° 42′ S; according to others in two degrees more South. This River is reported to flow Eastward out of a Lake which is within fifty miles of the South Sea; and at times with a very rapid current, rendered so by the rains and by the melting of snows from the Cordilleras Mountains. The Captain of the Sant Antonio was pressed to look for the entrance of this River: but refused to do it, on pretence of the ship being short of fresh water, and the uncertainty of finding any there.*

Bay Sin Fondo. and River.

In the beginning of April, the Sant Antonio re-entered the Rio de la Plata.

April.

In Charlevoix's Work this account is accompanied with charts. but which were not composed by the Voyagers.

In the year 1745, some merchants of St. Malo fitted out a Voyage of ship named the Condé, for a voyage to the South Sea, under the command of M. le Hen Brignon. In November, she sailed from St. Malo + for Cadiz, at which place she remained till near

Le Hen Brignon. 1745.

^{*} A Description of Patagonia, &c. By Thomas Falkner. p. 84. Printed at Hereford, 1774.

⁺ A narrative of the voyage of the Condé was published at Paris in 1751, by the Sieur Court de la Blanchardiere, who sailed in the ship, and was afterwards Parish Priest of St. Sulpice. It is printed in a small duodecimo volume, and contains little of incident; but was thought worthy to form an article in M. de Brosse's Navigation aux Terres Australes, on account of the navigation being remarkably prosperous.

the end of the following year, detained probably by the difficulty of obtaining the necessary licence to trade in the Ports of Chili and Peru.

1747. March. On the 7th of March, 1747, they were as far advanced on their voyage as to the latitude of 47° 22′ S, where they met with seaweed of much larger leaves than are seen on any near the Coast of *France*. They saw also an infinite number of small red crawfish, in form resembling lobsters.

15th.
Passage
through
Strait
Le Maire.

On the 15th of that month, they made the Tierra del Fuego. In Strait le Maire, they saw many whales, and a prodigious number of seals, which last, says the Journalist, 'diverted us a 'good deal. The more our seamen whistled and hallooed to 'them, the more eager they were to regard us, and it being 'calm, they pressed in troops round the ship, leaping out of the 'water and playing antics, which made us laugh much, and 'we had this diversion the whole of the day.' The Condé passed through the Strait with a fair wind. On the 22d of the month she was becalmed off Cape Horne. The 24th a favourable wind sprung up, and on the fifteenth day from that time, she arrived at la Concepcion.

Off Cape Horne.

This passage round Cape Horne to the South Sea contrasts strongly with the passage made by Commodore Anson five years before at the same season of the year, and shews how little reliance should be placed upon any system for navigating round the Cape, which is founded upon any presumed knowledge of the prevalence of particular winds.

April.
At la
Concepcion.
Of the
Earthquake
and
Inundation
in Peru;
October,
1746.

At la Concepcion, the Journalist learnt the disastrous tidings of the City of Lima having been destroyed by an earthquake, and a sudden overflowing at the same time of the sea. This event came to pass on the 28th of October 1746. The sea rushed in with three successive rollings, and overwhelmed the town of Callao, 'which was nearly as large as St. Malo,' the houses and all the inhabitants being instantaneously swallowed up by the waves. The destruction at Lima was not so general,

and

1747.

and some of the principal buildings were spared. The Spanish CHAP. 5. inhabitants in rebuilding, did not venture to construct their houses with upper stories, as they had formerly done. Before the present calamity, the native Americans on seeing them erect lofty stone edifices, had predicted that they were building tombs to bury themselves in alive.

1748.

The Condé was fortunate both in her commercial concerns and in her navigation homeward. She sailed from Chili, October the 22d, 1748, with a freight of two millions and a half of dollars to carry to Rio Janeiro. November the 6th, she passed Cape Horne. On coming between the tropics the Journalist caught a large butterfly which had alighted on the ship, when by the reckoning she was 40 leagues distant from any land. December the 20th, she anchored at Rio Janeiro; and sailing thence, on the 22d of March, 1749, concluded her voyage by arriving at St. Malo.

CHAP. VI.

Voyage of the Spanish Ship Leon, to Chili and Peru; and her Return to Europe.

THIS was a Mercantile Voyage, and proved also to be a Voyage of Discovery. An abstract of a Journal kept by le Sieur Ducloz Guyot, a seaman of St. Malo, who sailed in the Leon, was communicated by M. d'Apres de Mannevillette to Mr. Dalrymple, who published it in the original French

1753. The Leon outwardbound. language, in his Collection of Voyages in the Southern Atlantic.

The Leon, a Spanish ship, sailed from Cadiz December the 14th, 1753. So general an eagerness for going to the Spanish Indies prevailed at that time in Spain, that the Commander of the Leon found it necessary to stop at the Island Teneriffe, to rid the ship of no less than sixty persons who had secreted themselves on board, and had kept themselves concealed, till she was clear out at sea. Nothing else occurred remarkable in the outward passage. The European cargo was disposed of in part at Valparaiso, and in part at Callao, at the latter of which places the ship lay sixteen months.

1756. Passage homeward. In the beginning of April, 1756, the Leon was freighted with a good homeward bound cargo, having on board her gold and silver, amounting in value to 3,260,560 dollars; 40,000 lbs. of cacao; 342 quintals of brass; 400 of block tin in bars; 440 of wool of the Peruvian sheep; 225 of bezoar; 200 of balsam; and 150 thousand weight of Jesuits bark, as well for medicine as for dying; the value of the whole estimated at, M. Ducloz says, '22,000,000 de notre monnoye.'

In this richly freighted ship went fifty passengers, among whom were the late President of Chili, Don Domingo Dortez, and his family. The navigation of the Leon from Chili to Europe is related

related by M. Ducloz as follows, the days in his Journal begin-	снар. 6.
ning and ending at noon;—	1756.
'The 30th of April, we set sail from Valparaiso in latitude	Journal of
' 33° S, and longitude [from Paris] 75° W. On the 7th of June,	Ducloz Guyot.
' we were in latitude 59° and longitude 77°. We had winds from	June
' the East, and this contrariness of the winds for passing Cape	7th.
' Horne in quitting the South Sea during the winter season, has	
' been remarked by other navigators, as well as the adverseness	
of the winds in the time of summer for passing the Cape from	
the Atlantic into the South Sea; whence there remains no	
f doubt that the passage round Cape Horne from Europe will	
be most readily made in winter; and the passage to Europe,	
f in summer.	
. The 19th, we had a favourable wind from the SSW, with	19th.
fine weather. The 21st, we saw an Island of ice.'	
'The 22d, being in latitude 56° 45' and longitude 55° 50', we	22d.
' found much current, and had about us a great number of	
' penguins, chequered black and white petrels, and other birds	
' [Damiers et petites godes,] which surprised us not a little, as we	
reckoned ourselves 125 leagues to the East of the most Eastern	
' part of the Malouines.'	
'The 26th, it snowed abundantly, freezing where it fell,	26th.
' which obliged us to throw warm water on the rigging to	
' enable us to manœuvre the sails. Many seals about us: lati-	
' tude at noon 56° 20' S; longitude 54° 20' W.'	
'The 28th, we had fresh winds from the NW and North.	28th.
' At setting of the sun, we observed the variation 13° 30' N	
' Easterly. The great difference between this observation and	
' the variation which M. Frezier taught us to expect in this	
' latitude and longitude, made us believe we were much farther	
' East than might be supposed by the reckoning. Birds were	
' constantly about the ship and their number increased. A.	
' nine in the forenoon we thought we saw land before us, very	
f distant, appearing like clouds, and of extraordinary height.	
Vol. V. T We	

снар. 6. 1756. June.

- 'We were then steering NNE. The weather becoming thick,
- ' we could not convince ourselves if what we had seen was land, ' and we did not suppose any to be nearer to us than the
- ' Malouines. At noon, the latitude was observed 55° 10'S.
- Our longitude by reckoning was 52" 10' W. We continued
- our course without troubling ourselves with thoughts of being
- ' near land,'
- 20th.
- 'The 29th. From noon to seven in the evening, much snow
- ' fell, and the wind blew fresh from the North and NNW, with
- ' which we steered between the NE and ENE. The wind then
- ' suddenly shifted, coming from WSW with fine weather, and
- ' so continued till half past seven in the morning, [the course steered during the night is not mentioned, but appears from
- the reckoning to have been NEward,] when we saw a small
- ' Island a league a-head of us, upon which we immediately put
- ' about to wait till it was broad day, that we might have better
- ' knowledge of the land. We sounded with 300 fathous of line,
- ' but did not find bottom.'

Land

- ' At nine in the morning, we beheld a Continent of land discovered. extending about 25 leagues in length from NE to SW, full of
 - ' sharp and craggy mountains of frightful aspect, and of such
 - 'extraordinary height that scarcely could we discern the sum-
 - ' mits, although at a distance of more than six leagues. The
 - quantity of snow on the land prevented our seeing if wood
 - grew there. The observation on which we could most depend
 - of any we were able to make, we being then three leagues dis-
 - ' tant from the small Island which was found to be at the like
 - distance from the great land, is, of a very deep bay in this
 - ' Continent, about eight leagues East and West with the said
 - ' small Isle. It is the only part which appeared to us fit to be
 - ' inhabited; we might be distant from it 10 or 11 leagues: it
 - ' appeared to us of large extent both in length and breadth.'
 - 'There is to the left of its entrance, in the WNW from us
 - ' [dans l' O. N. O. de nos,] a low point, which is the only one

we.

we could perceive. It appeared to us as if detached from the CHAP. 6. ' large land, and we are in doubt whether it is separate or joined

1756. June.

' by an isthmus.' ' Yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, died Don

' Domingo Dortez, Lieutenant General of the Armies of his

' Catholic Majesty, Count de Peuplades, and late President of

' Chili, aged 80 years. At ten this forenoon he was cast into the

' sea with the customary ceremonies. The Spanish crew saluted

' him with seven Vive le Roys, and respectfully wished him Bon

' Voyage. Latitude by account [at noon] 54° 48'. Longitude ' 51° 30'.'

' The 30th, from noon to four in the afternoon, the wind · was from NW to SW b S, light, with fair weather, after which time it was calm, and we remained in this situation all the ' night. At break of day, the ship in perfect tranquillity, we

' tried for foundings, being then about ten leagues distant from

' the land; we found no bottom, nor was any current per-

' ceptible. We have constantly seen many birds and seals. ' At noon the land presented the same aspect, except that

' the summits of the mountains were seen covered with snow.

' By a good observation we found the latitude 54° 50'S; our

· longitude 51° 32'.'

'Thursday July the 1st. The wind from the WNW, a ' light breeze. Steered to the SbW till sunset, to get to a ' distance from the land, and during the night our route was between SbE and SE. At daylight, the wind having shifted ' to NNW, with much fall of snow, estimating that we were at a

' sufficient distance from the land, we steered to the East, to

' see if this said land extended in that direction. At eight in the

' morning, the Easternmost point of the land bore N 5°, * distant

about 12 leagues. At noon, continuing on the same course, the latitude by account was 55" 23'; longitude 51°.'

30th.

July

^{&#}x27; The

' (from

140	VOYAGE OF
1756. July 2d.	'The 2d, light Westerly winds, the weather obscure with snow. Continuing our route to the ENE among much ice, we remarked much current, and more birds about us than usual, particularly of white pigeons such as are seen near the
4th.	'Coast of Patagonia; many whales also: from all which we imagined we might be on a bank, but on sounding we found no bottom. We were then out of sight of land. Latitude by account 55° 28'; longitude 49° 40'.' 'On the 4th, we were sailing to the North, with the wind
	from South, and SSW, and fine weather. At sunrise observed the variation 13 NEasterly. At noon, latitude observed 54° 10′; our longitude 48° 40′. At the same time we saw to the WSW two hummocks, but they were so distant that we could not be certain whether they were land or ice Islands. Numbers of penguins followed the ship all day.
7ւհ.	'The 7th, we observed in 53° 49'S. Our longitude 47° 11'. 'We were surrounded all the morning with a prodigious number of birds, and with great quantities of sea-weed.' 'We directed our course for the Cape de Verde Islands, and
August.	on August the 25th, we came in sight of the Island St. Jago, which is in longitude from Paris 25° 15' W, but which we made by our reckoning in 36° 11' W; by which we find that the currents have carried us 10° 56' to the Eastward.'* We had reason, from our observations of the variation after
	opassing Cape Horne, to believe we were carried Eastward by currents, and our making the Island of St. Jago confirmed the fact. This error of 10° 56′ of longitude, applied to our reckoning when at the land we discovered on the 29th of June, and

The Land discovered named the Isle de San Pedro.

' which we named the Isle de San Pedro, will give for the lon-

' gitude of the most Eastern part of it seen by us 40° 30' W

^{*} The longitudes used by Ducloz suppose 49° 45' difference between the Meridians of Valparaiso and St. Jago. Late observations give the difference 48° 49', which reduces the error of the Leon's reckoning to 10° o'; but does not affect the reasoning of M. Ducloz.

(from Paris.) For though it must be supposed that the cur- CHAP. (.) ' rents did not cease to set us Eastward for some time after we

1756.

- ' left our newly discovered land, it cannot be doubted that as
- ' we approached the Equinoctial line, they would change and ' set us to the West. Such remarks as we could make on this
- ' head, made us believe that there was very little difference
- between the effect of one and of the other, and that the 10° 56'
- ' of error was entirely contracted in the navigation near Cape
- ' Horne and thence to the Island San Pedro.'
- 'The most Southern part of San Pedro we reckon from our
- observations to be in latitude 54° 20' S. October the 11th, we
- ' cast anchor in the Bay of Cadiz.'

Remarks.

The reckoning of M. Ducloz, calculated according to his seamanlike reasoning, makes difference of longitude between the Island St. Jago and the Eastern part of the Island San Pedro, 15° 15', which applied to the longitude of St. Jago as set down in the present tables, will give the longitude of the Eastern part of San Pedro, 41° 5' West from Paris, or 38° 45' West from Greenwich.

Captain Cook, in his search for a Southern Continent, saw land extending in latitude from 54° to 55 S, and in longitude from 36° to 38 1° West of Greenwich, to which he gave the name of the Isle of Georgia. The size and situation correspond with those of the Island San Pedro, except in one particular, which is, that the land seen by the Leon is described extending NE and SW, whereas the longest extent of the land seen by Captain Cook is from NW b W to SE b E. The expression ' dans l'O. N.O. de nous,' in Ducloz's journal, on June the 29th, is also perplexing; nevertheless, the agreement in the size, general situation, and other circumstances, make it reasonably presumed

presumed that the San Pedro of the Ship Leon and the Georgia of Captain Cook are the same land.

Captain Cook remarked in a Bay of this land, that high perpendicular cliffs of ice were continually breaking off from the shore and floating out to sea. The fall of a large piece of ice happened whilst he was in the Bay, which made a noise like the report of a cannon. A more desolate appearance than is exhibited by a picture given of this Bay in the account of Captain Cook's Voyage, is not easily imagined. Captain Cook says, 'my disappointment at this land not proving to be part of the Southern Continent of which I was in search, did not greatly affect me, for to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth the discovery.'

C H A P. VII.

Monsieur de Bougainville to the Malouines.

THE Voyage made by M. de Bougainville to the Southern CHAP. 7. Islands of John Davis, commonly called by the French the Malouines, and by the English the Falkland Islands, is neither a Voyage of Discovery, nor a South Sea Navigation; but having some affinity to the latter, a brief account of it is inserted here.

On the establishment of peace between Great Britain and France in 1762, after what has been called the Seven Years War, M. de Bougainville, a Chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis and Colonel of Infantry, formed the project of a settlement on the Malouines, in the hope that it would be an inducement to the French East India Company to direct their Chinabound ships to navigate by the South Sea, making the Malouine Settlement serve them for a place of refreshment. This was a revival of Lozier Bouvet's scheme. M. de Bougainville communicated his project to the French Ministry, who so far approved it as to allow him to build two vessels at his own expence for carrying it into execution.

The vessels were built and equipped at St. Malo in the summer of 1763; the largest was a Ship mounting 24 guns, and having a crew of 100 men; she was named the Aigle, and commanded by le Sieur Ducloz Guyot of St. Malo. The other was a Sloop named the Sphinx, carrying eight guns and 40 men, and commanded by M. Chénart de la Gyraudais. Dom Pernety, whose history of this expedition is published, sailed with M. de Bougainville in quality of Naturalist. A small number of persons embarked to be settlers in the proposed colony; among them were three Acadian families who had lived in France

1763.

from

CHAP. 7. from the time their native country became subject to Great Britain. 1763.

September.

On September the 9th, the vessels sailed out of the Port of St. Malo, but were obliged to anchor in the outer road, the wind being unfavourable for putting to sea. Before their final departure, one of the Acadian men grew dissatisfied with his undertaking, notwithstanding the prospect it held out to him of freehold property; and on his request was landed with his family. The other two families performed the voyage.

On the 23d of September, the Ship l'Aigle and the Sloop le Sphinx quitted the French coast, bound first for Brasil. They put in at Sta Katalina, and at the Rio de la Plata, where M. de Bougainville purchased eattle and various kinds of live stock, with seeds and plants, for the service of his colony. January the 16th, 1764, the two vessels sailed from the Rio de la Plata.

1764. January.

> On the morning of the 31st, they came in sight of the small Islands named the Sebaldines. They sailed Eastward along the Northern shores of the larger Islands, which were covered with a kind of bulrushes or corn-flags that from a distance appeared like trees; not from their size, but from their shape and proportions. Pernety says, 'we were half a

- · league distant from two flat Islands which at first view appeared
- ' as if covered with small copse wood; but, as we discovered
- ' afterwards on landing, they were only tall bulrushes or corn-
- flags: they grow each of them about two feet and a half
- ' high, and afterwards shoot forth a tuft of green leaves nearly
- · of as much height more.'

Bad weather at sea had occasioned the death of many of the February, animals of their stock; but on the 3d of February, they anchored in a large Sound in the Eastern part of the land. This was thought a commodious place for a Settlement. 'The

- ' ground is covered with a kind of grass a foot and a half high,
- which spreads over every part to the tops of the hills. The
- soil is of a dark brown colour and is formed into a mould by

' the annual decay of the grass. It rises with a spring under chap. 7.
' your feet, from the roots of the grass being interwoven 1764.

ven ₁₇₆₄. February.

' with it.'

Acarron Bay.

The Sound went six leagues deep into the land; the entrance was above a league wide, and the anchorage and depth of water as good and convenient as could be desired. It was named Acarron Bay. Latitude 51° 40′ S; longitude according to Pernety, 60° 40′ W from Paris. The Variation was observed 23° 30′ N Easterly.

M. de Bougainville had judged it unnecessary to bring for the support of his Settlement much provision of any kind, excepting bread, wine, and brandy; trusting that game and fish would be found in sufficient quantity to supply meat to the Settlers. Such proved to be the fact; but some of the young officers were so improvident and wantonly merciless, as to kill the birds and seals for diversion after their wants were supplied. A small party of young men killed at one time between 800 and 900 large seals. To prevent such wasteful destruction, M. Bougainville gave orders, regulating and limiting the killing of animals and the consumption of game.

Search was made in every direction for wood, but none was found except drift wood in small quantity along the shore. The Eastern side of these Islands is less favourably situated for collecting drift wood than the Western. There was however broom or brush wood, and variety of turf excellent for firing.

On the 17th, ground was fixed upon for the buildings of the Settlement. The two Acadian families were landed, with the live stock, stores, and necessaries. The cattle, that is to say, the horses, cows and sheep, were in a lean sickly state from their sea voyage, and there seemed no occasion to confine them by inclosures; but the very next morning after the landing, not any of them were to be seen near the Settlement. Hogs which had been put on shore, were more familiarly disposed; they went abroad during the day to seek their livelihood, and returned

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in

1764. February. In Acarron Bay.

CHAP. 7. in the evening to pass the night in the lodgings prepared for them. In a short time the retreat of the horses and cattle was discovered, and by means of a young calf which was caught and tethered to a stake, all the horned cattle were recovered into regular keeping; but the horses made their escape to a greater distance.

A Fort built, and named St. Louis.

The crews of both vessels were employed in building a fort and houses. Cannon were landed, and the fort was named Saint Louis.

April.

April the 5th, the Sphinx sloop was dispatched for the West Indies, to dispose there of merchandize with which she had been partly laden, and afterwards to proceed to France. On the 8th of the same month, Monsieur de Bougainville himself embarked in the Aigle frigate and set sail for France.

The Colony left in Acarron Bay consisted of the two Acadian families, in number, reckoning children, ten persons; and eighteen men who volunteered from the crews of the two vessels to remain.

The articles which these Islands furnished towards the maintenance of a Colony, will be seen in the following description, extracted from Pernety.

Natural Productions of the Malouines.

Vegetable.

The natural productions of the soil were, the tall grass and cornflags which have been mentioned; brush wood and shrubs, some of which bore berries of a pleasant acid flavour; celery, cresses, sorrel; a plant which Pernety calls Lucet Musqué, but by the Settlers was called Tea of the Malouines, which by infusion made a liquor 'both pleasant and restorative;' and a plant called Sappinette, of which was made a wholesome fermented liquor. The Lucet Musqué and Sappinette grow in Canada, and are much used by the natives.

TheVarnish Plant.

Pernety describes also a plant or shrub growing at the Malouines, which he calls Plante au Vernis (varnish plant.) It has the appearance of a green hillock, rising about three feet above the surface of the ground, and from it distils a resinous

substance

substance which in taste and smell resembles gum ummoniac. CHAP. 7. Pernety says, 'the scent or odour of this gum attaches so closely, that though I washed my hands in brandy, I could not get rid of it all day.' *

1764.

Fresh water and turf for firing were in every part. Red and yellow ochre were found, and Pernety observed other indica- Mineral. tions of minerals.

Of land animals none were seen but of a destructive kind, Animals. as foxes, rats, and mice. Amphibious animals, as seals, sea-lions, sea wolves, and penguins, were in multitudes along the shores. All of the seal kind were carnivorous, and were seen to prey upon the penguins. Pernety remarked among the sea wolves one kind of a small size with remarkably smooth dark skins.

Fish were in extreme plenty, and of many kinds. Among the shell fish were muscles full of small pearls. These pearls on being broken were found to be composed principally of sand, and they were mostly in the shell fish which during part of the tide were left without water.

Fish.

The birds, besides Oceanic which were innumerable, were bustards, geese, ducks, teal, and water fowl; so numerous that one shooting party brought in 103 bustards. The geese and ducks were of rich glossy plumage, 'the wild gander of a dazzling white, his bill short and black, his feet yellow, the

Birds.

- ' edges of the white feathers which cover his breast and neck
- ' black; the down equal to the down of swans and would
- ' make beautiful muffs. The teal of this country exceed in
- beauty those of Europe; their bills and feet are blue, their wings
- · of a golden green (verd doré), and their bodies more brilliant
- ' and shining than the Pintade.' An English voyager who was at the Western side of the Falkland Islands at the time M. Bougainville was in Acarron Bay, relates on his first going on

shore,

^{*} This plant is also described in An Account of the Expedition to the Falkland. Islands in 1772. By Bernard Penrose.

1764.

- shore, 'the water side was entirely covered with different 'kinds of fowl of beautiful colours, and so tame, that in less
 - than half an hour we took as many as we could conveniently
 - ' carry in our boats, particularly white and painted geese. Those

Painted Geese. we named Painted Geese were exactly of the size of our 'geese, but of a different colour, having a ring of green 'feathers on the body*.' Here were eagles and many birds of the hawk kind; also, but less numerous, thrushes, blackbirds and smaller birds.

Temperature.

Pernety commends the climate as being more temperate than he expected to have found in fifty-one degrees and a half of latitude. The winter after M. Bougainville's departure proved mild, and very little snow fell that year, The winters in the Strait of Magalhanes, and near Cape Horne, are known to be extremely unequal; but it is probable that the seasons are more temperate and equal at John Davis's Islands or the Malouines, in consequence of their distance from the continent. A journal of the weather was kept there by Captain John Mac Bride, commanding the British frigate the Jason, from the 1st of February 1766 to the 19th of January 1767, in which it appears that the quicksilver of the thermometer was in only three of those days below the freezing point.

M. de Bougainville arrived at St. Malo June the 26th 1764. The King approved the settlement made, and the taking possession of the Malouines in his name, and gave order for the Aigle to be equipped for a second voyage to carry out provisions and new colonists. Another ship was fitted out at Rochfort for the same purpose. In October M. de Bougainville again sailed in the Aigle, and in this passage out he made search for Pepys Island. On January the 5th, 1765, he arrived in Acarron Bay,

Second Voyage

1765.

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World in H. M. S. the Dolphin, commanded by the Hon. Commodore Byron. By an Officer on board the said ship. P. 73, London, 1767.

when

where he found all the Colonists in good health, and added CHAP. 7. 53 to their number.

1765.

.. One employment of the Settlers was to extract the oil, by boiling, from the flesh of seals and sea-lions; but this occupation does not appear to have been carried on to much extent.

In February, M. Bougainville sailed in the Aigle to the Strait of Magalhanes, for a cargo of wood for the use of the Colony. In the Strait he fell in with two English ships bound to the Pacific Ocean, and to make a Voyage round the World, under the command of Commodore Byron who had been Midshipman in the Wager with Captain Cheap. M. de Bougainville met with natives in the Strait, and found them friendly. In the Natives of same year or in the year next following, a Spanish ship bound Patagonia. for Peru was wrecked on the Tierra del Fuego; but the crew got to land, and built themselves a vessel, towards which work the natives assisted them by carrying trees down from the woods. The Spaniards sailed in their new vessel back to Buenos Ayres.*

M. de Bougainville carried his cargo of wood to Acarron Bay, and on the 27th of April, sailed for France, leaving in his Colony 79 persons. August the 13th, he arrived at St. Malo.

Pernety did not accompany M. Bougainville inhis second voyage; but as an Appendix to his own Observations made in the former voyage, he has published a Letter which he received from M. de Nerville, who was left Commander in Acarron Bay. M. de Nerville says, 'You would not have known our Colony again if ' you had returned with M. de Bougainville. In the first place ' you would have found us grown fat, the air being very healthy, ' and as to our living, by the account kept, we killed above 1,500 ' bustards during the season; for there is a time when they leave ' this country, and go to other parts, except a few straggling ' pairs whose eggs we could never find; but their young ' were always six in number. I had a young brood of them ' which I hoped to have sent to France, but they perished by ' mischievous

^{*} Falkner's Description of Patagonia. P. 92.

1705.

'mischievous tricks of the ship boys. Our kitchen garden has succeeded very well. As to the corn, it produced some beautiful ears, but they were fine only in appearance, having no grain within. Our lands require a longer time for cultivating corn, and must be manured; which makes it the more unfortunate that part of our cattle and horses have gone astray. But their wandering disposition has proved that cattle may remain here in the open fields in all seasons, without danger of their wanting either pasture or litter. We often meet with one or other of them when we are out shooting; they are in excellent condition, and their liberty seems to agree well with them.'

Notwithstanding this encouraging description, it was already in the contemplation of the French Government to relinquish their Malouine possessions. Within a fortnight after the arrival of M. de Bougainville in France, he says in a letter to Pernety, dated August the 26th 1765, 'I expect I shall be sent into ' Spain, to settle some matters with the Spanish Court rela-' tive to our new establishment.' By this time, it must have become evident, that the advantages to be derived from supplying ships which should stop at the Malouines in their voyage to the South Sea, or to India, would ill repay the expence of maintaining a Settlement; for in the eighteen months that they had been in possession, there is no mention of any ship having put in there, except those expressly employed in the service and for the maintenance of the Settlement. Another circumstance which ought sooner to have had weight, was, that the Malouines in every quarter present good harbours, where safe anchorage, fresh water, fish, and game, may be found without the trouble or expence of maintaining an establishment. The Settlement at Acarron Bay, nevertheless, however useless to its possessors, might very naturally give uneasiness to the Spaniards, and of this the French are accused of taking advantage. Thomas Falkner, whose description of *Patagonia* has been quoted, says, ' the

1766.

The Malouines

transferred to Spain.

' the French being tired of so wretched a Colony, and desirous CHAP. 7.

' to recover the money laid out there, they represented their new

' acquisitions in so favourable a manner to the Spanish Court,

' that the King of Spain agreed to pay 500,000 dollars (some say

'800,000 and others a million) for the ceding them to Spain,

' whereof the King of France was to receive a part, and the rest

' to go to M. de Bougainville, the proprietor, besides permitting

' goods bought at Rio Janeiro with this money to be sold at

' Buenos Ayres. All this the Captain of a Spanish ship repre-

Buenos Ayres. An tins the Captain of a Spanish ship repre-

' sented to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, complaining of the

' trick put upon the King of Spain. What I relate concerning

' these Islands, is according to the accounts I received from

' Spanish officers, who went to receive this country from the

Franch The many discrete the flow a shower of wein

' French. The ground is so boggy that after a shower of rain

' it is impossible to stir out without sinking up to the knees.

' The Settlers had sown various kinds of grain, but the land is

' so barren that they all ran into grass and straw, and yielded

' no crop, and the Governor of Buenos Ayres was continually

' obliged to send provisions for the maintenance of the garrison.

' Colonel Catani who was sent there as Governor, when he saw

' the Settlement, was overwhelmed with grief, and declared he

' should be glad to be permitted to throw up his commission and

' return to Buenos Ayres, though in no better station than

' that of a cabin boy.

In the year 1766, before the French had delivered up their Settlement, Messrs. Duclos Guyot and Giraudais sailed again to the Strait of Magalhanes, to load with wood, and had much communication with the natives; which, besides its being of a curious nature, it is the more necessary to notice, on account of having related their friendly behaviour to Europeans in the preceding year, that it may serve for a warning to voyagers, to be cautious of putting themselves or their people in the power of uncivilised natives, however friendly they may appear; and especially on short acquaintance. May the 5th, M. Duclos entered the Strait, and anchored in Boucault Bay, i. e. near the

Duclos Guyot to the Strait of Magalhanes.

May.

North

CHAP. 7. 1766. Duclos Guyot in the Strait of Magalhanes. Boucault Bay. Natives.

North shore between the two Angosturas or Narrows. Some people were seen on the shore, and M. Duclos sent his boats to them. They were six men and one woman; they had six horses, to every one of which a dog appeared attached, who never left him. The men managed their horses, which were very active, with dexterity. The horses were equipped with bridle, saddle and stirrups. They were well pleased to see some of the French mount and ride their horses. The French officer measured the shortest man of the six, and found him five feet seven inches tall, French measure, which is equal to five feet eleven inches and a quarter English. The others were considerably taller. Among their weapons, they had round stones fastened to cords or small ropes, a small stone to one end and a large one to the other end of the cord, which they used chiefly in catching animals. They smoked tobacco, throwing the smoke out at their nostrils, and were exceedingly fond of a pipe. These six men had had communication with the Spaniards, for one who appeared to be the chief among them they called Capitan. 'They seemed to be a crafty bold ' people, and were more inclined to receive than to give.'

Other Natives in Port Famine.

On the 30th of May, in Port Famine, M. Duclos found other natives whom he recollected to be a tribe he had met the year before. They consisted of twenty-six men and boys, and forty women and girls. Their chief was called Pacha-chui. M. Duclos was on shore with a party wooding, and some of the natives coming to the place, he soon renewed his acquaintance with them, one effect of which was, that having made a fire to keep themselves warm, they continued to throw upon the fire, without any ceremony, all the wood which the seamen cut down, as fast as it came to hand. To avoid occasion of dispute, M. Duclos sent his men to cut wood at a greater distance. They had ill built canocs, and the women were employed in rowing and fishing. The Pacha-chui, with most of his men, visited the ship, where they were entertained and presents made to them. They eat and drank all that was given to them, part of

which

which was three pints of seal oil. Both men and women were CHAP. 7. thin. On the 8th, they began to be troublesome to the wooding party on shore, and stole several hatchets. M. Duclos complained to the Pacha-chui, but to no purpose; therefore he thought it necessary to take his wood-cutters on board every night. This was found inconvenient and attended with much loss of time, and the wood-cutters desired to sleep on shore again; to which M. Duclos consented, but put them under command of a discreet person, with instructions to conduct themselves mildly to any of the natives who should come to them.

On the 12th, one of the Patagonians, a man about forty years of age, who had been some time ill, died. M. Ducloz relates, 'About four o'clock in the morning we heard some ' noise among the savages: three of their canoes with a great ' number of women and some men came to our ship. Contrary to their common custom the men were not painted, except a few who were painted black, which gave them a frightful ' appearance. The women were all spotted, and their faces ' and necks were bloody, as if they had scratched themselves ' with thorns. They seemed much afflicted and shewed much

' regret for the dead man.' On the 16th, they broke up their quarters. The Pacha-' chui came to apprize me of their departure, and that they ' were going to a Bay a league distant, because shell fish had become scarce near the place they had been inhabiting. I ' asked him if any one of his young people would be willing to ' go with me in the ship, and made him understand that I would ' bring him back in a year. He made signs that he consented, ' and immediately presented a young lad to me, who seemed ' satisfied and went on board, where he was clothed, and the ' Pacha-chui with his people departed.'

'The next day, the young Patagonian looked contented and ' chearful. About ten o'clock seventeen natives came from ' a small Bay to the North, to visit this their companion, and we went to meet them. One of them asked to come on board VOL. V. X ' and

1766. June. Duclos Guvot in the Strait of Magalhanes. 1766.
Duclos
Guyot
in the
Strait of
Magalhanes.

- ' and stay with his comrade. The offer was voluntary, and ' I took him along with me. Towards six o'clock in the even-
- 'ing, I perceived our two savages were so melancholy as even
- ' to shed tears, and were constantly looking towards the land.
- ' Notwithstanding my desire of bringing them away, in hopes of
- ' afterwards receiving useful information from them, I deter-
- ' mined to restore them to the liberty which they imagined
- ' they had lost, and sent them on shore in the yawl. They
- expressed much joy at landing, and departed to their

' families.'

This was a generous act, and highly honourable to M. Ducloz; and it loses none of its merit by subsequent ungrateful misconduct of which the natives were guilty. On the 18th, some of the natives went to the tent or hut of the wood-cutters, and asked for bread and oil; and some was distributed among them. At four in the afternoon they took leave, saying they were going to rest, because the moon was up; but that they would come back the next day, and bring with them the two young men who were to have gone in the ship. Shortly after M. Ducloz went on board, where he had scarcely arrived, when he heard two muskets fired on shore, which was a signal agreed upon in case of being attacked by the savages. Boats were immediately dispatched to the assistance of the wood-cutters; but before they got to the shore, the natives had made their attack and had been repulsed; which happened in the following manner. Twenty or more of the natives came silently through the wood, and three of them suddenly entered the quarters of the French, who with promptitude placed themselves at the entrance with their cutlasses, and kept back the rest. Three of the natives were killed and several wounded, on which they retreated. Three of the wood-cutters were badly wounded.

On the 22d, M. Ducloz sailed out of the Strait for Acarron Bay; and in a short time afterwards, the French resigned their possession in favour of the Spaniards, who named their new acquisition,

acquisition, Bahia de la Soledad, which signifies the Bay of CHAP. 7. Solitude.

1766.

Soledad.

But favourably to the wishes of Governor Catani, the Falk-Bahia de la land Islands had been coveted by the British Government, and Commodore Byron had been sent to take a formal possession of them in the name of the King of Great Britain, which he did in January 1765, at a Port in the North Western part, which he named Port Egmont. So much secrecy had been preserved respecting these transactions, that the English and French were mutually ignorant of the settlement of the other. Commodore Byron on leaving Port Egmont had sailed to the Strait of Magalhanes, being bound on a Voyage round the World; and at the same time M. de Bougainville had sailed from Acarron Bay to the Strait for a cargo of wood; which produced the meeting already mentioned.

English Settlement at Port Egmont.

The English erected a Fort and stationed a small garrison in Port Egmont; and two or three years passed without the English and Spaniards discovering that they were such near neighbours; when in 1769, a small vessel from Bahia de la Soledad in sailing along the North coast, met a small vessel from Port Egmont, but their communication was not of a friendly kind, for they mutually warned each other to depart from the Islands. A few months afterwards, i. e. in June 1770, a Spanish force sent by the Governor of Buenos Ayres, entered Port The English Egmont, and dispossessed the English of their Fort, on the pretence, that the 'Malvinas' Islands were a part of Paraguay and appendages of the Rio de la Plata, consequently Spanish territory; and that moreover, the King of Spain had purchased them of the French, who had been in possession. This seizure The Islands nearly produced a war between the two nations; but the matter was accommodated by Spain withdrawing her garrison, and the English re-entered on the possession in 1771. In the very next And finally year, however, it was abandoned by them as useless.

From a Narrative by an Officer of the British sloop of war, The

relinquished to Great Britain in 1771. abandoned

in 1772.

CHAP. 7.

Swift, which was cast away whilst on that station, and another by Mr. Bernard Penrose, the Assistant Surgeon on shore, it appears that garden culture was productive, the ground being favourable to the growth of potatoes, cabbages, greens, and sallad herbs. Sea weed was found to be good manure. Pease were destroyed by rats and mice, and wheat did not prosper. Pigs and rabbits, which had been carried there from *England*, multiplied exceedingly. Penrose relates, 'a store ship had been some time 'expected to bring us supplies of bread and liquor. When she came in sight, it may be imagined we felt great pleasure; but our sensations were beyond description, when the orders were communicated to us to evacuate the Settlement and 'return to *England*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Islands marked in the Charts of the Pacific Ocean, and in the Tables of Situations, concerning which no other notices are found.

IN the early charts and in the old tables of situations, many CHAP. 8. Islands are marked of which no other notices have come before the public. Most of these are omitted in the charts now in use, being excluded by later discoveries; and some are still retained. They possess nearly alike a kind of traditional authority; and some of them a possibility, nothing to the contrary being known, of being met with at a future period. It is therefore endeavoured here to collect them into one list.

Among the hydrographic authorities for early Discoveries in the South Sea, the one which has been most generally consulted is the Spanish chart published with the History of Commodore Anson's Voyage, in which the track of the Manila galeon is described; it being more generally known than any other early chart of the Pacific Ocean, in consequence of its being so published. On applying to it, and making the necessary examination, an extraordinary variation is found in it from other charts and from the tables then in use.

The original from which the chart in Anson was published, was a manuscript chart drawn for the use of the Spanish General of the Galeons, and, it is said, contained all the Discoveries which had at any time been made in the navigation between the Philippine Islands and New Spain. The copy published by Mr. Walter places Acapulco 134° 15' of longitude to the East from the Embocadero de San Bernardino, whereas other charts and

снар. 8.

the tables of situations printed about that time, place Acapulco only 1241° of longitude from the Embocadero. This difference of ten degrees nearly, between the chart in Anson and the other charts, is not one of gradual increase from a commencement at any part, but takes place all at once in the middle of the chart, and runs through all the Eastern part, the Western not partaking, but being in near agreement with other charts and with the tables. By this sudden disagreement, two banks, that of Manuel Rodriguez and the Baxo de Villa lobos, which are only five degrees of longitude apart in other charts, are made fifteen degrees apart in the chart in Anson, which thus standing alone in opposition to all other authority, must be presumed to be in error. It seems the most natural conjecture, that the original from which it was copied was in two or more separate parts (as is generally the case with the Spanish charts of the navigation between New Spain and the Philippines, which are not on a very small scale, on account of the great extent in longitude) and that the English editor, or the engraver, in joining them, mistook the divisions.

A table of situations in latitude and longitude was printed at Manila in 1734, in a work entitled Navigacion Especulativa y Pratica, the author of which, Joseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno, was an Almirante, and Pilot major in the navigation between the Philippine Islands and New Spain; circumstances which render his work good authority for the Islands which had been discovered in the Northern part of the Pacific. In the following list, which is not wholly confined to Islands not before noticed, the situations are given from Cabrera Bueno; and in the Western part, also from the chart in Anson.

Situations of Islands in the route from the Philippines to CHAP. 8.

Acapulco; the first meridian being taken at the Embocadero de San Bernardino.**

		В	y Bueno's	s Table	2.			By	the Cha			
		Lati	tude.	Longi	it ude.			Latit	ude.	Longi	tude.	
Emboc. de S. Bernardino	_	12	45 N.	° co	00	-	-	°		_°		In the route
C. del Espiritu Santo -	-		_	1	15	Ε.	-		-			from the
Baxo de S. Xavier -	-	16	ο8	6	00	-	-			_	_	Philippines
Rocks	-				_	-	-	17	50	4	35	Acapulco.
Abroxos	-	22	00	6	30	-	-	22	00	6	30	
Parece Vela	-	21	12	13	40	-	-	21	25	13	46	
Vela	-	21	40	14	55	-	-	22	00	14	55	

The three Islands next mentioned were discovered by Bernardo de la Torre in the San Juan, in 1543, and named Los Volcanes. See Vol. I. p. 239. They were seen in the last voyage of Captain Cook; and the Fortuna or Farrallon, which is the middle one of the three (named in the present charts Sulphur Island) was found to be in latitude 24°48′ N; and longitude from Greenwich 141°20′ E (equal to about 17°35′ from the Embocadero de San Bernardino) which is 5°45′ more East than the longitude given to Fortuna in the table of Bueno, and is a ground for correction of the situations of the Islands near it.

		By Bueno's Table.							By the Chart in Anso				
		Lati	tude.	Longitude.			Latit		ide.	Longi	tude.		
San Agustin	_	24	5 á	14	02	-	-	25	00	14	00		
Los Volcanes { San Agustin Fortuna, ô Farrallon San Alexandro	-	25	12	13	50	-	-	25	40	13	38		
San Alexandro	-	25	46	13	30	-	-	26	15	13	28		
Isla del Rosario. Not named the Chart	in]	27	30	12	53	-	-	28	00	12	53		
Islas del Arzobispo; not name	1)												
in the Chart. They are	a [26	44	14	03	-	-	27	20	13 to 14	34		
in the Chart. They are a groupe about a degree East ward of <i>Rosario</i> , and ex tending NNW and SSE	- - -	o 28	00	-	_	-	to	28	47	to 14	20		
San Juan		27	40	18	00	i	-	27	50		40 Todos		

^{*} The Embocadero de San Bernaraino may be taken at 123° 45' E longitude from Greenwich.

снар. 8.					By Bueno's Table.								Ву	the C	hart in Anson.	
							Lati	tude.	Long	tude.			Latit	ıde.	Longit	ude.
	Todos los Sar	ntos	-	_		_	°				_	_	30	$32^{'}$	15	05
	Santo Thoma	as .	-	-		-	30	12	17	30	_	-	30	12	18	15
	San Matheo		-	-		-	31	05	19	20	-	-	31	30	19	00
	Pena de dos	Picos -		_		-	32	10	21	06	_	_	32	20	21	10
	Baxo -	_	-	_		_	32	27	21	01	-	-	32	40	21	00
	Guadalupe			-		-	28	30	20	50	-	-	28	55	21	00
	Islote -			-		_	28	12	21	о8	-	-	_			
	Three small	Islets -		-		-				_	-	-{			Guada [al-abri	
	Mal-abrigo-	-North	end	-		-	27	45	21	14	-	-	27	42	21	00
	South end of	the re	efs	-		-	26	16	20	47	-	-	26	28	21	00
	Desea Naside	a -		-		-					-	-	26	23	19	56
	I. de Patos,	ò de L	obos	-		-	26	18	20	20	-	-	25	36	20	$^{2}5$
	$oldsymbol{D} esconocido$			-		-	26	00	20	05	-	-	25	12	20	50
	Bolcan (or V	olcano))	-	\mathbf{N}^{o}	1.	33	37	18	40	-	-	34	04	18	20
	Bolcan			-	N°	2.	25	55	20	30	-	-	25	55	21	00
	Bolcan			-	N°	3.	24	10	19	36	-	-	24	20	19	20
	Bolcan	-	-	-	N°	4.	23	40	18	55	-	-	24	00	18	40
	Farellon de 1	Paxaros	i	-		-	20	52	19	30	-	~	21	12	19	30

SeeVol. III. opposite to p. 293.

The Farellon de Paxaros is the most Northern of the Marianas or Ladrones, being to the North of Urac, which is the most Northern in the chart of P. Alonzo Lopez. Texeira carries the Ladrones still further North, making them extend to 22° 00′ N latitude.

					F	By Bueno's Table.					By the Chart in Anson.					
					Lat	itude.	Long	itude.			Latitu	ıde.	Longi	tude.		
Los Jardine	s	_	-	-	20°	12	25	54	-	_	20°	12	26°	oó		
				to	21	00	to 26	35	-	to	21	48	to 28	45		
I. de Sebasti	an	$Lopez, \delta$	de					13	-	-	25	20	29	30		
					[27	57 30	31	10	-	-	29	00	31	00		
Colunas	-	-	-		28	30	30	45	-	-	29	45	`30	30		
					(—	_	-		-	-	28	28	31	12		
An Island	-	-	-	-				_	•	-	23	5	32	50		

For the Islands in the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, most of the situations which appear in the chart of the track of the galeon in Commodore Anson's voyage, would require a deduction

deduction of ten degrees from the longitude. In preference to which, two Spanish manuscript charts, one by Joseph Belverde, a pilot, the other without the author's name, and both without dates, but which in the delineation and in the writing are after the manner in use in the early part of the last century, have been recurred to for joint testimony with the table of Cabrera Bueno.

Islands in the route from Acapulco to the Philippines.

				В	y Buen	o's Table				Spanish MS. Charts.				
				Latitude.		Longitude.				Latitude.		Longitude.		
Acapulco -	-	_	-	_°		124	3ó	-	_	°		124	35	
Isle de Paxaros	-	-	-	26	23	91	05	-	-	27	00	87	45	
Ulloa	-	-	-	22	23	93	15	-	-	23	o 6	89	00	
La Desgraciada	-	-	-	19	45	91	50	-	-	19	45	-88	05	
La Mesa, ò la Ma	ra	•	-	19	23	90	20	-	-	18	50	87	30	
Los Monges -		-	-{	19 20	33 15	89 89	00 20	-	-	19 20	15 15	8 ₅ 86	35	

In the Route from Acapulco to the Philippines.

La Mesa and los Monges are supposed to be the Islands at present named the Sandwich Islands, but the longitude in which they were found by Captain Cook has been an objection. La Mesa (supposed to be the Island Owhyhee) is laid down in the chart shewing the track of the galeon, 100° 30' E from the Emboc. de San Bernardino, which is equal to 224° 15' E of Greenwich. Owhyhee, the body of it, according to modern observations, is in 2031° longitude E of Greenwich, which is a difference of above 20 degrees, and a larger error than can be conceived to have been made in so short a run as from the coast of New Spain. But according to Bueno's table, la Mesa is 214° 05' E of Greenwich, which differs from the known longitude of Owhyhee only 10° 35'; and the manuscript chart quoted gives the difference not quite eight degrees. The name la Mesa signifying the Table, is descriptive of the high level land of Owhyhec. The latitude accords; la Mesa also is laid down to the SE of the other Islands; all which leaves little reason to doubt the identity of la Mesa and Owhyhee.

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Y

List

CHAP. 8.

List continued.

		Buen	o's Table.		Spanish MS. Charts.						
	Latit	ude.	Long		Latit	ude.	Longitude.				
An Island					-	-	20	1ó	77	3 ó	
Isla de San Francisco -	- 19	30	73	35	-		20	20	74	15	
Baxo de Manuel Rodriguez	- 11	20	68 to 67	5 ² 45		to			72 to 70	10 30	
Baxo de Villalobos	- 14	53	62 to 61	54 50		- to		18 45	67 to 65	00	
Barbudos	- 9	05	54	25	-	-	10	20	57	10	
Baxo	- 10	16	52	18	-	-	11	00	54	00	

Between the parallels of 8° N and 12° N, and in longitude from 23° E to 42° E from the *Emb. de San Bernardino*, many banks and reefs are laid down in the old charts, and some notices inserted of them in the Tables. The Islands Westward, and between the parallel of these and the equinoctial line, have been considered as belonging to the *Carolinas Islands*.

More Northward on the Charts, are

			Latitude.	Longitude.	Latitude.	Longitude.		
Desierta	-		' -'	′	 20 28	42 00		
La Mira -	-	-			 20 40	40 30		
Disierta -	-	-			 23 40	36 42		
Bolcan -	-	-			 22 35	36 30		
La Mira -	-	-			 21 24	36 o6		
San Bartholome*	-	-	- 14 00	36 00	 14 16	37 00		

^{*} San Bartholome is mentioned in the account of its discovery as a single Island. See Vol. I. p. 138. In 1807, the Lord Cornwallis, an English ship, being in latitude 14° 30′ N, and longitude 168° 42′ E from Greenwich, saw five Islands with a reef running from them to the SE, the whole extending about 20 miles. Notwithstanding the being mentioned as a single Island in the old accounts, and so marked in the Spanish charts, it is probable that the small groupe seen by the Lord Cornwallis is the San Bartholome, as no certainty appears of other land being near that situation.

CHAP. IX.

Being a Revision or Supplement, regarding the following Particulars:

- 1. Mis-translation of Francisco de Gualle's Navigation to New Spain.
- 2. Manuscript relation of a Voyage to the Strait of Anian, said to be written by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado.
- 3. Condite Head Rock.
- 4. The Cumbrian's Reef.
- 5. The Caledonian Colony at Darien.
- 6. On the Passage to the South Sea by the South of America.

COME Explanations which occurred too late to be intro- CHAP. 9. duced in their proper places, will be given in this Chapter, according to the order in which the subjects stand in the Work.

1. In VOLUME II, at chap. 3, in the description of the navigation of Francisco de Gualle, or Gali, from China to New Spain, in 1584, Gali is said to have made the coast of America in 371° N latitude; and a note is added, remarking, that the New Spain. editor of the Spanish Voyage made in 1792 to examine the Strait of Juan de Fuca, appeared to have met with an edition of Gali's Voyage, in which Gali is represented to have made the American Coast in 571 N. This has proved to be the fact. Francisco de Gualle's account of his navigation was published in the Dutch language by J. Huighen Van Linschoten, in his descriptions of the navigation of the Portuguese in the East Indies. Linschoten's work has been translated into the Y 2 English

Of Francisco de Gualle on the Coast of

CHAP. 9. Francisco de Gualle on the Coast of

English and French languages. The French translation (at least the edition of 1638, and perhaps the same in other editions) makes de Gualle say he made the coast of New Spain in 571 degrees North; the number being expressed in figures. There New Spain. are two English translations of Fr. de Gualle's Voyage, one in Wolfe's edition of Linschoten, published in 1598, the other in Vol. IIId of Hakluyt; and they agree in de Gualle making the coast of $N \in w$ Spain in latitude thirty-seven degrees and a half, the number in each being set down in words at full length. A Dutch copy of Linschoten's work is rarely to be met with. The plates in the original publication were esteemed valuable, and exposed it to ravages, in the commission of which not unfrequently what is left is reduced to the state of waste paper. This has rendered the Dutch Linschoten scarce. His account of Francisco Gualle's navigation however is inserted in Nicolaes Witsen's Noord en Oost Tarterye, and in both Linschoten and Witsen the latitude is 37 degrees and a half. The passage is as follows :---

' Gekomen zijnde, met den zelven koers [Oost en Oost ten ' Noorden van Japan af] by de kust van Nieu Spanje, op de ' hooghte van zeven en dertigh graden en een half, quamen wy ' by een hooge en zeer fraye landowe, met veel geboomte ' verciert, gantsch en al zonder sneeuw.'* Which is thus rendered in the English translation:—' Being come by the same ' course [East and E b N from Japan] upon the coast of New Spain, under seven-and-thirty degrees and a half, we passed by ' a very high and fair land with many trees, and wholly with-' out snow.' The Narrative proceeds, 'From thence we ran 'SE, SE b S, and SE b E, as we found the wind, to the Point, ' called Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of California.

There

^{*} Reysgheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloysers in Orienten. Door Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, cap. 54. Amstelredam, 1604. And Witsen, Vol. II, p. 48, edit. of 1692.

There is another misinterpretation in the French, and the two CHAP. 9. help to support each other. The course Oost en Oost ten Noorden is rendered, Est et Nord Est .- Estans venus suivant

- ' ce même cours [Est et Nord Est] pres de la coste de la
- ' Nouvelle Espagne, à la hauteur de 57 degrez & demi, nous
- 'approchames d'un haut & fort beau pays, orné de nombre
- ' d'arbres & entierement sans neige.'

A high land, ornamented with trees and entirely without snow, is not inapplicable to the latitude of 371; but would not be credible if said of the American coast in 57½ N, though nothing were known of the extraordinary high mountains which are on the Western side of America in that parallel.

2. In VOLUME II, chap. 8, are slightly noticed certain reports of Discoveries having been made of a North West Passage from Europe to China; one of which is of a voyage by a Captain Lorenzo Ferrar Maldonado to the Strait of Anian. Not many years back, a manuscript Narrative, written in the Maldonado. Spanish language, under the above name and character, was brought into notice. More than a single copy of this narrative has been found. One is said to have been discovered at Cadiz, in, or not long before, the year 1790, by M. de Mendoza, a Captain in the Spanish Navy, then employed to form a collection for the use of that service, on the subject of which M. Buache composed a Memoir, which was read at the French Academy in November 1790. Another has been found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and translations of it in the French and Italian languages were published in 1812.

The appearance of this narrative has produced some discussion whether the matter related is a fiction, or an account of a voyage which was really performed; it seems proper therefore to give a more particular account.

That such a manuscript existed, is certified in a catalogue of Spanish

Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, A. D. 1588.

Spanish books, entitled Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, published in 1672, and is expressed as in the following article;

- 'Laurentius Ferrer Maldonado; militiæ dato olim nomine, 'literis etiam, quæ militem decent, navavit operam, scripsitque,
- ' ut de re nautica & geographica benemereretur.
- ' Imagen del Mundo sobre le Esfera, Cosmografia, Geografia y ' Arte de Navigar. Compluti apud Joannem Garciam, 1626. 4.
- 'Relacion del Descubr. del Estr. de Anian hecho por el autor;
- ' quam vidi MS. apud D. Hieronymum Mascareñas, Regium
- ' ordinum Militarium, deinde concilii Portugalliæ senatorem,
- ' Segoviensem nunc antistitem. Expeditionem autem hanc
- nauticam se fecisse anno 1588 auctor ait. Hic (Ant' a Leone
- ' teste in Bibliotheca Indica) ex eorum numero est, qui nostris
- 'Indicarum rerum senatoribus spem fecerunt cum versoriæ
- ' pixidis novæ, absque solemni & consueta ut vocant varia-
- tione, tum graduum longitudinis in navigatione certæ dimen-
- ' sionis atq. observationis; sed impensæ laborique fructus non
- respondit.' Bibliotheca Hispana Nova. Auctore D. Nicolas
 Ant' Hispalensi.—i. e.:
- ' Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, formerly a military man,
- ' also attentive to that sort of learning which becomes a
- soldier, and who wrote books of merit, nautical and geogra-
- ' phical; as, Imagen del Mundo sobre le Esfera, &c. printed at
- · Complutum (i. e. Alcala de Henarez,) by J. Garcia, 1626, 4to.
- ' Relacion del Descubr. &c. (i. e. Relation of the Discovery of the
- ' Strait of Anian, made by the Author;) which I saw in manu-
- ' script in the possession of Don Jerome Mascarenhas, a
- ' Knight of the Military Orders; afterwards one of the Council
- ' for Portuguese Affairs, and now Bishop of Segovia. The
- 'author says that he made this naval expedition himself in the
- ' year 1588. He is one of those (according to Antonio Leo
- ' in his Bibliotheca Indica) who gave hopes to our Council for
- the Affairs of India of the discovery of a Mariner's Compass
- ' without the usual variation, and of a method of ascertaining

'a degree

' a degree of longitude in navigation; but the attempt was CHAP. 9. ' not successful.' Bibliotheca Hispana Nova. By Don Nicolas Antonio of Seville. Printed at Madrid, 1788.

Maldonado,

'and

The manuscript thus come to light proves to be neither a A.D.1588. Journal nor a regular Narrative, but is composed in the style and manner of a Memoir, to recommend the taking possession of, and fortifying, the Strait of Anian; containing also directions for sailing thither, in which directions the author incidentally and in the manner of allusion, relates particulars of the track he professes to have sailed himself. The following is an extract of the material passages :-

- ' Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me ' Captain Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, in the year 1588, in which ' is written the order of the navigation, the situation of the place.
- ' and the manner of fortifying it.'

· First, of the advantages of this Navigation ;-

- ' By means of this Strait, the King would render himself sole
- ' master of all the spices, and make a profit of five millions ' annually, by constraining other nations to send to Spain to
- or procure them. Spain therefore ought immediately to set
- ' about securing and fortifying this Strait. But it is necessary
- that I should shew the route which must be taken, the ports
- ' that will be found, and that I add thereto a narration of my ' voyage.
 - ' Departing from Spain or Lisbon, the course is to the NW
- ' 450 leagues, by which you will arrive to 60° North latitude,
- ' where you will have sight of Friesland. Thence, the route
- ' must be to the West, keeping in the said latitude 180 leagues
- ' to the land of Labrador, at the place where begins the
- ' Strait of Labrador. Here are two channels, one leading to
- ' the NE, and the other to the NW. The course must be in
- ' that to the NW to 64°, where the channel changes its direc-
- ' tion, and you will have to sail North 120 leagues to the
- f latitude of 72°. The channel then again turns to the NW

CHAP. Q.

Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, A. D. 1588.

- ' and you run in it to 75°. You then entirely quit the Strait of
- ' Labrador and begin to lower your latitude, steering W b S 350
- ' leagues to latitude 71°. It was at this place in our voyage that
- ' we discovered a high land, but we could not discern if it was
- ' Island or Continent. Nevertheless we concluded that if it
- ' was the main land it would be joined to New Spain. From
- ' seeing this land you steer WSW 440 leagues, to 60° latitude,
- where should be found the Strait of Anian. In this manner
- ' they will make the same navigation which I have made, at
- ' least from Friesland to this place. The distance to be sailed
- from Spain to the Strait of Anian is 1,710 leagues.'
- When we went out from the Strait of Labrador, which was
- ' at the beginning of the month of March, we had much to
- ' suffer from the darkness, the cold, and tempests. Those who
- ' think this sea can be entirely frozen over are in an error, for
- by reason of its extent, of the great currents which are in the
- ' Strait, and the high waves which keep the sea continually in
- ' motion, it cannot be frozen; but on the shores and in the
- ' places where the sea is tranquil, I think it may be frozen.'
 - ' When we were on our return, in the month of June, and
- ' in part of July, we had continual light, and the sun never
- descended below the horizon till we were the second time in
- ' the middle of the Strait of Labrador. Whilst the sun remained ' continually above the horizon, the air was so warm that we
- ' had to suffer as much from the heat as in the hottest time ' in Spain.'

Strait of Anian.

- The Strait which we discovered in 60° N latitude appears to be that which from an ancient tradition the cosmographers ' in their charts call the Strait of Anian; and if it is true that
- ' such a Strait exists, it ought necessarily to leave Asia on one
- ' side and America on the other. When we went out of the
- Strait into the Great Sea [the Pacific Ocean] we navigated
- ' along the coast of America more than 100 leagues, having our prow to the SW till we found ourselves in 55° latitude. We then

left

' left this coast which we saw prolonged itself towards the CHAP. 9. ' South; and directed our prow to the West four days at ' 30 leagues per day, and discovered a large land and great Ferrer Maldonado. ' chains of mountains. We navigated along it, keeping at a dis- A.D. 1588. ' tance, sometimes to the NE, sometimes to the NW, and some-' times to the North, but in general to the NE. We could not ' know particular things of this coast because we kept far off ' from the land. I can only affirm that the country is peopled, ' because in many places we saw men; and we judged that ' these lands were the lands of the Tartars, or of Catay. ' At length, following this same coast, we again found our-' selves in the Strait of Anian, from which we had gone fifteen

' days before into the Great Sea, which we knew to be the ' South Sea, where lie the countries of Japan, China, the

' Moluccas, and New Guinea, with the discovery of Captain

' Quiros, and all the Western coast of New Spain and Peru.'

' At the mouth of the Strait by which you enter the South Sea, on the American side is a Port capable of containing 500 ships. The country is pleasant; the temperature agreeable; the cold of the winter not rigorous, though in 59° N latitude, to judge by the kinds of fruits which were found. Here ' are very high trees, some producing good fruits like to those ' in Spain, and others not before known to us.'

' The Strait has 15 leagues of extent, in which it makes six ' turns or angles, and the two entrances are North and South ' from each other. The breadth of the Northern entrance is less ' than half a quarter of a league. The Southern entrance, which is near the Port, is more than a quarter of a league in breadth; and in the middle is a great rock or Islot about 200 ' paces in diameter, of a circular form, and of the height of ' three stades. The channel on one side of this Islot is so shal-' low as to be navigable only for boats; but the channel between ' the Islot and the land of America, though not quite half a

' quarter Vol. V.

Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado. A. D. 1588.

CHAP. 9. quarter of a league in breadth, has deep water for ships. The ' borders are low, and forts might be built both on the main-' land and on the Islot, which would straiten the passage to ' within musket shot. The passage might also be shut or locked ' up with a chain across, which with industry might be formed

' strong enough to stand against the currents.'

' It is difficult to know the entrance of the Strait on the ' Northern side, because the two shores interlock, reciprocally ' hiding each other. In fact, when we first arrived there, we were some days without perceiving it, although we had ' already entered, being guided by a good narrative of Juan ' Martinez, Pilot-mayor, who was a Portuguese, a native of · Algarva, a very old man and of much experience. But I have ' taken marks by the mountains to enable me to make another ' navigation, if I should have occasion.'

'In the Port where we cast anchor we lay from the begin-' ning of April to the middle of June. At this epoch, we saw ' come from the South Sea to enter the Strait a great ship of 6 800 tons, which made us take to our arms; but we recipro-' cally came to know each other as peaceable voyagers. The ' sailors had the generosity to give us some of the merchandize of their cargo, which resembled the things which come to us from China, as brocades, silks, porcelain, and other effects of ' value, as precious stones and gold. These people appeared to ' us to be Moscovites, or Anseatiques, that is to say, those who ' make their residence in the Port of Saint Michael. They said they came from a large town which was distant from the ' Strait a little more than 100 leagues, where they had left ' another vessel of their country. We could not obtain much ' information from these people, because they spoke to us with 'little confidence and much circumspection; and for that ' reason we soon separated; and having left them near the ' Strait and in the North Sea, we took the route for Spain.'

The

CHAP. 9.

The foregoing extract or abridgement contains the heads of Lorenzo the Maldonado manuscript. With respect to the testimony of Maldonado. Nicholas Antonio, is to be remarked, that it authenticates the A.D. 1588. genuineness of the manuscript so far as to shew its existence in his time, and no farther; having no bearing upon the truth or falsehood of its contents.

The first questionable circumstance in the narration is, the navigating in 75 degrees North latitude in the beginning of March, and in a very narrow channel. The most diligent and adventurous of the Northern discoverers, have not, in any other instance related, set out on their enterprizes to a high North latitude so early in the year, except upon sledges over the ice.

The crooked or zigzag shape of the Strait between two continents not more than half a quarter of a league apart, the islot in the middle, the shallowness of the water on one side in consequence of which only one channel would require being guarded, and the low borders convenient for erecting forts, have altogether the appearance of nothing more or less than the fancies of a dreaming projector, who amused his mind by building on this ground. The Strait, with the subsequent navigation, is incompatible with our present knowledge in Northern geography; whence however may be inferred, that the manuscript was written before the discovery of Behring's Strait. At the same time, the mention made in it of Quiros's discovery (which could not be known in Spain before the year 1607), proves it to have been written many years subsequent to the discovery alledged in it. Mr. Goldson, who has collected much information concerning North-western discoveries, has supposed Maldonado's Strait of Anian to come into Prince William's

CHAP. Q. Lorenzo Ferrer a Maldonado.

Sound*; but the distance is not sufficiently great from the Strait of Labrador for Maldonado's navigation; and another circumstance more difficult to reconcile is, that in sailing a A.D. 1588. South-westerly course along the American coast from Prince William's Sound, the coast will be on the starboard or right hand; whereas when Maldonado sailed out of his Strait of Anian into the Great Sea, 100 leagues along the coast of America, with his prow to the SW, the said coast was all that time upon his left hand; and at his departure from it when he steered towards the coast of Asia, it is remarked to have been seen prolonging itself towards the South.

See Vol. I. p. 15.

The introduction of Juan Martinez is an imitation of Martin de Boemia in Pigafetta's narrative, and in like manner it makes Martinez, and not Maldonado, the discoverer of this NW passage. It is but a small matter in so many extraordinary circumstances, that after Maldonado had happily accomplished his passage into the South Sea, he should choose to return with his ship empty, notwithstanding the likewise extraordinary circumstance of witnessing the rich commodities which were to be obtained by voyaging to India, by meeting the great Russian ship in the Strait of Anian, 56 years according to the histories extant of Siberia before the Russians had any knowledge of the countries Eastward of the Kolyma. The purport of Maldonado's voyage accordingly appears to have been solely to verify the discovery of Martinez.

It may be reckoned among the improbabilities for which credit has been demanded, that the author should have presented a fiction so easy to be detected, to the Council of the Indies. It must not be omitted that the reckoning of distances

^{*} Chart exhibiting the Tracks of Maldonado and De Fonte compared with the Modern Discoveries. Published with Observations on the Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, &c. By William Goldson. Portsmouth, 1793.

in the Narrative is in German leagues. It is said 'from the lati- CHAP. 9. tude of 64° you will have to sail North 120 leagues to the latitude of 72°; which corresponds with the German league of 15 to a degree, and not with the Spanish league of 171 to a degree, by which last the early Spanish navigators were accustomed to reckon. From this peculiarity in the Narrative, it may be conjectured that its real author was a Fleming, who probably thought he could not better advance his spurious offspring, than by laying it at the door of a man who had projected to invent a compass without variation.

3. Volume IId, in chap. o, has been omitted Sir Richard NorthCoast Hawkins's description of the North coast of his Maiden Land. John Davis's Sir Richard says, 'The Westernmost point of the land which Islands, or

- ' we first fell in with (on February the 2d 1594) is the end of the ' land to the Westward, as we afterwards found. If a man bring
- ' this point SW, it riseth in three mounts or hillocks: bringing
- ' it more Westerly they shoot themselves all into one; and
- ' bringing it Easterly, it riseth in two hillocks. We called this
- ' Point Tremountaine. Some 12 or 14 leagues from the Point
- · Eastwards fair by the shore, lieth a low flat Island of some two
- ' leagues long; we named it Faire Island. Some three or four
- ' leagues Easterly from this Island, is a goodly opening or arm
- of the sea, with a goodly low country adjacent. And eight or
- ' ten leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the
- ' shore, lieth a big rock, which at first we thought to be a ship
- ' under all her sails; but as we came near, it discovered itself to
- ' be a rock. We called it Condite Head; for howsoever a man
- ' cometh

Hawkins's Maiden

Land.

' cometh with it, it is like to the condite [conduit] heads about the City of London *.'

The Cumbrian's Reef. 4. Volume III, at p. 435. In the Memoir to the chart of the coast of China, an account is given of a Reef called the Cumbrian's Reef, between the Northernmost of the Bashee Islands and the Island Botel Tobago Xima. A more minute account of the Cumbrian's Reef is printed in the 24th Volume of the Naval Chronicle; from which, and from a communication received by letter from an unknown hand, the following particulars are gathered:—

The Reef is a narrow slip, about seven miles in extent, lying in an Eastern and Western, or in an ESE and WNW direction. The West end is in latitude 21° 34′ N. The Easternmost part is 17′ of longitude to the West of the Northernmost Bashee Island.

Scots Colony at Darien. 5. In Volume IV, Part II, chap. 4, is an account of the Caledonian Colony on the *Isthmus of Darien*. A Catalogue of Books entitled the *American Library* (a collection not at present existing,) gives the following titles of publications, which throw some additional light on the history of that Colony.

Abstract of a Letter from a person of worth [Mr. Paterson] to a friend at Boston, in New England, acquainting him with their Settlement at Darien, giving an account of the country and the good disposition of the natives towards them, and of their having

^{*} The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 70.

having written to the President of Panama, acquainting him with CHAP. 9. their peaceable intentions, &c. Dated February 1698-9.

A Proclamation by the Hon. Sir William Beeston, Knt. Governor of Jamaica, representing that he had received orders from his Majesty, commanding him not to afford any assistance to the Scots in peopling Darien, and prohibiting correspondence with them, &c. Dated April the 9th, 1699.

An Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, submitted to the consideration of the people of England. Glasgow, 1699.

By the King. A Proclamation against a false and traitorous libel, entitled, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, &c. Dated January the 29th, 1699.

Memorial delivered to King William by the Ambassador of Spain, against the Settlement of the Scots at Darien. May the 3d, 1699.

Copy of Queen Anne's most gracious Letter to the Parliament of Scotland, in Answer to their Address; expressing her royal regret for their losses and disappointments, and promising to concur in any reasonable proposition for their reparation. Given at St. James's, April the 21st, 1702.

6. Advice and direction has been given by several Voyagers for making the passage into the South Sea by the South of Navigation America. A few additional remarks nevertheless may not be superfluous.

On the from the Atlantic to the South Sea.

Bad passages and failures have been frequent in every season of the year. Simon de Cordes was the whole of a severe winter (i.e. from April to September) in the Strait of Magalhanes before he could effect his passage into the South Sea. De

Beauchesne

CHAP. 9. Beauchesne entered the Strait in the middle of winter, and was six months in passing through. Drake and John Davis entered the Strait in August, and both passed through within three weeks of their entry; but Davis was driven back into the Strait and was not able afterwards to make good his passage.

> Of late years, the navigation round Cape Horne has been preferred to the passage through the Strait, being with reason esteemed less troublesome, less uncertain, and less dangerous; in the winter months especially. The summer passages, as may be supposed, have been the most numerous; and of both summer and winter, at least two-thirds have been such as may be termed favourable. Formerly, when a passage was made with little difficulty in the winter season, it was thought remarkable, and became more known than a good passage made in summer. It is in favour of the winter experiment, that it is perhaps never undertaken but by ships in the best condition, and with every careful preparation. And in the journal kept by Captain John Macbride of the winds and weather at the Falkland Islands, it appears that there was more of Easterly and of variable winds between the beginning of May and the end of September than in the other part of the year.

> Captain Macbride remarked also that the gales blew stronger in summer than in the winter, for 'in winter,' he says, 'the ' winds are pent up by a keen frosty air.' This, though only the experience of a single year, is much in favour of attempting the passage in winter; but upon the whole, it may be concluded that to a well furnished vessel, the choice of time is not of material consequence for the navigation.

> Another point of advice, which recommends going some degrees more South than Cape Horne, as the best mode for getting round, may be admitted when struggling against adverse winds, and then only. The farther a ship is from the land, the more she is at liberty to take advantage of favourable slants of

wind:

wind; and Cape Horne being a sudden and sharp termination CHAP. 9. of a great Continent, where the West winds first find vent free from interruption, they must be expected to be more impetuous there than in the open space farther to the South.

THE early Maritime Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean are here brought down to the commencement of a series of voyages which may be reckoned the commencement of the modern discoveries. This series was begun by Great Britain shortly after the accession of King George the Third; and the voyages then undertaken are distinguished from the generality of the more early voyages by two creditable peculiarities; one, that their sole purpose was the advancement of knowledge; the other, that by improvements which were obtaining into general practice in geographical science, the situations of all the latter discoveries are so correctly ascertained and described, that the seeking them again creates no perplexity. Since the period above marked, voyages to the South Sea, and round the Globe, have become much more frequent than before, and a large proportion of them does not at all come into public notice. Hence is manifest the convenience or necessity of drawing a line of separation between the early and the modern discoveries. without which no history of them can be considered other than a fragment whilst any land remains undiscovered. The termination of the present Work is adapted to the commencement of the voyages in another collection, i. e. that of Hawkesworth, which, with the addition of M. de Bougainville's voyage round the World, follow as an immediate sequel, without any chasm being left, to the Discoveries here related.

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A a

In

CHAP. 9.

In concluding a work which has been the employment of many years, it is my duty to acknowledge that I have received much assistance, and have experienced many kindnesses in aid of my pursuit. In some instances the favour and benefit conferred appear jointly. To two persons I feel particularly bound to express obligation which has been constant throughout the work.—To the Right honourable Sir Joseph Banks, for the unrestrained use of his excellent collection of books of Voyages, for manuscripts, and for frequent information; and to John Rickman, Esq. who has had the friendship to bestow his attention in all cases of doubt, especially those which have arisen upon examination of the Proof sheets. For occasional assistance which has not been particularised, I hope I shall stand excused if in this place I make my acknowledgements generally.

An opinion formerly expressed, that the Discoveries of the Russians might form a Supplement to a History of South Sea Discoveries, on a nearer view of the subject it has been found necessary to abandon. The early expeditions of the Russians in the Eastern Sea have little connection with the early Discoveries made by other nations, and are so connected with each other in their progressive extension, that they furnish of themselves materials for a compact and complete body of history, of too much magnitude for the subordinate rank of Supplement to any Class of Voyages.

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