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by John Clipperton, the same man who had sailed as mate with Captain Dampier, and had deserted him in the voyage of the *St. George*: a proper instrument for such an undertaking as the present. In palliation it was said, that a breach between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was known to be unavoidable, and that a declaration of war was daily expected. This would not have afforded a shadow of excuse if the ships had been captured by the Spaniards; but it might have become a question of some interest, how far the Emperor's commission entitled the crews to be considered as prisoners of war. Events, however, relieved them from all danger of dependence on such a discussion. During the equipment of the ships, *Great Britain* actually declared war against *Spain*; and as marriage is sometimes said to repair frailty, in like manner, the obtaining regular British commissions rendered these ships unquestionably legal privateers.

English
Ships with
Austrian
Commissions.

But before the war was declared, Captain Shelvocke, in November, sailed over to *Ostend* in the *Stareinberg*, and received the commissions, which had the Emperor's own signature. He also took on board a number of Flemings who entered for the voyage. After finishing his business at *Ostend*, and having a clearance from that port, he sailed to the *Downs*, where he joined the *Prince Eugene*, the ship he had been appointed to command.

A material change, however, had taken place in the intentions of the Owners. Shelvocke was thought by them to have been extravagant in his management, and to have incurred more expence at *Ostend* than was necessary. He had given entertainments on board the ship to company, had broke in upon the sea stock of liquors, and had fired five barrels of powder away in salutes. He had also engaged ninety Flemings instead of sixty, which was the number prescribed; and what rendered more aggravating this extension of his authority, was, that the honest Flemings had their own officers, and both officers

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officers and men valued themselves that they acted under commission from their own sovereign, which was not well relished by the Englishmen. The owners so much disapproved of Shelvocke's proceedings, that they determined to displace him from the chief command, and they appointed Clipperton chief in his stead, establishing him in the command of the *Prince Eugene*, and leaving Shelvocke to command the *Staremborg*. A more weak arrangement cannot be well imagined. There was not in prudence any intermediate step between continuing Shelvocke in the chief command, and dismissing him altogether.

This change was attended with others, both of officers and men; and whilst the new arrangements were taking place, war was proclaimed by *Great Britain* against *Spain*. The Gentlemen Adventurers' immediately saw that they could with more convenience, and with more unquestionable authority, prosecute their undertaking under British commissions than under those they had procured from the Emperor. As soon as the new commissions were obtained, they discharged the Flemish seamen and officers, with a gratuity of two months extra wages, as compensation for their trouble and disappointment. In the English commissions, the original names were restored to the ships; and the crews were now completed with English seamen.

Was
declared by
Great
Britain
against
Spain.

The
Commissions
changed.

From the *Downs*, they sailed round to *Plsmouth*. Whilst they remained in that port, Shelvocke's discontent against Clipperton, whom he regarded as his supplanter, appeared in such a manner as to draw on him an admonitory letter from the owners in *London*, in which they warned him to refrain from rude and mutinous behaviour to his commander Clipperton, adding that if they did not by return of the mail receive assurances of his entire contentment in his present station, they would send another person to command the *Speedwell*. Shelvocke

PART II. wrote in answer, that the many favours he had received had brought him to a resolution of submitting, and that he should with the greatest cheerfulness shew Captain Clipperton all the respect in the world. Shelvocke relates of himself, that he stifled his resentment at this time and did not suffer it to break out into open flame*.

February. February the 13th, 1719, the Success and Speedwell departed on their voyage. They had not been a full week from *Plymouth*, when a gale of wind gave Shelvocke an opportunity and a cover for separation. On the night of the 19th, it blew hard from the WSW, and according to Shelvocke's account, his ship was in so distressed a condition that he was obliged to take in all sail; by which he lost company of the Success. Nothing appears in contradiction to Shelvocke's statement; but it was not in his power afterwards to take measures to secure the separation and avoid all risk of rejoining, without some of his contrivances to that end being evident. Clipperton had every reason for desiring to preserve company; for besides the advantage in any enterprise he might undertake of having a second ship under his command, the whole store of wine and brandy intended for the two ships was on board the Speedwell, having been purchased at *Ostend*, and Clipperton having postponed taking his part to a future opportunity, on account of his ship being much encumbered with other stores and provisions. Clipperton had appointed places for rendezvous, in case of separation; first at the *Grand Canary Island*, with direction to cruise and look there for each other

* Two histories were published of this voyage of Clipperton and Shelvocke. The first was written by Captain Shelvocke, and intended by him as a vindication of his conduct, some particulars of which were made the subject of public enquiry. The other was written by one of Shelvocke's officers, William Betagh, who sailed with him in quality of Captain of the Marines. Betagh was roughly treated in Shelvocke's narrative; and in return, wrote with the design of exposing Shelvocke. Both the narratives are written with spirit.

other ten days, and if they did not meet in that time, to proceed for the Island *Juan Fernandez*. CHAP. 13.

On the 20th, the day next after the stormy night, the gale abated. Clipperton, missing his consort, at two p. m. made sail to the Southward. Shelvocke, at noon, set his main-sail double reefed, and kept his ship in that state till midnight, when he set the topsails and stood to the NW. By this difference of manœuvring, the *Success* arrived off the *Canaries* on the 6th of March, and the *Speedwell* not till the 17th; 'and then,' says Betagh, 'Shelvocke, instead of going to windward of the Island as he ought to have done, hauled in close under the lee of the Island.'

Clipperton had cruised the appointed time off the *Grand Canary*, and was gone. Betagh compassionately observes, to make a comfortless voyage without wine or brandy, when Shelvocke arrived; who also stopped to cruise off the Island his ten days, and two or three days over. His launch chased there and took a small vessel with some salt and a quarter cask of wine, but the launch's crew drank nearly all the wine before they reached the ship with their prize.

From the *Canary Islands* Shelvocke went to the *Cape de Verde Islands*, he says 'in hopes to meet Captain Clipperton there.' After stopping some time at the Islands *Mdy* and *St. Jago*, the *Speedwell* sailed for *Brasil*, and on making the coast, met a Portuguese ship. Shelvocke hoisted Imperial colours, and sent his second Captain in an armed boat to examine her. This second Captain was Simon Hatley, a man remarkable for his strange adventures in the voyage of Woodes Rogers. Hatley on this occasion, conducted himself in a manner to make the Master of the Portuguese ship apprehensive she would be kept as a prize, by which means he extorted from him in the shape of a present, a large sum of money (Shelvocke acknowledges to 80 or 100 moidores, Betagh says 300), a

1719.
February.
20th.

March.

Proceed-
ings of
Shelvocke.

On the
Coast of
Brasil.
June.

PART II. dozen pieces of silk, some choice china, and a quantity of refreshments.
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The money, or the greater part of it, was shared by Hatley with the boat's crew; the other things were received on the footing of a present from the Portuguese Captain to Captain Shelvocke, who in return hailed the Portuguese, and told him he was at liberty to proceed on his course, thanked him for his present, and wished him a good voyage.

June.
At Santa
Katalina.

June the 19th, the *Speedwell* anchored at the Island *Santa Katalina*; at which time *Clipperton* in the *Success* was in the *Strait of Magalhanes*.

Whilst at *S^a Katalina*, the crew of the *Speedwell* wrote to their Captain, one of those letters which are called Round Robins, on account of the signatures to them being placed in a ring so that no one shall appear foremost. The purport of this Robin was a demand that one half of all prize money and prize goods, the proportion to which the officers and crews of the ship were entitled, should be shared among them immediately on the capture. "It is known to all," say the claimants, "how the people on board the *Duke* and *Dutchess* were treated; and if we carry our money to *London*, we cannot expect better treatment. Secondly, the articles presented for us to sign at *Plymouth* we were not allowed to read, but were told they were the same with those publicly hung up at the great cabin door, though we are now assured of the contrary. One thing we saw in them was, that there was three times as much writing in them as in those on the cabin-door, and that they were interlined in several places, which we do not know the meaning of." To this remonstrance and demand were tacked other demands respecting the division of plunder, and what should be considered plunder; one of which demands was, that Captain Shelvocke should receive five per cent. of all plunder in consideration of his having given
up

up the cabin plunder to the ship's company. Shelvocke, in relating this affair, complains that through the impatience of his ship's company, he was under the necessity of signing the articles proposed by them. Betagh represents the whole transaction as a business contrived by Shelvocke himself, and acted under his management.

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Shelvocke was restless, and full of contrivances: he was a free drinker, and had generally a quarrel with one or more of his officers. Here on some disagreement he turned ashore the Master of his ship, and swore that he should never come over her sides again; but his anger being afterwards appeased, he allowed him to come in at one of the gun ports.

August the 8th, they sailed from the Island *S^a Katalina*. A short time after, Shelvocke expelled Betagh from the cabin mess. Betagh, who seems to have been the most in fault, made a written apology, which was accepted, and he was re-admitted into the mess. Shelvocke published this apology in his history of the voyage. The two extracts which follow will serve as specimens of the style and temper of these antagonists.

August.

‘ As we advanced Southward,’ says Shelvocke, ‘ my people’s stomachs increased with the sharpness of the air. Some of my officers in particular were angry they could not have a greater share of provisions than the common people. Mr. Betagh, my Captain of Marines, a man whom I had a great regard for, was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table, for he told me that he had orders from the owners to eat with me; and what was my table if I did not eat better than the cook? To this I answered, that he could have no reason to complain, having all along fared as well as myself without any charge to him. But notwithstanding all I could say, this good gentleman did not think it proper to use any decency at such a table, and would sometimes

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‘ sometimes take the greatest part of what we had upon his
‘ own plate;’ so that I found myself obliged to divide the
‘ allowance into equal parts, and every one had their part by
‘ lot.’ Betagh in reply says, “ That I was a champion for the
“ officers, and wanted a greater allowance at his table, is a
“ false insinuation; and Shelvocke aggravates this story by
“ saying, Betagh had a voracious appetite, and eat more than
“ came to his share. I need not wonder at any thing Shelvocke
“ says on this head, for being a very small eater himself, he
“ fancied all other people gluttons: I verily believe he never
“ eat above two ounces in a day, as long as the *Hipsy* (a liquor
“ compounded of wine, water, and brandy) lasted; but he
“ was a great drinker all the voyage, whereas I never loved
“ drinking: so that the difference between us is only this, I eat
“ more than he, and he drank more than I.”

September
Strait
Le Maire.

Shelvocke passed *Strait le Maire* on the 25th of September.
In going round *Cape Horne*, he was forced as far South as
61° 30' S latitude. The cold was very severe. On the 1st of

October.
Passage
round
Cape
Horne.

October, having occasion to furl the mainsail, a seaman named
William Camel, who was on the main yard, called out that his
hands and fingers were so benumbed that he could not hold
himself fast; and before help could be given him, he fell from
the yard overboard, and was drowned.

‘ We had continued squalls of sleet, snow, and rain,’ says
Shelvocke, ‘ and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by
‘ gloomy dismal clouds. One would think it impossible any
‘ thing could live in so rigid a climate; and indeed we all
‘ observed we had not the sight of one fish of any kind since we
‘ were come to the Southward of the *Strait le Maire*; nor one sea-
‘ bird, except a disconsolate black Albatross, who accompanied
‘ us several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till
‘ Simon Hatley, my second Captain, observing in one of his
‘ melancholy fits, that this bird was always hovering near us,
‘ imagined

‘ imagined from his colour, that it might be some ill omen :
 ‘ and being encouraged in his superstition by the continued
 ‘ series of contrary tempestuous winds which had oppressed us
 ‘ ever since we had got into this sea, he, after some fruitless
 ‘ attempts, at length shot the Albatross, perhaps not doubting
 ‘ that we should have a fair wind after it.’

CHAP. 13.
 The
 Albatross.

It may naturally be imagined that the displeasure conceived at the killing this bird, produced from the pen of Mr. Coleridge, the Poem of the *Auncyent Marinere*.

‘ The Sun came up upon the left,
 ‘ Out of the sea came he :
 ‘ And he shone bright, and on the right,
 ‘ Went down into the sea:
 ‘ Higher and higher every day,
 ‘ Till over the mast at noon——

And afterwards,

‘ Listen, Stranger! storm and wind,
 ‘ A wind and tempest strong!
 ‘ For days and weeks it play’d us freaks,
 ‘ Like chaff we drove along.
 ‘ And through the drifts the snowy clifts
 ‘ Did send a dismal sheen,
 ‘ Ne shapes of men, ne beasts we ken—
 ‘ The ice was all between.
 ‘ At length did cross an Albatross,
 ‘ Thorough the fog it came.
 ‘ And as it were a Christian soul,
 ‘ We hail’d it in God’s name.

Here the author has made a prosperous gale the meed of kindness and hospitality shewn to the Albatross. The other circumstances he has exactly preserved.

‘ ‘ The marineres gave it biscuit worms,
 ‘ And round and round it flew :
 ‘ The ice did split with a thunder fit ;
 ‘ The helmsman steered us through.

‘ And

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' And a good South wind sprung up behind,
 ' The Albatross did follow ;
 ' And every day, for food or play,
 ' Came to the Marinere's hollo.

 ' In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud
 ' It perch'd for vespers nine ;
 ' Whiles all the night, through fog-smoke white,
 ' Glimmer'd the white moon shine.

 " God save thee, ancient Marinere !
 " From the fiends that plague thee thus !
 " Why look'st thou so ?"—' With my cross bow
 ' I shot the Albatross.

 ' The Sun came up upon the right,
 ' Out of the sea came he ;
 ' And broad as a weft upon the left
 ' Went down into the sea.

 ' And the good South wind still blew behind,
 ' But no sweet bird did follow,
 ' Ne any day for food or play
 ' Came to the Marinere's hollo !

 ' And I had done an hellish thing
 ' And it would work 'em woe,
 ' For all avert'd I had kill'd the Bird
 ' That made the breeze to blow.

In the sequel, the poet, pursuing his own fancy, avenges the death of the Albatross by the visitation of a calamity, in its nature the very reverse of the evil which had occasioned their former complaint.

' Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down—

Afterwards again,

' And we did speak, only to break
 ' The silence of the sea.'

In the case of Simon Hatley, his wanton or superstitious sacrifice of the Albatross has served to procure distinction for
 his

his victim, but he had no cause to imagine it produced any favourable effect on the winds; which continued contrary and tempestuous throughout the whole of October.

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November the 14th, however, they made the coast of *Chili*, and on the 19th, at noon, the latitude observed being $44^{\circ} 43' S$, the body of an Island which Shelvocke supposed to be *Narbrough's Island*, bore NE, distant three leagues. The variation was observed here $8^{\circ} 50' E$. The land is not again mentioned till the 21st, on the forenoon of which day, Shelvocke says, 'I steered $E \frac{1}{4} N$ for the *River of St. Domingo*, which empties itself from that part of the coast which is situated opposite to *Narbrough's Island*. Here I imagined we might find wood and water. As we came in with the land, we had regular soundings from 28 to 20 fathoms; but as soon as we advanced a little into the entrance of the river, the water shoaled from 18 to 15, 12, 9, 7, 5, $4 \frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, as fast as the man could heave the lead; therefore not to run risk in so unfrequented a place, I stood out to sea again.' Afterwards, in ranging along the shore Northward, he rounded some bays, but found the bottom foul.

November.
Coast of
Chili.
Narbrough's
Island.

River of
S. Domingo.

They went without the Island *Chiloe*, and on the morning of the 30th, sailed round its North end and into the channel between that and the Continent, with French colours hoisted. At ten in the forenoon they were near the point of *Carel Mapu*, when the weather became thick and rainy, on which account the ship was brought to an anchor, there being ground at 13 fathoms depth. The wind was from the Northward and in opposition to the tide. After the ship anchored, the wind freshened, and the rapidity of the tide increased, which made the whole channel in a foam. At two in the afternoon, the cable parted; Shelvocke says, 'I stood directly across the channel for the Island *Chiloe*, all surrounded with seeming shoals. When we had advanced within a mile of *Chiloe*, we ranged along shore to the Southward. We passed by two

At the
Island
Chiloe.

PART II. ' commodious bays, but saw nothing like a town near them,
 1719. ' and at length came about a point of land which is to be
 November. ' known by a high rock like a pyramid, which almost joins to
 At the ' it. Having rounded this point, I found myself entirely out
 Island ' of the tide, and commodiously sheltered, and we anchored
 Chiloe. ' over against a cross which was fixed on the Northern side of
 ' the harbour. I would advise all strangers who go in at the
 ' North end of *Chiloe*, to keep the Island side of the channel
 ' aboard. Run along shore to the Southward, passing two
 ' bays, but hold your way till you come to the point almost
 ' contiguous to which is the Rock like a pyramid. Pass between
 ' this Rock and a small round high Island which is near it, and
 ' run in, making most bold, when you are in, with the North
 ' side of the harbour.'

The appointed place of rendezvous, as before mentioned, was *Juan Fernandez*, and Shelvocke therefore thought it decent to complain in his narrative of the great unhappiness of his not being able to reach the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, for shortness of water. Betagh remarks on this, ' I allow Captain Shelvocke
 ' to be an able seaman, but he has the greatest share of
 ' hypocrisy I ever met with. He goes to *Narbrough's Island*,
 ' and to parts of the coast where no other ship ever touched,
 ' nor hath any chart described; yet he would venture in where
 ' we almost miraculously escaped with our lives; and all this
 ' to avoid joining Captain Clipperton. But Shelvocke kept no
 ' journal, neither would he suffer any other person in the ship
 ' to keep one; it being with him a maxim, that there should
 ' be no pen and ink work on board his ship.'

December. Being safely harboured, on the next day, December the 1st, Shelvocke sent the pinnace to look for a town called *Chacao*, which he proposed to attack. Wood and fresh water were near the ship, and the country abounded in farm houses and plantations.

On the 3d, a Spanish officer came to the ship to enquire her business,

business, and was answered that she put in here to procure provisions. Letters passed between Shelvocke and the Governor of *Chiloe*, which were of no moment; but the Spanish Governor does not appear to have been deceived into a belief that Shelvocke's ship was French. All this time the pinnace had not returned, and great apprehensions were entertained for her safety. The 8th, Shelvocke's launch took a large piragua laden with sheep, hogs, poultry, barley, and vegetables; besides which, she brought off cattle and provisions from the shore. On the evening of the 8th, the pinnace returned on board, having been absent a week, though she had departed from the ship with only one day's provision. It seems they had seen boats full of people, among whom they could discern Spaniards, which made them apprehensive of being intercepted in their return; to avoid which danger they went entirely round the Island *Chiloe*, which extends two degrees in latitude. They had supplied themselves with provisions by landing.

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December.

At the
Island
Chiloe.

Shelvocke sent parties to forage among the farms and plantations; at the same time he caused notices in the Spanish language to be stuck up in conspicuous places, to inform the inhabitants that if they brought provisions, a fair price would be given for them; but if the ship was not supplied the houses would be set on fire: that every house in which should be found four hams, four bushels of wheat, and a certain quantity of potatoes, would be spared. By these means, in a short time the *Speedwell's* decks were covered with cattle, poultry, Indian corn, and potatoes.

December the 17th, Shelvocke sailed for *la Concepcion*, near which place he captured two small vessels; one with a cargo of fruits, the other with cedar planks. In an attempt to get off a vessel which the Spaniards had hauled on shore in a bay called *la Herradura* (the *Horse-shoe*) about two leagues Northward of *la Concepcion*, three of the *Speedwell's* crew were killed and

At La Con-
cepcion.

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December.

two made prisoners. One of the latter, James Daniel, had run into the water, and had almost reached the ship's boat, when he was caught by a line with a noose thrown over him, in the manner wild horses and cattle are caught in *South America*. In a day or two after this misfortune, they took a ship from *Callao* with a cargo of French linen, Peruvian cloth, 70 cwt. of good rusk, some rice, sugar, chocolate, and to the value of 6000 dollars in money and plate. Shelvocke negotiated with the Governor of *la Concepcion* for an exchange of prisoners, and recovered his two men; but they did not agree about ransom for the prizes, and on January the 6th, in the afternoon, previous to his sailing from *la Concepcion*, Shelvocke in anger ordered the two best prize vessels to be burnt; Betagh remarks, neglecting to preserve for the use of his own ship an anchor and cable to replace what had been lost at *Carel Mapu*.

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January.

At length, Shelvocke sailed for *Juan Fernandez*, taking with him the fruit prize-bark, fitted as a tender, and named by him the *Mercury*. On the 8th, the surface of the sea near the ship was covered with shrimps and prawns, of a red colour.

At Juan
Fernandez.

January the 11th, the *Speedwell* arrived at *Juan Fernandez*, and the first boat that went from her to the shore, found marks of the *Success* having been there. On the bark of a tree near the landing, was carved the name of the Surgeon of the *Success*, Clipperton not choosing to leave his own, which had become notorious in the *South Sea*. He had been gone from *Juan Fernandez* three months when Shelvocke arrived, having at his departure set up a cross, and left a bottle buried near it containing directions for Captain Shelvocke. But this came to the knowledge of the Spaniards, by means of a prize of Clipperton's retaken, and they dispatched a bark to the Island, which brought away the directions, and two men of Clipperton's crew who had deserted from his ship.

Shelvocke

Shelvocke stopped no longer at *Juan Fernandez* than to salt five puncheons of fish. On the 15th, he sailed back to the American coast. The crew of the *Mercury* Tender was reinforced, and she was employed to cruise close in with the land, which she could do without exciting suspicion.

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1720.

January.

On the
Coast of
Peru.

February.

February the 6th, near *Arica*, they took two small vessels for which they obtained ransom, 1540 pieces of eight and two jars of brandy.

'The inhabitants of the Vale of *Arica*,' Shelvocke says, 'make great profit by cultivating *Agi*, or codpepper, which they could not do if it was not for the *guano*, or cormorant's dung. They supply a great part of *Peru* and *Chili* with the *Agi*, for which there is an universal demand, it being eaten in great quantities by people of all ages in these kingdoms.'

On the 9th, the *Speedwell* stood in towards *Ylo*. Four vessels were in the Road, one of which was a French ship named *Le Sage Solomon*, of 40 guns, whose Commander sent notice to the *Speedwell* that he took the other vessels, which were Spanish, under his protection. Shelvocke sailed on Northward.

Ylo.
9th.

When abreast *Callao*, the *Speedwell* kept aloof from the land, whilst the *Mercury*, with a crew of fifteen men under Hatley and Betagh, sailed close along the coast, having directions to rejoin the *Speedwell* at the *Lobos de la Mar Isles*.

26th.

The *Speedwell* captured a small vessel with timber in the Road of *Guanchaco* (near *Truxillo*), but lost there an anchor by the tenacity of the bottom. Shelvocke put a crew of eleven men into the new prize, and named her the *St. David*, she being a fast sailer. A day or two afterwards, the *Speedwell* chased another Spanish vessel, the Master of which, rather than be taken, ran her ashore on the open coast, in a high surf, where she instantly went to pieces; but the crew,

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On the
Coast of
Peru.

crew, most of them if not all, were saved. Shelvocke intended next to go to the *Lobos Isles* for the *Mercury*, but by some accident he fell to leeward almost as far as *Cape Blanco*, and it took twelve days to recover the ground which had been lost. In the mean time, the *Mercury* made two prizes, with which she sailed for the *Lobos de la Mar* to meet the *Speedwell*; but a Spanish ship of war fell in with and took her and her prizes.

Payta
plundered
and burnt.

Shelvocke went to the *Lobos de la Mar*, and not meeting the *Mercury*, left written directions there, and sailed to *Payta*. This was in the middle of March, and Shelvocke relates, 'I sent the launch to see if there were any ships in the Cove of *Payta*, but it proved rainy and thick weather, a thing so uncommon on the coast of Peru that the Spaniards affirm it never rains there, and they could perceive nothing like a Town.' March the 21st, Shelvocke anchored in the Bay or Cove of *Payta*, and plundered the town, in which he found a good quantity of provisions. The *St. David* tender was left cruising off the *Saddle of Payta* because she was without an anchor. Shelvocke demanded of the Spaniards 10,000 dollars for ransom of the town, which being refused, he set it on fire. The houses were blazing, and the *Speedwell* still at anchor before the town, when a large ship was seen standing in, which proved to be a Spanish ship of war of more than double the force of the *Speedwell*. Her dilatory manner of proceeding, however, gave opportunity to Shelvocke to get out of the Bay and clear off, without a man being hurt, but with the loss of his boats and an anchor; for there was not time to weigh.

The next morning after this escape, the *Speedwell* fell in with another Spanish ship of war, and was chased the whole day. 'Night coming on,' says Shelvocke, 'I made use of the old stratagem, I thought it might be new here, of turning a light
' adrift

adrift in a half tub, and then altered' my course.' The old stratagem succeeded, and the *Speedwell* made a second escape ; but the *St. David* tender was taken.

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The coast of *Peru* being so much guarded, Shelvocke determined to go and water at *Juan Fernandez*, with intention to return afterwards to the coast of *Chili*, where it was probable he would not be again expected. During the passage, the carpenters built a new boat. Fish were at this time caught in such plenty that the ships crew always had their choice of Dolphin or Albacore.

May the 11th, they made *Juan Fernandez*. Only one anchor remained, on which account they plied off and on, and employed their only boat in fetching water and refreshments from the shore, till the 21st, when, tired of the tedious and inconvenient mode of watering with one boat at an uncertain distance, by which little more was obtained than supplied their daily consumption, they came to an anchor in 40 fathoms depth, within less than half a mile of the shore, and made a warp three hausers and a half in length, one end of which they fastened to the rocks, to steady the ship ; and by this warp they hauled their rafts of casks to and from the shore.

May.
At Juan
Fernandez.

The next day (the 22d,) they were ready for sea, but the wind would not allow them opportunity on that or either of the two following days, to get out. On the 25th, the wind freshened from seaward, and brought in a great swell, with which their cable soon parted, at what time of the day is not mentioned, and the ship was cast on the shore, providentially opposite to a part favourable for landing. With the violence of the shock on the ship's first striking, the masts went by the board altogether, and fell over to windward, which was the off-shore side. This left room to leeward for making a raft, by means of which, some of the stores, and the ship's company, one man excepted who was drowned, were landed before dark.

22d.

25th,

Wreck
of the
Speedwell.

The

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May.

Shelvocke
on Juan
Fernandez.

The night was boisterous and rainy, and no farther attempt was then made to save any thing from the wreck ; but a good fire was lighted, round which the crew, seventy-one persons, laid themselves, and notwithstanding their misfortune slept soundly.

The next morning, ' getting up with the first glimpse of day-light,' Shelvocke says, ' we looked at each other like men awakened out of a dream, so great and sudden was the change in our condition.' It was however with difficulty that a few of the people were prevailed on to work at the wreck, the greater part being much amused in rambling over the Island, and contriving where they should build themselves huts. A good part of the stores was saved, but of the provisions, only one cask of beef, eight bags of bread, one of flour, and four or five live hogs, were got on shore before the ship went to pieces. Some other things were afterwards thrown ashore. Of the money which had been obtained by captures and plunder, the account given by Shelvocke was, that 1100 dollars belonging to the gentlemen owners, which out of his great care for their interest he had kept in his own chest, were safely landed ; but that all other prize money had been put in the bottom of the bread-room for security, and was lost with the ship.

Betagh was at this time a prisoner to the Spaniards ; he nevertheless wrote a continuation of Shelvocke's voyage, for the sake of controverting the vulnerable parts of Shelvocke's narrative ; but he aims at him here in the wrong place in accusing him of losing the Speedwell purposely, that he and his crew might cruise on a new bottom, and thereby exclude the gentlemen owners from all share of their future captures. If Shelvocke had been provided with a new bottom fit for such service, there might have been reason for suspecting him ; but his having no other vessel fully refutes the charge.

' When the cable parted,' says Betagh, ' one of the officers called out to set the foresail ; but Shelvocke ordered down the men who were casting the sail loose, and taking the helm in his

‘ his hand, said, “ Nèver mind it, boys, stand all fast ; I’ll lay
 “ her on a feather bed.” Betagh represents this as preventing
 the ship from being saved ; but it is to be regarded as ready pre-
 sence of mind by which his own life and the lives of the crew
 were preserved ; for if instead of giving the ship a direction to a
 part of the shore where landing was most practicable, she had
 been suffered to take the ground opposite to rocky cliffs, they
 would probably have all perished. Betagh seems to have come
 nearer the truth, when he says that many things of value were
 landed from the ship, which Shelvocke secreted.

CHAP. 13.
 1720.
 May.
 Shelvocke
 on Juan
 Fernandez.

The shipwrecked people built huts, which they either thatched
 or covered with the skins of sea-lions and seals, on the flesh of
 which, and on fish, they were obliged chiefly to live. Goats
 were difficult to come at, there being little powder or shot to
 spare. Cats were plentiful, ‘ in size and colour the same as our
 ‘ house cats,’ and were thought good food. By accident their
 boat went adrift and was not recovered ; after which they
 made small boats of basket-work covered with sea-lions’ skins,
 which served very well for fishing. Turnips were growing in
 abundance, and of other vegetables, they had palm-cabbage,
 water-cresses, and wild sorrel.

Some iron-work and a forge and bellows had been saved. On
 June the 8th, the carpenter laid blocks for building a new
 vessel. The bowsprit of their late ship served to make the
 keel, the length of which was settled to be 30 feet ; and
 the breadth of the vessel to be 16 feet, with seven feet depth
 of hold.

June.

In two months time their vessel ‘ began to make a tolerable
 show ;’ and a large boat was likewise in great forwardness.

In the mean time, the people had prepared a paper of new
 articles, which they delivered to Captain Shelvocke, and
 demanded his concurrence. The preamble stated, that ‘ the
 Speedwell being cast away, they were at their own disposal,

PART II. 'and their obligations to the owners, or to him as Captain, were
 1720. 'no longer of validity.' They then proposed a new plan of
 August. distribution, offering to Shelvocke the command, and six shares,
 Shelvocke if he would sign their articles. Shelvocke says, he did his
 on Juan utmost to defend the interest of the owners, but he was deserted
 Fernandez. by every one, both officers and men, and was obliged to sign
 to their demands. On which his antagonist remarks, that
 'though Shelvocke had the assurance to tell mankind that the
 'owners' title was quite sunk, he nevertheless proceeded to act
 'upon the authority of the King's commission, which was the
 'property of the owners; and he afterwards in *China* pro-
 'duced this commission as a protection for himself and people,
 'and for all that they had got together.'

The signing the new articles was followed by a division of the dollars which had been saved, claimed by the crew as being of right the property of those who saved it. Shelvocke complied, and received his six shares.

Enough of the sails and rigging had been cast ashore to furnish their new vessel, and a small cannon was dived for and recovered. The ship's pumps were likewise fitted to her, and she was launched on October the 5th. She was of about 20 tons burthen, had two masts, and was named the *Recovery*. She was anchored in the bay, a great stone serving for anchor. The water, provisions, and their one cannon for which they had no carriage, were immediately shipped. The next day, Shelvocke and 46 others embarked, leaving eleven Englishmen and thirteen Indians on the Island, who, Shelvocke says, remained at their own desire, from the bad opinion they entertained of the new-built vessel. In fact, she was not large enough to receive the whole of their number.

October.
 A new
 Vessel
 launched.

The stock of provisions for her, consisted of the bread, beef, flour, and live hogs already mentioned; 2,500 eels cured by being dipped in salt-water and smoked, averaging about one

one pound weight each, and about 60 gallons of sea oil for frying. CHAP. 13.

On the evening of the 6th, the *Recovery* sailed from *Juan Fernandez*, taking the new boat in tow. They stood Eastward towards the Continent, and on the 10th, they fell in with a Spanish merchant ship named *la Margarita*; to which they gave chase. As they came up with her, they fired with their one gun, pointing it as well as they could as it lay on the deck; but the *Margarita* returned the fire, by which the gunner of the *Recovery* was killed, and three other men were wounded, and she got clear off. 1720.
October.
Departure
from Juan
Fernandez.

The *Recovery* made the coast near *Coquimbo*, and the weather being rough, bore away Northward to the Island *Yquique*, where Shelvocke landed and found a good supply of provisions, and a Spanish launch. 'The channel between *Yquique* and the main is full of rocks.' Coast of
Chili
and Peru.

Island
Yquique.

Proceeding Northward, they came up with another Spanish merchant ship, called the *Francisco Palacio*, abreast of *Nasca*; but she likewise had guns and made resistance, and the sea ran too high to attempt boarding with their slight bark. This second repulse caused much discontent, and in the night, two men who had charge of one of the boats, went off with her. The next day, on coming near *Pisco*, they saw a ship at anchor in the road. The wind being favourable, they ran right down upon her, and laid their bark directly across her bows. On boarding her, 'we had the satisfaction,' says Shelvocke, 'instead of finding resistance, to be received by the Captain and his officers with their hats off.' This ship was named the *Jesu Maria*; was of 200 tons burthen, and laden with pitch, copper, and plank. The Spanish Captain offered to procure 16000 dollars for her ransom; but no ransom could be so valuable at this time to the captors as a good ship. They however gave their own bark to the Spanish Captain. Pisco.

As they sailed from *Pisco* in the *Jesu Maria*, they saw their November.

PART II. boat which had lately left them. The two men in her made
 1720. towards the ship, supposing her to be Spanish, and were not
 November. a little surprised to find they had rejoined their former com-
 Coast of pany. The excuse they made was that they had fallen asleep,
 Peru. and when they awoke, the bark was not in sight.

They continued Northward, keeping at a distance in passing
 At Payta. *Callao*. November the 26th, they stood into the *Bay of Payta*,
 under Spanish colours, and by keeping the crew out of sight,
 except a few to work the vessel, and those dressed like Spaniards,
 they surprised the town so completely, that on landing they
 found the children playing on the beach, who were the first to
 give the alarm. There was little of value, however, in the
 town, except bread and sweetmeats; and whilst they lay at
Payta, a small vessel entered the bay with fifty jars of Peruvian
 wine and brandy, which they took. They learnt that Clipperton
 had been lately off *Payta*.

December. December the 2d, they stopped at the Island *Gorgona*, to
 Island take in fresh water; and January the 13th (1721) they anchored
 Gorgona. at the NE part of the Island *Quibo*. They took here two boats
 1721. with provisions, principally of plantains which had been dried
 At the for keeping. 'This being pounded made a flour grateful to the
 Island taste, and indifferently white, and there was enough to make
 Quibo. 'a month's bread for the company.' They landed also on the
 main-land, and surprised the wife and children of a farmer, who
 redeemed them with a present of cattle, poultry, dried beef, and
 Indian corn.

25th. They put to sea with their decks full of hogs and fowls. On
 the morning of the 25th, being not far from *Quibo*, they saw a
 sail to leeward of them, and bore down towards her, till they
 perceived that she was a European built ship, and was making
 towards them; on which Shelvocke hauled upon a wind. It
 soon afterwards fell calm, when a boat put off from the strange
 ship, and came to Shelvocke's, by which it was learnt that the
 ship

ship to leeward was the *Success*, commanded by Captain Clipperton. CHAP. 13.

The satisfaction at this unexpected meeting after a separation of twenty-three months was not great, neither was it increased by the communication made of their transactions during that period. Betagh says, 'Clipperton might well be surprised at the history of Shelvocke's management; and Shelvocke had as great reason to wonder the other did not confine him for it: and I can tell him the gentlemen at home took it ill that he did not.' Clipperton was doubtful whether he could be justified in such a step, or whether the owners or himself could pretend to any authority over Shelvocke and his crew, now that they were not in the *Speedwell*, nor in a vessel captured whilst the *Speedwell* was in being, the general custom in shipwrecks in the merchant-service being, that when the ship is lost, the claim of the mariner to wages and subsistence ceases. Shelvocke however, was required to go on board the *Success* to give an account of his proceedings. Here doubtless he was in some peril, the account he had to render being not at all to Captain Clipperton's satisfaction. He was suffered, however, to return to his ship, and Clipperton limited his resentment to refusing to associate with him, unless he and his crew would refund all the money they had shared amongst themselves contrary to the Articles with the owners, and put it in a joint stock, to which condition Shelvocke and his men would not consent; and on the 26th, the day after their meeting, they parted company, having first made an exchange of a few stores, to which Clipperton unwillingly agreed. Among the things supplied to Shelvocke were two cannon with their furniture. •

1721.
January.
Shelvocke
and
Clipperton
meet.

It seems not amiss in this place to speak of the proceedings, and adventures of Clipperton after Shelvocke's separation in the *Atlantic*, to their meeting in the *South Sea*, of which Betagh has given a short account from the journal of Mr. George Taylor, the chief mate of the *Success*.

After

PART 41.
 Clipperton
 from the
 Canary
 Islands.
 1719.
 In the
 Strait of
 Magalhães.

After leaving the *Canary Islands*, Clipperton lost no time in making his passage to the *South Sea*, but was not early enough, nor was Shelvocke who 'purposely delayed, late enough, to escape the evils of a severe Southern winter, which was that year extremely sharp. Clipperton went by the *Strait of Magalhães*, which he entered on the 30th of May (1719.) The next day, the pinnace was sent for fresh water to *Queen Elizabeth Island*; and in the evening she returned on board, leaving behind the Surgeon's Mate, who had carelessly wandered from the landing-place, and who remained on shore all night. The next morning, a boat was sent which brought him on board almost dead with cold; and afterwards he was obliged to have one of his toes amputated, a mortification having taken place.

Search for
 the Passage
 of the
 St Barbe.

The *Success* anchored in *York Road*, and some of the officers went in the pinnace over to the *del Fuego* side of the *Strait* to search for the passage of the *Saint Barbe*, but they were not successful, and Betagh's account of the attempt yields no other information, than that they found an inlet in the *Tierra del Fuego* which was choked with ice. How situated from *York Road*, or from any known station, is not mentioned.

Seven men of the crew of the *Success* died in the *Strait*, and mostly from the severity of the cold. August the 18th, she entered the *South Sea*, and on September the 7th arrived at *Juan Fernandez*. In October, Clipperton sailed to the coast of *Peru*, and in a short time took a greater number of prizes than he was able to secure, yet, says Betagh, 'he would not be content without grasping more than he could hold.' By keeping possession of many prizes, he could spare but a small number of men to each. On November the 19th, a ship named the *Rosario* having struck to him, he sent a boat with eight men to take charge of her, whilst he went on with the *Success* in farther pursuit. The Spanish Captain saw his advantage in these circumstances, and desired his passengers and part of his crew

crew to conceal themselves in the hold, who, when the *Success* had chased to a distance, came out upon the prize-masters and retook their ship; but the *Success* soon discontinuing chase and returning, to avoid being again taken, they ran her on the coast. The people got safely on shore, and gave the first alarm of the English being then in the *South Sea*. The Viceroy of *Peru* was so well pleased with the conduct of the Spanish Captain, that he ordered a new ship to be built for him at the public expence.

About the end of November, Clipperton loaded one of his prizes with goods out of the other prizes, and sent her away with a crew of thirteen Englishmen and ten negroes, for the coast of *Brasil*, there to dispose of the cargo. There was reason afterwards to conclude, that this vessel was taken by the Spaniards.

In January, 1720, Clipperton went to the *Galapagos Islands*. Thence he sailed for the *Bay of Panama*, and, January the 21st, captured a ship named the *Prince Eugene*, from *Panama* bound to *Lima*, on board of which were the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, late President of *Panama*, and his family. Clipperton sailed with his prize and prisoners for *Ria Lexa*, where he came to an agreement with the Marquis for their ransom, in consequence of which, the Marchioness with her only child were landed and set at liberty, and it was settled that the Marquis should remain as a hostage till the terms of the agreement, which were in writing and subscribed, should be fulfilled.

Clipperton cruised the remainder of the year 1720 on the American coast, taking a range from *Amapalla* to *la Concepcion*. He plundered the town of *Truxillo*, and captured many vessels, not of great value, and was himself more than once in danger of being taken. In November, he learnt from the officers of a Spanish ship which he took near *Coquimbo*, that peace had been concluded between *England* and *Spain*. As this information did not come to Clipperton from any authority he was bound

PART II.

1720.

December.
Cocos
Island.

bound to acknowledge, he determined to pay attention to it or not, as he should judge for his own advantage.

In December, the *Success* went to *Cocos Island*, where the crew found good refreshment. Three of the seamen and eight negroes deserted from the ship there, and concealed themselves in the woods till she sailed.

1721.

January.
Meets
Shelvocke.

In January 1721, Clipperton sailed for the coast of *New Spain*, and on the 25th, near the Island of *Quibo*, he fell in with his old associate Shelvocke, from whom he parted company the next day, as before related.

Both Clipperton and Shelvocke intended to sail for the *East Indies*, and only waited on the coast of *New Spain* for the chance of falling in with a ship which they learnt was soon to sail from *Acapulco* for *Manila*. Shelvocke new named his ship, calling her the *Happy Return*. Entertaining the same views, the *Success* and *Happy Return* in the course of their cruising met three times, and as often separated without exchanging a word.

March.

March the 13th, they again met, and Clipperton proposed to Shelvocke that they should cruise in company for the *Acapulco* ship. Shelvocke and his people demanded to have a written agreement signed by Captain Clipperton, and the agent for the merchants, to secure to them what they claimed to be their due shares in the event of being successful: to which Clipperton and the agent answered, that Shelvocke and his company should first refund the money which they had shared, contrary to their articles with the owners.

Clipperton
sails from
New Spain.

This was their last communication, and on the 17th, Clipperton sailed for *China*, carrying with him his prisoner the Marquis de Villa Roche, whose ransom had not been paid.

May.
Arrives at
Guahan.

May the 13th, he arrived at the *Island of Guahan*, having lost six men in the passage thither from *New Spain*.

The Governor of *Guahan*, on being applied to by the Marquis de Villa Roche, undertook to advance him money to discharge

discharge his ransom ; upon which, the Marquis was allowed to go on shore, accompanied by the Owners Agent, a Lieutenant of the ship, and the Surgeon, who were expected to return with the money. The Marquis had been prisoner and as hostage with Clipperton sixteen months, and now on his landing, was saluted from the ship with five guns. A whole week afterwards elapsed without hearing from him. On the 25th, Clipperton received a letter from the Governor, demanding the Marquis's jewels, and some other things which he said had been illegally taken and detained ; and acquainting him that until they were restored, the Lieutenant and Agent would be detained.

The Marquis de Villa Roche was taken prisoner in January 1720. The treaty of peace between *England* and *Spain* was not signed at *Madrid* till June that year. The agreement between the Marquis and Clipperton for the ransom of himself and family, was likewise made before the peace. The legality of such an agreement may be questioned, the Marquis not being a free agent at the time, and because the practice of extorting ransom from prisoners had long fallen into disuse among Europeans. But whatever construction may be put upon the conduct of Clipperton, the demand for the jewels, and the detention of his officers, were both unreasonable. On the Marquis's conduct, it is difficult to pronounce. He had been detained after the peace between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was known ; but it was as a pledge for the performance of an agreement. On a near prospect of the agreement being fulfilled, he was allowed as a matter of civility to land at *Guahan*, and it does not appear that Clipperton had the discretion to require of him any parole, either for his return or for payment of the ransom.

Clipperton soon discovered there was no chance of his obtaining satisfaction by gentle means. A Spanish ship lay moored close to the shore, which he determined to seize, and weighed anchor with intention to run alongside of her ; but his ship got aground, and lay some hours exposed to the fire of the

PART II. Spaniards, by which one of his officers and another of his men were killed, and several wounded, without his being able to do the Spaniards any mischief. After extricating the ship from this situation, it appeared that his remaining longer at *Guahan* could answer no purpose, and on the 30th, he sailed for *China*.

1721.
May.
At *Guahan*.
Clipperton arrives at China.

July the 2d, he arrived at *Amoey*, and immediately after, the ship's company demanded distribution to be made of all prize money and prize goods. Clipperton objected or pretended to object, and the crew made appeal to Chinese authority, which without any repugnance took cognizance of the matter, and sent on board an order for the distribution, accompanied by a guard of Chinese soldiers. The owners' moiety amounted to 6000*l.* which was shipped on their account on board a homeward-bound Portuguese ship, the *Success* being judged incapable of proceeding to *England*. Nothing was set apart or reserved for the heirs or relations of those who had died in the voyage, or for those who were prisoners; but all their dues went to increase the shares of the captors present. By which division, the share of a foremast man was 419 dollars, and Clipperton had 6,285 dollars, being fifteen shares.

The ship sold.

The Portuguese ship which carried the owners' moiety, caught fire and was burnt in the harbour of *Rio Janeiro*, and not more than 1800 *l.* was saved for the owners. The *Success* was sold at *Macao* on account of the owners, and her crew were accommodated with passages at the rate of 5*l.* per man on board the English homeward-bound ships, which price was settled at the English factory at *Canton*. Clipperton just lived to revisit his home, which was in *Ireland*, and died two days after joining his family.

In June
1722.

Betagh speaks of Clipperton having made two voyages to the *South Sea* before this in the *Success*; but there is no other evidence of an intermediate voyage made by him between his being with Dampier, and his going in the *Success*.

Shelvocke

CHAP. 13.

1721.

March.

Shelvocke
on the
coast of
New Spain.

April.

Shelvocke after his final separation from Clipperton, on the 31st of March, made prize of a Spanish ship in the *Road of Sonsonate*, named *la Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons burthen, with a cargo of provisions and ammunition. This ship, being so furnished and thought to sail better than the *Jesu Maria* or *Happy Return*, Shelvocke and his people immediately occupied, and entered into treaty with a Spanish merchant who was among their prisoners to sell him the *Jesu Maria*. The same day, a boat from the shore brought a letter to Shelvocke from the Governor of *Sonsonate*, containing information of the peace concluded between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and a demand that the ship *Sacra Familia* should be restored. Shelvocke wrote an evasive answer, as if he was in doubt what he ought to do, and at the same time he requested that his ship might be supplied with provisions. This was complied with for several days, till the Governor, no longer crediting Shelvocke for any disposition to relinquish his last prize, ordered the officer and crew of his boat to be seized, and at the same time wrote to Shelvocke that if the *Sacra Familia* was not restored, he would proclaim him and his people pirates. Shelvocke sent an answer in French, in which he pretended to desire that the Governor would give safe conduct for himself and his men to travel across the *Isthmus* to *Porto Bello*. Without waiting the Governor's answer to this proposition, he set sail from *Sonsonate* in the ship in question.

Some apprehensions of being called to an account for the transactions at *Sonsonate*, made Shelvocke think it necessary to draw up a protest against the Governor's proceedings in detaining his boat, and a declaration that the Spanish ship *la Sacra Familia* had first cannonaded the English ship which caused him to attack her in return; that the Governor delayed giving answer to the demand for safe conduct, and that he was necessitated to depart by want of fresh water. This Declaration and Protest were subscribed by his officers and ship's company, all proper men to warrant each other.

PART II.

1721.

May.

Near *Amapalla Bay*, on May the 15th, they took a bark laden with provisions ; which Shelvocke relates as follows. ‘ The Master of this vessel had heard of nothing like a truce. He desired I would take him in tow, for that the currents drove him off shore, and his vessel was so leaky that his people were no longer able to stand at the pumps. Hearing this, I took her in tow, and kept the master on board, sending four Englishmen and some negroes from my own crew to assist the vessel.’ On the 17th, they chased another small bark, the master of which not choosing to be so assisted, ran his vessel on shore, and she was stranded. ‘ Their avoiding us in this manner,’ says Shelvocke, ‘ gave us good reason to believe the account of a cessation of arms was groundless and false.’

Near the
Bay of
Panama.

19th.

20th.

The 19th, in the morning, they saw a sail standing along shore, on which they cast off the bark they had in tow, and gave chase. The next morning they came up with her, and after an action of some continuance in which the Spanish Captain, Estevan de Recova, was killed, she surrendered. This ship was named the *Concepcion*, and belonged to *Callao*, but came last from *Guanchaco*. Shelvocke says she was laden with flour, sugar, boxes of marmalade, and preserved fruits, &c. had six guns mounted and 70 men ; that he made sail after her because he wanted a pilot, and that they fired at him as soon as he shewed his English colours, though he had not fired at them ; and would continue their fire, so that at length he and his men were obliged to begin and defend themselves.

Betagn says, ‘ This being the great crisis of Captain Shelvocke’s voyage, I shall be the more particular in relating the affair of this prize, which will open the most notorious scene of villany and deceit that has yet appeared. The ship was called the *Concepcion*, Don Stephen de Recova, commander, bound to *Panama*, and had on board several passengers of distinction, “ laden,” Captain Shelvocke says, “ with flour, “ sugar, boxes of marmalade, peaches, grapes, limes, *etcætera*.”

‘ Now,

‘ Now, Be it known to All Men, that this *etcetera* was 108,636
 ‘ pieces of eight: and Shelvocke little thought when he took
 ‘ this prize or compiled his book, that I of all men should
 ‘ have this exact state of the affair. He often said, he would
 ‘ never give the gentlemen owners a fair account; and I have
 ‘ often promised in this treatise to prove that he did say so;
 ‘ and now we have both made our words good.’

CHAP. 13.

1721.

May.

Near the
Bay of
Panama.

As soon as possession was secured of the *Concepcion*, Shelvocke stood towards the bark they had before taken in tow, which they did not rejoin till the 22d, when they found her abandoned, and her decks stained with blood; from which they could only conjecture that whilst they went in chase of the *Concepcion* the Spanish crew had risen against the four Englishmen and killed them; which Shelvocke remarks, ‘ was a cruel return for his civilities and services.’

Shelvocke and his crew loaded the *Sacra Familia* from the cargo of the *Concepcion*. After keeping possession three days, he delivered the ship back to the Spaniards, first requiring the principal officers and passengers to sign a representation, drawn up according to his own directions, of the circumstances of their meeting and engaging, and also of the civility with which they had been afterwards treated. At parting he saluted the principal passenger, the *Conde de la Rosa*, with nine guns.

Being now homeward-bound, Shelvocke directed his course for *California*. He stopped three days at the *Tres Marias Islands*, where he could not find fresh water: and on August the 13th, anchored in *Puerto Segura*, called also the *Bay de San Bernabé*. Shelvocke says ‘ *Puerto Segura* is about two leagues to the
 ‘ NEward of *Cape San Lucas*, which is the Southernmost land
 ‘ of *California*, and may be known by three white rocks, not
 ‘ much unlike the *Needles* of the *Isle of Wight*. You must
 ‘ keep close aboard the outermost to fetch into the Bay. Our
 ‘ ship lay in 13 fathoms, not above half a mile from the shore,
 ‘ and open to the sea from the Eb N to the SE b S. The
 ‘ wind

Tres
Marias.

August.

California.

Puerto
Segura.

PART II. ' wind during the time we were there was from the WSW to
 1721. ' the WNW. The watering place is on the North side 'in a
 August. ' small river, which empties itself through the sand into the
 ' sea. It is conspicuous by the appearance of green hollow
 ' canes which grow in it : the water is excellent for sea use *.'

The natives remembering their intercourse with Woodes Rogers, without the least reserve went off on their catamarans to the ship, before she got into the port. Shelvocke and his people were in great favour in consequence of entertaining them with sweetmeats; the negroes excepted, against whom the Californians at first shewed much dislike : but a negro cook who was employed on the beach to boil hasty pudding for them whilst the ship was watering, by his liberality wholly removed this prejudice. Another of their aversions was not overcome, which was against snuff, for whenever they saw any one about to take a pinch, they ran with earnestness to prevent it. Shelvocke says, ' the natives here are large-limbed, of dark complexion, with good countenances. 'They appear to be perfectly meek, but seem pretty haughty towards their women.'

A monstrous kind of flat fish, Shelvocke says 14 or 15 feet broad, and scarcely so much in length, was seen here ' sunning himself' on the surface of the sea near the shore. A number of the natives went into the water, and hunted him with such management as to drive him into shoal water, till he touched the ground, where, being unable to help himself, he was killed.

From
California
to China.
An Island
seen,

and named
Shelvocke's
Isle :

August the 18th, they sailed from *California* in the ship *Sacra Familia*, for *China*. Shelvocke relates, ' ou the 21st we
 ' discovered an Island bearing WSW, 110 leagues distant from
 ' *Cape San Lucas*. I could not approach it nearer than within
 ' the distance of two leagues. I judged it to be seven or eight
 ' leagues in circumference. On the SW of it, there appeared
 ' a large bay, with a high rock in the middle of it. This isle
 ' my

* *Shelvocke's Voyage*, pp. 390, and 403.

' my people called after my name. From hence we steered
' gradually down into the parallel of 13° N *.' CHAP. 13.
1721.

The WSW in the above quotation is susceptible of two different interpretations; one that it was the bearing of the Island from *Cape San Lucas*, which has been the generally received construction, and according to which *Shelvocke's Isle* is laid down in the charts in nearly 21° N latitude; the other, that it meant the bearing of the Island from the ship, when first seen. This last is the right construction, for the fact is cleared up in a Map of the World expressly intended to shew *Shelvocke's* track, and which fronts the title page to his History of the Voyage. His course from *Cape San Lucas* appears there to have been SW, and his *Shelvocke's Isle* is laid down in latitude considerably under 20° N; and doubtless is the *Roca Partida* seen by Villalobos and afterwards by Spilbergen. The *Shelvocke's Isle* marked on the present charts is therefore to be expunged. But is the
Roca
Partida.

In the passage to *China*, the crew suffered much from sickness, which *Shelvocke* attributed to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually eating.

November the 11th, they anchored at *Macao*, where they met some of *Clipperton's* people. The next day they proceeded up the *River Canton*; and on the 18th, anchored at *Whampo*. November.
In the River
Canton.

It happened that an English trading vessel named the *Bonita* was then preparing to sail for *Madras*. One of *Shelvocke's* men, named *David Griffiths*, wished to take a passage in the *Bonita*, and having made his agreement, procured a boat belonging to her, to transport his effects. In his way to the *Bonita*, a Chinese *Hoppo*, or custom-house boat, made towards him, intending to search his boat. *Griffiths*, being intoxicated, and also alarmed for his property, fired a musket at the Chinese boat, and killed one of the *Hoppo-men*. The next morning,
the

* *Shelvocke's Voyage*, p. 433-4.

PART II.
1721.

the corpse was laid before the door of the English factory, and a super-cargo belonging to the *Bonita* who happened to be the first Englishman that went out of the factory, was apprehended by the officers of the Chinese police, and led chained about the streets of *Canton*. Griffiths was secured and kept confined on board one of the English East-India Company's ships, whilst endeavours were made by the Factory to appease the Chinese; which however was not done, nor the release of the super-cargo obtained, until the culprit was delivered into their hands.

Shelvocke's ship was measured by the Hoppo, and if Shelvocke is to be believed, he was made to pay the enormous sum of 6500 tael (equal to 2,166 $\frac{1}{2}$ 13s. 4d sterling) for port duties; which was six times as much as the *Cadogan* East-India ship then lying at *Whampo*, and of larger dimensions, was required to pay. It may reasonably be supposed that Shelvocke and the Chinese officers were in connection to defraud his ship's company.

The ship *Sacra Familia* was sold for 2000 tael, and Shelvocke settled accounts with his men, in what manner, or the amount of the plunder shared among them, he has not mentioned; and here Betagh again has in part supplied the deficiency in Shelvocke's narrative, from a book of accounts which was kept by Shelvocke's Steward, wherein it appeared that 98,604 dollars were shared, of which Shelvocke received 11,325 dollars, and the share of an able seaman was 1,887 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; besides which, Betagh says, another sum amounting to 10,052 dollars, was entered in the Steward's books, without any account of its being divided.

1722.

Shelvocke went home passenger in the *Cadogan* East-India ship, and landed at *Dover*, July the 30th, 1722. On arriving in London, he was apprehended, as was his Steward. The peace had set Betagh at liberty, and he had arrived in England before Shelvocke.

A charge of piracy was laid against Shelvocke for the robbery committed

committed on the Portuguese ship on the coast of *Brasil*; and for taking the Spanish ship, *Sacra Familia*; but for want of pains in collecting evidence, the prosecution on these charges fell to the ground. The owners also prosecuted him for defrauding them, but he found means to make his escape from the King's Bench prison, and fled the kingdom. He afterwards entered into composition with the Gentlemen Adventurers and prevailed on them to drop the prosecution. In 1726, he published his account of the voyage, dedicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and in a preface modestly advises 'any set of gentlemen who in future shall be concerned in such an expedition, to let their chief care be in the choice of a Captain who has experience accompanied with a strict disposition to honour and honesty.' Captain William Betagh's Account of the Voyage was published two years afterwards.

CHAP. 13.
1722.

If the Success and Speedwell, or either of them, had returned to *England*, they might have been liable to claims from the South Sea Company; and as the case stood, it is not improbable that a prosecution would have been set on foot against the owners and Shelvocke, if the Company had not been in depressed circumstances; for during the voyage of Shelvocke, happened the unfortunate event which has been distinguished in British history by the name of the South Sea Bubble; and not unaptly so called, being attributable more to an excess of public credulity than to any other cause. The erection of a South Sea Company had encouraged the public to indulge in visionary prospects, and the delusion which prevailed in 1720 was so great, and was practised upon to so great an extent, as to reduce thousands of families from affluence to poverty.

1720.
The
South Sea
Bubble.

It had been suggested to the British Ministry that consolidating all the public debts into one fund, bearing one interest, would be a means of facilitating their redemption. The matter was debated in Parliament, and the great Public Companies

The
South Sea
Company.

PART II.

1720.

The
South Sea
Company.

made proposals for obtaining the management of the fund. The principal competitors were the Bank of England, and the South Sea Company. In their first offers the Bank outbid the South Sea Company; but the South Sea Directors, being determined at any price to have in their hands the whole management of the public debts, amended their proposals, making a second offer two millions beyond the proposal of the Bank, insomuch that the money and advantages offered to Government by the South Sea House amounted in value to above seven and a half millions sterling. The offer of the South Sea Company was accepted; and they were allowed, in addition to their other privileges, to increase their own capital stock. The Bill empowering them to do this received the Royal assent on the 7th of April. Whilst it was debating in the Houses of Parliament, the stock of the South Sea Company rose from 130 to above 300. The general persuasion was, that the great command of ready money which the interests of the public debts passing through the hands of the South Sea Company, would give them, joined to the increase of their capital and their large trading privileges, would enable them to enter on great and advantageous undertakings. A report was circulated by one of the Directors of the Company that *Gibraltar* and the Island *Minorca* were to be exchanged for some ports in *Peru*; and the prospect held forth of an enlarged South Sea trade raised the most extravagant hopes throughout the nation. After the Act was passed, South Sea stock continued to rise till it got up to above a thousand pounds for every original hundred pounds stock.

On the 8th of September, South Sea stock first experienced some depression. Nothing further was heard concerning exchanges to be made for Peruvian Ports; and as cool consideration returned, it filled the purchasers of stock with apprehension, and also soon filled the market with sellers. The fall was far more rapid than the rise had been, and before the end of the month of September, South Sea stock was down to 450. The number

who from sanguine expectations of profit had risked their whole property in the funds of the South Sea House was so great, that every where throughout the kingdom, says an Historian, were heard the ravings of despair. On a public enquiry into the causes of this misfortune, it was discovered that some of the Directors of the South Sea Company had sold more than half a million of fictitious stock. Several of the principal offenders whose illicit practices were discovered were rigorously prosecuted by the Government, and their effects sequestrated for the benefit of the sufferers; but their misdeeds did not amount to felony by the English law, and no capital punishment ensued. The Parliament annulled the bargain made with the South Sea Company, and passed an Act for transferring a part of the debts which had come under their management, into that of the Bank of England.

CHAP. 13.
The
South Sea
Company.

C H A P. XIV.

Voyage round the World, by Jacob Roggewein; commonly called the Expedition of Three Ships.

PART II.

THE Voyage of Jacob Roggewein, from the obscure manner in which his track is described, has been productive of more geographical discussion than any other voyage in the History of Maritime Discoveries. Much has been cleared up by later voyages, but much yet remains in doubt and perplexity.

Jacob Roggewein, a native of the Province of Zealand, was bred to the law, and went to the *East Indies* in the service of the Dutch East-India Company, where he was Counsellor in a Court of Judicature. He returned from *India* with a good fortune; and in 1721, presented a Memorial to the Dutch West-India Company, containing proposals for making discoveries of Southern Lands. Fifty-two years before, a similar, or strictly speaking, the same, project, had been offered to the West-India Company by the father of Jacob, which was then so much approved that the Company ordered vessels for carrying it into execution; but disputes occurring between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, caused the design to be relinquished. It is pretended that the elder Roggewein, a little before his death, exhorted his son not to lose sight of a scheme so important, which the son promised, and kept his word, but a little of the latest. It is no proof of the younger Roggewein having bestowed much reflection on the views of his father, that in the Memorial delivered by himself in 1721, he referred the Directors of the Company wholly to the Memorial which had been presented by his father. His application was nevertheless attended with success: the Company ordered three vessels to be equipped to go in search of unknown

unknown countries, and Jacob Roggewein was appointed Admiral of the expedition.

Other persons besides the Roggeweins had made proposals of this nature to the Dutch West-India Company, who met not the like favour. The real inducement to this undertaking was, the prospect of advantage to be derived from making a passage through the East-Indian Seas. With the same view, but professedly and openly, and with the indispensable requisition of discovering a passage to the *East Indies* not within the prohibitions in favour of the Dutch East-India Company, was undertaken the celebrated voyage of Jacob le Maire and Wilhem Schöuten.

An expedition to distant and unfrequented parts of the world, to be undertaken by three ships at the charge of a rich public Company, merited that some provision should have been made for its history being recorded with care and fidelity; but this was left to accident; and the chance did not prove fortunate, for no other voyage of discovery has been more indifferently furnished with journalists.

Mr. Dalrymple, who was at much pains in investigating the situations of the lands discovered by Roggewein, has given the following account and character of the printed journals of the voyage. 'Two relations have been published of Jacob Roggewein's Voyage; the first, anonymous, in the Dutch language, printed at *Dort* in 1728, in 4to, with the title *Twee Jaarige Reyze rondom de Wereld* (i. e. *A Two Years Voyage round the World*.) This appears to be an abstract of a sea Journal, to which circumstances of description have been added, perhaps from verbal report, with some exaggeration towards the marvellous. Reprinted in 1758.'

The other was in the German language, printed at *Leipsic*, in 1738; and a French translation of it was published at the *Hague*, the year following, with the title of *Histoire de l'Expédition de Trois Vaisseaux*. This was written by Charles Frederik Behrens, a native of *Mecklenburgh*, who was Serjeant and

PART II.

‘ and Commander of the troops in Roggewein’s small squadron.
 ‘ It is a very poor performance, written with much ignorance,
 ‘ though with the parade of knowledge. This narrative differs
 ‘ from the Dutch narrative printed at *Dort*, both in situations
 ‘ and dates. It appears to me that Behrens kept no journal and
 ‘ wrote from memory; but his narrative seems to be faithful in
 ‘ the recital of the things he saw *.’ Du Bois, in his *Lives of the*
Governors General of Batavia, says he had in his hands a Manuscript Journal ‘ of the Expedition under the command of
 ‘ Admiral Jacob Roggewein, for making discovery of unknown
 ‘ lands situated in the *South Sea* to the West of *America*, and
 ‘ that it very well agreed with the French narrative published at
 ‘ the *Hague* †.’ But the only situation mentioned by Du Bois,
 Mr. Dalrymple has remarked, differs in latitude, and yet more
 in longitude, from the Hague relation. It differs also from the
 Dutch relation.

The German narrative has a chart prefixed, on which is marked the track and discoveries of Roggewein, drawn by the author, C. F. Behrens. Mr. Dalrymple has given an abstract of both these journals in his *Historical Collection of Voyages*. His abstract of the Dutch narrative has been of great service in drawing up the present narrative, for which no copy of the original Dutch could be procured.

1721.
 August.
 Departure
 from
 Holland.

August the 21st, 1721, Jacob Roggewein departed from the *Terel* with the ships, *Arens* (the *Eagle*) carrying 36 guns and 111 men, Job Koster, Captain; the *Tienhoven*, of 28 guns and 100 men, Jacob Bauman, Captain; and the *African Galley*, of 14 guns and 60 men, Hendrik Rosenthal, Captain. The Admiral, Roggewein, was on board the *Arens*. Near the *Canary Islands* they were attacked by five sail of pirates, who retreated after an action by which the Dutch lost ten or twelve men, and had several wounded. In crossing the tropical latitudes they
 caught

* *Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean*. Vol. II. p. 85-6.

† *Vies des Gouverneurs Generaux*. p. 295.

caught dolphins, and Behrens remarks, 'these fish are called *Dorade* and *Dauphin*. In fact, it is the same fish; the *Dorade* is the female, and the *Dauphin* is the male.'

Roggewein stopped on the coast of *Brasil*, where nine of his men deserted. After leaving *Brasil*, Behrens relates, 'We looked for the Island of *Hawkins's Maiden Land*, but could not find it. As it is in an advantageous situation and in a good climate, our Admiral had thoughts of establishing there a colony for the convenience of vessels which might sail to and from the Southern Countries: but all our search was useless; and I am at a loss to know whether what has been related of this Island is a fable, or that we did not go the right way to discover it. We then changed our course and steered to the SW towards the *Isles Nouvelles*, called by a French Armateur the *Isles de St. Louis*. The 21st of December, being in latitude 40° S, we had a violent tempest, during which the *Tienhoven* was separated from us. After the storm, continuing our course, we discovered an Island which is 200 leagues in circuit, and is distant from the coast of *America* about 200 leagues. This Island is situated in 52° S latitude, and at 95° of longitude. We gave the name of *Belgia Austral* to the part we saw; it being situated in the same height of latitude South that the *Low Countries* are in North.'

This is perhaps a longer extract than was necessary to shew the journalist's want of information in geography.

On Christmas Eve, they were in the latitude of the *Strait of Magalhães*. Behrens observing the custom of the season, complains that by drinking too much punch, a sort of beverage used by the English, he brought on a violent illness, of which he did not recover till he came to land.

The *Arens* and the *African Galley* sailed through *Strait le Maire*, and on March the 10th, anchored at the *Isle of Mocha*. This Island they found without inhabitants, other than horses and dogs. From *Mocha* they sailed to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, where they rejoined the ship *Tienhoven*, Captain Bauman,

PART II.

1722.

Island of
Juan
Fernandez.

Bauman, who had sailed through the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and had anchored at *Juan Fernandez* only one day before them.

At *Juan Fernandez* they found goats, cats, and the refreshments which that Island is known to have always afforded, and they salted a quantity of fish. An officer belonging to one of the ships fell down a precipice and was killed. About the end of March, Roggewein set sail from *Juan Fernandez*.

Behrens says, 'we directed our course towards *Davis's Land*, situated to the WNW. We advanced always with the SE trade-wind. At length we arrived in latitude 28° S. Here we hoped to have found *Davis's Land*. What strengthened us in this opinion was a great number of birds, among which were teal; and an additional sign was, the wind becoming unsteady. Some pretended they saw land; but to the great astonishment of the Admiral, it was not seen. I think either we missed it, or there is not such a land. We still went on towards the West as far as to 12° more than the specified longitude, and we saw constantly many birds, as well land as sea-birds, which accompanied us till we came in sight of an Island. This was on the 6th of April, the anniversary of the Resurrection of our Saviour, and on that account we named it *Paaschen*, or *Oster Eilandt* [Easter Island.] It is about sixteen German leagues in circuit.'

6th.

Paaschen
or Easter
Island.

7th.

The land was seen to be inhabited; and the next day, when the ships were two German miles distant, standing in to look for a harbour, a man in a small canoe made of small pieces of plank curiously and neatly patched together, went off towards them. When near the ships, he stopped, and after looking some time, began to paddle back towards the shore, but was surrounded by the boats of the Dutch ships, and taken on board the Admiral. He was of a robust make, of a brown complexion, and quite naked, except that his body was painted over with various figures. His ears were remarkably long, reaching down to his shoulders, which was supposed to have been effected by the weight of heavy ear-rings. Some linen was given to cover him;

him, and a hat put upon his head. Beads and other things were also given to him, all of which, and a dried fish he had, he hung about his neck. Being helped to a glass of wine, instead of drinking it, he threw it into his eyes. He was fed, and afterwards treated with music, at which he appeared cheerful and merry, and danced with the Dutch sailors. When the Admiral thought he had been sufficiently regaled, he was put into his canoe with his presents about his neck, and departed highly contented, calling out frequently with a loud voice towards the shore as he went, *O-doroga, O-doroga!* It was supposed that his exclamations were addressed to some large idols which were seen placed on the coast; but it is equally probable that they were meant to inform his countrymen that the strangers were not enemies. The ships did not get to an anchorage during this day: the next morning, early, Behrens says 'we entered to the SE in a gulf, to anchor. *'Nous entrames d Sud Est dans un golfe pour y mouiller*.'* Many thousands of the inhabitants flocked thither, and some came off to the ships with fowls and roots. Others ran backward and forward on the shore from one place to another, like so many wild animals. They lighted fires at the foot of their idols to make offerings, as if to implore their assistance.'

8th.

The day was expended by Roggewein in making preparations for landing, as if it was the country of a formidable enemy. On the following morning the natives were seen to prostrate themselves with their faces towards the Sun, and they continued to light fires before their idols. Some however went to the ships with freedom, and among them their first visitor, carrying fowls and roots ready cooked. One of these natives was quite white [*toutafait blanc.*] He had round white pendants in his ears as large as the clenched fist of a man. His deportment was serious, and appeared devout, and he was thought to be one of their priests. By degrees the natives crowded in great

9th.

A bay in the North side of the Island and towards the East end, agrees the nearest with the circumstance here mentioned.

PART II. great numbers to the ships, both to traffic," and from curiosity ;
 1722. and it soon appeared that they had a propensity to pilfering.
 April. Things moveable that lay in their way, they would catch up, and
 At jump overboard with their prize ; so that the Hollanders found
 Paaschen, it necessary to lessen the number of their visitors, which they en-
 or Easter deavoured to do at first by gentle means ; but gradually recurred
 Island. to harsher, and drove some forcibly out of the ships. In a dis-
 pute of this kind, an Islander was killed by a musket-shot. This
 strange event caused so great a consternation, that all the natives
 on board the ships, and many in the canoes, threw themselves
 into the sea and swam to the shore ; and those who remained
 in their canoes paddled as fast as they could the same way.

10th. On the 10th, all was ready for the Admiral to land in a
 manner he thought consistent with his dignity and safety,
 and he went, attended by the boats of all the ships, and
 with 150 armed men. The natives had collected in a crowd
 close to the shore, and by placing themselves in the way,
 endeavoured to obstruct the landing ; but they were without
 arms, not thinking themselves able to engage in a serious con-
 test with these strangers. ' I was the first,' says Behrens, ' who
 ' put foot on shore. The inhabitants stood before us in such
 ' numbers that to advance it was necessary to push them
 ' out of the way. Some of them had the audacity to touch
 ' our arms, whereupon a discharge of musketry was fired
 ' among them.' In the Dutch narrative, this abominable pro-
 ceeding is related in the manner following. ' On the 10th,
 ' we went in the boats well armed in order to land and take
 ' a view of the country. An innumerable multitude of savages
 ' stood by the sea side to obstruct our landing. They threatened
 ' us mightily by their gestures, and shewed an inclination to
 ' turn us out of their country ; but as soon as we, through
 ' necessity, gave them a discharge of our muskets, and here and
 ' there brought one of them to the ground, they lost courage,
 ' They made the most surprising motions and gestures in the
 ' world, and viewed their fallen companions with the utmost
 ' astonishment, wondering at the wounds the bullets had made
 in

‘ in their bodies ; whereupon they fled with a dreadful howling, CHAP. 14.
‘ dragging the dead bodies along with them : so the shore was 1722.
‘ cleared and we landed in safety.’ April.

Behrens, whose narrative is the most reasonably written of the two, relates, ‘ in a short time they rallied and drew near
‘ us again, but kept at about ten paces distance, where they
‘ supposed themselves safe from the effect of our muskets.
‘ Unfortunately, many of the Islanders were killed by our
‘ firing, and among the number was the Indian who first
‘ visited us, which we much regretted.’ At
Paaschen,
or Easter,
Island.

Roggewein had taken no previous step to reconcile the Islanders to the landing of the Hollanders ; and the great force with which he was attended, as well as the Islanders who met him at the water-side being without arms, took away all necessity for military execution. ‘ These good people,’ says Behrens, ‘ that they might have the dead bodies, brought us all kinds of
‘ provisions. Their consternation was great : they made doleful
‘ cries and lamentations. All, men women and children, came
‘ carrying branches of the palm-tree, and a sort of red and
‘ white flag. Their presents consisted of plantains, nuts, sugar-
‘ canes, roots, and fowls. They fell on their knees, placed their
‘ colours before us, and offered their palm-branches in sign of
‘ peace. Touched with these demonstrations of humility and perfect submission, we would do them no harm. On the contrary,
‘ we made them a present of a piece of cloth 50 or 60 yards long;
‘ with corals, looking-glasses and other things. In a little time
‘ after, they brought us five hundred fowls all alive and like the
‘ fowls of our own country, a quantity of red and white roots,
‘ potatoes which in taste resembled bread, sugar-canes, and
‘ plantains.’

‘ We did not see in this Island any animals except birds ;
‘ but there may be others in the heart of the country, for the
‘ natives made us understand that they had seen hogs before,
‘ when we shewed them those we had in our ships. It appeared
‘ that each family or tribe had its own hamlet separate from
‘ the

PART II.

1799.

April.

At
Paaschen,
or Easter
Island.

‘ the rest. Their houses are from 40 to 60 feet in length, and
 ‘ from six to eight in breadth, constructed with a great number
 ‘ of timbers cemented together with a fat earth or clay, and
 ‘ thatched with palm-leaves. The land is every where cultivated,
 ‘ with enclosures separated by line with great exactness. The
 ‘ fields and trees were abundantly loaded. They had cloth of
 ‘ red and white colours, made of a stuff which was soft to the
 ‘ touch like silk.’

‘ These Islanders are in general lively, well made, rather
 ‘ slender, and can run with great swiftness. Their looks are
 ‘ mild and submissive, and they are extremely timid. When
 ‘ they brought us provisions, whether fowls or fruit, they cast
 ‘ them with precipitation at our feet, and retired as fast as
 ‘ they could. Their complexion in general is brown like the
 ‘ Spaniards; some are darker, and some quite white. Their
 ‘ bodies were painted with all kinds of figures of birds and
 ‘ other animals. Their women were most of them painted
 ‘ with a bright rouge: they had coverings of linen, red and
 ‘ white, and wore small hats made of rushes or straw. They
 ‘ were free in their demeanour and actions.

‘ We saw no arms among these Islanders, and it appeared to
 ‘ me that in cases of being attacked, these poor people put
 ‘ their trust in their idols, a number of which were erected
 ‘ along the coast. These were statues all of stone, of the figure
 ‘ of a man with great ears, the head ornamented with a crown,
 ‘ the whole so well proportioned as to astonish us. The ground
 ‘ as far as to 20 or 30 paces from the idols, was inclosed with
 ‘ a circular parapet of white stones. Men with their heads
 ‘ shaven, whom we believed to be priests, attended these idols.’

The *Dort* narrative gives the following description of the
 Idols. ‘ Two stones of a size almost beyond belief, served them
 ‘ for gods: the one was broad beyond measure, and lay on the
 ‘ ground. Upon this, stood the other stone, which was thrice
 ‘ the height of a man, and of such extent that seven of our
 ‘ people with outstretched arms would hardly have been able
 ‘ to’

‘ to encircle it. About the top of this stone was cut or carved
 ‘ the shape of a man’s head adorned with a garland set to-
 ‘ ther of inlaid work made of small stones, not ill done. The
 ‘ name of the largest idol was Taurico, and of the other,
 ‘ Dago.’

CHAP. 14.

1722.

April.

At
 Paaschen,
 or Easter
 Island.

There was not observed among these Islanders any chief who spoke with command over the whole. Some of the most aged wore plumes, and carried staves, and it was thought that in each house or family the most ancient person governed and gave orders. Both the accounts notice the ground being well cultivated; and that the country abounded in woods and forests. These were the remarks made during the short time Admiral Roggewein was on shore at *Easter Island*. Towards the close of the day, the same on which he landed, he embarked with all his men, and returned to the ships, with the intention to land again on the following morning, to traverse the Island and examine the country more particularly. The Islanders were spared a second visitation, through the kind interposition of a strong West wind, by which two of the ships broke from their anchors, and Roggewein found it necessary to quit the anchorage and make sail from the Island for safety.

The chart by Behrens places *Paaschen Island* 24 degrees in longitude West of *Juan Fernandez*; and in longitude reckoned eastward from the meridian of *Teneriffe*, 271°. The *Dort Relation* gives its latitude 27° S, and longitude 268°. Dubois, from the manuscript journal mentioned by him, gives the latitude of the Island 27° 4' S, and longitude 265° 42'*

On leaving *Paaschen Island*, Behrens says, ‘ we continued
 ‘ some days in the same latitude, and tried all we could by
 ‘ steering on various courses to find the land discovered by
 ‘ Edward Davis; but all in vain.’ Behrens had all the good will imaginable for making the lands seen by Roggewein, New Discoveries.

* In the requisite Tables to the Nautical Ephemeris, the longitude of *Paaschen* or *Easter Island* is set down 109° 47' W of *Greenwich*.

PART II. Discoveries. Concerning *Paaschen Island* and *Edward Davis's Land* being the same, it is unnecessary to add to what has been said in the History of the Buccaneers *. The belief that Edward Davis and Roggewein saw one and the same Island, must continually strengthen, unless it shall be contradicted by fresh evidence.

Roggewein's ships were driven from *Paaschen* by a strong West wind, which kept them some days 'on various courses,' but always inclining towards the West. On the 21st of the month, they were still in latitude 27° S, and by the reckoning in the *Dort* narrative, their distance from the coast of *Chili* was 650 leagues. Shortly after, the SE trade-wind came upon them 'suddenly and with impetuosity,' and they steered towards the WNW. On the 27th, their latitude was $23^{\circ} 2'$ S, and they continued on the course just mentioned. Behrens relates, 'We had sailed 800 leagues since leaving *Paaschen Island* without seeing any land, till at length, in $15^{\circ} 30'$ S, we discovered a low sandy Island with a lagoon in the middle, which made some on board believe it to be the *Honden Island* of Schouten, and therefore no endeavour was made to approach it. For my part, I was of opinion that le Maire and Schouten had not seen this Island, and I have named it *Carls-hof*, which signifies the Court of Charles. It is about three leagues in circuit, and its situation is $15^{\circ} 45'$ S latitude and 280° longitude.'

* The 280 in the above quotation is evidently an erroneous number; for the longitude being reckoned Eastward from the meridian of *Teneriffe*, must decrease in sailing Westward; and accordingly Behrens in his chart has placed *Carls-hof*, but with the name of *Honden Eil*, in longitude 235° ; which is 36° to the West from *Paaschen Island*. This would seem short of the longitude which a distance of 800 German leagues would give, if allowance was not to be made for their having sailed on different courses.

As

As they passed on, leaving *Carls-hof Island*, the wind became unsteady, veering round to the SW, which was regarded as the effect of being in the neighbourhood of land. On the night of the following day, which according to the *Dort Relation* was the 20th of May, the *African Galley*, being the headmost and lookout vessel, found herself all at once among low Islands and rocks, and so near that she could not save herself from running on them; but she fired gun after gun, which gave timely warning to the other ships. The Admiral's ship, the *Arens*, tacked and stood clear of the danger: when at the nearest, she tried for soundings, but found no bottom. Captain Bauman, in the *Tienho en*, which was the farthest off when the signal guns gave the alarm, stood on and placed his ship as near as he could with safety, to the stranded ship, to be at hand more effectually to give assistance. A boat was also sent from the Admiral, who from the darkness of the night and the distance at which he kept, did not know the extent of the misfortune. The *African Galley* had grounded high, and was moreover closely jammed between two rocks, so that there was no hope of disengaging her; all the endeavours were therefore bent on saving the crew.

CHAP. 14.

1722.

May.

20th.

Other Islands discovered, and the *African Galley* wrecked.

The *Schaadelyk*, or *Permeious Islands*.

The Island against which they had run, was inhabited. The report of the guns was the first notice the natives had of the approach of strangers, and the noise made by the crew of the wrecked vessel, directed them to the spot. They lighted fires in several places, and came down in crowds to the shore. The *Hollanders*, being apprehensive that advantage would be taken of their distress, fired among them and made them retire. The weather was so favourable that none of the crew of the *Galley* lost their lives; but a seaman belonging to the *Tienhoven*, who went to their assistance, by some accident was drowned.

The next morning when it was light, the *Arens* and *Tienhoven* found themselves in a great measure encircled with land, there being four large Islands and many small Islets and rocks in sight, so that they could not perceive by what route they came into that situation.

PART II. situation. 'It took us five days,' Behrens says, 'to get out of
 1782. this dangerous perplexity into a clear sea.' During all which
 May. time, the Admiral remained in ignorance of the fate of the
 The African Galley and her people. When the two remaining ships
 Schaadelyk, were in safety, the crew of the African Galley was divided
 or between them; excepting a Quartermaster and four sea-
 Pernicious men, who after their ship ran aground, had mutinied
 Islands. against the officers, and from dread of punishment, would
 not accompany their shipmates to the Tienhoven, but con-
 cealed themselves in the woods. The Admiral sent a detach-
 ment under the command of Behrens to endeavour to take
 these deserters; but they had furnished themselves with fire-
 arms, and from the thickets fired upon the party sent after
 them. They were nevertheless approached near enough for
 conference, and promised pardon if they would return to the
 ships; but they preferred remaining in a strange land inhabited
 by uncivilized people, to trusting to the promises or mercy of
 their countrymen, and the boats returned without them, but well
 laden with 'herbs, fruits, muscles, and pearl oysters,' which
 were found in abundance.

These Islands were extremely low and in parts overflowed;
 the borders were covered with trees, among which were
 many of the cocoa-nut. The *Dort* Relation gives the latitude
 among them 14° 41' S. Behrens says, 'All these Islands are
 situated between the 15th and 16th degree of South latitude,
 and 12 German leagues Westward of *Carls-hof*. They were
 estimated to be each four or five leagues in circuit. That on
 which the African Galley was wrecked, we named *Schaadelyk*
 (*Pernicious*;) two others were named *Twee Broeders* (*Two*
Brothers;) and the fourth, *de Zuster* (*the Sister*.)' Afterwards
 in the narratives, the name *Schaadelyk* is applied to the
 four Islands collectively. The inhabitants were thought a
 stouter people than those of *Paaschen Island*. They had good
 canoes, and vessels furnished with sails and cables. No safe
 anchorage being found, Roggewein sailed on Westward.

The

The next morning at break of day they had run eight leagues towards the West from the *Schaadelyk Isles*, when the people of the Tienhoven, which was now the look-out ship by night and sailed ahead of the Admiral, saw land not half a mile distant, so that if daylight had not shewn them their situation, they would in all probability have been ashore. The imminence of the danger, so immediately after the loss of the African Galley, caused a tumult among the seamen in both the ships, and they demanded to return homeward, or that the Admiral would engage for their wages being paid to them if the ships should be lost. Roggewein thought their demand reasonable, and bound himself by oath to make good their wages, whatsoever might happen.

CHAP. 14
1722.
May.
25th.
Daageraad,
or Aurora
Island.

This Island was named *Daageraad* or *Dageröth*, which signifies the Red of the Morning, or Daybreak. The *Hague* edition of Behrens being in the French language, gives the name *Aurore*. It was about four leagues in circuit, and covered with trees. No anchorage was found, and the ships passed on.

Towards evening of the same day they came in sight of another Island, which, in allusion to the time of the day when it was first seen, was named, *Abend-roth* (in the *Hague* edition, *Vespre*.) It was reckoned to be about twelve German leagues in circuit, was low, but well covered with trees.

Abend-roth
or Vespre
Island.

Only two of the many low Islands which have been discovered in the *Pacific Ocean* will accord in extent and situation with the *Abend-roth* of Roggewein; those are the *Sonder grondt* and *Vlieghe*, discovered by Schouten and le Maire. The greater longitude of *Vlieghe Island* from *Pauschen*, and the Islands which are known near it to the ESEward, are good grounds for believing *Abend-roth* to be *Vlieghe Island*; and that the *Palisser's Isles* of the present charts are the *Schaadelyk*, or *Pernicious Isles*; of which opinion were both Captain Cook and M. Fleurieu. The *Dort* Relation says, 'On the 25th of May we passed *Vlieghe Island*, discovered by Schouten.' It might have been doubted of which of the two Islands seen on the 25th this was said, if the small size of *Daageraad* did not make it applicable only to *Abend-roth*.

PART II.

More modern voyages have brought to light some interesting circumstances connected with this part of Roggewein's navigation *.

Roggewein

* Commodore Byron, in 1765, fell in with two low inhabited Islands in $14^{\circ} 30'$ S latitude, and in longitude between 145° and $145\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West from Greenwich. He landed on the Easternmost, and relates, 'Our people, in rummaging some of the huts, found the carved head of a rudder which had manifestly belonged to a Dutch fishing-boat, and was very old and worm-eaten. They found also a piece of hammered iron, a piece of brass, and some small iron tools, which the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this place probably obtained from the Dutch ship to which the long-boat had belonged.' This same Island was visited by Captain Cook in 1774. It is named by the natives, *Tiooken*. The want of Islands in its neighbourhood to correspond with the number and situation of the *Schaadelyk Islands*, shew that this was not the Island on which the African Galley was cast, nor one of the *Schaadelyk Isles*; but from the head of the rudder and the other things found there, it may be supposed not very distant from them. Tupia, the native of the *Society Isles*, who embarked with Captain Cook intending to visit Europe, made a chart of all the Islands of which he had any knowledge or information, according to his own conceptions unaided by European instruction. A copy of this chart was published with Dr. I. R. Forster's *Observations made during his Voyage with Captain Cook*. Tupia has placed in it, North Eastward from *Otaheite*, an Island named *Oanna*, and on his authority it is noted to be 'a low Island on which a ship was wrecked, and some men perished.' *Oanna* accordingly is the Dutch *Schaadelyk*; but further assistance from native authority is requisite for marking which among the many Islands in that part of the *South Sea* is *Oanna*. Dr. Forster supposed the Island named by Commodore Byron *Prince of Wales's Island*, which is the *Vlieghen Island* of le Maire and Schouten, to be *Oanna*; but this supposition must be rejected, on account of the magnitude of *Vlieghen Island*.

Later discoveries, by the Spaniards, corroborate the information given by Tupia. In 1772, the Viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, sent two ships 'to make an exact survey of the many Islands in the *Pacific Ocean*.' They saw a great number of Islands, and visited *Otaheite*, whence they took two natives, who were carried to Lima and baptised by the names of Tomas Pauto and Manuel Amat. In 1774, another voyage was made from Peru to the Islands, and two Missionaries were sent, with the two natives. A house was built at the smaller division of *Otaheite* for the Missionaries, whom the *Eries* or Chiefs took under their protection. Before the Spanish ships departed, the Commander called a meeting of the Chiefs, to whom he described the grandeur of his Sovereign, and informed them of his right to all the Islands. 'The natives,' the account says, 'demonstrated great complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the King of Spain King of *Otaheite* and all the Islands.' Whereupon, the Spanish Captain informed them, that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by the ships of the King of Spain.

The Captain of one of the ships died, and was buried on shore. In January 1775, the ships departed to return to Peru. They took two other Islanders with them, Thomas Pauto, it appears, had profited little from the instruction given him; he rather

Roggewein continued his course Westward, keeping between the latitude of 15 and 16 degrees, and the day after passing *Abend-roth* according to Behrens, but on the 29th by the *Dort* narrative, came to a groupe of Islands, all of beautiful appearance, situated; according to Behrens, 25 German leagues to the West of the *Schaadelyk Isles*. They were named *Irrigen* or the *Labyrinth*, because the ships having got in among them, were obliged to make many tacks and changes of course before they could get clear from them again. It was thought dangerous to anchor; and though smokes were seen, none of the inhabitants came to the shores to make signs of invitation.

Behrens says, these Islands are six in number, and taken together may have an extent of thirty leagues. If this is correct, they must be Islands of considerable magnitude to make a labyrinth, occupying so large a space. The *Dort* Journalist describes the *Labyrinth* to consist of a number of rocks and islands, among which they passed. He gives the latitude when among them, 15° 17' S, and the longitude 224°, which is 44 degrees West of his longitude of *Paaschen Island*.

Leaving the *Labyrinth Isles*, Behrens says, 'Sailing, always towards the West; at the end of some days, we had sight of an Island of good appearance and elevated; situated in latitude 16 degrees, and about 12 German leagues in circuit.' The author of the *Dort* Relation dates their coming to this Island to be on June the 1st, and gives for its situation, latitude 15° 47', and longitude 224; which longitude is the same as was before given by him for the *Labyrinth*, and

rather chose to profit by his native habits, for he robbed the Missionary House and absconded.

This account is given in an Appendix to a Description of the Province and Archipelago of *Chiloe*, published in the Spanish language, in 1791, by P. Fray P. Gonz de Agueros. In addition to what has been above noticed, the same book contains a Memoire of the information obtained from Indians of the most distinction in *Otaheite*, concerning Islands in their neighbourhood. The 11th Island in a list which is given, is 'Oaña, small and low (*chica y baxa*) with reefs; inhabited, abounding in cocoa-nuts, yams, dogs, and fish; and has pearls.' A distinct ascertainment of *Oaña* appears to be attainable with little difficulty, and may be soon expected.

PART II. and makes it probable that one of the two is a mistake. The
 1722. names and Islands on this part of Behren's Chart are in too
 June. much confusion to be appropriated to each other with cer-
 Verquikking, tainty.
 or
 Recreation
 Island.

This Island being elevated land, may be considered of a different character from any which they had seen since they left *Paaschen Island*. Anchoring ground was not immediately found, and Roggewein sent two boats to the shore, with twenty-five armed men in each. The inhabitants, regarding the Hollanders as an invading enemy, assembled armed with pikes, and when the Hollanders drew near, advanced into the water to oppose their entrance; but the fire of musketry, obliged them to retreat, and the Hollanders landed. The natives soon after, on signs of friendship being made to them, gave up all appearance of hostility and approached peaceably. They brought cocoa-nuts which they exchanged for trifles, and they assisted the Hollanders in filling twelve sacks with herbs like water-cresses, for their sick.

The next day a stronger party was sent from the ships than on the preceding. On landing, they made presents of looking-glasses and beads to the person who appeared to be the chief among the natives, who received them with a degree of indifference and with symptoms of disdain, that indicated nothing of welcome. Cocoa-nuts, however, were presented to the Hollanders in return, and the native women seemed in admiration at the whiteness of their complexion. The Hollanders then filled about twenty sacks with herbs; which having done, they advanced up a valley, with the intention to take a view of the country. Behrens relates, 'we climbed up steep rocks by which this valley is inclosed, and some of the Islanders led the way; but they soon left us, and at the same time we saw some thousands of natives coming out from among the crevices of the mountains. The Chief of the Islanders made signs to us with his staff that we should not advance farther.' According to the *Dort* Relation, they were met by a grey-headed old man, who endeavoured by many signs and motions to prevail on them

them to return back; and to make them understand the danger of advancing, he took up a stone and threw it down before him. The Hollanders paid no regard to his signs and admonitions, but proceeded onwards. The Chief thereupon made a signal, and immediately a shower of large stones came upon them from all quarters, by which several were lamed and wounded. This was answered by musketry, and at the first discharge many of the natives fell, their Chief, it is said, being of the number. They did not for this take to flight, but continued to throw stones at us with greater fury than before, so that we were almost every one wounded. We retired under cover of some rocks, from behind which we fired with such effect as to kill many of the Islanders. Their obstinacy; nevertheless, was so great that we could not make them fall back, and we were necessitated to retreat to our boats as well as we could, without being able to avoid new showers of stones. We had some men killed in this action, and the wounds which many of our people received, though at first but of small consideration, became in the end mortal in consequence of the scurvy with which the crews were affected.

Both the Journalists break out in reproaches against the Islanders, whom they accuse of acting treacherously towards them; but nothing could be more open or more openly conducted, than were both the intrusion of the Hollanders, and the opposition of the natives to their intrusion.

On account of the salutary herbs found at this Island, it was named *Verquikking*, which signifies Refreshment (in the *Hague* edition rendered *Recreation*;) at the same time, the loss sustained in the encounter with the natives made such an impression on the crews of the ships, that in the sequel of the voyage if it was proposed at any time to land on an inhabited Island, no one volunteered his service.

The inhabitants of *Recreation Island* were robust, well made, active, and dexterous. They had long black shining hair, which they dressed with the oil of cocoa-nuts. They were painted or marked

CHAP. 14.

1722.

June.

Verquikking,
or
Recreation
Island.

PART II. marked over the body in like manner as the natives of *Paaschen*
 1722. Island. The men wore a kind of net-work round their waist.
 June. The women were wholly covered with a stuff soft to the touch,
 Recreation and had ornaments of pearl-shell.
 Island.

Roggewein anchored at *Recreation Island*, and Behren's remarks, that 'there was not much security for the ships, because the bottom was bad.'

This *Verquikking*, or *Recreation Island*, of Roggewein's, from the description given of its size, and its being elevated land, agrees more nearly with the *Ulietea* and *Otaha* of the *Society Islands*, (which being inclosed within the same reef, might appear or have been considered as one Island) than with any other land known to Europeans that will accord in situation with the account given of this part of Roggewein's track*.

Admiral Roggewein now called a Council of his Officers, and communicated to them that by his Instructions he was directed, on arriving at the longitude in which they then were, if they should not have discovered some country which was thought worth taking and keeping possession of, to return homeward; on which matter he demanded their opinion and advice. The majority of the council and the Admiral coincided in opinion, and the result was a declaration, that having sailed so far in search of strange lands, and having much decreased their stock of provisions, it was not possible for them to sail back by the way they had come, and that they were under the necessity of going home by the *East Indies*. The Admiral remarked that as the number of their sick continually increased, it would be neither charitable nor wise to sacrifice more of their men in making discoveries; 'for if they should unfortunately again

* The supposition above mentioned receives support from a circumstance which is related in the explanations given with Tupia's chart. The Island designed by Captain Cook under the name *Ulietea* Dr. Forster has called *Oraietea*. It is said, '*Oraietea* is a high Island; and Tupia reported that in his grandfather's time a friendly ship had been there.' It is true that Roggewein's visit merited not the epithet friendly; but if by 'ship' was meant a European ship, no other expedition known can be found to supply the fact.

again lose twenty men,' there would not be enough left to navigate the ships. By 'return' is generally understood retrogression; and they could not well say 'returning' by the *East Indies*, but it is ingeniously attempted in the *Hague* translation to assimilate the determination of the Council with the letter of the instructions, by the substitution of the word *repatrier*.

The *Dort* narrative says, 'after our adventure with the roguish Savages at *Verquikking*, no delay was made there, but we got again under sail.'

It is here necessary to notice that in the sequel of the navigation, the numbers in Behrens' narrative are erroneous, almost without an exception, the dates as much as the latitudes and longitudes: and the course given in his narrative differs from the track marked in his chart. The *Hague* translation says, 'On quitting *Recreation Island*, we directed our course towards the NW. The third day (*troisième jour*) after our departure we were in latitude 12° S, and longitude 296°. We discovered then all at once, many Islands.' The word *troisième* appears to have been mistakenly printed at this part instead of *treizième*. At the departure from *Recreation*, the *Dort* Relation again gives a longitude 'according to the reckoning 224° 18';' and proceeds, 'On the 12th of June, we were in latitude 15° 16' S, and longitude 205° 8'. On the 14th, we discovered two Islands: on the 15th we came in sight of an Island about seven German miles in length, in latitude 13° 41' S, and longitude 215°.' Reckoning the 2d day of June to be the day they sailed from *Recreation Island*, the discovery of the two Islands as mentioned in the *Dort*, will be found to have been on the thirteenth day of their sailing. One of the two longitudes last quoted from the *Dort* narrative, is evidently a mistake, most probably the 215°.

Bauman
Islands.

These Islands were interspersed with hills and vallies, and afforded a delightful prospect. Some of them, Behrens says, were ten, fifteen, and as much as twenty German miles in circuit. They were named *Bauman Islands* after the Captain of the *Tienhoven*, by whom they were first seen. 'All the coasts of

PART II.

1722,

June.

Bauman's
Islands.

of these Islands have good anchoring ground.' Roggewein's ships anchored in depth from 15 to 20 fathoms.

On the first approach of the ships, natives from the Islands had gone to them in boats neatly made, and decorated with curiously carved figures. They exchanged fish, cocoa-nuts, and plantains for beads and other trinkets. The Islands appeared fully peopled, the shores being thronged. The men had bows and arrows. In one of the canoes which went to the ships, was seated a man to whom the other Islanders shewed great respect. By his side sat a woman 'young and white;' and many canoes surrounded this canoe to guard it. Behrens calls the complexion of the natives of these Islands, 'white, no other ways differing from that of Europeans than by their skins being tanned by the heat of the sun. They appeared to be good people, lively in their manner of conversing, gentle in their deportment towards each other, and in their manners nothing was perceived of the savage. They had not their bodies painted or marked like the people of the Islands we had before discovered. They were clothed from the waist downwards with fringes and a kind of silken stuff artificially wrought. They had large hats to protect them from the sun, and round their necks they wore strings of odoriferous flowers. Their lands were separated by inclosures; and it must be acknowledged that this was the nation the most civilized and honest of any that we had seen among the Islands of the South Sea. They were charmed with our arrival amongst them, and received us as divinities. And when they saw us preparing to depart, they testified much regret.'

By stopping a week or two, Roggewein might have re-established the health of the crews; but he and his principal Officers were afraid that the Eastern monsoon would be past before they could reach the *East Indies*; for which reason, they remained here but a short time, and were so apprehensive of trusting themselves among the natives of strange countries, that they took up their anchors and departed from these Islands without landing upon them.

CHAP. 14.
1722.
June.

If the longitude given in the *Dort* narrative on the 12th of June, ($205^{\circ} 8'$) is admitted to be a right statement of the reckoning, the *Bauman Islands* will be found to correspond with the Islands seen by M. Bougainville in 1768, and named by him *Isles des Navigateurs*, as exactly in situation, as they do in the descriptions given of their size and appearance.

Two
Islands.

The next day after leaving *Bauman Islands* they saw two Islands, which were supposed to be the *Cocos* and *Verrader's* Islands of Schouten and Le Maire. One of the Islands was high and judged to be about eight leagues in circuit. The other appeared much lower, was a reddish land without trees; Behrens adds, 'and extending, according to our conjectures, to 11° S latitude;' but he acknowledges that they passed at too great a distance to speak positively of either of the Islands.

This part of Roggewein's track was too far North for him to have seen *Cocos* and *Verrader's* Islands. The high land most probably was the *Horne Islands*; and the lower land *Wallis's* Islands.

The lands seen during the remainder of Roggewein's navigation across the *South Sea* are very vaguely mentioned. 'In a short time after' seeing the Islands supposed to be *Cocos* and *Verrader*, they discovered two Lands of great extent. They named one *Tienhoven*, the other *Groningen*; and some on board doubted if *Groningen* was not continent. *Tienhoven* appeared verdant, covered with trees, and of moderate elevation. It was coasted during a whole day without discovering its termination; and is described extending in a semi-circular direction towards *Groningen*, so that it was not known for certain whether they were not both one land; 'perhaps,' says Behrens, 'a part of the *Terre Australis*; but islands are found in this neighbourhood which are 150 miles in circuit.' Meaning, no doubt, *San Christoval* and the *Salomon Islands*.

Tienhoven
and
Groningen

Fear of the natives, and impatience to arrive in *India*, made Roggewein run past this land without stopping, or trying for

PART II.

1722.

July.

anchorage; though the scurvy and dysentery raged among the ships crews in so dreadful manner, that 'three, four, and sometimes five men, were buried in the sea in a day.' Some of these unfortunate men, in their last hours, were exasperated to a state of desperation at seeing a fruitful land so near them, without obtaining relief, and expired in a delirium of rage from a conviction that they fell victims to the insufficiency of their Commander.

New
Britain.

On the 18th of July, they came in sight of the coast of *New Britain*. Here they landed at a part inhabited by people of a copper or olive colour, who had long black hair. The natives appeared hostile; 'but,' says Behrens, 'we were in such extreme distress, and our provisions on board so decayed and rotten, that we had to choose between certain death, and exposing ourselves to the Indians in seeking for refreshment.'

August.
Arimoa
and Moa
Islands.

Roggewein was now in a track which had been sailed over by Le Maire and Schouten and by Tasman, and he was careful not to deviate from it. He anchored near the small Islands *Moa* and *Arimoa*, where he hoped refreshments might be procured without danger.

The inhabitants of these Islands, with a ready confidence, which no doubt was inherited and had its source in the favourable impressions left of Europeans with the ancestors of the present race by Schouten and Le Maire, and by Tasman, immediately flocked to the ships in their small canoes, carrying fruits and cocoa-nuts to traffic for European commodities. Roggewein thought it an act of good generalship, and no disgrace, to rob these people of provisions which he might have procured at a trifling expence by traffic. Without any quarrel having arisen, he suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, landed a large party of his men on one of the Islands, who fired on the natives and cut down the cocoa-nut trees as the easiest method of getting at the nuts. The booty obtained by this warlike exploit was 300 cocoa-nuts, some pomegranates and plantains.

Pursuing

Pursuing his course Westward, he passed between the NW CHAP. 14.
part of *New Guinea* and *Gilolo*. Some time in the month of 1798.
September he made the coast of *Java*, and anchored in the
road of *Japara*, where the Dutch East-India Company had
fort, which Admiral Roggewein saluted with his cannon. The
Commander of the fort allowed the sick people to be landed
from the ships, and the ships to be supplied: at the same time,
he sent notice to the Governor General at *Batavia*, of the arrival
of Dutch ships not belonging to the East-India Company.

In the course of the voyage, from their outset to this time,
they had lost, besides the men killed in engagements with the
Indians, seventy men by sickness; and here they landed between
twenty and thirty sick men.

Whether Roggewein's going to the *East Indies* was pre-
meditated, or accidental, as he had not obtained exemption
from penalty, nor license from the Dutch East-India Company,
it should have been especially his care to have kept clear of
the Company's settlements.

The Governor General, M. Zwaardekroon, a man extolled
in the history of the Dutch Governors of *India* for the
politeness of his manners, on being informed of the arrival
of Roggewein at *Japara*, sent orders that he should be
assisted in every thing he could desire, and recommended to
him to come with the ships to *Batavia*. After resting a
month at *Japara*, Roggewein sailed for *Batavia*, and as soon
as his ships were at anchor in *Batavia Road*, he put off
in his boat to pay his respects to M. Zwaardekroon; but
before he got half way to the shore, he was met by the fiscal
largely attended, who told him he must return, and announced
to him the arrest and seizure of the ships. In fine, the ships
and their cargoes were condemned as forfeited to the Company,
and sold by public auction. The crews were distributed among
the homeward-bound ships.

In the sequel, the Dutch West-India Company made appeal
to the States General against the seizure and condemnation of
their

October.

Roggewein
arrives at
Batavia.

His ships
seized and
condemned.

PART II. their ships. The case of Roggewein differed widely from that of Le Maire and Schouten, who had discovered and accomplished a passage to the *East Indies* by a route which had not been prohibited. The Memorial of the West-India Company, however, set forth that this voyage was fitted out not so much with a view to their own profit as to the advantage of the public; that incredible hardships had forced the ships to the *East Indies*; and that immediately on their arrival at *Batavia*, they had been seized and condemned without a hearing. On the part of the East-India Company, it was argued, that the Company were warranted in maintaining the exclusive clauses in their charter; that Admiral Roggewein's ships were licensed to make discoveries within the bounds assigned to the West-India Company, and instructed to return through the *Strait of Magalhães*; and that they had not complied with their instructions. The West-India Company, it was remarked, might have foreseen a probability that their ships would be necessitated to return by the *East Indies*, and they had neglected to apply to the East-India Company for their license.

The arguments, or the superior influence, of the West-India Company prevailed with the States General, who decreed that the East-India Company should make full restitution or compensation, and that they should pay the seamen of Roggewein's ships their wages to the time of their return to *Holland*.



Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
22, Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.