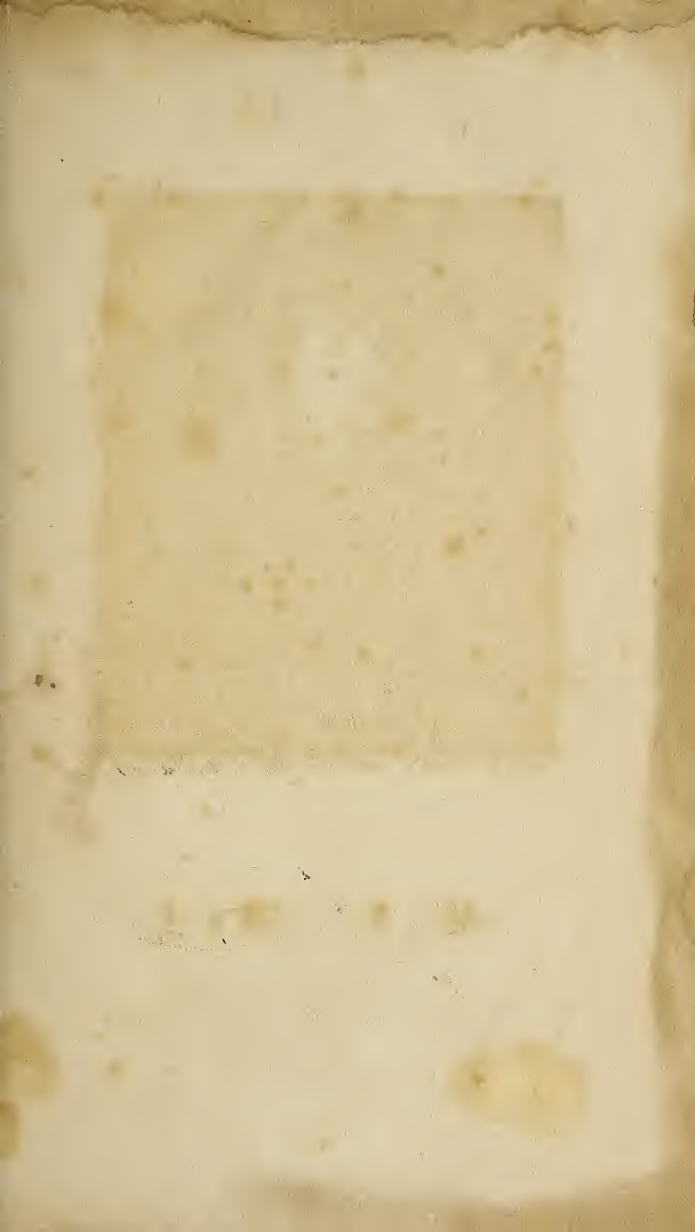




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DAVID PORTER ESQ.^E

of the United States Navy

Sigeeves

JOURNAL OF A CRUISE

MADE TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN,

BY

CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,

IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE

ESSEX,

In the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814.

CONTAINING

Descriptions of the Cape de Verd Islands, Coasts of Brazil, Patagonia,
Chili, and Peru, and of the Gallapagos Islands;

ALSO,

A full Account of the Washington Groupe of Islands, the Manners,
Customs, and Dress of the Inhabitants, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH FOURTEEN ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA,

PUBLISHED BY BRADFORD AND INSKEEP;

And Abraham H. Inskeep, New-York; and for sale by O. C. Greenleaf,
Boston; and William Essex and Son, Lexington, Ken.

G. Palmer, printer.

1815.

Wm. H. H. H.

DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-fourth day of December, in the thirty-ninth year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D 1814, Bradford and Inskeep, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. Containing Descriptions of the Cape de Verd Islands, Coasts of Brazil, Patagonia, Chili, and Peru, and of the Gallapagos Islands; also, a full account of the Washington Groupe of Islands, the Manners, Customs, and Dress of the Inhabitants, &c. &c. Illustrated with fourteen engravings. In two volumes.

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the owners and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

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1815
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DEDICATION.

**TO THE
CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES**

THIS JOURNAL

IS DEDICATED,

**BY THEIR OBEDIENT
AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,**

D. PORTER,

TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I HAVE indulged many of my friends by permitting them to peruse my Journal, and all have requested me to publish it, assuring me, that the public expected me to give some detailed account of my cruize, and that it would be received and read with much interest. I had, however, formed a determination not to publish it, unless some more imperfect account should be printed; in which case I intended to employ a friend to embellish and present it to you. I have waited from day to day; none other has appeared; my friends have become more pressing; and I have at length consented. I have snatched a moment from my public occupations to re-peruse and give it to you, as it was written in the midst of anxious duties.

If there are faults in style and grammar (and no doubt there are many), they are the faults of my education. I have only occupied myself with facts, and some few reflections arising from them. The whole is my own; and were it in a more polished state, this might be doubted.

Many readers will perhaps find some of my nautical remarks dry and uninteresting. Navigators will view them differently, and will not esteem them the less for not having had the ornamental touches of a fine writer.

I have not pressed my Journal on you; it has been extorted from me; and if it should not meet your expectation as to style, I hope facts will amply compensate you for your disappointment. If you admit this only, I will follow the practice of other navigators, and endeavour to find some friend who shall so ornament it for a second edition, as to put all cause of complaint out of the question.

D. PORTER.

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PORTER'S JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE FROM THE DELAWARE TO THE CAPE DE VERD ISLANDS, AND FROM THENCE TO CAPE FRIO; WITH NAUTICAL REMARKS.

October 6th, 1812. **I** RECEIVED orders from commodore William Bainbridge to prepare the Essex for a long cruize, and on the day following received his final instructions, appointing places of rendezvous, and the next day a copy of his orders from the honourable secretary of the navy.

I consequently directed the ship to be furnished with every requisite supply of stores, &c. &c.; ordered for her a new suit of sails and standing rigging; took out the bowsprit and fished it; and put her in the best possible state for service; taking in as much provision as she could stow, and providing ourselves with a double supply of clothing, and fruit, vegetables, and lime juice as antiscorbutics; and gave the officers and men intimation of the probable length of our cruize, in order that they should supply themselves with such comforts as their means would admit of, they having recently been paid a proportion of the prize-money for the last cruize, and advanced the officers three months pay, They accordingly furnished themselves with stock, vegetables, and other stores, in as large quantities as could be stowed away; and on the afternoon of the 28th we left the capes of the Delaware*, with the wind from the northward, which gradually hauled

* See note A at the end of the volume.

around to the westward, blowing fresh, with thick weather, and it was with difficulty we were enabled to weather the dangerous shoals of Chincoteague. On the morning of the 29th, the wind hauled around to the westward, and increased to a gale. Got the ship under snug sail, and secured our masts, by setting up the rigging, which, being new, had stretched considerably. The ship being very deep, we found her unusually laboursome and uncomfortable: her straining, occasioned by her deep rolling, opened her water-ways, and kept the birth-deck full of water, damaged a great deal of our provisions stowed on it, and wet all the bedding and clothes of the crew; found also the coal-hole full of water; found a leak somewhere between the cut-water and stem, but in other respects found the ship tight; for, after scuttling the birth-deck and bulk-head of the coal-hole, found we could easily keep her free by pumping a few minutes every two hours.

Previous to leaving the river, the crew had been put on allowance of half a gallon of water each man per day; and being desirous of making our provisions hold out as long as possible, having views, at the same time, with regard to the health of the crew, I caused the allowance of bread to be reduced one half, and issued in lieu of the remainder half a pound of potatoes, or the same quantity of apples. Every other article of provisions was reduced one third, excepting rum, of which the full allowance was served out raw to the cook of each mess (the crew being divided into messes of eight, and a cook being allowed to each), who were accountable for the faithful distribution of it. For the undrawn provisions the purser's steward was directed to issue due-bills, with assurances on my part that they should be paid the amount on our arrival in port. Orders were given to lose no opportunity of catching rain-water for the stock, of which we had a large quantity on board, every mess in the ship being supplied with pigs and poultry. The allowance of candles was reduced one half, and economy established respecting the consumption of wood and the expenditure of the ship's stores. Habits of cleanliness and care with respect to clothing were strongly recommended to the officers and crew. I now gave a general pardon for all offences committed on board; recommended the strictest atten-

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tion to the discipline of the ship ; held out prospects of reward to those who should be vigilant in the performance of their duty ; and gave assurances that the first man I should feel myself under the necessity of punishing should receive three dozen lashes, expressing, however, a hope that punishment during the cruize would be altogether unnecessary. I directed, as a standing regulation, that the ship should be fumigated in every part every morning, by pouring vinegar on a red-hot shot, and confided to lieutenant Finch the superintendence of the birth-deck, in order to preserve it in a cleanly and wholesome state. Lime being provided in tight casks, for the purpose of white-washing, and sand for dry-rubbing it, and orders given not to wet it if there should be a possibility of avoiding it, a comfortable place was fitted up for the accommodation of the sick on the birth-deck ; cleats were put up for the slinging as many hammocks as possible on the gun-deck ; and orders given that no wet clothes or wet provisions should be permitted to remain on the birth-deck, or that the crew should be permitted to eat any where but on the gun-deck, except in bad weather. Having established the above and other regulations, as regarded the health and comfort of the crew, I exhorted the officers to keep them occupied constantly during working hours, in some useful employment, and directed that between the hours of four and six o'clock in the afternoon, should be allowed to them for amusement, when the duties of the ship would admit.

The 30th was devoted entirely to airing the bedding, drying the clothing of the crew that were wet during the gale, getting the birth-deck in the most comfortable state, exercising the crew at the great guns, and getting the ship in the best state for service. We found the powder in several of our guns wet, all of which we reloaded, and more carefully secured.

Previous to leaving the Delaware, we landed at the hospital the following men, whose health I did not conceive would enable them to stand the fatigues of the cruize ; and as they had most of them been a long time on the surgeon's list, and were considered incurable, I believed it advisable not to take them to sea : to wit, William Stanwood, quarter-gunner, John Francis, car-

PORTER'S JOURNAL.

penter's yeoman, Charles Frederick, Peter Johnson 2d, James Wallace, Charles Smith, John Smith, John Anderson, seamen, and William Hubbell, supernumerary. William Klaer, through mistake, was not sent.

My crew, at the time of my departure, consisted of the following persons.

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 2. | John Downes | 1st Lieutenant |
| 3. | James P. Wilmer | 2d do. |
| 4. | James Wilson | 3d do. |
| 5. | William Finch | Acting 4th do. |
| 6. | Stephen D. M'Knight | Acting 5th do. |
| 7. | John G. Cowell | Sailing-master |
| 8. | Robert Miller | Surgeon |
| 9. | David P. Adams | Chaplain |
| 10. | John R. Shaw | Purser |
| 11. | William H. Haddiway | Midshipman |
| 12. | David G. Farragut | do. |
| 13. | Richard Dashiell | do. |
| 14. | John S. Cowan | do. |
| 15. | Charles T. Clark | do. |
| 16. | William H. Odenheimer | do. |
| 17. | Henry W. Ogden | do. |
| 18. | Henry Gray | do. |
| 19. | George W. Isaacs | do. |
| 20. | William W. Feltus | do. |
| 21. | Thomas A. Conover | do. |
| 22. | David Tittermary | do. |
| 23. | Richard K. Hoffman | Acting Sur. mate |
| 24. | Alexander M. Montgomery | do. |
| 25. | Edward Linscott | Boatswain |
| 26. | Lawrence Miller | Gunner |
| 27. | John S. Waters | Carpenter |
| 28. | David Navarro | Sail-maker |
| 29. | W. W. Bostwick | Captain's clerk |
| 30. | William P. Pierce | Master's mate |

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 31. | James Terry | Master's mate |
| 32. | Thomas Belcher | Boatswain's mate |
| 33. | Joseph Hawley | do. |
| 34. | William Kingsbury | do. |
| 35. | George Martin | Gunner's mate |
| 36. | James Spafford | do. |
| 37. | John Langley | Carpenter's mate |
| 38. | Bennet Field | Armourer |
| 39. | George Kensinger, jun. | Master at arms |
| 40. | John Adams | Cooper |
| 41. | John Francis | Cockswain |
| 42. | Thomas Coleman | Steward |
| 43. | John Haden | Cook |
| 44. | Thomas Bailey | Boatswain's yeoman |
| 45. | Thomas Edwards | Gunner's yeoman |
| 46. | Benjamin Wadden | Carpenter's yeoman |
| 47. | James Rynard | Quarter-master |
| 48. | Francis Bland | do. |
| 49. | William Gardner | do. |
| 50. | John Mallett | do. |
| 51. | Robert Dunn | do. |
| 52. | John Thompson | do. |
| 53. | Isaac Valance | do. |
| 54. | Benjamin Geers | Quarter-gunner |
| 55. | Adam Roach | do. |
| 56. | James Steady | do. |
| 57. | Leonard Green | do. |
| 58. | James Marshall | do. |
| 59. | Edward Sellman | do. |
| 60. | Henry Stone | do. |
| 61. | Henry Ruff | Boy |
| 62. | Joseph Smith | Seaman |
| 63. | John Royte | Boy |
| 64. | James W. Stewart | Seaman |
| 65. | Daniel Gardner | Ordinary seaman |
| 66. | John Rodgers | Staman |

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 67. | George Wyne | Seaman |
| 68. | William Forbes | Ordinary seaman |
| 69. | John M'Keever | do. |
| 70. | Henry Vickers | do. |
| 71. | William Holland | do. |
| 72. | Edward Sweeny | do. |
| 73. | Joseph Thomas | Seaman |
| 74. | Robert Phillips | Landsman |
| 75. | Jonathan Henfield | Seaman |
| 76. | Thomas Gibbs | Ordinary seaman |
| 77. | John Scott | do. |
| 78. | Edward Highley | do. |
| 79. | Ephraim Baker | do. |
| 80. | Joseph Ferrell | do. |
| 81. | John H. Parsall | Seaman |
| 82. | Samuel Miller | Ordinary seaman |
| 83. | John Compodonico | Seaman |
| 84. | Joseph Johnson | do. |
| 85. | William Hamilton | Landsman |
| 86. | Jordan Williams | Seaman |
| 87. | Henry Barker | Ordinary seaman |
| 88. | Philip Thomas | Seaman |
| 89. | Thomas Carlton | do. |
| 90. | Francis Porter | do. |
| 91. | Henry Piper | Ordinary seaman |
| 92. | Martin Gilbert | Seaman |
| 93. | Thomas Johnson 1st | do. |
| 94. | Robert Scatterly | do. |
| 95. | George Hill | Ordinary seaman |
| 96. | Martin Stanly | do. |
| 97. | Thomas Nordyke | Seaman |
| 98. | John Russell | do. |
| 99. | William Simons | Ordinary seaman |
| 100. | Francis Green | do. |
| 101. | John Wyble | Seaman |
| 102. | Daniel Coleman | Landsman |

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| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 103. | William Hines | Ordinary seaman |
| 104. | John Thomas | do. |
| 105. | Jasper Reed | Seaman |
| 106. | Robert White | do. |
| 107. | Thomas Mitchell | Ordinary seaman |
| 108. | John Brown | Seaman |
| 109. | William White | do. |
| 110. | William Burton | Boy |
| 111. | Matthew Tuckerman | Seaman |
| 112. | William Boyd | Ordinary seaman |
| 113. | John Robertson | Seaman |
| 114. | Joseph Emerson | do. |
| 115. | John Stone | do. |
| 116. | William Lee 1st | Boy |
| 117. | Zachariah Mayfield | Landsman |
| 118. | Francis Davis | Seaman |
| 119. | Peter Allan | do. |
| 120. | John Alvison | do. |
| 121. | John Lazarro | do. |
| 122. | Jacob Harrison | Boy |
| 123. | John M. Cresup | Ordinary seaman |
| 124. | Henry Humphries | Boy |
| 125. | John Williams 2d | Ordinary seaman |
| 126. | London Reed | Landsman |
| 127. | Thomas Andrews | Ordinary seaman |
| 128. | George Stoutenborough | Seaman |
| 129. | William Wood | do. |
| 130. | Richard Sullivan | Boy |
| 131. | John Harvey | Seaman |
| 132. | Henry Kennedy | do. |
| 133. | David Smith | Ordinary seaman |
| 134. | James Clarke | Seaman |
| 135. | Charles Earnest | do. |
| 136. | George Love | Ordinary seaman |
| 137. | Francis Trepanny | Seaman |
| 138. | Bartholemew Tuckerman | do. |

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 139. | William Foster | Ordinary seaman |
| 140. | John Welsh | Seaman |
| 141. | Williams Matthews | do. |
| 142. | William Taylor | Boy |
| 143. | George Williams | Seaman |
| 144. | Daniel Hyde | do. |
| 145. | John Penn | do. |
| 146. | Samuel Jones | Landsman |
| 147. | David Davis | Ordinary seaman |
| 148. | Emero Males | do. |
| 149. | William Godfrey | Seaman |
| 150. | Samuel Groce | do. |
| 151. | William Nichols | Ordinary seaman |
| 152. | Peter Green | Seaman |
| 153. | Benjamin Bartley | Landsman |
| 154. | Nathaniel Whiting | Ordinary seaman |
| 155. | William Jennings | Landsman |
| 156. | John Dobson | Seaman |
| 157. | William Smith | do. |
| 158. | Edmond Ollerson | Ordinary seaman |
| 159. | George Green | Boy |
| 160. | Martial Gilles | Ordinary seaman |
| 161. | Matthew Lawder | do. |
| 162. | John Bachelder | do. |
| 163. | James Nicherson | Boy |
| 164. | Charles M'Carty | Ordinary seaman |
| 165. | William Johnson | Seaman |
| 166. | Samuel Howard | Ordinary seaman |
| 167. | Charles Hays | Seaman |
| 168. | Daniel F. Casimere | Ordinary seaman |
| 169. | James M'Rea | Boy |
| 170. | Robert Stanwood | Seaman |
| 171. | Thomas Carroll | do. |
| 172. | Francis Lemon | Boy |
| 173. | James Postell | Seaman |
| 174. | James Daniels | Ordinary seaman |

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| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 175. | Samuel West | Seaman |
| 176. | John C. Kilian | do. |
| 177. | James Smith | do. |
| 178. | Andrew Smith | do. |
| 179. | James Mahony | Landsman |
| 180. | Benjamin Hazen | Seaman |
| 181. | James Middleton | do. |
| 182. | George Young | do. |
| 183. | James Campbell | do. |
| 184. | James Turner | Ordinary seaman |
| 185. | Richard Sansbury | do. |
| 186. | William Cole | Seaman |
| 187. | John C. Porter | do. |
| 188. | William Bursell | do. |
| 189. | Thomas M'Donald | Ordinary seaman |
| 190. | James Doyle | Seaman |
| 191. | Charles Foster | Ordinary seaman |
| 192. | Mark Hill | Landsman |
| 193. | Thomas Milburn | Seaman |
| 194. | William Sinclair | Ordinary seaman |
| 195. | Samuel Dinsmore | do. |
| 196. | Sylvester Smith | do. |
| 197. | Enoch M. Miley | Seaman |
| 198. | Joseph Burnham | Ordinary seaman |
| 199. | Thomas O'LOUD | Boy |
| 200. | John M'Kinsey | Seaman |
| 201. | Adam Williams | Landsman |
| 202. | John Burd | Seaman |
| 203. | William Christopher | do. |
| 204. | Joseph Roberts | do. |
| 205. | Peter Johnson 1st | do. |
| 206. | Gane Robertson | do. |
| 207. | William Miller | do. |
| 208. | James Chace | do. |
| 209. | Reuben Marshall | do. |
| 210. | John Chamberlain | do. |

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 211. | Thomas Brannock | Seaman |
| 212. | John Boyle | do. |
| 213. | Charles Jamieson | do. |
| 214. | Antonio Sallee | do. |
| 215. | Charles Mooree | Ordinary seaman |
| 216. | James Spencer | Boy |
| 217. | John Jackson | do. |
| 218. | Thomas Brown | Seaman |
| 219. | Mark Antonio | do. |
| 220. | John Collins | do. |
| 221. | William Whitney | do. |
| 222. | Cornelius Thompson | do. |
| 223. | George Rex | do. |
| 224. | Thomas Welch | do. |
| 225. | Samuel Martin | do. |
| 226. | Oliver Nelson | do. |
| 227. | Allan Jones | do. |
| 228. | James Banks | do. |
| 229. | Frederick Barnes | do. |
| 230. | Thomas Ewing | do. |
| 231. | Ramsay White | Ordinary seaman |
| 232. | Barnet Sparling | Seaman |
| 233. | William Lee 2d | do. |
| 234. | Charles Haliards | do. |
| 235. | Henry Holliman | do. |
| 236. | Cadet Gay | do. |
| 237. | John Williams 4th | do. |
| 238. | John Linghan | do. |
| 239. | John Davis | Ordinary seaman |
| 240. | George Douglas | Seaman |
| 241. | Francis James | do. |
| 242. | Thomas Stewart | do. |
| 243. | Levi McCabe | do. |
| 244. | Daniel Ross | do. |
| 245. | John Gallagher | Ordinary seaman |
| 246. | Abraham Jackson | do. |

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| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 247. | John Harris 2d | Seaman |
| 248. | James Bantain | do. |
| 249. | Daniel Lombard | do. |
| 250. | John Downey | do. |
| 251. | David Holsten | do. |
| 252. | Israel Covil | Ordinary seaman |
| 253. | Olof Hasslefeldt | Seaman |
| 254. | William Robbins | do. |
| 255. | James Harrison | do. |
| 256. | John Glasseau | do. |
| 257. | Levy Holmes | do. |
| 258. | Samuel Leech | do. |
| 259. | Joseph Linton | Ordinary seaman |
| 260. | James Johnston | do. |
| 261. | Hugh Gibson | Seaman |
| 262. | Joshua Waple | do. |
| 263. | William Clair | do. |
| 264. | Charles Hague | do. |
| 265. | Adam Lawrence | do. |
| 266. | William Concord | do. |
| 267. | Sherard Bryan | do. |
| 268. | George Hall | do. |
| 269. | Mark Scott | do. |
| 270. | John Godfrey | do. |
| 271. | William Holmes | do. |
| 272. | Benjamin Hamilton | do. |
| 273. | George Bartle | do. |
| 274. | John Morris | do. |
| 275. | Nathaniel Jones | do. |
| 276. | John Bennet | do. |
| 277. | James Redden | do. |
| 278. | George Brown | do. |
| 279. | James Duffey | do. |

SUPERNUMERARIES.

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> |
|------------|-------------------|
| 280. | Samuel M'Isaacs |
| 281. | Josiah Morris |
| 282. | Samuel Manly |
| 283. | Robert Isgrig |
| 284. | John Hubbard |
| 285. | Edward O'Neal |
| 286. | Nicholas Ledworth |
| 287. | Joseph Dixon |

MARINES.

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 288. | John M. Gamble | Lieutenant commanding |
| 289. | Abraham Van Deezer | Sergeant |
| 290. | Pierce G. Small | do. |
| 291. | Absalom Krewson | Corporal |
| 292. | Andrew Mahon | do. |
| 293. | William M'Donald | Drummer |
| 294. | William Mick | Fifer |
| 295. | George Fritz | Private |
| 296. | Jonathan Witter | do. |
| 297. | Peter C. Swook | do. |
| 298. | Benjamin Bispham | do. |
| 299. | George Schlosser | do. |
| 300. | John Andrews | do. |
| 301. | Lewis Price | do. |
| 302. | John B. Yarnall | do. |
| 303. | Michael Smith | do. |
| 304. | Jacob Armstrong | do. |
| 305. | John Ayres | do. |
| 306. | Peter Caddington | do. |
| 307. | James Vigory | do. |
| 308. | George Gable | do. |
| 309. | John Pettinger | do. |
| 310. | Thomas King | do. |

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Names.</i> | <i>Rank.</i> |
|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 311. | John Fulmer | Private |
| 312. | Orin Manly | do. |
| 313. | James Milburn | do. |
| 314. | Henry Ashmore | do. |
| 315. | John Long | do. |
| 316. | Isaac Stone | do. |
| 317. | William Whitney | do. |
| 318. | Caleb B. Van Voast | do. |
| 319. | Berlin St. Rose | do. |

RECAPITULATION.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Captain | 1 Steward |
| 5 Lieutenants | 1 Cockswain |
| 1 Lieutenants marines | 1 Cooper |
| 1 Sailing-master | 1 Cook |
| 1 Chaplain | 1 Boatswain's yeoman |
| 1 Purser | 1 Gunner's do. |
| 1 Surgeon | 1 Carpenter's do. |
| 2 Surgeon's mates | 7 Quartermasters |
| 12 Midshipmen | 7 Quarter-gunners |
| 1 Boatswain | 2 Sergeants |
| 1 Gunner | 2 Corporals |
| 1 Carpenter | 1 Drummer |
| 1 Sail-maker | 1 Fifer |
| 1 Captain's clerk | 25 Private marines |
| 2 Master's mates | 227 { Seamen, ordinary seamen, |
| 3 Boatswain's mates | landsmen, boys, and su- |
| 2 Gunner's mates | pernumeraries |
| 1 Carpenter's mate | — |
| 1 Armourer | 319 Total |
| 1 Master at arms | — |

The sick list, agreeable to the doctor's report of the 28th, was as follows :

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Patients' Names and Rank.</i> | <i>Diseases.</i> |
|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Samuel Manly, ordinary seaman, | Debility |
| 2. | John Pettinger, mariner, | Nausea with costiveness |
| 3. | Geo. Stoughtenburg, seaman, | Debility, convalescent |
| 4. | Benjamin Hamilton, do. | Venereal disease |
| 5. | William Concord, do. | do. |
| 6. | George Hall, do. | do. |
| 7. | John Morris, do. | do. |
| 8. | Joseph Dixon, do. | do.—convalescent |
| 9. | Levi Holmes, do. | Remittent head-ache |
| 10. | Thomas Carrell, do. | Rheumatic pains |
| 11. | William Klear, do. | Debility |
| 12. | Peter Allan, do. | Swelling of the knee |
| 13. | Sherard Bryant, do. | Venereal disease |
| 14. | Michael Smith, marine, | Debility |
| 15. | Thos. M'Donald, ordinary seaman, | Ulcerated leg |
| 16. | Sylvester Smith, do. | Debility, convalescent |
| 17. | John Thompson, quartermaster, | Sore ancles, convalescent |
| 18. | Wm. Hamilton, ordinary seaman, | Influenza, convalescent |
| 19. | Robert White, do. | Contusion of the elbow |
| 20. | Wm. M'Donald, drummer, | Influenza, convalescent |
| 21. | Mark Antonio, seaman, | Saint Anthony's fire |
| 22. | Thos. Belcher, boatswain's mate, | Clap and chancres |

(Signed)

RICHARD K. HOFFMAN,

SURGEON'S MATE, FOR

ROBERT MILLER, SURGEON.

Total on the sick list 22.

On the 2d of November, the weather began to grow more moderate, in consequence of which, we got up from below all our bread and vegetables that were stowed on the birth-deck, for the purpose of separating the damaged from the rest. Found about four barrels of bread entirely spoiled, and the same quantity of apples. All the barrels were wet; we therefore started the whole of them, dried the provisions, repacked and stowed

them away to more advantage, securing them against further damage from leaks by covering them with tarpawlings; also, cut two scuttles in the birth-deck, to carry off such water as might enter by the leaks in the water-ways, stem, and down the hatchways; also, took advantage of the good weather to fleet and set up our main rigging, to render the masts more secure; unbent the fore-top-sail, which was injured by chafing, and bent another.

Having had favourable winds since our departure, we this day found ourselves in the latitude of $36^{\circ} 7' N.$, longitude, by dead reckoning, $58^{\circ} 54'$ west; but with a view of getting into a latitude where we might expect more moderate weather, as well as to cross the track of vessels bound from England to Bermudas, and those from the West Indies to Europe, stood to the south-east.

On the morning of the 3d, a sail was discovered to the S.W.; made all sail in chase, and at 8 o'clock, discovered her to be a Portuguese merchant brig, bound to the westward; gave over chase, and stood on to the S.E. with light winds from the N. and variable; sent up our royal masts, and employed the crew in various useful jobs, the sick and cooks of the messes being occupied in picking oakum for caulking the water-ways, which were found to be very open, in consequence of the oakum having washed out. Got up the marine clothing from the store-room to air, as some of it was found to be wet from the leak in the stem; the other store-rooms on examination proved to be dry. Also, employed the sail-makers in repairing the fore-top-sail that was unbent, and gave directions to the officers to get their boats in the best state for service, (each lieutenant of the ship, as well as the sailing-master, having charge of one). Towards the latter part of the day, the wind hauled around from the eastward, and threatened rain. Rated Benjamin Wadden carpenter's yeoman. This day saw a bird that very much resembled a plover in appearance and note. Latitude, by observation, $35^{\circ} 1' N.$; longitude, by dead reckoning, $57^{\circ} 9' W.$; variation of the compass 4° westerly.

The winds being light on the 4th, and the weather remarkably pleasant, got up our new suit of sails; bent the new

courses, top-gallant-sails, and royals, and fitted the top-sails for bending; employed the carpenters in caulking our water-ways, and the crew in various useful jobs.

5th, lat. $33^{\circ} 54' 20''$ N., long. $56^{\circ} 14'$ W. by account, variation 5° westerly, the winds light and the weather fine, bent our new top-sail; kept the crew employed in various useful jobs.

From the 5th to the 7th, nothing remarkable. The weather continuing fine, took advantage to get the ship in the best state for service

On the afternoon of the 8th, blowing fresh and very squally, discovered a sail to the E.N.E.; hauled up for her in chace; at 5 discovered her to be a ship, under her top-sails, and courses hauled up, bearing the appearance of a sloop of war. Being about 5 miles to windward of her, and a heavy squall coming on, took in top-gallant-sails, and two reefs in our top-sails, preparatory to getting the ship ready for action, and beat to quarters. On the squall clearing off, discovered the chace before the wind under a press of sail; made all sail in chace, but lost sight of her after dark, and at 8 o'clock gave over the pursuit and stood on our course. From various causes, I am induced to believe her to be the American sloop of war Wasp, commanded by captain Jacob Jones, who sailed from the Delaware a few days before us.

The whole of the 9th, fresh gales and a heavy sea from the westward.

On the 10th, ascertained our longitude by the distance between the sun and moon's centres to be $48^{\circ} 30' 35''$ west; and on comparing it with our dead-reckoning, find a difference of 5 degrees; which arose from a mistake in the marking of our log-line, four knots being marked where three should have been.

The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, the weather remarkably pleasant, the winds light and variable, inclinable to the eastward; nothing of any importance took place during that period; find our sick list decreasing daily, the crew in general improving in their appearance and conduct, which in general has been extremely good; but while we lay in the Delaware, the ease of procuring rum on board had produced some little irregularities, which required a few days at sea to correct. I now divided the crew into three

watches, finding it sufficiently strong to admit of this arrangement, and took every advantage of the good weather to put the ship in prime order for any service.

Our sick list on the 16th, as follows :

William Klear, John Glasseau, Benj. Hamilton, Levy, Holmes Mark Antonio, Thomas Belcher, Thomas McDonald, Jordan Williams ; and of this number only two, to wit, William Klear and Levy Holmes, were incapable of doing duty ; the one from a disease in the liver, the other from intermitting head-ache.

On the 17th, took the advantage of the calm weather to give our rigging a good setting up, and in the afternoon discovered a sail to the W.S.W. Gave chase to and spoke her about 4 o'clock : she proved to be a Portuguese brig from the Brazils bound to Gibraltar, laden with tobacco ; she had been on her passage 52 days, and the only news she could give us was that an embargo had been laid on American vessels in the Brazils on the news of the war.

On the 20th, in latitude $29^{\circ} 33'$ N. and longitude $31^{\circ} 54'$ west, took the trade wind from the north-east, blowing fresh in squalls, with some rain, of which we only succeeded in catching about 60 gallons for the stock.

22d, at day light in the morning, discovered a sail to windward, running down for us ; and being nearly in the track of the homeward bound Indiamen and outward bound West Indiamen, we calculated largely on a prize, but on speaking her she proved (to our great disappointment) a Portuguese from Lisbon bound to New York, laden with salt.

On the 23d, we were honoured by a visit from the gods of the ocean, accompanied by Amphitrite and a numerous retinue of imps, barbers, &c. &c. in his usual style of visiting, and in the course of the afternoon all the novices of the ship's company were initiated into his mysteries. Neptune, however, and most of his suite, paid their devotions so frequently to Bacchus, that before the ceremony of christening was half gone through, their godships were unable to stand ; the business was therefore entrusted to the subordinate agents, who performed both the shaving and washing with as little regard to tenderness as his majesty would have done. On the whole, however, they got through the business with less disorder

and more good humour than I expected; and although some were most unmercifully scraped, the only satisfaction sought was that of shaving others in their turn with new invented tortures.

24th spoke a Portuguese ship from Madeira bound to St. Bartholomews, the captain of which informed us, that an English frigate, bound to the Cape of Good Hope, had touched at Madeira, and brought intelligence of the war. As we were under English colours, I of course affected much surprise at the news, and questioned him accordingly.

26th, at sunrise, discovered the island of St. Nicholas; shortly afterwards spoke a Portuguese brig bound to St. Anthony's; run down among the islands that day, and the next night passed in sight of the isles of Sal and Bonavista. The first is high, and may be known by a hill that appears in form like a sugar-loaf, on first making the island; the second has a ragged, irregular appearance.

27th, in the morning, we were between the isles of Mayo and St. Jago. On the sides of the mountains of the latter we could perceive several villages and large flocks of goats, but the arid appearance of the soil scarcely left us the hope that it would afford us the refreshments we purposed stopping for, as no vegetable or tree of any description could be perceived by us but a few scattering cocoa-nut trees. The island had altogether the most dreary and uncultivated appearance, and I had partly determined in my own mind only to look into the road of Praya, to see if there should be any of our ships of war there, as this was the first rendezvous fixed on by commodore Bainbridge; and, should they not be there, to proceed on. At 2 P. M. rounded to the east point of Port Praya, and stretched into the harbour, showing the American colours, the Portuguese being displayed on a flashy flag-staff erected on a hill at one corner of the ruins of a fort, in the bottom of the bay, and in front of the town. Perceiving no vessels in the bay except a small Portuguese schooner, I hauled off; but being desirous of procuring some information respecting the commodore, as this was the day appointed by him to leave this place for Fernando de Narhona, I concluded on sending lieut. Downes on shore, with a person who could speak the Portuguese language; and as a pretext for so doing I di-

rected him to state to the governor that we were an American frigate wanting supplies, to request his permission to obtain them, to inform him I should fire a salute provided he would return gun for gun, and that I should, provided I anchored, take the earliest opportunity of making my respects to him. On the return of Mr. Downes, he informed me that the governor could not be seen, as he had gone to take his afternoon nap, but that the lieutenant-governor, or second in command, informed him we could obtain every supply we stood in need of; that the salute should be returned gun for gun; that the governor would be happy to see me on shore; expressed his astonishment that I should have asked permission to come in; and concluded with an offer of his services in procuring the supplies we might want. Mr. Downes informed me that no government vessels of war had been at Praya; that the American privateer Yankey from Boston, and another privateer from Salem, and an armed British schooner, had been there not long since. I consequently concluded on stopping a few days, and during the time to fill up our water, and take in refreshments. I therefore ran in and anchored in seven fathoms water, clear sandy bottom, the flag-staff bearing N.N.W., and the east end of Quail Island west by compass. We fired the salute, which was punctually returned.

At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 28th, I waited on his excellency, accompanied by some of the officers. He was engaged at the time on some business at the custom-house, as I was informed, and could not be seen until about 11: the second in command, however, major Medina (who spoke such English as he was enabled to pick up from the captains and crews of such American vessels as touched at the Isle of Mayo for salt, where he was governor), entertained us during the interval, making offers of his services in procuring the supplies, of which we gave him a list; and, after making the necessary arrangements, and fixing on the prices, we waited on the governor, whom we found at his house, dressed in all his splendor to receive us. His reception was of the most friendly nature, and I am persuaded he was much pleased to see us in the port. He appeared astonished that I should have sent in for permission to enter the port. I informed him, that as

the Portuguese were the allies of Great Britain, I had entertained doubts whether he would feel authorized to give us protection against a British force, should it appear; but so soon as he had granted permission for us to enter the port, those doubts were removed. He expressed much regret that the war had deprived them of the advantage arising from the American commerce, as they had been cut off from all their supplies, and were now destitute of bread, and every other comfort of life, except what the island afforded, which consisted chiefly in live stock and fruit. He told me that a little flour, or any thing else we could spare, would be most acceptable to him; and invited me to make my dinner with him, on such scanty fare as he was enabled to give me; adding, if I would come on shore next day, he would endeavour to provide something better. I accepted his invitation with as little ceremony as it was given; and although there was but little variety of meats, he had an abundant supply of the best tropical fruits I ever tasted. The oranges were very fine. We this day commenced watering; but, after having to roll the casks about 500 yards, found great difficulty in getting them from the beach, on account of the heavy surf.

On the 29th, I again dined with the governor, and from that time until the morning of the 2d of December, we were occupied in getting on board refreshments and water; but of the latter we were only enabled to get about 5000 gallons. The beef was very dear, and very poor; a bullock weighing 300 weight, cost 35 dollars; sheep were three dollars, but very poor; oranges 40 cents per hundred, and other fruits in the same proportion, and in the greatest abundance. It is supposed that the ship had not on board less than one hundred thousand oranges, together with a large quantity of cocoa-nuts, plantains, lemons, limes, casada, &c. &c. Every mess on board were also supplied with pigs, sheep, fowls, turkeys, goats, &c. which were purchased very cheap; fowls at three dollars per dozen, and fine turkeys at one dollar each; many of the seamen also furnished themselves with monkeys and young goats as pets, and when we sailed from thence the ship bore no slight resemblance, as respected the different kind on board her, to Noah's ark.

In the town of Praya there are not more than thirty whites; the

rest of the population is made up of slaves and free negroes, making altogether not more than three thousand, of whom about four hundred are soldiers; all the officers, except three or four, are mulattoes, and their priest is a negro, who possesses considerable polish in his manners. The soldiers are generally destitute of clothing from the waist upwards, and it can be asserted with a certainty of adhering strictly to the truth, that there are not five serviceable muskets in Praya. Most all of them are without any locks, their stocks broken off at the breech, their barrels tied into the stocks with a leather thong, or a cord made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut; and it was no uncommon thing to see a naked negro mounting guard, shouldering a musket barrel only. Their cavalry were in a corresponding style, mounted on jack-asses, and armed with broken swords.

The governor informed me, it had been 10 years since they had received any pay, or supplies of clothing or arms.

The guns of different calibres mounted about Praya, for the defence of the place, although in commanding situations, are in a state equally bad as the muskets of the negroes. They are placed on ship's carriages, which are old and rotten, scarcely holding together, without platform, shelter, or breast-work, except a slight dilapidated one before the saluting battery, and another in as bad a state on the west point of the bay. The whole number of guns amounts to thirty; and for them chiefly they are indebted to a Portuguese frigate that was lost by the negligence of her officers about three years since. Port Praya could be taken, and every gun spiked, by thirty men.

An abundance of fish may be caught with the hook and line along side, and with the seine on the beach, where we hauled every morning during our stay; and one afternoon, at the particular request of the governor, when himself and the ladies of his family, as well as all the other white ladies of the town, consisting altogether of seven, besides the white and coloured officers, attended. We were not at that time so fortunate as we were afterwards; we however caught enough to afford them a mess, which I caused to be carried to their houses. A very good amusement may be had in the bay, by rowing with a small boat across the mouth, and towing

a line with a hook fastened on with wire, and baited with small fish, for the purpose of catching baracouters. The best time is in the dusk of the evening, and at day-light in the morning.

On the 29th after dinner, the governor visited the ship, with the ladies of his family and all the officers of the garrison, black and white; and on his leaving us I caused a salute of eleven guns to be fired. He was much pleased with the attentions shown to him, and next day spoke of it with renewed offers of civility. I sent him, as well as Medina, a barrel of flour and pork, with some other small articles, and in return he sent me off six fine turkeys. From the favourable disposition of the governor, as well as the officers of the government, also on account of the facility of procuring refreshments, I would recommend Port Praya as an excellent place for our ships to stop for supplies. The bay is of easy access, and when the anchor is once settled in the bottom, is perfectly safe; it is necessary, however, to give the ship half a cable before you check her, or the anchor is not likely to take hold, and there is danger of her going on the rocks of Quail Island, as was the case with the Portuguese frigate.

As the governor hinted to me that a letter from me to our minister at the court of Brazil would be agreeable to him, I wrote such a one as I thought would be flattering to him, and sent it on shore, informing him of my intentions to sail that day. A signal was in consequence hoisted (as he informed my officer), to *permit* us to depart.

The governor is about 45 years of age, a man of easy and agreeable manners and friendly disposition. The utmost respect is paid to him by all subject to his authority. No one is ever seated in his presence; and, whenever he leaves his quarters, he is always accompanied by a guard; when on foot, he is preceded by a soldier bearing a halbert.

During my stay I became acquainted with a Portuguese merchant, a man of considerable intelligence and wealth, and the owner of property in most of the islands. He was about sending the before-mentioned schooner to the Brazils, with dispatches for the governor, for the purpose of procuring a supply from that quarter, which, if they were not able to obtain, he assured me they should

be compelled to leave the island, as the drought for the last two years had prevented them from raising any corn, and that there was no such thing as bread in the islands; indeed the governor's table sufficiently bespoke the scarcity of it. He told me that the island of St. Vincents afforded a much more commodious harbour, a more abundant and cheaper supply of cattle, with fruits of every description in the greatest quantities, and fresh water in abundance, that could be procured with ease; and, as he was the possessor of most of the property in the island, gave me a letter to his overseer (to be delivered in the event of my going there), directing him to furnish us with every supply we might need.

The friendly attentions we met with in the port of Praya, could not have been exceeded in any port of the United States; and, as the Portuguese are the allies of Great Britain, their attentions were as surprising as they were unexpected. I found, however, after I had been with them a short time, that their attachment to the Americans, growing out of their commercial interests and concerns, were very strong; that the only British vessels that ever touched there were vessels of war, who came for supplies, with the haughty unconciliating conduct of the commanders and officers of which they were by no means satisfied. They spoke of the prince regent as the slave, the tool of the British government, and were highly gratified with the accounts I gave them of our little success over the ships of that imperious navy. The governor assured me, he would give me *every protection* against any *British force* that should arrive there during my stay, and expressed a strong desire that we should make him another visit, when he hoped to make our time more agreeable.

The two greatest evils to guard against in refreshing at Port Praya, is the bad rum of the country, and the heat of the sun, to both of which the watering party are unavoidably exposed. The negroes and seamen have such a variety of expedients for getting rum on board, that it is almost impossible to detect them. They hover about the beach with the bottles under their arms, and the shawls of the females serve the better to conceal them; and at a favourable opportunity they bury them in the sand, receive their money, and the sailor watches his opportunity for getting it on

board or drinking it. They sometimes draw the milk from the cocoa-nut, fill it with rum, and sell them to the seamen in that state at a high price. The first day we were employed in watering, we had several men drunk; but after that we were more fortunate, as I selected the most trusty men to fill and roll the casks to the beach, with directions to make a signal when they were ready to tow-off; by this means, we prevented our boats' crews from having any communication with the shore. A similar precaution was used in getting our supplies of fruit on board: they were brought to the beach by the negroes, and, on a signal being made, boats were sent for them. I should advise ships that intend getting any considerable supplies of water, to employ negroes altogether for filling the casks, and rolling them down to the beach, as it would entirely prevent the necessity of exposing the men, either to the inclemency of the sun, or the temptations held out to them.

The watering-place is a well at the back of the town, in a valley, and the only place from whence the inhabitants receive their supply.

On our arrival at Port Praya, our sick list consisted of Holmes, Klaer, and Hazen; but on the day of our departure there were nine patients on it; three from accidents, and three with inflammatory bilious fevers: this was one cause of my hastening from thence before I had completed filling my water, as I was fearful of introducing disease among the crew. None of the last selected watering-party on shore were in the slightest degree affected by the climate, although employed from day-light in the morning, until late at night; they were, however, shaded a considerable part of the time by the groves of cocoa-nut trees that grow between the landing-place and the well, and they were not compelled to work in the middle of the day; added to this, those employed after the first day were very temperate, and not known to enter into any excesses.

On hauling around the east point of Port Praya, it is necessary to keep close in with the rocks, at the distance of a cable or a cable and a half, as the current sets strong to the westward, and the wind is generally variable and scant, and without this pre-

caution you will be likely to fall to leeward of the anchorage ground. It is also advisable to run in under top-sails, as it is frequently squally under the lee of the point. It is best to anchor well on the east side of the bay, in order that you may have room to clear the rocks that lie off the Isle of Quails. The wind seldom blows from the southward, and never strong enough to endanger vessels lying in the roads. Vessels bound to Port Praya should guard against entering, though mistake, into a bay that is formed by the S.E. point of the island and the east point of Praya, which bears a strong resemblance to Praya bay, and is very dangerous.

Praya may be known by an old fort on point Tubaron; by the black island of Quails, on which several guns are mounted; by the fort and town of Praya; and by a flag-staff, or signal establishment, situated on a mountain, at the back of the east point of the bay. Praya is situated on a plain, on the top of a rock overlooking the bay, the sides of which, toward the sea, are every where nearly perpendicular, except two roads, one on the east, the other on the west, which have been cut in the rock, and are very steep. The houses or cabins, except those of the principal officers and the gaol, are built of rough stone, one story high, and covered with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The police of Praya is rigid; no one is permitted to wear concealed weapons; and had I not been well assured, that there were no better arms in the island, I should have supposed, that fears of an insurrection induced them to put unserviceable muskets and broken cutlasses into the hands of their naked negro soldiers.

The following determinations were made at Port Praya, by astronomical observations:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Latitude | 14° 54' 05" north |
| Longitude | 23° 30' 17" west |
| Variation of the compass | 14° 58' 00" west. |

Praya at present has no commerce. It derives its principal support from vessels that casually stop in there for refreshments, and its only importance from being the residence of the captain-general of the islands of Cape de Verd, who receives a salary from the crown of \$200 per month, and draws some portion of

the revenue arising from the sale of cattle to foreign vessels, on every head of which is a duty equal to one half the amount, paid by the purchaser. Whether this is an imposition of the officers of government, I will not pretend to decide; I would, however, advise such vessels as require fresh provisions to purchase sheep, hogs, and poultry, in preference to beef, on account of the cheapness and quality. Nor would I advise the purchase or contracts to be made the first day of the arrival; if a salute should be fired, in the course of a day or two the country people flock in from all parts of the island, and the price of every article is reduced one half.

St. Jago produces, besides every species of tropical fruits, sugar, indigo, coffee of a superior quality and flavour, orchilla, a vine for dyeing, which is a monopoly of the crown, cotton, and (during the fruitful season) corn, in such considerable quantities, as to enable them to make large exportations to Madeira and the Canaries. Manufactories of a kind of cotton shawl, worn by the women of the island, are carried on in almost every family; it is remarkably neat, and consists of a number of narrow stripes, so artfully joined as to render the seam scarcely perceptible. Coverlids of the same kind for beds are also made.

On leaving the port we shaped our course to the S.E. with a view of deceiving the people of Praya, and impressing a belief that we were bound to the coast of Africa; when, however, we were at such a distance that the ship could no longer be seen from the town, I stood S.S.W. by compass, with a view of falling in with the island of St. Pedro de Ponedro, said to be situated in lat. $0^{\circ} 55''$ north, and, according to Blunt, in long. $29^{\circ} 10''$ west. The French, however, have situated it in long. $29^{\circ} 34''$ west from Paris, answering to $27^{\circ} 14''$ west from Greenwich. The sailing directions for the East India Pilot place it between $0^{\circ} 55''$ and $1^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, and longitude west from London $31^{\circ} 25''$: all these calculations have been made by the run of vessels from St. Helena and Ascension, and not from astronomical calculations. I determined to fix the true position of the island, if we should be enabled to find it.

On the 3d December, Levi Holmes departed this life: he had laboured under a paralytic affection since our departure, and no hopes whatever were entertained of his recovery; one side of him was perfectly paralyzed, and we may deem it a fortunate circumstance for him that he was taken off: the faculties of his mind were nearly suspended; he was unable to give himself the slightest assistance; deprived of his speech, a burden to himself, and those who had charge of him, there was no prospect but that of the most abject misery before him, as all hopes of his recovery had been long abandoned, and I believe that the death of this poor wretch produced a sensation of joy in the breast of every person on board. His remains were committed to the deep, according to the funeral ceremonies of the church.

My chief care was now the health of my people, and every means that could suggest themselves to my mind to effect this great object were adopted. The utmost cleanliness was required from every person on board, directions were given for mustering the crew every morning at their quarters, where they were strictly examined by their officers. It was recommended to them to bathe at least once a day, and the officers were requested to show them the example in so doing themselves; they were required, also, to use every means in their power to provide constant employment for the men under their controul during working hours, and amusement for them during the hours of recreation, and to be particularly careful not to harass them by disturbing them unnecessarily during their watch below, as also to guard against any improper or unnecessary exposure to the weather; economy was recommended to the crew in the use of their supply of fruit, and permission was given to suspend it in the rigging and other airy parts of the ship, in nets made for the purpose, with a promise of the severest punishment to such as should be detected in stealing from others: with those precautions to procure exercise and cleanliness, with proper ventilations and fumigations, a young, active, healthy, and contented crew, a ship in good order for the service we were engaged in, well found with the best provisions, and the purest water, perfectly free from all bad taste and smell, I do not conceive why we should be in greater apprehen-

sion of disease originating on board now, than on the coast of North America: we have friendly ports under our lee, where we may stop from time to time to procure the necessary supplies of refreshments; and the temperature of the atmosphere, although the mercury in the day time stood at 85° , when between the latitude of 6° and 12° N., was not sensibly hotter than I have frequently experienced it on our own coast. The clouds which overhang the atmosphere during the day, and nearly obscure the sun, served greatly to ameliorate the effects of its rays; a pleasant and steady breeze from the east contributed greatly to refresh the air; and sailing could not be more pleasant than was our passage towards the line. The landsmen on board were delighted with it, and the seamen felicitated themselves that it was not always the case at sea, "or all the old women in the country (as they expressed themselves) would have been sailors." Between those latitudes, we met with great quantities of that gelatinous substance, generally known by the name of sun-fish.

Finding that the great quantity of stock on board must necessarily consume a great deal of water, or suffer, I directed that the seamen should kill all their pigs; and as the young goats, by sucking the old, deprived us of their milk, I directed that they also should be killed. Many petitions were sent in to me to save from slaughter a favourite kid, or a pig that had been destined for a Christmas dinner, with assurances from the owner that they should be supplied with water from his own allowance, although they were allowed only half a gallon; yet I found it necessary to be inflexible to avoid the imputation of partiality; for if I had granted the petition in one instance, I should had to have done so in all, and the quantity of stock, and the dirt occasioned by them, were no inconsiderable inconveniences on board.

On the 6th I had the happiness to see our sick list reduced to four patients, to wit:

William Klaer, disease of the liver.

Thomas Ewing, sprained ankle.

Martin Gilbert, contused fingers.

John Collins, bilious fever, convalescent.

The regulation of permitting the crew to sleep on the gun-deck, with the ports open, where they have a free circulation of air, contributes not a little, in my opinion, to the preservation of their health. Most commanders are averse to this indulgence, in consequence of their supposing their hammocks in the way of the guns; but so far from finding a disadvantage in it, I find a great advantage in always having the men near their quarters, when on the slightest alarm they may be ready for action; and should circumstances make it necessary for us to pipe up the hammocks on seeing a strange sail at night, they can be lashed up much sooner and with less confusion on a roomy gun-deck, than from a dark and crowded birth-deck. But if it should happen (which cannot be the case with a good look-out) that a vessel should be close on board before she is discovered, and there should not be time to get the hammocks on deck, it is an easy matter to cut away the lanyards, and throw the hammocks below, or on one side, clear of the guns. It must be understood that none are permitted to sleep on the gun-deck, but those who are quartered at the guns there; and they are compelled to sling the hammocks opposite their guns, and are accountable for the safety of every article belonging to them. Ships that adopt this regulation, with other proper precautions, have always healthy crews; and this circumstance alone, which contributes so much to their comfort, and in time of action must render them more efficient, should overcome the trifling, ill-founded apprehension of not having the hammocks stowed in time for action. Fifteen minutes are sufficient at any time to make every preparation for action; and on discovering a vessel at night, there can be no circumstance which should render it necessary to run along side of her without taking that much time to prepare for battle. In order to have the hammocks in a greater state of readiness for stowing away, orders were given that every man, so soon as he turns out to take his watch, should lash his hammock up in readiness to take on deck.

The sick are never permitted to remain on the gun-deck at night, but are brought up by their messmates every morning, and their hammocks are slung in some cool agreeable part of the

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gun-deck, where they will not be disturbed by persons at work or running against them.

What can be more dreadful than for 300 men to be confined with their hammocks, being only 18 inches apart, on the birth-deck of a small frigate, a space of 70 feet long, 35 feet wide, and 5 feet high, in a hot climate, where the only aperture by which they can receive air are two hatchways, of about 6 feet square? Their situation must be little superior to the wretches who perished in the black hole of Calcutta. A call to their watch must be a relief from their sufferings; and although it exposes them to all the ills attending the violent and sudden chills occasioned by the dews and night air while the pores are open, and the body in a profuse perspiration, it is more tolerable than suffocation. Those sudden and frequent changes from melting to freezing must, in time, wear out the strongest constitution, and produce incurable diseases. From the number confined in so small a space, the whole atmosphere of the ship becomes tainted, and not only those who are compelled to sleep below, but every person on board, breathes and is affected by the pernicious vapours arising from the birth-deck. Various expedients have been fallen on to remove this foul air: fumigation with gunpowder, and burning fires below, purifying by sprinkling vinegar, and ventilating by means of wind-sails; but the most effectual remedy, although the most uncomfortable, and perhaps not adapted for that object, is the French practice of baking their bread in ovens built on the birth-deck. While heating them, a constant current of air rushes towards the fire, the foul air is carried off, and fresh air rushes in to supply its place. I have not, however, found either of those methods necessary, and therefore have adopted none except ventilation. As we have but few who sleep on the birth-deck, we have no foul air generated; and it is found that good wind sails, and a little vinegar evaporated in the manner formerly mentioned, are sufficient to keep the air perfectly sweet. The latter practice, however, is in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Miller, my surgeon, who declares it to be extremely injurious, in consequence of the corrosive qualities of the vinegar; the smell arising from it, however, is very agreeable, the vapour very

searching, and as I have not, after an experience of several years, discovered any bad effects from it, and have from that or some other cause been so fortunate as to have healthy crews, I am determined not to discontinue that mode of fumigation, until I am convinced by facts that the practice is prejudicial.

Being now in the latitude of 4° north, we begin to experience slight variations in the trade winds, hailing from the N.E. to E. by S. and in intervals heavy showers of rain, of a few minutes continuance; but we were not able to catch any water, although our rain awning was kept spread for the purpose. We also had some distant lightning to the southward, and sometimes the rain was accompanied by a little increase of wind, but more frequently calms; but little change was perceived in the temperature of the air; and the clouds continued to hover over and obscure the sun. We have not seen, since we left the Cape de Verds, any appearance of that weed, commonly known in America by the name of the gulf-weed; nor have we perceived any other kind of weed floating on the surface of the sea, or any birds that could lead us to suppose we were in the neighbourhood of such places as they generally resort to. The only fish that came near the vessel were a few porpoises, and of them we did not succeed in striking any.

On the 8th, in lat. 3° north, we began to experience the S.E. trade winds; and a considerable change took place in the temperature of the air, as the thermometer fell to 82° . In the afternoon we saw several of those birds called sheerwaters; but as they are to be met with, at times, in every part of the Atlantic, I did not consider their appearance as a certain indication of the vicinity of land, although by our calculation we suppose ourselves to be only about 40 leagues from Penedro de St. Pedro. I this day caused the crew to be paid in cash for the amount due them for the stoppages of provisions.

It has excited much astonishment among seamen why the temperature of the air should be so much warmer to the northward of the line, at all seasons of the year, than at the southward, and that the N.E. trades should always be met in a northern latitude, particularly when the sun is in his highest southern de-

clination, as he happens to be at present ; but by running the eye over the chart the mystery is solved.

It is well known that the trade winds blow from the eastward to the westward throughout the year, but undergoing some slight variations from local causes, or the change of the sun's place in the ecliptic ; and those winds, it is generally admitted, are caused by the highly rarefied state of the air between the tropics, and the passage of the sun from east to west, or rather the earth's rotatory motion from west to east, it follows that a current of cold air must rush to those points where the air is most rarefied, to restore the equilibrium. And as the coast of Africa to the north of the equator, and between Cape Verd and Sierra Leone, projects west, to within 10 or 12 degrees of the usual track of vessels crossing the line bound to the southward, and as the trade-winds, before they reach this point, pass over a tract of land, extending from the Gulf of Arabia to the Atlantic, and equal in width to 65 degrees, it may be presumed that they must contract in their passage a great intensity of heat, of which they lose but a small portion before reaching the track of vessels ; it may therefore be expected, even if facts did not prove it to be the case, that the most intense heat of the trades experienced by vessels is near the most westerly projection of Africa, or between the latitudes of 5° and 12° north.

From Sierra Leone the land trends to the eastward for about 25 degrees, and forms that part of the ocean called the Gulph of Guinea, the bottom of which lies in about 12° east longitude ; consequently a space of ocean extends between the continent and the ship (when between the line and lat. 5° N.) of upwards of 35 degrees ; and as the trades in passing over the continent here from the Indian seas have only a passage of 30° , and consequently contract only a proportionable degree of heat, and as it might be expected that much of it would be lost before they reach the ship, it seems natural to suppose that they would incline toward the north, to restore the equilibrium (destroyed by the highly rarefied air from the projecting point of Africa), and thus produce the cool and refreshing S.E. trade winds. When the sun is to the north of the equator, the S.E. trades are to be

met in a more northern latitude, but they are at all times to be met to the north of the line.

On the afternoon our longitude, by a very accurate chronometer, was $26^{\circ} 41' 39''$ west, the latitude at meridian was $3^{\circ} 2' 6''$ north.

On the evening of the 9th, being in the lat. of 1° N. and long. $28^{\circ} 45'$ west, hove the ship to, for fear of running in the night past Penedro de St. Pedro. We were not enabled to strike into the latitude of the island farther to the eastward than 27° west, on account of the scantiness of the winds; nor did I conceive it would be safe to run farther west than $29^{\circ} 15'$, for fear of not being able afterwards to make the island of Fernando Noronha. I therefore, at 8 o'clock the next morning, finding myself in that longitude (which was determined by the lunar observation the preceding evening, with which the result given by the chronometer agreed within a few minutes), I gave up the search. I at that time had a view of 25 miles to the westward, and am enabled to state positively, that the island of Penedro de St. Pedro, or St. Pauls, does not exist between the latitudes of $55'$ and $1^{\circ} 20'$ N. and the longitudes of 27° and $29^{\circ} 40'$ west. I had, however, to regret, a few hours afterwards, that I did not extend the research farther, as a large flock of gulls and other birds that frequent the shores every night, convinced me that I was in the neighbourhood of land.

In our run from the latitude of 10° north, we have constantly experienced a current setting to the northward and westward, at the rate of from 12 to 18 miles in 24 hours, and was found to be strongest as we approached the equator, but less inclining to the westward. This current, at this season of the year, seems difficult to account for, if we do not attribute it to the effects of the strong S.E. trades to the south of the line, and this seems admissible. The S.E. trades, when the sun is in the tropic of Capricorn, may be supposed to extend as far south as the latitude of 28° or 30° , propelling a current of water toward the coast of Brazils; it there follows the obliquity of the east coast, and flows off to the northward and eastward, until it meets the east and N.E. trades to the north of the line, which, when at the

latitude of 6° or 10° , changes its course from the northward and eastward to the northward and westward ; as it proceeds farther north it becomes more affected by the trades, and at length takes their course, and flows with the other waters borne down by them through the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico, following the direction of the continent, until it finds an outlet between the Bahama Islands and the coast of Florida, and produces that current on the coast of North America, known by the name of the gulph stream. The currents to the south of Cape Frio may be supposed from the same cause to take a south-westerly direction, losing themselves in the southern ocean. The observations made by different navigators seem to authorise this belief. Bougainville, on the east coast of Brazil, experienced a north-east current ; and, speaking of the current generally on the coast of Brazil, he says, " the S.E. currents that navigators have experienced on this coast are subject to variations, and sometimes take a contrary direction ;" and again, " it appears that in those parts the currents vary, running sometimes to the N.E., but more frequently to the S.W." " a glance of the eye on the direction of the coast is sufficient to prove that it should necessarily follow one of those courses."

Lieut. Blight, when in lat. 20° north, long. 20° west, discovered a current setting to the N.E., at the rate of 14' in 14 hours.

Vancouver found strong and irregular currents between the Isle of St. Antonio, one of the Cape de Verds, and Cape St. Augustine, and in consequence contests the opinion given by Nicholson, in his hypothesis given in his East India sailing directions, published in 1787, by which it appears the current should set regularly to the north at that season of the year (July.) The observations of Vancouver, however, so far from operating against my theory, serve to establish it ; for according to it, the gulf stream, in following the direction given to it by the coast of America, the Banks of Newfoundland, and the prevalence of northerly winds in the northern hemisphere, should produce a south-east current among the Cape de Verds, which, as it falls in with the current occasioned by the N.E. and east trades, takes a direction south-westerly, combining at length with the trade cur-

rent and current from the Brazil coast, and flowing off to the west.

Vancouver has not given us any data from which we may draw any just conclusions; he observes, "From the Isle of St. Antonio, as far south as Cape St. Augustine, the currents are very irregular, and in the lat. of 6° north there is a strong ripple. Those currents, notwithstanding the general opinion, do not appear to have any irregularity, for it appeared that we were set in a different direction from the one we expected from its effects on us the preceding day; and those that we most experienced had a southerly direction, and more frequently to the S.E. than to the S.W."

The ripple of which Vancouver makes mention, I also discovered, and in the same latitude, with a very high and irregular swell from the northward. The ripple I attributed entirely to the meeting of the currents, and perhaps the swell may be owing in some measure to the same cause, though I rather think it owing to banks formed in that neighbourhood by the deposit of matter brought from the coast of Brazils.

All navigators, in crossing between the Cape de Verds and the coast of Brazils, have remarked the irregularities of the currents, but none have heretofore attempted to account for them; and I should not have hazarded an opinion on this subject, were I not firmly of the belief that the trade winds are the great cause of currents in the north and south Atlantic oceans.

On the 11th crossed the equator in the long. of 30° west. Since the 9th we have had (particularly at night) squally weather, with heavy showers of rain; this may be accounted for by the absence of the sun's rays, but more satisfactorily by the vapours being condensed by the cool S.E. trades.

On the 12th, about 2, P. M., discovered a sail to windward, which bore the appearance of a British brig of war; made all sail in chace of her, and at 6 she displayed a signal. With a view of decoying her down to me, I displayed such British signals as I became possessed of during my last cruize, but without effect. At sundown she hoisted British colours, and after dark made her night signals. At 9 we were within musket shot, and being de-

sirous of doing her as little injury as possible, I gave orders that the great guns should not be fired. I hailed her, and directed her to lower her topsails, haul up her courses, and heave-to to windward ; but as she attempted to run athwart my stern, with a view, as I supposed, to rake us and make her escape, I directed a volley of musketry to be fired, which (I am sorry to say) killed one man on board her. She proved to be his majesty's packet Nocton, bound to Falmouth, of 10 guns and 31 men. I, that night, took out the prisoners, and a quantity of specie found on board, amounting to about \$55,000.

On the 13th dispatched the prize under the command of lieutenant Finch, and as I sent in her 17 of the prisoners, I was under the necessity of sending as many of my own crew. I sent in the prize the captain, master, and passengers ; and, with a view of securing their neutrality in the event of any attempt to retake the vessel, I permitted them to go on parole of honour, with the privilege of embarking on board any vessel they might meet, bound to England or elsewhere. As I have never permitted prisoners to be plundered in any one instance, the officers and passengers of the brig soon felt themselves, while on board the Essex, at perfect ease, and secure from any violence ; and they seemed to consider their capture and trip to America more in the light of an agreeable adventure, and a party of pleasure, than a misfortune.

A Mr. James Heyworth, a merchant from Brazils, on leaving my ship, presented me with two letters unsealed, which he requested me to present in the event of my going to Rio Janeiro. One of them I found to be a letter of introduction ; the other announcing his capture. To shew the sentiments by which he was impressed, I shall give a copy of them both.

Dear Brother Lawrence,

By the extreme civility of the gentleman who offers to forward this, I am enabled to inform you that we have been captured by an American vessel. However, we are proceeding under the direction of a prize-master to the United States ; have liberty, if we fall in with a neutral vessel, to go on board ; and if not,

we shall proceed to North America. I am under my parole, and expect soon to be with my friends in England.

We have been most humanely treated. I cannot inform you more particulars, having given my word of honour not to disclose any thing relative to our capture. I am well, thank God, in good spirits, and request you will make yourself easy respecting me.

I am, dear Lawrence,

Your affectionate brother,

JAMES HEYWORTH.

Decr. 12, 1812.

Los Senrs. Heyworth, Irmoos, & Co.

No. 10, Resa das Violas, Rio de Janeiro.

Messrs. Heyworth, Brothers, & Co.

Rio de Janeiro.

GENTLEMEN,

Should it occur, that the bearer of this letter, captain Porter, commander of the United States frigate Essex, visits your port, I have to entreat of you, that you will shew him every civility and hospitality in your power.

By attending to this request, you will essentially oblige me, and by doing which you cannot possibly return in a suitable manner the heavy obligation I lie under to captain Porter, for his very generous and humane conduct to me, whilst a prisoner on board his frigate.

I remain, dear sir,

Very respectfully,

Your most obt. servt.

JAMES HEYWORTH.

American frigate Essex, at sea,

Decr. 13th, 1812.

The Nocton proving to be a beautiful vessel, and well calculated for the United States service, I took the liberty of recommending her to the secretary of the navy as a cruiser; being anxious that one of the enemy's small vessels should be taken

in our service, to supply the place of the Nautilus, which had been taken by the British a short time before.

The prize made sail to the north-west, and we pursued our course to the southward,

The following officers and men were sent on board her, from this ship, to take her to the United States, viz.

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Lieutenant Finch, commander | Samuel Manly |
| Midshipman Thos. A. Conover | Josiah Morris |
| John C. Porter | William Sinclair |
| John Godfrey | Ramsay White |
| John Hubbard | William Klaer |
| John Williams | Charles Haigh |
| William Bursell | Berlin St. Rose |
| Nicholas Ledworth | |

A list of the prisoners sent in the brig.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Passengers | Mr. James Heyworth | James Rawe, 1st |
| | Mr. Alex. Watson | James Rawe, 2d |
| | Wm. Rossendale | Thomas Arthur |
| Captain Robert Léonard | | Thomas Tongue |
| Robert Rowe, sailing-master | | William Piggotte |
| William Pickert, surgeon | | William Alexander |
| Robert Sinclair, master's mate | | Samuel Rivers |
| Arthur Collins, carpenter | | William Thomas |
| Thomas George, cook | | |

A list of the prisoners kept on board the Essex.

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Richard John, boatswain | Edward Dale |
| John Julian | John Knight |
| George Miller | John Harris |
| James Walker | Thomas Wailey |
| Dennis Dailey | John Nichols |
| John Hicks | Joseph Isles |
| Richard Blatham | |

To guard more effectually against recapture, I caused the youngest and weakest part of her crew to be sent in her, and retained on board all the seamen and strongest men.

On the 13th we set up our rigging, which had become much stretched in consequence of the warm weather, and the larboard rigging particularly so, from carrying sail so long on one tack.

On the afternoon of the 14th made the high peak (called the Pyramid) of the island of Fernando de Noronha, under the lee bow, and kept plying to windward, under easy sail, all night. At midnight, one of the men on the look-out informed the officer of the deck, that he had descried a sail under the lee, but it proved to be the peak of the island.

At day-light bore up for the harbour, disguised the ship as a merchant-man, hoisted English colours, ran close in, and sent the boat on shore with lieut. Downes in plain clothes, and directed him to inform the governor, that we were the ship *Fanny*, captain Johnson, from London, *via* Newfoundland, bound to Rio Janeiro for a cargo, out 60 days; that we were short of water, had several of the crew sick with the scurvy, and were very much in want of refreshments; but that we could not anchor, as we had lost all our anchors but one, and that our cables were bad. The boat returned after being absent two hours and a half; and lieut. Downes informed me that two British frigates had left this place the last week; that they had reported themselves to the governor as his Britannic majesty's ships *Acasta*, of 44 guns, captain Kerr, and the *Morgiana*, of 20 guns, from England, bound to India; and that a letter had been left by the captain of the *Acasta*, for sir James Yeo, of his majesty's frigate *Southampton*, to be sent to England by the first opportunity. The boat also brought me a small present of fruit from the governor.

I immediately dispatched lieut. Downes with a present of porter and cheese to the governor, with many thanks for his extreme civility, and to inform him, that there was a gentleman on board, who was intimately acquainted with sir James Yeo, and was going from Brazil direct to England, who would take charge of the letter and deliver it to sir James. About 3 o'clock, lieut. Downes returned with the letter, which, on opening, I found to contain as follows:

My dear Mediterranean Friend,

Probably you may stop here ; don't attempt to water ; it is attended with too much difficulty. I learnt before I left *England*, that you were bound to the Brazil coast ; if so, perhaps we may meet at St. Salvadore or Rio Janeiro : I should be happy to meet and converse on our old affairs of captivity ; recollect our secret in those times.

Your friend, of H. M.'s ship *Acasta*,
KERR.

Sir James Yeo, of H. B. M.'s ship Southampton.

(The following was written in sympathetic ink :)

I am bound off St. Salvadore, thence off Cape Frio, where I intend to cruize until the 1st of January. Go off Cape Frio, to the northward of Rio Janeiro, and keep a look out for me.

Your friend.

Sir James Yeo, of H. B. M.'s ship Southampton.

As this was the second rendezvous fixed on by com. Bainbridge, I was not at loss to divine whence the letter was from, nor for whom it was intended.

We immediately hoisted up our boat and made sail to the southward.

The Portuguese island of Fernando de Noronha, is in lat. 3° 54' 28" south, and long. 32° 36' 38" west from London. It is well fortified in every part, and its population consists of a few miserable, naked, exiled Portuguese, and as miserable a guard. The governor is changed every three years, and during his term of service in the island, has the privilege of disposing of its produce to his own emolument. Cattle in abundance, hogs, goats, fowls, &c. may be had there, as well as corn, melons, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. Ships, formerly, frequently touched there for refreshments, wood, and water, but for seven months prior to the arrival of the *Acasta*, none had been there. There are no females on the island, and none are permitted to be there, from what motives I cannot conceive, except it be to render the place of exile the more horrible. The watering-place is near the beach, at the foot of

the rock on which the citadel is placed, and it is with the utmost difficulty and danger that the casks can be got through the surf to the boat. The island produces wood in abundance, but the Portuguese do not permit it to be cut for shipping any where, but on a small island to the east of Fernando, called Wooding Island. This island is in tolerable good cultivation, and produces their principal supply of vegetables. There is no boat in the island, and the only means of communication between Wooding Island and Fernando, is a small raft or catamaran, which is carefully kept in one of the forts, and is capable of bearing only two men. An abundance of fish may be procured with but little trouble with the hook and line.

As clothing is not in use here; as hunger may be gratified without labour; and as there is an appearance of cheerfulness, those who are not in chains may be supposed, in some measure, reconciled to a state as good perhaps as any they had formerly been accustomed to.

The governor caused his catamaran to be launched through a surf (which twice filled our boat, and was near destroying her), and dispatched it to Wooding Island for fruit for us, but before she returned we had left this miserable Botany Bay of Portugal.

A rise of tide was perceptible here of about 5 feet. The only anchoring place is near the citadel.

After leaving Fernando de Noronha we kept close on a wind, for fear of not being able to weather the coast of Brazils, as well as with a view of falling in with the track of vessels from Porto Plate and Rio Janeiro; when abreast the coast of Pernambuco, although at the distance of 60 leagues, we found the weather extremely sultry and oppressive, so much so, as to produce an uncommon degree of lassitude, which it was almost impossible to overcome. I therefore considered it advisable to keep the crew as free from exercise as possible, and out of the sun, with a view of preserving their health, which, to this time, was as good as ever. Our sick list was as follows:

Thomas Ewing, sprained ankle

Joseph Andrews, sprained ankle

Thomas Carroll, chronic rheumatism

Midshipman Tittermary, abscess of the knee.

As some of our people had, contrary to orders, sold their clothes (at Port Praya), and as we had not a very large supply of summer clothing on board, (as well with a view of punishing them, as to make our supply hold out,) I did not until now permit their summer clothes to be issued.

The oppressive heat here is, I presume, occasioned by the coast of Brazils, which runs at right angles with the direction of the trades, and occasions an interruption of their course, as it is well known, that winds never blow home (as seamen term it) on a high coast; added to this, the land breezes which blow off at night break in on the regularity of the current of air, and produce the light and baffling winds and calms that we have experienced in this place.

From the accounts I have received from several persons on board, who have been trading on this coast, it appears, that the land breezes blow very regularly at night, and extend to a considerable distance to sea, and serve to favour the passage of vessels bound from St. Salvadore and other ports to the northward, as they stand off shore with the land until they meet the sea breeze, which enables them to make a considerable slant to the northward.

We, however, were too far off shore to feel the land breeze, but not too far to experience its effects.

The land breezes may owe their existence to the following cause. The action of the sun produces, in the day, by rarefying the air, a considerable elevation of the atmosphere, and where the sun's rays are strongest the greater elevation is produced; between the tropics, but more particularly under the sun, this effect is most observable, and where the sun's rays are reflected back by the land, the effect is still more heightened. When the cause of this extreme elevation ceases, when the sun has set, a general fall of the atmosphere takes place, like water returning to its level to restore the equilibrium; in its fall, should it meet with high land or mountains, it follows the obliquity of their sides, rushing in torrents down through the valleys until it is borne off to the sea,

where it spends itself, under the name of the land breeze, at the distance of a few leagues. On the rising of the sun a new elevation takes place, and a fresh current of air, called the sea breeze, rushes towards the land to supply the vacuum. Every where throughout the world, where the sun's rays are felt, this elevation of atmosphere, in a more or less degree, takes place, but not so much as to produce land winds, except within the tropics, and this elevation is always greatly increased by the opposition of land to the sun's rays. The change in the temperature of the earth cannot, as has been falsely supposed, produce this extraordinary elevation of the atmosphere; was the heat of the sun absorbed by the earth, the effect, instead of being heightened, would be lessened. The elevating effects produced by the earth on the atmosphere may be attributed to reflection alone, and the current of air, called the land breeze, is owing entirely to the earth's form. An extensive flat country without mountains, would produce, by reflection, a great elevation of atmosphere; but when the sun, the cause of this elevation was removed, little or no land breeze would ensue, for the want of mountains to change the course of the atmosphere from its vertical direction. A great rise and fall of the atmosphere in the like manner takes place at sea, at a great distance from coasts, but owing to the smooth surface of the ocean and the absence of mountains, we are rendered insensible of it.

On the 18th discovered a sail; and this being the first we had discovered since the capture of the Nocton, it excited great interest among the ship's company; but on approaching her, discovered her to be a brig under Portuguese colours, standing towards St. Salvadore; but as I did not wish to make ourselves known to her, hoisted English colours, and stood on our course.

On the 20th, spoke a Portuguese vessel from St. Salvadore bound to Lagaira, out 18 days; we boarded her under English colours, and on the captain's coming on board, he informed me, that an English sloop of war had put into St. Salvadore in distress a short time before he sailed, laden with specie, from Rio de la Plata, last from Rio Janeiro, and bound to Europe. From the description he gave me of this vessel, there can be no doubt of her

being H. B. M.'s sloop of war the *Bonne Citoyenne*, of which we obtained intelligence by the *Nocton*. The prisoners informed me, that she sailed 6 days before the *Nocton*, and was so deep as to be thought by many very unsafe; her sides were painted red, and she is a long, low corvette; this answers the description given by the Portuguese, who informed me, that she had sprung a leak from having been on shore, had taken out all her guns and money, and was preparing to heave out. My first intention was to go and cruize off St. Salvadore until she came out, and made all sail for that port, but, on a little reflection, I considered it advisable to act differently, for the following reasons:

I thought it not unlikely, that com. Bainbridge would, on arriving off St. Salvadore, continue to cruize there for the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and if so, my presence there would prove unnecessary. I did not know, however, but, with a view of collecting his squadron together, he might forego every other consideration, and proceed directly off Cape Frio to join me; I therefore concluded it incumbent in me to be punctual to the time and place of every rendezvous; added to these, I was induced to believe, that she would leave St. Salvadore under convoy of the admiral's ship the *Montague*, which was to have sailed from Rio Janeiro a few days after the *Nocton*, for St. Salvadore; I therefore made the best of my way for Cape Frio, where I believed I should be enabled to arrive time enough to proceed from thence to St. Sebastians, if it should then be advisable so to do.

When in the latitude of $17^{\circ} 35' S.$, and longitude of $34^{\circ} 56' W.$, supposing myself to be on the *Abrohas* shoal, sounded with 120 fathoms of line, but got no bottom; we again sounded in latitude of $19^{\circ} 45' S.$, and longitude of $37^{\circ} 22' W.$, with the same quantity of line, but did not succeed in getting bottom; and between the the soundings we did not perceive that the water was in the smallest degree discoloured about this place. Com. Anson, and other navigators, lay down soundings of considerable extent, at the depth of from 24 to 80 fathoms, but I am persuaded that they are laid down erroneously, as our latitude and longitude proved to be very correct. Sir Erasmus Gower, in his passage to Rio Janeiro with lord Macartney, endeavoured to find the shoal, but

did not succeed with 200 fathoms of line, in lat. $16^{\circ} 18' S.$, long. $36^{\circ} 5' W.$; he again sounded at the same depth in lat. $18^{\circ} 30' S.$, and long. $36^{\circ} 50' W.$, and was equally unsuccessful.

On morning of the 25th, the colour of the water indicated soundings, and at meridian discovered the land bearing W. by N.; our latitude, by estimation, was then $22^{\circ} 46' S.$: the weather being hazy, and sun obscure, we were not able to get an observation.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS ON THE COAST OF BRAZILS; ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE FROM ST. CATHARINE'S.

THE land we first discovered was high and irregular, and I had every reason to believe it to be a part of a group of islands to the north of Cape Frio ; I therefore hauled to the southward to make the cape, which we discovered about 4 P. M. Ran down and hove-to off the pitch of it, to meet the arrival of vessels bound to Rio Janeiro, this being the point they endeavour to make from the north as well as south, with the exception of some few coasting vessels, and is considered as eligible a place as any in those seas for cruizing against the enemy's commerce. Lay to under easy sail until the morning of the 27th, when we discovered a sail, to which we gave chase. On approaching her, discovered from her rig, that she was a Portuguese vessel bound to the westward ; I therefore considered it advisable to disguise the ship as a merchantman, and, on passing her, hoisted English colours, on discovering which, she hoisted the Portuguese flag. In the afternoon, discovered another sail to the southward, which bore the appearance of a British brig of war, to which we gave chase, and did not succeed in getting within gun-shot until about 10 o'clock, when we succeeded in bringing her to ; but as I was answered in Portuguese, and it appearing that there was no person on board who could speak or understand English, I concluded that she was a Portuguese vessel ; and as it came on to blow a fresh gale of wind, and as the boat could not board her without great risk, I concluded on permitting her to proceed without further delay.

In the morning, I discovered that we had run so far to the westward during the chase, as to bring us within 5 leagues of the entrance of Rio ; I therefore made all sail to endeavour to beat up to Cape Frio ; but it came on to blow so fresh, as to render our attempts fruitless, and, as I saw no hopes of succeeding until a

change took place, I concluded on taking a position to intercept vessels from Rio, and consequently bore up to run a little to leeward of the harbour, when I hove to with three reefs in the top-sails, and mizen top-sail aback.

For the two last days the ship has been surrounded with dolphins, of which we have succeeded in catching great numbers.

On the morning of the 29th, the man at the mast-head descried a sail to windward, and on going into the main-top with my glass, perceived that she was a schooner, and standing in for the harbour of Rio. Made all sail in chase to endeavour to cut her off, but did not succeed in bringing her to, until about 9 o'clock at night, when, after firing several shot at her, she bore up and run under our lee. She proved to be the British schooner Elizabeth from Rio, bound to England, but had put back in consequence of having sprung a leak; after taking the prisoners out, we discovered that she had parted with a convoy of British vessels, under charge of the Juniper, a three-masted schooner, about half an hour before she was discovered by us. The prisoners stated, that the Juniper had sailed the night before from Rio, with six vessels in company, to wit: a cutter, 4 ships, and the Elizabeth; that the cutter had gone to the southward to convoy a ship to St. Sebastian, and that the Juniper had proceeded to the eastward with the three others, which were deep laden and dull-sailing ships. I also obtained certain intelligence, that the British admiral's ship the Montague, was still at Rio Janeiro, with all her sails unbent; that a packet had sailed for England on Christmas day; and that there was no British vessels there expected to sail shortly. Believing that I should be enabled to overtake the convoy in a few days, by carrying a press of sail, I used every exertion to get clear of the schooner, and put midshipman Clarke, with six men of our crew, and three prisoners, on board her, with orders, leaving it discretionary with him, whether to go direct to North America or proceed to Rio Janeiro; and in the event of his going to the latter place, I furnished him with the following letter, to be delivered to the American minister there:

United States Frigate Essex, at sea,
Sir, December 29, 1812.

I have the honour to inform you, that I have this evening captured the British schooner Elizabeth; but finding her very leaky, and from that circumstance, as well as others, of which Mr. Clarke, the officer in charge of her, will give you information, I have found it necessary to send her to Rio Janeiro, and I beg, sir, that you will do in this case what you may deem most to the advantage of the United States.

Excuse the haste with which I have been under the necessity of addressing you, and accept assurances of the highest respect and consideration.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

(Signed)

DAVID PORTER.

*Thomas Sumpter, Esq. American Minister
at the Court of Brazils, Rio Janeiro.*

I also gave him the two letters of Mr. Heywood to deliver, if the minister should consider it advisable to do so. I recommended to Mr. Clarke to put into one of the bye-ports along the coast, to examine into the state of the leaks, and endeavour to stop them without going to Rio. I then made all sail to the eastward.

On the morning of the 30th, discovered that our main top-mast trussel-trees were carried away, and we expected every moment that our top-mast, rigging, and top-gallant-mast, would come tumbling about our heads; but in my anxiety to come up with the convoy, I determined that this accident should not compel me to give up the pursuit: I therefore directed that the top-gallant-mast should be lashed aloft, and to favour the mast as much as possible in carrying sail. The winds being to the westward, which enabled us to carry studding-sails on both sides, our rate of sailing from 4 to 6 miles per hour, but against a heavy head sea, that strained our masts and rigging excessively, and occasioned our carrying away some of our light spars, which were soon replaced. On the meridian of this day, I supposed the convoy to be about 35 miles to the eastward of us. Since the pursuit, I had regular-

ly estimated their rate of sailing by our own, proportioning theirs to ours as 5 to 7; and as I had possession of the log-book of the prize, and ascertained the point of their departure, it may be supposed, that, as respected the distance made by them, I could not be much out in my calculation. The greatest embarrassment was as to the course they had steered: but knowing that they would endeavour to get to the eastward, I steered that course along shore, which would prevent, as I believed, the possibility of their keeping in shore of us, without being seen; and when I believed myself nearly as far to the east as them, I steered away to the south-east, with a view of traversing their course; and, after running about 30 miles, steered north-east.

In the course of this pursuit, there appeared an evident desire on the part of the captain of the prize to deter us from going off St. Salvador, and in pursuit of the *Bonne Citoyenne*; and to effect his object, he stated a number of circumstances which we knew to be false, and, among others, that the admiral had sailed from Rio Janeiro to give her convoy, when we had the most certain intelligence of his being at Rio Janeiro with all his sails unbent. From his apparent eagerness on the occasion, I was induced to believe, that the convoy were bound there to join the *Bonne Citoyenne*; and what served to strengthen this belief was, that the *Juniper* sailed from Rio Janeiro with only a small quantity of water on board; added to this, it was understood, that she was not to convoy the vessels beyond a certain distance, when she was to leave them and proceed to Halifax, the station to which she belonged. These considerations induced me to make the best of my way to intercept them off St. Salvador.

On the 1st January, 1813, the man at the fore-top-gallant-mast-head, cried out a sail, and, in a few minutes after, three more. The ship was immediately in an uproar, every person hurrying on deck to give chase, as there was not a doubt of its being the convoy; but in a few moments we were undeceived: it proved to be nothing but small clouds rising from the horizon, that bore strongly the appearance of vessels.

On the 2d, at day-light, discovered two sail to windward; gave chase to one which bore the appearance of a brig of war, the other being a polacca, and had the appearance of a Portuguese.

At 9, spoke the chace: she proved to be a Portuguese brig of war, 9 days from Bahia, where she left the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and was boarded the day after she came out by a frigate mounting 50 guns, having a sloop of war in company, under English colours.

Knowing that the enemy had but three ships of war in those seas, to wit, the *Montague* 74, the *Nerus* 32, and the *Bonne Citoyenne* of 20 guns; the first at Rio Janeiro, the second at the River of Plate, and the third at Bahia, I was very well satisfied that the frigate and sloop of war, could be no others than the American frigate *Constitution* and the sloop of war *Hornet*, and as I expected that they would remain there to endeavour to take the *Bonne Citoyenne*, I determined to join them with all dispatch.

I requested the commander of the brig to call on the admiral immediately on his arrival at Rio Janeiro, and inform him, that he had spoken his Britannic majesty's frigate *Hyperion*, of 32 guns, 7 weeks from England, bound to Rio, but having heard of a large American privateer on the coast, I intended cruising for her a short time before I went in. He promised me he should make it his business to do so immediately on his arrival.

My motive for giving this information was to keep the admiral in port, as I had certain intelligence from the prisoners that he expected reinforcements from England, and I was in hopes, that the expectation of their arrival in a few days might occasion him to delay his departure in pursuit of the ships off Bahia (of which I was certain he would receive intelligence by the first arrival from that quarter), and thus enable me to cruise more leisurely for the convoy, and yet have sufficient time to join the commodore, before the admiral could get there, as I believed that the *Constitution*, *Essex*, and *Hornet*, would be a match for him.

On the 3d spoke another Portuguese brig, who informed me that she had left an American frigate and sloop of war off Bahia 10 days since.

We now discovered that our mizen top-mast-trussel-trees were in as bad a state as those of the main; and it falling calm, I determined to take advantage of it to repair our damages, having previously caused a new set of trussel-trees to be prepared.

We consequently all went to work, sent down the main and mizen top-masts, stripped them of their rigging, and before night had completed all our repairs.

On the 5th, in the morning, spoke a Portuguese smack from Rio, bound to Bahia ; had seen nothing of the convoy ; and at meridian spoke a Spanish brig, with troops from Bahia, bound to Monte Video, out 8 days ; confirmed the account of the American frigate and sloop of war. As the winds had now shifted to the northward, and blew in fresh gales, I concluded it would be best to make as much easting as possible, to be in a situation to take advantage of any favourable change. Our latitude on the meridian of this day, $22^{\circ} 13' 17''$ S. ; longitude $36^{\circ} 49' 30''$ W. Our crew continue to be remarkably healthy, there being but one man under the doctor's charge ; and he a carpenter, who accidentally cut his foot with an adze, in making the trussle-trees.

Between the 6th and 12th, nothing of any importance occurred ; the winds being obstinately from the northward, and continuing to blow in fresh gales ; nor did I perceive a chance of a change. I determined, therefore, to give up all further pursuit of the convoy that had already taken us so far from the track of other British vessels, and at 9, A. M., wore round, and stood to the westward. Our latitude at noon was $24^{\circ} 39' 44''$ S. ; longitude $27^{\circ} 43' 20''$ W. My intention was to run into St. Sebastians or St. Catharines, as the wind should suit. My object in going into port was to procure a supply of wood and water, which were both getting low ; and to get refreshments for my crew, as I began to be apprehensive of the effects of salt provisions. I gave the preference to St. Catharines, however, as it was more distant from Rio Janeiro ; and I should have an opportunity of getting to sea again, before the enemy could hear of me ; for as St. Sebastians is but one day's run from Rio Janeiro, there would have been a certainty of my being attacked, or blockaded, if the expected reinforcements should have arrived. At St. Catharines, I had not so much to apprehend from an attack, as I had understood the place to be well fortified, and could protect us ; added to this, it was a place of more importance. I had reason to expect that I should be enabled to procure a supply of bread, flour rum,

and many other articles of provisions and stores, which would be necessary for us, to enable me to meet at the last appointed rendezvous ; that being the only one that I could now reasonably expect to meet commodore Bainbridge, as he had appointed me at Praya, Fernando de Noronha, and at Cape Frio. St. Sebastians was the fourth place appointed ; but as he had changed his whole plan in remaining off Bahia, I thought it just as likely that he would touch first at St. Catharines, the fifth place of rendezvous, as at St. Sebastians.

On the 12th, gave chase to and spoke the Portuguese corvette, Calypso, of 22 guns, on a cruize ; caused them to send a boat, with an officer, on board the Essex ; and then sent lieutenant Downes to ascertain, to a certainty, whether she was a Portuguese vessel : both ships prepared for action until 8 o'clock, when he returned.

The Portuguese officer could not be persuaded that we were Americans ; and left us, as I am convinced, under the belief that we were English.

On the 13th, spoke a Portuguese brig, from Rio, bound to Oporto, out 29 days. As this vessel had left Rio long before the convoy, I still entertained some hopes of falling in with it.

From the 12th until the 17th the weather continued remarkable fine ; between those periods we saw and spoke but few vessels, and they Portuguese coasters, chiefly from Rio Grande, bound to the north, with jerked beef. From those vessels we could obtain no information respecting the enemy, that could be of any service to us. The crew continue in fine health, except an old man, named Edward Sweeny, who has long been affected by a pulmonary complaint and the stone. This man was upwards of 64 years old ; and I should not have brought him to sea with me, had he not generally been useful in tending the stock.

Since I have left the United States, the crew have been on two-thirds allowance of salt provisions, generally on half allowance of bread, and full allowance of rum ; and every month I caused them to be paid the amount due them for undrawn rations. To this regulation they submitted cheerfully ; not a murmur was

heard from any person on board. I now, however, found it necessary to reduce the allowance of rum, in the same proportion as the salt provisions, when every man in the ship refused to receive any of that precious liquor, unless he could get full allowance ; stating that when there should be no more on board, they would willingly go without ; but so long as it lasted, they wished their full allowance. However, as there was but a small quantity in the ship, and believing that a sudden privation of it altogether, would be the cause of producing dejection and sickness among them, I determined not to indulge them in their wishes ; and directed, that the grog-tub should be upset in fifteen minutes after they were called to grog ; the consequence was, that every man hastened to the tub, for fear of losing his allowance ; and after this, no further complaint was made.

Since leaving Port Praya we had had no opportunity of getting refreshments ; our water was getting short, and it became necessary to ascertain what prospect we had of getting a supply of salt provisions, bread, and rum. I therefore determined to proceed for the island of St. Catharines, and with a view of enabling the officers and crew to provide themselves with such articles as they might need, I distributed among them a large proportion of the prize money taken from the Nocton. Giving it, however, to the seamen, before they had an opportunity of spending it, (although it had the effect of producing cheerfulness among them,) was attended with evil consequences, as it introduced gambling, which was the cause of some thefts. I, however, soon put a stop to it, by signifying that he who asked for, or paid a gambling debt, should be punished ; and that all monies, staked in gambling, should be forfeited to the informer, whose name should remain secret.

On the 18th spoke a Portuguese vessel from Rio Janeiro, who informed me that the Montague had sailed on the 6th of the month, in pursuit, as was reported, of an American frigate and sloop of war, off Bahia ; and in confirmation of this sent me a newspaper, mentioning her departure. He could not tell me whether the admiral had gone to sea in her or not. He was disposed, however, to give me all the information in his power on

the subject, as he was fully impressed with the belief of our being an English frigate, from the River of Plate. I was desirous of ascertaining whether the admiral had sailed in the ship, as my conduct would in a great measure be governed by that circumstance. Had he sailed in the Montague, I should have calculated on having more time to remain at St. Catharines before being blockaded, as I did not suppose that the reinforcements, which I knew were expected from England, would be enabled to sail in pursuit of me, even if they had heard of my being at that place, before receiving his instructions. I, however, determined to remain as short a time as possible, and hoped to get out before they could hear of me. Our latitude on the meridian of this day was $26^{\circ} 46' 43''$ S., long. by chronometer $47^{\circ} 44' 58''$ W.

On the 19th made the island of St. Catharines, bearing S.W. and stood for the passage between the East Point and the island of Alvarade, until 8 at night, when, being at the distance of between 12 and 15 miles, I lay off and on until morning, when we ran in with light winds from the north-east. As I had no person on board who knew any thing of the place, I was compelled to go entirely by the lead; therefore kept it constantly going, from the time we first got soundings in 70 fathoms, until we anchored in 6; and nothing could have been more regular or gradual than their diminution. The bottom is also remarkable; for, from the time of first striking soundings, until you get inside of Alvarade in 10 fathom water, it is a blue and tenacious mud, and so soft that the lead would sink a considerable distance into it; and from thence to the anchorage, it was composed of fine sand mixed with mud. With these soundings, and keeping in the middle of the bay, I ran up until $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the principal fortification, which stands upon an island, at the distance of about one hundred yards from the continent. I then anchored, with the middle of the large barracks in the fort bearing, by compass, N. $\frac{3}{4}$ E., distant $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

Immediately on anchoring, I dispatched a boat with lieutenant Downes, to inform the commander of the fort, that we were Americans, and in want of supplies, and to come to an understanding about a salute. He returned in about two hours with

offers of civilities, and a promise from the commander, that he would send an officer and pilot on board, in the morning, to take the ship nearer in, and in a better place for taking in our water, &c. In the morning, about 9 o'clock, an officer came on board with the pilot, and we got under way, with a light and baffling wind from the southward, and the tide in our favour, which generally runs here about $1\frac{1}{2}$ knots. After making two tacks the wind and tide both failed us. We were then about two miles from the place I wished to anchor in; and being anxious to get the vessel secured as soon as possible, and finding that our boats could give us very little assistance in towing, I put in operation an invention of mine for propelling a ship in a calm; and in three quarters of an hour brought her to an anchor, at the back of the fort, and opposite the most convenient watering-place, in 6 fathoms water. This contrivance consists of two floating anchors, six feet square, which are worked on both sides of the ship, by hauling lines from the spritsail-yard, and a spar rigged across the stern. The line from the spritsail-yard is made fast to the upper corner of the anchor; and when hauled on, it brings the anchor forward, skimming along on the surface of the water. When it is let go, the anchor falls, by means of the weight attached to it, in a vertical position; and as it is slung something in the manner of a log-chip, and the rope to the stern made fast to the spar, it is dragged aft, propelling the ship, in proportion to the force applied to the drag-rope. A ship's crew, consisting of 300 men, will drag her forward in a calm, with this contrivance, at the rate of two miles per hour.

On passing the fort, we fired a salute of 13 guns, which was returned by an equal number.

When the ship was anchored, I went on shore, to fix on the watering-place. The first I was shewn did not please me, although I was informed that it was the place preferred by all ships for filling their water. It was on the continent, about 50 yards to the southward of a beach, about 100 yards in length; near which were a few huts. The water was excellent; the stream was very clear, and ran from the mountain; but it was impossible to get the casks on shore to fill them, in consequence of the rocks piled

up before it. It would have been necessary to fill them in the boat, and as we had nearly all our water to fill, it would in that manner have taken a month to have watered our ship. The guide then took me to a small sandy beach, farther to the north, and directly opposite the fort, where we found a watering-place, the most convenient of any I ever met with. A small and limpid stream ran from the mountain. The sea had thrown a bank of sand up before its mouth, and formed a small lake of about 20 yards in circumference, and 5 or 6 feet deep. It was not necessary to roll the casks five yards. We had a beautiful beach to land on, and for rafting our casks. There are no houses in the neighbourhood. The woods are impenetrable. There is no possibility of the people straggling from their work, nor any inducement for their doing so ; and what is a great consideration, they cannot get rum. There is one evil, however, that it is necessary to guard against, in order to get good water here : when the tide is high, the seawater forces its way through the loose sand ; and while the water on the surface, and for three feet deep, is perfectly fresh, that at the bottom is as salt as the ocean ; by dipping it up carefully, however, or taking your water higher up the stream, you may at all times get it fresh. We, in two days and a half, completed watering our ship ; and got as much wood on board, as we had consumed since our departure from the United States. The officers and men, in the mean time, provided themselves with hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and onions, in considerable quantities, from the boats along side ; but their anxiety to procure them, caused the Portuguese to take advantage of their necessities, and ask the most extravagant prices for every thing, which some of our people had the folly to give, as if their stock of money was inexhaustible. This made my interference necessary, as those who were not disposed to squander their money were likely to go without refreshments. I first began by punishing a man for paying a dollar for a dozen of rotten eggs ; and next would not permit the boats to sell, after they had come along side, until the price of every article was established as follows : three fowls, one dollar ; nine water-melons for the same sum ; one dollar for a turkey ; and very thing else in the same ratio. After

this, I kept persons to observe and report to me such as paid improper prices; and by these means brought the market down to tolerably fair rates. Nothing could be procured on shore, as every thing had been purchased up by the boat-men. Two of my boats were gone a whole day, in search of stock and vegetables, and returned at night with only one pig, a few yams and bananas; this was all they could procure. Fresh beef was cheap, but we were not enabled to give our people more than two messes of it, on account of our disappointment in not getting it from town, where we had sent for it; as we were informed, on our arrival, that it could not be procured otherwise.

On the 21st I dispatched lieutenant Wilmer to the town of St. Catharines, in one of the ship's boats, accompanied by lieutenant Gamble, Mr. Shaw, purser, doctor Hoffman, and midshipman Feltus. I directed lieutenant Wilmer to wait on the governor, don Luis Mauricio da Silva, with my respects, and to thank him for the civilities I had met with, and gave him orders to return if possible the same day. I gave orders to Mr. Shaw to endeavour to procure a supply of beef, flour, bread, and rum; to remain in town until it was ready, hire a vessel, and bring it down. The weather was squally, with heavy rains, when they started, as indeed was the case the whole time we lay here. I felt uneasy that the boat did not return in the evening, but hoped, as the weather had grown much worse, that they had determined on remaining that night; however, at two o'clock in the morning, lieutenants Wilmer and Gamble came into my cabin almost naked, and shivering with the wet and cold, and informed me that the boat had been upset in a squall; but that all hands had saved themselves, after having been four hours on her bottom. They fortunately were to windward of an island standing in the middle of the bay, where they drifted on shore and righted the boat. They lost all their clothes, as well as every thing they had purchased in town, to the amount of 6 or 700 dollars, but were so fortunate as to find next day, among the rocks of the island, every article that would float. Lieutenant Wilmer informed me, that there would be great difficulties in procuring the articles required; that the quantity of bread wanting could not be procured in a month; that

there were great difficulties in procuring a boat to bring them down; and that he apprehended there would be great delays. I immediately ordered my small gig-boat to be prepared, and in one hour and three quarters I landed in the town, although the distance, from the ship, was 13 miles. I remained there two hours, to make such arrangements as were necessary; and was about the same time returning to the ship. Next morning, Mr. Shaw came down, with five puncheons of rum; fresh beef for two days; a quantity of onions; and a few bags of flour; which were all that could be procured. The beef was spoiled before it came on board, and we were obliged to throw it overboard; and shortly afterwards, an enormous shark, at least twenty-five feet in length, rose along side, with a quarter of a bullock in his mouth. It would be impossible to describe the horror that this voracious animal excited. Several of our seamen, and most of the officers, had been swimming along side, the evening previous. A man would scarcely have been a mouthful for him. When he first made his appearance, every one was impressed with a belief, that it was a young whale.

During our stay here, we were constantly attended by an officer from the fort, who was indefatigable in his attentions towards us. His name was Sabine, and his rank was that of serjeant-major. He was in every respect subject to my directions, and delicacy prevented me (whatever might have been his expectations) from offering him any compensation. I gave him, however, at my departure, 40 dollars for the pilotage of the ship.

I waited on the commander of the fort the day after I anchored. He was a very old man; his name was don Alexandre Jose de Azedido. He received me with great civility, and, as has been generally the case with the Portuguese, expressed great desire that our cruize might be successful. The fort has been erected about 70 years; there are mounted on it 15 or 20 honey-combed guns of different calibres. Vegetation has been so rapid, that the walls of the fortress are nearly hid by the trees that have shot up in every part. The gun-carriages are in a very rotten state, and the garrison consists of about 20 half-naked soldiers.

There is a church within the fortress ; and, as a substitute for a bell, is suspended at the door, part of a broken crow-bar ; and at the entrance of the commandant's apartments is the stocks (for the punishment of the soldiers), which, from their greasy, polished appearance, I have reason to believe are kept in constant use. There are three forts for the protection of the bay, of which this is the principal ; there is one on a high point on the island of St. Catharines, and another on the island where our boat landed after upsetting, called Great Rat Island. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues below the chief fortress, on the starboard hand going into the bay, behind a rocky point, are the houses for the accommodation of those employed in the whale fishery, as well as the stores, boilers, and tanks to contain the oil. The crown has the exclusive privilege of fishing here. About 500 men are engaged in it. About the same number of whales are taken annually in the bay, where they come to calve, and are then perfectly helpless. None but small boats are engaged in taking them. The oil is deposited in an immense tank, for the purpose, formed in a rock, and is from thence transported to Portugal and elsewhere.

To this place, after the return of Mr. Shaw from town, I went to endeavour to procure a quantity of jerked beef for the use of the crew, having heard of the arrival of a vessel with a cargo of it. On my way I met a small vessel four days from Rio Janeiro, and went on board to learn the news. The captain informed me, that two days before he sailed, an American corvette, mounting 11 guns of a side, had arrived there, a prize to the Montague ; she had been in company with a large frigate, and was captured off the Albrothas shoal : the Montague was left in pursuit of the frigate. He also informed me, that the day before he sailed, a British frigate and two brigs of war had arrived from England ; that two American schooners had been captured and sent in there ; that a Portuguese brig of war had arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and brought intelligence that a British 60 gun ship was to sail the day after her for Rio Janeiro, and that several British ships of war were daily expected from England. He stated also, that news had been brought that the

Americans had captured a convoy of Indiamen; and that a packet had been taken by them from Rio, with a great deal of specie in.

Feeling confident that the captured vessel was the *Hornet*, and having strong apprehensions of being blockaded, and indeed attacked by a superior force in this port, knowing the little respect the British have for the Portuguese, I determined on getting to sea again with all possible expedition. I therefore returned to the ship, made a signal for every person to repair on board, hove up, and dropped down below the fort, where I anchored, to give the officers an opportunity of getting the clothes on board, which were all on shore to wash; and at 8 o'clock at night, on the 25th, got under way with the loss of one anchor (the cable parted), and proceeded for sea, leaving on shore Joseph Hawley and Allan Jones, who absented themselves from the boat. Previous to my departure, I gave permission for five of my prisoners to proceed to Rio Janeiro, in a small Portuguese schooner belonging to the king, that was to sail next day, to wit: captain Charles Helt, John Haywood, mate; John Martin, Jonas Walker, and Thos. Wailey, seamen. During the night, Edward Sweeny departed this life, and Samuel Gross unfortunately fell from the main-yard while loosening the main-sail, and in a few hours ended his existence: his loss was much regretted by us all, as he was one of the best men we had in the ship, and highly esteemed by every person on board.

We were clear of all the islands about 4 o'clock on the morning of the 26th. It was then necessary to decide promptly on my future proceedings, as our provisions were getting short; I called on the purser for a report of them, and found that we had but three months' bread at half allowance; there was no port on this coast where we could procure a supply, without the certainty of capture, or blockade (which I considered as bad); to attempt to return to the United States, at a season of the year when our coast would be swarming with the enemy's cruisers, would be running too much risk, and would be going diametrically opposite to my instructions. I was perfectly at a loss now where to find the commodore, as, in remaining before Bahia, he had departed from his original intentions, and had already disappointed

me at three rendezvous; the state of my provisions would not admit of going off St. Helena's to intercept the returning Indians, nor would my force justify the proceeding; to remain, however, longer here, where I could get no supplies, would be a folly, and it became absolutely necessary to depart from the letter of my instructions; I therefore determined to pursue that course which seemed to me best calculated to injure the enemy, and would enable me to prolong my cruise: this could only be done by going into a friendly port, where I could increase my supplies without the danger of blockade, and the first place that presented itself to my mind, was the port of Concepcion, on the coast of Chili. The season, to be sure, was far advanced for doubling Cape Horn; our stock of provisions was short, and the ship in other respects not well supplied with stores for so long a cruise; but there appeared no other choice left for me, except capture, starvation, or blockade; this course, of all others, appeared to me also the most justifiable, as it accorded with the views of the honourable secretary of the navy, as well as those of my immediate commander. Before the declaration of war, I wrote a letter to the former, containing a plan for annoying the enemy's commerce in the Pacific ocean, which was approved of by him; and prior to my sailing, com. Bainbridge requested my opinion, as to the best mode of annoying the enemy. I laid before him the same plan, and received his answer approving of the same, and signifying his intentions to pursue it, provided we could get supplies of provisions.

My stock of provisions, agreeably to the purser's report, was as follows: 184 barrels of beef, 114 barrels of pork, 21,763 pounds of bread, 1741 gallons of spirits, 201 gallons of vinegar, 108 gallons of molasses, and 10 boxes of spermaceti and 17 of tallow candles; which, on two thirds allowance of beef, and half allowance of bread, other articles in the same proportion as the beef, were sufficient to serve us as follows:

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| Beef, | 36 weeks and 5 days |
| Pork, | 22 do. 5 do. |
| Bread, | 22 do. 1 do. |
| Spirits, | 13 do. 2 do. |

Vinegar, 6 weeks and 4 days

Molasses, 7 do. 5 do.

I calculated that it would not take me more than two months and a half to get round to Conception, where I was confident of procuring an abundant supply of jerked beef, fish, flour, and wine. I calculated, that the prizes we should make in the Pacific, would supply us with such articles of naval stores as we should require; and although there was considerable responsibility attached to the proceeding, and the undertaking was greater than had yet been engaged in by any single ship on similar pursuits, time did not admit of delay, and, immediately on getting to sea, I directed my course to the southward.

The intelligence given me by the captain of the Portuguese vessel, was such as I could place the utmost confidence in, for his description of the captured vessel answered exactly to that of the *Hornet*. He stated to me, that she had been cruizing off Bahia, in company with a very large frigate, to intercept a British sloop of war at that place; but that she had separated from the frigate, and was bound to the southward, when she was captured off the Albrothas shoal. He further stated, that the American frigate had sunk a British frigate, after a desperate engagement, in which the British vessel had lost her masts.

Before I proceed farther, however, it is necessary that I should say something of St. Catharines.

This island has been settled by the Portuguese about 70 years: the town, which appears to be in rather a thriving state, is situated on that point of the island nearest the continent, and may contain about 10,000 inhabitants; here the captain-general resides. It appears to be a place of considerable business: several brigs and schooners were lying before the town, and the stores were numerous, and well supplied with dry goods, which were sold cheap. The town is pleasantly situated; the bay before it apparently commodious; and the people industrious. It is defended by two small forts, one opposite the middle of the town on a small island, joined to it by a causeway; the other, on a point projecting towards the continent. The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town is in a state of considerable improvement. But

nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catharines and the continent: there is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around, shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summit with trees, which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it, in appearance, the most delightful country in the world. We arrived, unfortunately, in the worst season for fruit; there were no oranges to be had now, but in the proper season for them, I was informed, they were to be had in the greatest abundance, and for a mere trifle.

The people of this place appear to be the most happy of those who live under the Portuguese government, probably because the more they are distant from it, the less they are subject to its impositions and oppressions; still, however, they complain. There are two regiments of troops at St. Catharines: if provisions are wanted for them, an officer goes to the houses of the peasantry, seizes on their cattle or grain, and gives them a bill on the government, for which they never receive payment.

The peasantry are well clad, comfortable and cheerful in their appearance; the women are handsome and graceful in their manners; the men have the character of being extremely jealous of them, and I believe they have sufficient reason to be so.

Being desirous of determining the latitude and longitude of St. Catharines from observation, and the old fortress on the high point of that island being the best situation, I communicated to Sabine my wishes of sending Mr. Adams there for the purpose of taking the necessary distances and altitudes, and requested him to write a line to the officer commanding the fort, explaining our object, which was done; but the stupid fool, who commanded the fort, supposing he had come with some other views, or not wishing to accommodate us, refused him the permission requested; he, however, was enabled to effect his object on the beach, and the result was as follows:

Our anchorage, lat. $27^{\circ} 26' 10''$ S.; long. $48^{\circ} 2' 20''$ W.

The fort at Ponite Groce, $27^{\circ} 24' 46''$ S.; long. $47^{\circ} 55' 30''$ W.

The N.E. point of St. Catharines, Ponte de Bottle, lat. $27^{\circ} 46' 49''$ S.; long. $47^{\circ} 42' 48''$ W.

Variation of the compass $6^{\circ} 27'$ E.

On liberating capt. Helt, and the men accompanying him, I caused them to sign an obligation not to serve against the United States during the existing war, unless regularly exchanged. I gave to capt. Helt a letter for the British admiral at Rio Janeiro, and another for the American minister, which he promised, on oath, to deliver.

To Sabine I gave a letter, to be delivered to the commander of any American frigate that should put in to St. Catharines; he gave me assurances that it should be delivered: the letter ran as follows:

Your letter of the 3d December has been received. Yeo has been punctual. I have taken but two vessels. It is much to be regretted that we have not yet met. I have just heard of the capture of the *Hornet*. Should we not meet by the 1st of April, be assured that, by pursuing *my own course*, I shall have been actuated by views to the good of the service, and that there will have been an absolute necessity for my doing so.

As an American, I have been treated well here; I am afraid to trust more to this letter.

January 20th, 1813.

St. Catharines has been the usual stopping place for all American vessels engaged in the southern whale fishery, on their return to the United States: four fishing vessels had left it for America, about one month before I arrived; and there received the first intelligence of the war.

Vessels should always moor here, as the irregularities of the currents will otherwise soon occasion them to foul their anchors. The tide enters to the north and south, and rises about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The usual anchorage for large vessels is about the spot occupied by us; vessels drawing not more than 16 feet water, can go up to the town.

CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE FROM ST. CATHARINES AROUND CAPE HORN; ARRIVAL AT THE ISLAND OF MOCHA.

THE whole of the 26th, we had fresh gales from the southward, which I took advantage of to get a good offing. Saw a small Portuguese schooner, bound to the N.E., but did not speak her. On the 27th, the wind shifted to the E.; but on account of a heavy head sea, we were not able to make much sail; but towards the afternoon we had all our light sails out, steering S.S.W., the weather remarkably fine, and our rate from 8 to 9 miles per hour.

An alarming disease now made its appearance among the crew; 10 or 15 of them were suddenly attacked by violent pains in the stomach and cholera morbus. The surgeons were first of opinion, that it proceeded from the bad rum procured at St. Catharines, under the impression that it was strongly impregnated with lead, the disease having every symptom of that known under the name of the painter's cholic. Their speedy recovery, however, soon removed this opinion, and caused us to attribute it to the proper cause, the too sudden change from salt provisions to fresh, and the overloading the stomach with unripe fruit and vegetables.

The weather continued fine, and the wind fair, until the 28th; the colour of the water indicated soundings; our course between S. by W. and S.S.W.; time was too precious for us to heave to to sound. Our lat. on the meridian of this day, $34^{\circ} 58' 09''$ S., long. by chronometer $51^{\circ} 11' 37''$ W.; variation of the compass $12^{\circ} 49'$ E. At 9 P. M. the wind began to haul around to the southward, and at midnight, after sharp lightning, fixed itself at S. by E., and freshened up so as to compel us to send down our royal yards, and double reef our top-sails. The cold began now to be sensibly felt, and woollen clothing to be more esteemed than it had been for some 'time past; the old jackets and trowsers

that had been lying about the ship, were carefully collected, as some suspicions of my intentions of doubling Cape Horn, had got among the crew. Believing that we should have but little use for our light sails, until we doubled the cape, I caused the sky-sails, royal studding-sails, and such other sails as are only fit for tropical weather, to be unbent and put below.

In the course of our run, since leaving St. Catharines, we have frequently discovered those yellow tracks in the ocean, extending for leagues, and called by seamen the sperm of whales; whether they attribute it to the proper cause, I cannot say. I am informed, however, that whales have been known to disgorge large quantities of a yellow substance, which floats on the surface of the water; and I think it not unlikely, that it may be this we so often met with. To me, it had the appearance of dirty oil; and the water did not appear coloured more than two or three feet deep. All the tracks we met with extended in a line with the coast, and as far as the sight could extend; and from this circumstance, if I had not been well assured, that they were caused by whales, I should have believed, that it had been produced by a scum, brought from the coast, by currents; our distance, however, and their extreme regularity, would serve, in some measure, to destroy this belief; besides, it does not seem likely that one tide would produce more than one of those appearances; whereas, we frequently met three, and sometimes more, only a mile or two distant, in lines parallel to each other. They seldom were more than the width of the ship, and have much the appearance of shoals at first sight.

From the 28th January until the 3d February, the weather was very unsettled; and during that time we had repeated calms, and heavy blows, from every part of the compass, and frequently accompanied with rain. Indeed the eclipse of the sun, to take place on the 1st, gave us reason to expect unsettled weather; and I had taken measures to prepare the ship to meet the worst, by sending down our royal-masts and rigging; unreaving all our running rigging, not absolutely necessary; sending every heavy article out of the tops, as well as all the light sails; such as royals, stay-sails, top-gallant studding-sails, &c.; and diminish-

ing, in every other respect, the weight aloft. I also caused all the shot to be put below, except six to each gun, on the gun-deck ; removed the guns from the extremities to amidships ; set up the main rigging ; and bent the storm-stay-sails.

As we had lost an anchor at St. Catharines, from the badness of our cables, I directed a strict examination into the state of the the two bowers and sheet-cables ; and, on a careful survey, one half of both bowers were found not trust-worthy ; I, therefore, directed them to be cut, which left about 60 fathoms of each cable ; and, with a view of removing the difficulty that would be occasioned by their being too short, in the event of mooring, I directed the larboard bower to be spliced to the end of the sheet-cable, and kept the other end ready for bending on to the sheet-anchor ; this arrangement enabled us to let go three anchors, in case of necessity.

To guard against future wants, it now became necessary to economise in every thing that related to the ship's stores ; I therefore gave directions, that nothing whatever, of the most trifling nature, should be issued from the store-rooms, without my orders ; and as the weather began to get cool, and the wind-sails not necessary for the comfort of the crew, I directed them to be scrubbed, and put below. I also discontinued fumigating with vinegar ; believing that it would be more conducive to health, to issue it, and let it be used as part of the ration. And with a view of guarding still further against that dreadful scourge, the scurvy, I gave the strictest orders to the cook, not to permit any person to use the slush from the cask, for the purpose of frying their bread, &c., as this practice is very common among seamen ; and on board of many ships, but particularly captain Vancouver's, the disease has been traced to this cause. We have now been three months from the United States ; in the course of which time, we have been but seven days in port. Our crew, of course, has benefitted but little from fresh provisions and vegetables, or breathing the air from the land ; yet we have not had the slightest symptom of scurvy on board. To be sure, the fruit they brought with them from Praya, and the onions from St. Catharines, were powerful antiscorbutics, and served to correct the effect of salt pro-

visions ; yet, with a more abundant supply of such articles, ships have frequently been afflicted with this disease, after being a less time at sea than the Essex. Our crew had now perfectly recovered from the dysentery, with which they were attacked after leaving St. Catharines ; and we had but one man on board, seriously ill ; and he was a marine, afflicted by a pulmonary complaint. Indeed the extraordinary health of the crew surprises me (considering the privations they have suffered since the cruise commenced), and I can only attribute it to the steady attention to cleanliness, and to their comfort, and to their cheerful disposition. No doubt, the good provisions and the excellent water we have been blessed with, have tended greatly to promote it.

The albatrosses, and other birds that frequent high latitudes, now began to assemble around us, but in small numbers ; many experiments were made to catch them, but they all failed ; we also saw two whales. The colour of the water continued to indicate soundings ; but we could not reach the bottom with 160 fathoms of line ; rock-weed was also seen.

On the morning of the 3d, the morning appeared more settled ; the sun rose clear ; a breeze sprung up from the north-west, and had every appearance of continuing. All sail was set to the best advantage ; and we steered, by compass, S.S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. By meridian our rate was increased to 9 knots per hour. I flattered myself with the expectation of a speedy and pleasant run to the Streights of le Maire ; our latitude was $42^{\circ} 14' 30''$ south ; longitude, $59^{\circ} 9' 51''$ west ; and the variation of the compass, $14^{\circ} 52'$ east. With a view of relieving the anxiety of my crew, I addressed to them the following note, which produced the happiest effect, as it diffused a general joy throughout the ship, and served to convince me, that although the times of many of my best men were near expiring, I had nothing to apprehend from their disaffection.

SAILORS AND MARINES !

A large increase of the enemy's force compels us to abandon a coast, that will neither afford us security nor supplies ; nor are there any inducements for a longer continuance there. We will,

therefore, proceed to annoy them, where we are least expected. What was never performed, by a single ship, we will attempt. The Pacific ocean affords us many friendly ports. The unprotected British commerce, on the coast of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, will give you an abundant supply of wealth ; and the girls of the Sandwich islands, shall reward you for your sufferings during the passage around Cape Horn.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

February 3, 1813.

I now made inquiries into the state of the purser's slops, and found, to my regret, that we had but a small number of shoes ; and, as every man in the ship was in want of a pair, I determined not to issue any until we arrived in a more southern latitude, that I might be enabled to judge, who were most in want ; I directed, however, one pair of woollen stockings to be issued to such as required them.

At about 2 P. M., to our great regret, the wind hauled around to the S.W., and there remained, and served as an additional lesson to us, how little dependence is to be placed in the appearance of the weather in this latitude.

The whole of the 4th, the wind continued between S.W. and W. by S., with fresh gales ; and from this time, until the 10th, the wind was variable, blowing fresh from every point of the compass, but prevailing most from the S.W. ; occasionally blowing so hard, as to reduce us to our storm stay-sail, attended generally with a very disagreeable cross sea. In the course of this interval, little occurred worth notice on board, except the bursting of the rudder coat, which occasioned our shipping a great deal of water in the ward-room ; and, as I saw no possibility of securing it at sea, determined me to make the first convenient port for the purpose of repairing this damage. In every other respect, we had got the ship prepared to meet the bad weather we had reason to expect, in doubling Cape Horn ; and, with a view of keeping her from straining as much as possible, I got all our spare spars from the spar to the gun-deck, and struck down two long twelve pounders from the fore-castle.

In the heaviest blows and worst sea we have yet had, I find the ship to be remarkably easy and comfortable.

We generally kept on the edge of soundings, in from 60 to 75 fathoms of water; and, although the frequent ripples indicated strong currents, they did not make any sensible difference in our run, except on the 8th and 9th, in lat. $47^{\circ} 36'$ S., when we were set 24 miles to the westward. When on soundings, we frequently met masses of a weed, called kelp, and of sufficient buoyancy to bear the albatrosses, and other birds which kept about them; but we never met with them off soundings. We saw a few whales, but none approached us nearer than a mile.

The northerly winds have much the character of the S.W. winds on the coast of North America, and are generally accompanied with hazy weather. The S.W. winds are clear and cold, and bear no slight resemblance to the N.W. winds of the same coast. The appearance of albatrosses and other birds, generally preceded a southerly wind, but few were to be seen when the winds came from the northward. No certain guide, however, can be given in this changable climate, to enable you to judge correctly of winds and weather; the finest appearances were frequently the immediate precursors of a fresh gale and unpleasant weather, which was as unexpectedly succeeded by calms and sunshine.

On the morning of the 11th, the weather was remarkably fine, the air clear and serene, the sea smooth, and the wind fair, with every appearance of a continuation. Our lat. $51^{\circ} 13'$ S.; long. $63^{\circ} 53'$ W.; and depth of water, 74 fathoms, fine gray sand. I embraced the opportunity offered by the weather, for repairing our rudder-coat, and succeeded perfectly; and now, having no cause to go into port, I determined to make the best of my way round Cape Horn, and apprehensive of some difficulties in going through the Straights of Le Maire, I determined to go to the eastward of Staten Land. The latter part of the day, the wind hauled round from the northward, and the weather became extremely hazy, which I regretted extremely, as it prevented our getting an observation; the breeze was, however, extremely fine and increasing; I therefore felt confident of a short run to Staten Land, and

steered away more to the eastward ; we had studding-sails set on both sides, and our rate of sailing from 7 to 9 miles per hour.

On the 13th, the wind continued to increase, and the weather became still more hazy, with rain. At meridian, I calculated that Cape St. John's, the eastern part of Staten Land, bore S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distant 35 miles ; and although the thickness of the weather prevented our seeing more than a mile ahead, a confidence of being able to see the land in sufficient time to haul-off to clear it, induced me to continue my run ; but at 4 o'clock, the appearance of a strong current, which was indicated by a violent ripple, and seeing an unusual quantity of kelp, some of which, as though it had been dead and drying on the beach for some time ; and the appearance, also, of considerable flocks of birds, much resembling geese, induced me to believe, that I must be very near the shore. I therefore caused a good look-out to be kept, took in top-gallant-sails, double-reefed the top-sails, furled the main-sail, and had every thing prepared, in case it should be necessary, to haul our wind ; and at half past six, I had cause to rejoice that I had taken such precautions, as breakers were discovered, bearing E.S.E. and S.E., distant about three-fourths of a mile, and in a few minutes afterwards, the land appeared in the same direction ; we consequently hauled on a wind to the eastward, and sounded in 45 fathoms water. We had now approached so close to the breakers, with the hope of weathering them, that we had not room to wear ; there was a tremendous sea running, the ship driving forecastle under ; no chance of weathering the land, which could now be seen a-head, bearing E. by N., running out in small lumps, and surrounded with dreadful breakers. Our only hopes of safety was, in getting the ship in stays ; the mainsail was set with the utmost expedition, and we were so fortunate as to succeed : after getting the ship about, the jib and spanker were set, and the top-gallant-yards sent down ; but, in a few moments, the jib was blown to pieces. My first impression was, that we had been set by the currents to the westward, into the bay formed by the Cape St. Vincent and the coast of Terra del Fuego ; and, as the gale was increasing, and night fast approaching, the thick weather continuing, the wind directly on shore, with a tremendous

sea, I saw no prospect of saving the ship, but by carrying a heavy press of sail to keep off the lee shore, until the wind changed. We kept the lead constantly going, and found our soundings very regular at 45 fathoms, rocky and coral bottom. After standing to the W.N.W. about an hour, the water began to grow very smooth, which could only be occasioned by a sudden change of the current; and whales appeared along side the ship: this gave me hopes of being to the eastward of St. Vincent, and in the Streights of Le Maire; a sharp look-out was kept for the land, and at half past seven, to our unspeakable joy, the land was discovered a-head, and on both bows, distant about a mile. No doubts now remained, as to our being in the streights; I therefore directed the helm to be put a-weather, and made all sail to the southward, keeping the coast of Terra del Fuego close a-board, and as we undoubtedly had the first of the tide, we were swept through with great rapidity, and at 9 o'clock we were clear of the streights.

The extreme haziness of the weather prevented my making many observations on the appearance of the land; it, however, had not that dreary aspect I was prepared to expect: the hills appeared clothed with verdure, and the coast seemed indented with deep bays, which, from the accounts of former navigators, I have no doubt, are well calculated to afford shelter to vessels navigating those seas, and engaged in the whale fishery. Indeed, it was the source of much regret to me, and to all on board, that the state of the weather prevented our having a better view of a coast, that has excited so much the attention of mankind, from the description given by the most celebrated navigators; and had circumstances permitted, I should have anchored in the bay of Good Success, so minutely described by the celebrated Cook.

The land we first made and attempted to weather, was Cape San Diego, on the coast of Staten Land: the appearance was dreary beyond description; perhaps, however, the critical situation of the ship, the foaming of the breakers, the violence of the wind, and the extreme haziness of the weather, may (all combined) have served to render the appearance more dreadful; but from the impression made by its appearance then, and from

the description given by others, I am induced to believe, that no part of the world presents a more horrible aspect than Staten Land. The breakers appeared to lie about half a mile from the shore ; while we were standing off, the whole sea, from the violence of the current, appeared in a foam of breakers, and nothing but the apprehension of immediate destruction could have induced me to have ventured through it ; but, thanks to the excellent qualities of the ship, we received no material injury, although we were pitching our fore-castle under with a heavy press of sail, and the violence of the sea was such, that it was impossible for any man to stand without grasping something to support himself. Those only can have an idea of our tormenting anxiety and dread, from the time we discovered the breakers, until we made the land of Terra del Fuego, who have, like us, supposed themselves in danger of shipwreck, on a dreary, inhospitable, and iron-bound coast, inhabited only by savages, where there was scarcely a hope, that one of the crew would survive the fury of the storm and waves, or, even if he succeeded in getting on shore alive, only to fall a victim to the merciless inhabitants of this gloomy region ; nor can he conceive the excess of our joy in discovering the land, unless he, in an instant, has been snatched from the danger of destruction which seemed pending over him. Our fears and subsequent joys may, however, be more easily imagined than described. Had we been, as we supposed, to the northward of Cape St. Vincent, it would have required our utmost exertions, under the heaviest press of canvas, to have kept the ship from going on shore ; and the loss of a single spar, or the splitting of a top-sail, would have sealed our destruction. Our making the breakers in the manner we did, proved most fortunate, for had we passed through the streights without discovering the land, (which would have been the case, had we been one mile farther north,) I should have supposed myself to the east of Staten Land, and after running the distance which I believed necessary to clear Cape St. John's, I should have steered a course that would have entangled us in the night with the rocks and breakers about Cape Horn ; and had this happened, thick and hazy as the weather continued, our destruction would have been inevitable, as we could not

have seen the danger one hundred yards from the ship, even should we have been apprehensive, and on the look-out for it, which would not have been the case.

As I before remarked, the soundings between Cape San Diego and Terra del Fuego, were regular, as to depth, but the bottom differed in a slight degree. The first cast of the lead near San Diego, we had small pieces of rock, and red and white coral; when at the distance of two or three miles, we had small red and white coral, in its appearance as if it had been some time detached from the rocks; but, when mid-channel, small round pieces of clear red and white coral, bearing the appearance of pebbles, and evidently owing their form to the violent friction occasioned by the rapid current of the streights; there was not the slightest mixture of sand or any other matter with them; every piece was about the size of a small pea, and, with the exception of colour, as uniform in their appearance; they were different from any soundings I had heretofore met with, and I doubt if such are to be found in any other part of the world.

But to return to my narrative. At 9 o'clock we were clear of the Streights of Le Maire, and in that part of the ocean so celebrated and dreaded for the violent gales and tremendous and irregular seas which prevail. At this moment, I could not resist those lively sensations of anxiety that rushed on my mind, when I drew the comparison between the state of my ship, and those who preceded me, in attempting the passage round Cape Horn. I sailed from America on a very short notice, as may be seen by the preceding part of this Journal, and immediately after my return from a cruise in a tempestuous climate, off Newfoundland. I had not time to repair the damages the ship there sustained; her bowsprit and sprit-sail yard were sprung; her fore-top-sail yard gone in the slings and fished; one of the pintles of her rudder loose; her water-ways open and leaky, from violent straining, and could not be caulked, from the peculiar manner her guns were mounted; her ballast so shifted, as to give her two streaks heel; a leak in the bows, which we have not yet been able to find; only one good suit of sails in the ship; and chief of the running, and some of the standing rigging worn out and not trust-worthy;

and the most of our small spars sprung ; added to this, the ship herself was 14 years old, and had not been coppered or received any repairs of importance for upwards of five years : these circumstances would not prevent her cruising a long time in a moderate climate, but were now great considerations, when she had to double Cape Horn. She had now been constantly at sea (with the exception of the few days we were at Port Praya and St. Catharines) near four months ; her crew had, during the whole of that time, been on short allowance of provisions and water, and the state of the provisions now required, that this allowance should be still more reduced. We had no certainty of meeting with provisions or stores, or a hospitable reception in any port, should we arrive in the Pacific ; and, should we fail in our attempts to get round, we have no port that we can go into to recruit our stock, without the certainty of blockade ; we are beyond the reach of assistance from every quarter, and remain solitary and dependent on our own resources, and the precarious supplies which the enemy may afford ; and should we go into port, we have not ground tackle on which we can rely. Besides, I was departing from the letter of my instructions, and in prosecution of a plan which might not prove successful, or meet the approbation of my commanding officer, or the navy department ; and, however justifiable my conduct may be, the apprehensions of censure could not otherwise than produce their effect on my mind. Had my intentions been corroborated by *positive* orders, whatever might have been my probable fate, I should have entered into the execution of them with redoubled alacrity and ardour, and despaired (what I should then have considered) the petty hardships and dangers I was threatened with ; but driven, as I have been, to the absolute necessity of departing from my instructions, and having taken on myself the responsibility of proceeding into the Pacific, I have, in some measure, engaged to answer for the success of the enterprize, to which every other consideration should now be subservient ; and, if we were subject to evils, that no other ship yet had to bear up against, it only required, that we should summon up the more fortitude and determine to subdue them, to trust much to fortune, and enter boldly into the attempt.

But how different was the situation of lord Anson ! After refreshing at Madeira, St. Catharines, and Port St. Julian, he sailed through the Streights of Le Maire, with a fleet of six stout ships of war, well equipped, and well manned ; mounting 236 guns, and carrying 1510 men, accompanied by two victuallers ; one of 400, the other of 200 tons burthen ; all of which were near a year in preparing for this expedition into the Pacific. This powerful fleet, with all its advantages, and the mutual assistance they could render each other, was reduced in its passage round Cape Horn, to three miserably shattered hulks, having, altogether, only 335 men and boys alive on board ; and of this number, only one ship arrived in England ; and could not have been navigated by her crew, and the survivors of the fleet, were it not for the assistance of 40 men recruited at the Cape of Good Hope. Pizarro sailed in pursuit of lord Anson, with a fleet of six sail of men of war, mounting 298 guns, and carrying upwards of 3000 men ; and of this powerful fleet, owing to their disasters off Cape Horn, only one returned to Spain. The examples of disasters before me were innumerable ; and all, at this moment, presented themselves with redoubled force to my imagination ; but instead of deterring me from the attempt, or damping my ardour, served only to rouse my ambition, and induced me to redouble my precautions and my efforts, to arrive in that sea, where lord Anson has rendered himself so justly celebrated, by his indefatigable perseverance, and ultimate success against the Spaniards. Indeed, I hoped to retort on his haughty government, some of the evils to which he had subjected the pusillanimous and unprepared Spaniards ; and make the name of the Essex as well known in the Pacific ocean, as that of the Centurion.

As I before observed, some of my guns were put below ; the spars taken from the upper, and put on the gun-deck, and the weight considerably reduced aloft ; added to these measures, the best sails were bent ; preventer-shrouds got up, to secure the masts ; and every other means adopted, that prudence could suggest, or our ingenuity invent, to render our passage as free from disaster as possible. We were entering the bourn of all our dread with a pleasant breeze from the northward, and a smooth

sea ; felicitating ourselves on our fortunate and pleasant passage through the streights, and our prospects of a safe and speedy one around the cape. It was in my power to have steered a direct course for Cape Horn ; but the weather continuing remarkably hazy, I thought it most prudent to keep aloof from the land, and steered more to the southward, until the morning ; when there appearing a prospect of a change of weather, I changed my course for the island of Diego Ramiries, which is to the southward and westward of the Cape.

On the meridian of the 14th, the horizon was somewhat clear ; the wind moderate, from the westward ; the sun shining out bright ; and, with the exception of some dark and lowering clouds to the northward, we had every prospect of pleasant weather. The cape was now in sight, bearing north ; and Diego Ramiries bearing north-west ; and the black clouds before mentioned, served well to give additional horror to their dreary and inhospitable aspect. But so different was the temperature of the air, the appearance of the heavens, and the smoothness of the sea, to every thing we had expected, and pictured to ourselves, that we could not but smile at our own credulity and folly, in giving credit to (what we supposed) the exaggerated and miraculous accounts of former voyages ; and even when we admitted, for a moment, the correctness of their statements, we could not help attributing their disasters and misfortunes chiefly to their own imprudencies and mismanagements ; and as we had endeavoured to guard against every accident that we had to apprehend, we flattered ourselves with the belief, that fortune would be more favourable to our enterprize, than she had been to theirs. But, while we were indulging ourselves in these pleasing speculations, the black clouds, hanging over Cape Horn, burst upon us with a fury we little expected, and reduced us in a few minutes to a reefed fore-sail, and close-reefed main top-sail, and in a few hours afterwards to our storm stay-sails. Nor was the violence of the winds the only danger we had to encounter ; for it produced an irregular and dangerous sea, that threatened to jerk away our masts, at every roll of the ship. With this wind we steered to the southward, with a view of getting an offing from the land, in

expectation of avoiding, in future, the sudden gusts, and the irregular seas, which we supposed were owing to violent currents, and confined to the neighbourhood of the coast; but in this expectation we were much disappointed; for, as we receded from the coast, the unpleasantness of the weather, and the freshness of the gale, increased; and it was in vain that we hoped for that moderate and pleasant weather, which former navigators have generally experienced, in the latitude of 60° south, which we reached on the 18th. From the time we lost sight of the land, until this period, the gales blew hard from the north-west, accompanied with heavy rains, cold disagreeable weather, and a dangerous sea. We were never enabled to carry more sail than a close-reefed main top-sail and reefed fore-sail, and were frequently under our storm stay-sails; but by keeping the ship a point free, she made but little lee-way, went fast through the water, and gave us considerable westing; but we were carrying a heavy press of sail, and were frequently deluged with the sea that broke into us. We, however, escaped every injury of importance, except the loss of our sprit-sail yard, which was carried away by a heavy sea, that filled the fore top-mast stay-sail, and carried away the bees of the bowsprit. On the 18th, as I before observed, we were in the latitude of $60^{\circ} 7'$ south, and longitude of $76^{\circ} 20'$ west; and this I considered sufficiently to the westward, to enable us, on a change of wind, which we anxiously looked for, to weather the coast of Terra del Fuego. The movement of every passing cloud was anxiously watched, every appearance of the heavens carefully noted, and our chief employment was comparing the weather we had experienced, and present appearances, with the accounts of those who had preceded us.

The eclipse of the moon, on the 14th, had prepared us to meet with bad weather; and we felt much gratified, to believe it all over (as the weather had now become somewhat moderate); and as we were as far to the west as Cook on his first voyage, and nearly as far as La Perouse, when they stood to the northward; and as we had run this distance, from the streights of Le Maire, in as short a time as it had ever been done by any ship, we were willing to believe ourselves the favourite children of fortune; for

the weather we had yet met, had not been so severe as some we had encountered on the coast of North America, during our last cruise, and fell far short of the descriptions given by the author of lord Anson's voyage. But on the afternoon of the 18th, a gale came on, from the westward, which, for its violence, equalled any described by that historian. But, as my experience had already taught me, that moderate weather was not to be expected in this part of the world, at this season of the year, I determined to carry all the sail in my power, to endeavour to get to the northward as fast as possible; and with much difficulty, and great risque of splitting the sail, succeeded in getting the close-reefed main top-sail set. With this, and the fore, main, and mizen storm-stay-sails, we were enabled to force the ship about two knots, through a tremendous head sea, which threatened every moment destruction to our bowsprit and masts. The gale, however, increasing, we were soon reduced to the main storm-stay-sail, and from that to bare poles. About 12 o'clock, the wind hauled around to the south-west, and blew in dreadful squalls, accompanied with hail; and as this enabled us to steer north-west, and (allowing for the drift and variation) make a north course good, which I believed would take us clear of the west point of Terra del Fuego, I got all the yards well secured, by preventer-braces; and, by watching a favourable opportunity, set the close-reefed fore and main top-sails, and reefed fore-sail. The squalls came at intervals of from 15 to 20 minutes, with so little warning, and with such tremendous blasts, that it was impossible to shorten sail; for to have started the sheets, after they had struck the ship, would have been attended with the certain loss of the sail. I, therefore, saw no alternative, but running before the wind, while they lasted, and as soon as they were over, which was generally in two or three minutes, hauled again by the wind. Thus, by the utmost attention and care, we were enabled to get along, at the rate of between 5 and 6 miles per hour; and on the 21st, found ourselves, by estimation, in the latitude of $57^{\circ} 30'$ south; and the longitude of 77° west. We had now fair prospects of soon getting around. I had made large allowances for drift and lee way; and believed ourselves as far to the west as our reckoning gave us, which

I considered fully sufficient to take us clear of all land, if the westerly winds should prevail. And having, now, no doubt of succeeding speedily in my passage to a friendly port, where we could get supplies, I, to the great joy of all on board, ordered the allowance of bread to be increased to two thirds.

Although we deemed ourselves more fortunate than other navigators had been, in getting around Cape Horn (for we considered our passage now as certain, with a tolerable slant of wind), yet we had not been without our share of hardships. The weather had, for some days, been piercing cold ; this, with the almost constant rains and hails, and the water shipped from the heavy seas, and from leaks, kept the vessel very uncomfortable, and the clothes of the officers and crew very uncomfortably wet. The extremities of those who had formerly been affected by the frost, became excessively troublesome to them, so much so, as to prevent some from doing their duty ; from this cause, I myself was a considerable sufferer. Many, also, felt severely the great want of shoes, and the necessary quantity of woollen clothing. Their allowance of provisions was barely sufficient to satisfy the cravings of nature ; and as to refreshments of any kind, they were entirely out of the question, our scanty supply, obtained at St. Catharines, having long been consumed. The fatigues of the officers and crew (although I endeavoured to alleviate them as much as possible, by only keeping the watch on deck) were very considerable ; for deceitful intervals of moderate weather would, for a moment, encourage us to make sail ; when, in a few minutes afterwards, blasts, accompanied with rain and hail, would threaten destruction to our sails and spars ; and as our necessities, and the state of the ship, made it requisite, that we should endeavour to make our passage as short as possible, by taking advantage of every favourable opportunity of getting along, we were constantly harassed by making and taking in sail. To be sure, we had not much to take in, but what we had were heavy, and required all hands to manage them. It had been some time since we had laid aside all our small sails ; such as top-gallant-sails, studding-sails, stay-sails, &c. : the constant gales we had experienced, and having no expectation of better weather, had induced me to have them all un-

bent, and stowed away below; as also to get from aloft all the booms and rigging. Indeed our top-sails, courses, and storm-stay-sails were the only sails that we were, at any time, enabled to use; and it was rarely that they could be set, without being reefed. After this reduction of weight from aloft, we found the ship to strain less; for, although in her form was combined all the qualities necessary to constitute, what seamen call, a good sea-boat; yet, we found she was not proof against the effect of the violent and dangerous seas, for which this sea is so justly noted. Her water-ways began to grow more open, and her upper works to work considerably; and had she not those qualities above mentioned, in a remarkable degree, it is likely we should not have escaped some serious disaster, or at least without the loss of some of our masts or bowsprit, which, from violent rolling and pitching, were frequently endangered.

However, with great industry, much care, and extraordinary good fortune, we had succeeded in getting, as I before observed, (by our reckoning,) as far to the westward as 77° west longitude; and this, too, we had effected by constant struggles against strong westerly gales, in a shorter time, perhaps, than it ever before was accomplished in; and we now saw a speedy end to all our sufferings and anxieties, and tasted, in pleasing anticipation, our delightful cruize in the Pacific. It is true, we had had no opportunity of verifying our dead reckoning by lunar observations; nor could we place any reliance on the chronometer, as the cold had greatly changed her rate of going, which was first made evident to us on making Staten Land; yet we felt great confidence, notwithstanding, that our dead reckoning was not so far wrong, as to make it at all probable, that we were not sufficiently to the west of Terra del Fuego, for a north course to take us clear of it. On the 21st, the wind shifted to the north-west, with which we stood to the southward and westward, and made, during the twenty-four hours, upwards of two degrees of longitude; and, on the meridian of the 22d, we were in latitude $57^{\circ} 54'$ south, and longitude, by account, $79^{\circ} 28'$ west; which is upwards of four degrees to the west of the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego. Now, no doubt remained of our having made sufficient westing; and as the

wind hauled to west-north-west, I stood to the northward : but an opportunity presenting itself for taking a lunar observation, we, to our great disappointment and regret, discovered, that we were only in the longitude of $75^{\circ} 20'$ west, which is about the longitude of cape Pilor, the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego. It, therefore, became necessary to stand again to the south-west, and endeavour to make sufficient westing, to guard against a future disappointment of this nature. We had felt apprehensive of a current setting constantly to the eastward, but did not believe that it could, in two days, have taken us four degrees to the eastward of our reckoning. But great and mortifying as this discovery was to us, it was not to be overcome but by renewed efforts and fortitude ; and as the wind hauled round to the northward, it gave us a prospect of soon recovering our lost ground. I, therefore, permitted the crew to continue to draw their increased allowance of bread, as I did not wish them to feel the extent of my disappointment ; which, perhaps, would have been attended with a depression of their spirits ; and might have produced that dreadful disease, the scurvy, from which we have been hitherto exempt in a most extraordinary degree, not the least symptom yet appearing on board. The crew, notwithstanding their constant labour, fatigue, and privations, have enjoyed most extraordinary spirits. They continued their usual diversions during the gales ; laboured with cheerfulness, when labour was requisite ; not a murmur or complaint was heard ; but all seemed determined to share with their officers every fatigue, and to exert themselves to the utmost, to conquer every difficulty. To be sure, we had not been long in those seas ; but since we had left America, they have been deprived of almost every comfort of life ; and so great was their desire now for fresh provisions, that a rat was esteemed a dainty, and pet monkeys were sacrificed to appease their longings. Our provisions and our water still continued good ; the bread, to be sure, had been attacked by worms and weavils, but they had only in a slight degree altered its qualities ; our peas and beans, however, had not escaped so well, for, as in this cold climate the allowance of water enabled us to spare enough, to permit the boiling and use of them, I directed them to be served ; but on open-

ing the barrels that contained them, we found only a mass of chaff and worms. The rats, also, had found the way into our bread-rooms, and had occasioned a great consumption of that precious article. As to our water, none could be sweeter or purer; it had not undergone the slightest change since it had been on board; and the only fact I think it necessary to state, in support of this assertion, is, that a live mullet, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in length, was this day pumped from a cask, filled with the water in the river Delaware: had this water undergone any corruption, the fish could not certainly have existed in it. This little fish, I have put in a bottle of its native water, with a view of preserving it alive; from its size, I should suppose it to have been produced from the spawn while in the cask. The water taken in at St. Catharines, was found to be equally good; and my own experience now enables me to assure all navigators, that the only precautions necessary, to have good water at sea, are to provide casks made of well seasoned staves, have them cleansed, and filled with pure water. Should it be necessary at any time (for the trim or safety of the ship, which is sometimes the case) to fill them with salt water, particular care must be taken, that they be filled, and well soaked and cleansed with fresh water, before they are filled with the water intended for use. These particulars, as I have before observed, have never been neglected by me, since I have had the command of a vessel; and consequently no one on board has ever suffered from the use of bad water; and, certainly, this is an object that well merits the attention of every commander, when the chief comfort and the health of his crew are so much dependent thereon. For who has experienced, at sea, a greater enjoyment than a draught of pure water? Or who can say, that the ship-fever and scurvy do not originate frequently in the stinking and disgusting water, which seamen are too often driven to the necessity of drinking at sea, even when their stomachs revolt at it?

On the 24th, after experiencing a heavy gale from the N.W., I had the extreme satisfaction to find ourselves as far to the westward as 80° ; and as the wind shifted and blew from the S.W., I had no doubt of being able to effect our passage into the Pacific

ocean ; and consequently thought it advisable to increase the allowance of water, in order that the crew might be enabled to spare enough to afford them tea, morning and evening, as I was convinced it would conduce as much to their health as their comfort ; and when I communicated to them this arrangement, I took an opportunity of thanking them for their good conduct, during our boisterous and unpleasant passage around the cape ; encouraged them to a continuance of it, by holding out prospects of indulgence to those, who should so distinguish themselves ; and, as some thefts had been committed, for which the perpetrators were then under the punishment of wearing a yoke, I gave a general pardon, on condition that the first offender brought to the gang-way should receive three dozen lashes.

It was with no little joy, we now saw ourselves fairly in the Pacific ocean, and calculating on a speedy end to all our sufferings ; we began also to form our projects for annoying the enemy, and had already equipped, in imagination, one of their vessels of 14 or 16 guns, and manned from the Essex, to cruize against their commerce ; indeed, various werè the schèmes we formed at this time for injuring them, and had, in fancy, immense wealth to return with to our country : and, as the gale continued to blow from the S.W., every hour seemed to brighten our prospects and give us fresh spirits ; and on the last of February, being in the latitude of 50° S., the wind became moderate and shifted to the northward, the sea smooth, and every prospect of mild and pleasant weather. I consequently determined to replace the guns, and get the spars on the spar-deck ; but before we had effected this, the wind had freshened up to a gale, and by noon had reduced us to our storm stay-sail and close-reefed main-top-sail ; it, in the afternoon, hauled around to the westward, and blew with a fury far exceeding any thing we had yet experienced, bringing with it such a tremendous sea, as to threaten us every moment with destruction, and appalled the stoutest heart on board. To attempt to convey an idea of the fury of this gale by description, would be fruitless ; let it suffice to say, that it was rarely equalled, and I am sure never was exceeded. Our sails, our standing and running rigging, from the succession of bad weather, had become so damaged, as

to be no longer trust-worthy ; we took, however, the best means in our power to render every thing secure, and carried as heavy a press of sail as the ship would bear, to keep her from drifting on the coast of Patagonia, which we had reason to believe was not far distant, from the appearance of birds, kelp, and whales, which I have heretofore found to be a tolerable sure indication of a near approach to land, and from the clouds to leeward, which appeared as if arrested by the high mountains of the Andes. From the excessive violence with which the wind blew, we had strong hopes that it would be of short continuance ; until, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, greatly alarmed with the terrors of a lee-shore, and in momentary expectation of the loss of our masts and bowsprit, we almost considered our situation hopeless ; and to add to our distress, our pumps had become choaked by the shingle ballast, which, from the violent rolling of the ship, had got into them ; the ship made a great deal of water, and the sea had increased to such a height, as to threaten to swallow us at every instant ; the whole ocean was one continued foam of breakers, and the heaviest squall that I ever before experienced, had not equalled in violence the most moderate intervals of this tremendous hurricane. We had, however, done all that lay in our power to preserve the ship from the violence of the elements, which seemed united to effect our destruction, and turned our attention to our pumps, (which we were enabled to clear,) and to keep the ship from drifting on shore, by getting on the most advantageous tack ; we, however, were not enabled to wear but once, for the violence of the wind and sea was such, as afterward to render it impossible to attempt it, without hazarding the destruction of the ship, and the loss of every life on board. The whole of the 1st and 2d of March, we anxiously hoped for a change, but in vain ; our fatigues had been constant and excessive ; many had been severely bruised, by being thrown, by the violent jerks of the ship, down the hatchways, and I was particularly unfortunate, in receiving three severe falls, which at length disabled me from going on deck ; the oldest seaman in the ship had never experienced any thing to equal the gale. We had done all in our power to save the ship (except throwing her guns overboard, which I re-

served for the last extremity), and now patiently waited for the tempest to lull. It had already blown three days without abating; the ship had resisted its violence to the astonishment of all, without having received any considerable injury; and we began to hope, from her buoyancy, and other good qualities, we should be enabled to weather the gale. We had shipped several heavy seas, that would have proved destructive to almost any other ship; but, to us, they were attended with no other inconveniences, than the momentary alarm they excited, and that arising from the immense quantity of water, which forced its way into every part of the ship, and kept every thing afloat between decks. However, about 3 o'clock of the morning of the 3d, the watch only being on deck, an enormous sea broke over the ship, and for an instant destroyed every hope. Our gun-deck ports were burst in; both boats on the quarters stove; our spare spars washed from the chains; our head-rails washed away, and hammock stanchions burst in; and the ship perfectly deluged and water logged, immediately after this tremendous shock, which threw the crew into consternation. The gale began to abate, and in the morning we were enabled to set our reefed fore-sail. In the height of the gale, Lewis Price, a marine, who had long been confined with a pulmonary complaint, departed this life, and was this morning committed to the deep; but the violence of the sea was such, that the crew could not be permitted to come on deck, to attend the ceremony of his burial, as their weight would have strained and endangered the safety of the ship.

When this last sea broke on board us, one of the prisoners, the boatswain of the Nocton, through excess of alarm, exclaimed, that the ship's broadside was stove in, and that she was sinking; this alarm was greatly calculated to increase the fears of those below, who, from the immense torrent of water that was rushing down the hatchways, had reason to believe the truth of his assertion; many who were washed from the spar to the gun-deck, and from their hammocks, and did not know the extent of the injury, were also greatly alarmed; but the men at the wheel, and some others, who were enabled by a good grasp to keep their stations, distinguished themselves by their coolness and activity after the

shock ; and I took this opportunity of advancing them one grade, by filling up the vacancies occasioned by those sent in prizes, and those who were left at St. Catharines ; rebuking, at the same time, the others for their timidity.

And now we began to believe, that the elements had exhausted all their rage on us, for the sky became serene, and we were enabled to make sail ; the wind shifted to the S.W., and brought with it the only pleasant weather we had experienced since we had passed the Falkland Islands : but here again we were deceived, for, before night, it began to blow in heavy squalls, with cold rain, and reduced us to close-reefed fore and main top-sails, and reefed fore-sail ; but, as the wind was fair, we consoled ourselves with the pleasing reflection, that we were every moment receding farther from the influence of the dreary and inhospitable climate of Cape Horn ; and, on the 5th of the month, having passed the parallel of Chili, our sufferings appeared at an end, for we enjoyed pleasant and temperate weather, with fine breezes from the southward ; and, for the first time during our passage, were enabled to knock out our dead-lights, and open our gun-deck ports. The repairs of our damages went on rapidly, and by night the ship was, in every respect, excepting wear and tear, as well prepared for active service, as the day we left St. Catharines. Our latitude, at meridian, was $39^{\circ} 20'$ S. ; and we had a distant view of part of the Andes, which appeared covered with snow. Albatrosses were as usual about the ship ; several fish, by sailors denominated sun-fish, were seen ; and we frequently passed a white and apparently gelatinous substance, which we had not an opportunity of examining. There was every prospect of a speedy arrival in some port on the coast of Chili, and I directed the cables to be bent, using every means in our power to guard them from the effects of rocky bottom.

The health of the crew was better than when I left the United States, and not the slightest appearance of scurvy in the ship. The surgeon's report of this day, was as follows :

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|------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| John Linghan, | seaman, | Contused hand |
| Adam Roach, | quarter-gunner, | Contused wrist and arm |
| Thomas Charlton, | seaman, | Contused shoulder and foot |

| | | |
|--------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| Thomas Milbourn, | seaman | Debility from diarrhoea |
| Henry Kennedy, | do. | Ulcer on the leg |
| Benjamin Hamilton, | do. | Venereal disease |
| Thomas Mitchell, | do. | Pain in the side |
| John H. Parsall, | do. | Do. do. |
| William Burton, | boy, | Pain in the bowels |
| Robert Scatterly, | seaman, | Sprained ankle |
| George Young, | do. | Rheumatism |
| William McDonald, | drummer, | do. |

Total on the sick list 12.

(Signed)

ROBERT MILLER, SURGEON.

We were all in high spirits, and in momentary expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's ships. It was my intention now to look into Mocha, a small uninhabited island on the coast of Chili, in the latitude of about $38^{\circ} 15'$, and about 8 leagues distant from the coast. This place, I had understood, was a resort for the British vessels employed in smuggling, and in the whale fishery on the coast; and from thence I intended to proceed to St. Maria, another uninhabited island, about leagues farther north, also frequented by them; from those vessels, I hoped to be enabled to procure such provisions, and other supplies, as we were in want of, and thereby render our going into Conception unnecessary, as I was desirous of doing the enemy as much injury as possible, without giving any alarm on the coast.

But, before I proceed farther, as this journal may accidentally fall into other hands, I shall take this opportunity of offering some hints to those, who may succeed me in attempting the passage around Cape Horn; and this I feel myself the more authorised to do, as we have effected it in, perhaps, a shorter time, with less damage, and labouring under more disadvantages, than any others who ever attempted it; and that too by struggling, at an unfavourable season of the year, against a constant succession of obstinate and violent gales of wind. And I am the more strongly induced to offer these hints, conceiving it to be of the utmost importance to navigation, to give any information, derived from experience, which may tend to enable navigators to overcome the obstacles

which nature seems designedly to have placed, to deter mankind from all attempts to penetrate from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean ; and, as various opinions have been given on the subject, my advice may differ from that of others in several points : but as my measures have proved successful in the end, and as it is not founded on mere conjecture and hypothesis, it is to be presumed, that it may deserve the attention of seamen, for whom alone it is intended.

In the first place, I must caution them against those erroneous expectations, which the opinion of La Perouse is unhappily calculated to lead them into, and, perhaps, has proved fatal to many ships, by inducing their commanders to believe, that the passage around Cape Horn is attended with no other difficulties than those to be met with in any other high latitude ; and thereby causing them to neglect taking those necessary precautions, which the safety of their ships, and the lives of those on board, require. He says, to use his own words, " I doubled Cape Horn with much more ease, than I had dared to imagine ; I am now convinced, that this navigation is like that of all high latitudes ; the difficulties which are expected to be met with, are the effects of an old prejudice which should no longer exist, and which the reading of Anson's voyage has not a little contributed to preserve among seamen." On the 25th of January, La Perouse entered the Streights of Le Maire, and on the 9th of February, he was in the Pacific, in the parallel of the Streights of Magellan, making his passage in 14 days. On the 13th of February, I passed the Streights of La Maire, and was in the latitude of those of Magellan on the 26th, making a passage of 13 days, a little more than a month later in the season than he passed the cape ; and as my passage, against such violent gales, was made in one day less than his, I am at a loss to conceive what should have occasioned his delay. I have the utmost respect for the memory of that celebrated navigator, and regret that I should have cause to differ with him in opinion in any point, and particularly on one of so much importance, as the doubling of Cape Horn from the east. Indeed, ample as has been the information he has given on every other subject that has come under his notice, I am almost indu-

ced to believe, that many of his observations on this matter have been suppressed by his editor ; and that the remark is the effect of national prejudice, which ever has, and ever will exist. The passage round Cape Horn, from the eastward, I positively assert, is the most dangerous, most difficult, and attended with more hardships, than that of the same distance, in any other part of the world ; and none should attempt it, without using every precaution to guard against accident, that prudence or foresight can suggest. And to this end, I would advise them, when they arrive in the latitude of 40° south, to prepare their ships for the tempestuous weather of Cape Horn ; by securing their masts by preventer-shrouds ; sending down all their light spars, studding-sail booms, &c. ; unreaving their small rigging ; unbending their light sails ; and reducing, as much as possible, the weight, in order that they may be enabled to carry a heavy press of canvas. They should abandon all thoughts of using their light sails, until they should arrive in the same latitude in the Pacific. Indeed, it would be advisable to provide themselves with a small set of top-sails and yards to suit them, as it will be rarely (if ever) they will be enabled to carry whole top-sails, and seldom their courses. Their storm stay-sails should be constantly bent ; and if they have guns, no more of them should be kept on deck, than what would be necessary to keep the ship easy. From the latitude 40° south, in the Atlantic, to the Streights of Le Maire, the winds vary from north-west to south-east, by the west ; in order therefore to take advantage of the slants which they offer, it is advisable to keep about the edge of soundings, and run with the wind free on that tack which most favours the course ; this will prevent the ship from making lee-way, and the certainty of a change will soon enable you to recover the direct track. By pursuing this plan, you will be enabled by the soundings to correct your reckoning, as they are marked on the charts with sufficient accuracy. Pass the Falkland Islands in about the longitude of 65° west ; and, if the wind should enable you, by all means go through the Streights of Le Maire, which is a passage perfectly free from all danger. Should the winds be a-head, however, it might then be advisable to go to the east of Staten Land,

in preference to attempting the streights, as the rapidity of the current might offer some embarrassments. On getting clear of the land, the prevalent winds are from the south-west and north-west by the west, and generally in violent blasts. Steer to the southward, with a flowing sail, and carry as much canvas as the ship will bear, until you get into the latitude of upwards of 60° south, when you will escape, in a great measure, the violence of the current that is forced by the prevailing winds along the coast of Terra del Fuego. On reaching the latitude of 60° , keep on that tack which most favours your course to the west, but always under a heavy press of canvas, and about one point free; and never heave to, so long as you can carry sail, and keep head-way on the ship. Make an allowance for the current setting to the eastward, 18 miles in every 24 hours; and don't attempt to weather Terra del Fuego, until you are sure you have reached the longitude of 81° west from London; as strong westerly gales constantly prevail on the coast of Patagonia, which render it necessary to keep well to the westward, to avoid the difficulties and dangers of a lee-shore. These gales extend as far as the parallel of Baldivia, and render the dangers on that coast greater than those of Cape Horn, as they blow with equal violence, and are attended with a sea equally, if not more terrible; and in addition to which you have, under the lee, an inhospitable iron-bound coast. When you have passed the latitude of 40° south, you may then venture (but cautiously) to use some of your light sails. I think, however, it would be a good rule not to use them until you arrive at Mocha, or St. Maria, where you may touch to refresh, after the fatigues of the passage, and rig and repair your ship; and that she will require repairs, is certain.

During your passage around the cape, avoid harassing your crew unnecessarily; keep only the watch on deck, except when there is the most absolute necessity for all hands; and use every means in your power, that will contribute to their comfort; by this you will have fresh and healthy men, and in good spirits, to exert themselves in time of need; a circumstance greatly to be desired, where health and strength are at all times so necessary for the preservation of the ship, and for those exertions in making

sail, that are at all times requisite to shorten the passage. It has been advised by some, to double the cape in the dead of winter; others have recommended the months of December and January, as the most favourable. I can only speak of the month of February, and would advise them never to attempt it then. Indeed our sufferings (short as has been our passage) have been so great, that I would advise those bound into the Pacific, never to attempt the passage of Cape Horn, if they can get there by any other route; and, this being the last piece of advice I have to give them on that subject, I shall resume my narrative.

On the morning of the 6th, the Island of Mocha bore north-west, by compass, about 20 miles distant, and we appeared about as far from the coast of Chili. Our soundings were then 60° fathoms, fine black and gray sand; the winds light, inclining to calms; and a small current setting to the north. I stood for the island, keeping the lead going; and found the depth to decrease regularly, to within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the south-east part, where we had 10 fathoms water, fine bluish sand. A sandy point makes out from this part of the island, on which stands an old tree, and off which are some breakers, which extend a quarter of a mile. This point I rounded, at the distance of one league, and had 10 fathoms; the depth then soon increased to 15, when I hauled in for a remarkable gap, about the middle of the island, and anchored in 12 fathoms water, with black sandy bottom; the south-east point bearing east-south-east, and the north point, north-north-east. We were then about two miles from the shore.

CHAPTER IV.

MOCHA ; ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO AND DEPARTURE.

THE island of Mocha is high, and may be seen at a great distance. On the north part, the land gradually tapers off to a long low point, off which lie some rocks, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. On the west side is a long, narrow, and, were it not for the height of the island, a dangerous reef, extending three leagues, on which, during a heavy swell, the water breaks with great violence. At the anchorage, a ship is sheltered from the westerly and southerly winds, but is exposed to those from the north and east ; the latter, however, seldom blows with violence on the coast.

As soon as the ship was anchored, the boats were got out, and myself and several of the officers went on shore. The sea was beating furiously against the beach and rocks that skirt the shore, and it was some time before we could find a landing place ; at length, however, we found one a short distance to the north of an extensive sandy beach, in a small cove formed by the rocks, and protected from the sea by a small reef: here we found the water perfectly smooth. As we had been surrounded with seals and birds of different kinds as we ran in ; and had seen, with our spy-glasses, several hogs and horses on shore, I permitted the officers, and the most careful of the men, to take muskets with them, and in the course of the few hours we were on shore, we had killed and got down to the boats, 10 hogs, with some young pigs, which the seamen had run down, and were about embarking with them at dusk of the evening ; but seeing a drove of horses coming along, and every one being anxious to fire, and feeling apprehensive of some accident, I directed them to conceal themselves behind the boats that were hauled on the beach, and not to fire until I had fired ; intending to reserve my shot until they had got to that position, that all could fire without the least danger of

accident. I accordingly fired, and was succeeded by a volley ; one horse was crippled, and the seamen ran forward with clubs to knock him down, and already had hold of him, when a young officer, who had the misfortune of being very near-sighted, (and who had reserved his fire, not having seen the drove,) ran forward, and seeing in the dark the groupe of sailors about the animal, supposed it to be the horse, and fired ; unhappily, the ball passed through the breast of James Spafford, the gunner's mate, one of the best and most trusty men in my ship. It is impossible for me to express what were my feelings, when, with the utmost composure, the poor fellow, with a firm voice, said, " Sir, you have shot me ! I am a dying man ; take me to the boat." The distress of the officer on the occasion, was beyond description. Doctor Hoffman was on shore, and gave us but little hopes of his life, as the ball had entered his right breast, and came out below his right shoulder, near the back-bone. A boat was immediately sent off to the ship with him, accompanied by doctor Hoffman and the officer, who had so unfortunately been the cause of the disaster ; and on my arrival, which was speedily after him, I found him still alive ; but the chief surgeon, doctor Miller, could give me no reason to believe that he would recover. Had it not been for this dreadful accident, we should have been much delighted with our excursion on shore, as it had not only afforded us a pleasant recreation after our excessive fatigues at sea, but had enabled us to extend the benefits of it to the whole ship's company, as we had been so successful as to procure a fresh mess for all hands. The horse-meat, however, was generally preferred to the hogs, it being much fatter, and more tender ; the hogs proved tough, and had, besides (to me), an unpleasant flavour, though I heard no complaints among the sailors on that subject, as their stomachs were perhaps less delicate.

It was much to be regretted, that I had been so imprudently indulgent, as to permit so many to take muskets on shore, on many accounts ; but more particularly on account of the accident which happened to poor Spafford. The constant firing, by bad marksmen, in every direction, not only greatly alarmed the horses and hogs, and made them very shy, and thereby prevented the more

skilful from having an opportunity of killing them ; but many of the poor animals were wounded in different parts of the body, and made their escape with the blood streaming from their wounds ; whereas, expert marksmen would not have fired, until they were sure of shooting them through some vital part. I have no doubt, that in the few hours we were on shore, we were the cause of the death of at least a dozen horses, and double the number of hogs, that made their escape after being wounded ; and from the great number of bones that are scattered in every direction on the island, I have reason to believe, that the same cruel warfare has been pursued by other navigators, who have touched there. The animals are so numerous, that one good marksman could more than supply a ship's company of 300 men with fresh provisions, without making such cruel and unnecessary destruction among them, as I have too much reason to believe we caused ; and it is greatly to be lamented, that visitors to this island should indulge themselves in such wanton cruelty, as must, in time, deprive navigators of those refreshments, they may be otherwise certain of meeting with ; and, as they enjoy in common these advantages, it is a duty they owe to each other, to endeavour as much as possible to preserve them.

This island, which is situated in lat. $38^{\circ} 21' 37''$ S, long. $74^{\circ} 38' 26''$ W., is about 20 miles in circumference, has a verdant and beautiful appearance, its hills being covered to their summits with trees of a large size, and clumps of them are near the water's edge, which renders wooding very easy. Ships may also supply themselves with excellent water, from several beautiful streams, which discharge themselves on the west side ; it would, however, be necessary to wait for a favourable time to take the casks off, as, when the sea is high, the surf beats with great violence.

It was settled in the early part of the last century by the Spaniards, and was deserted by them, perhaps in consequence of the terrors excited by the buccaniers. It is now frequented by vessels engaged in smuggling, and in the whale fishery, as well as those employed in catching seals ; great numbers of which are always to be found on the rocks and small keys. Shags, penguins,

and other aquatic birds are to be found in great numbers; the woods are filled with birds of various descriptions; and apples and purslain grow on different parts of the island. Our short stay here did not enable me to give this interesting spot so thorough an examination as I could have wished; but I saw enough to convince me, that it is a most desirable place for vessels to touch at after doubling Cape Horn.

At day-light, on the morning of the 7th, lieut. Downes went on shore to endeavour to get some more fresh meat; I directed him to be on board by 8 o'clock, as the appearance of the weather indicated fresh gales, and I intended, at that time, to leave the island; the wind, however, freshened up, and at half past 7, the ship, lying at a short scope of cable, started her anchor; I consequently hove it up, and fired a gun as a signal for the boat to come off, and on her return made sail to the northward, along the coast.

Lieutenant Downes had not been successful, as he had only killed one horse, and, from the great hurry he was in to get on board, seeing the ship under way, could only bring with him one quarter of it.

I now proceeded with an intention of touching at St. Maria's, where, from the freshness of the gale, I expected to arrive before night. I ranged the coast within 5 or 6 miles, and kept a sharp look-out, with the hope of speaking some vessel, whereby we might be enabled to obtain some information of the enemy; but were disappointed. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, we were but three leagues distant from the S.W. part of St. Maria's; but the gale had increased so much, and the weather had become so hazy, that it would have been very unsafe to have attempted to run in for the anchorage, particularly as I was perfectly ignorant of the passage between it and the main, and had no person on board who could give me any information respecting it, that could be relied on; for, although several of my seamen had frequently anchored there, they differed so widely in their accounts of the place, and were altogether so ignorant of the depth of water inside the island, that I found it would be absolutely necessary to send in a boat to sound before I ventured in with the ship; for I laboured under the great inconvenience of having only one chart of the whole

of the coast of America, and that on so small a scale, as not to be relied on but for the direction of the coast, projection of headlands, &c.; and on that the island of St. Maria's was merely marked as a point. I had no views of land, no descriptions or draughts of harbours on this coast, and felt myself greatly embarrassed, from the extreme caution with which I was compelled to navigate. I however hoped to remove this difficulty the first prize I should be so fortunate as to make, and felt more desire to get possession of the charts than can well be conceived, for at this time good charts of the coast would be the greatest treasure we could meet with.

Finding that I could not run in for the anchorage, or send in a boat, on account of the violence of the wind, which had now increased to a gale, I hauled off under three double-reefed top-sails; but we were soon compelled to bring to under close-reefed fore and main top-sails, and send down our top-gallant yards: but the ship pitching very deep, and straining considerably, I determined to run to the northward as far as Conception, and directed the helm to be put aweather; but the gale increasing through the night, I found it would not be safe to bring her to, and in the morning we found ourselves considerably to the northward of that port. About 8 o'clock, the wind became very light, and shifted to the northward, bringing with it a very thick fog. I, however, stood to the eastward, with an expectation of seeing the land; and at meridian, the fog having cleared off for a few minutes, we discovered it, at the distance of about 8 miles, our latitude being $35^{\circ} 40'$ south, and our soundings 105 fathoms, green oozy bottom: the water at this time was much discoloured.

I now considered myself in a good position to meet vessels plying between Conception and Valparaiso; and as the health of the crew, and state of my provisions, or the distresses of the ship, did not yet render my going into port absolutely necessary, I determined to keep the sea a while longer, in hopes of meeting some of the enemy's ships, and thereby obtain such supplies as would render it entirely unnecessary to make ourselves known on the coast, until we were about quitting it. Unfortunately, the fog continued to envelope us, and prevented our extending our

view a mile beyond the ship, and rendered it unsafe to keep so close in shore as I wished ; for although the land is very high all along this coast, and in clear weather may be seen from a great distance, yet the state of the atmosphere was such, that before we could see it distinctly, the white foam of breakers among the rocks which skirt it, was evident to us. We were here surrounded by whales in great numbers, which gave us strong hopes of soon meeting some of the vessels engaged in catching them, as the whales generally go in schools along the coast, and the whalers keep in pursuit of them, following their track north and south. We also saw many seals, and birds in greater numbers than at any time during our passage, except while in the neighbourhood of Mocha.

From the 8th until the 11th, the weather continued foggy, and the winds light and baffling from the northward, which prevented us from making any head-way, and during their continuation deprived us of all hope of discovering vessels. Nothing could now exceed our impatience. We had come thus far without having seen a vessel of any description ; but as we had not expected to meet any, we had not been disappointed ; but now we had arrived at the theatre of our intended operations, and impatiently waited for the curtain to rise, for we calculated on seeing a vessel of some kind, so soon as the fog should clear off ; and even a Spaniard would have been a most welcome sight to us, as, by speaking him, we hoped that we should be enabled to get some information of the enemy that would be of service to us ; for we were now groping in the dark, and entirely ignorant of what British ships were on the coast ; and until we could obtain some intelligence, no plan could be adopted that would afford us hopes of success.

On the latter part of the 12th, light airs sprang up from the S.W., and the weather began to clear off slowly, and every eye was engaged in searching for a sail, as the fog moved to leeward. Nothing, however, was to be seen but a wide expanse of ocean, bounded on the east by the dreary, barren, and iron-bound coast of Chili, at the back of which the eternally snow-capt mountains of the Andes reared their lofty heads, and altogether presented

to us a scene of gloomy solitude, far exceeding any thing I ever before experienced. The winds now freshening up, enabled us to make sail to the northward; and as the weather was clear, I determined to keep close in with the coast, that no vessel might be enabled to pass between us and the shore unobserved; but in the course of our run this and the next day we could discover no vessels of any description, or the least trace of the existence of a human being on the coast, except in one instance, when a fire was lighted in the evening in a small cove, probably by some Indians, or persons engaged in smuggling, and intended, no doubt, as an invitation for us to land.

On the morning of the 13th, we discovered that our main top-sail-yard was badly sprung, and were compelled to get it down and replace it with another, which we were so fortunate as to have on board; and on the afternoon of that day, we made the point three or four leagues to the south-west of the bay of Valparaiso, and called by the Spaniards Quaranmilla. This point, as you come from the southward, may be known by its sloping off gently towards the sea; and close to the end of it is a small rugged island, or rather large rock, about the height of a ship's masts. At 8 P. M., I brought the point to bear N.N.E., distant about four leagues, and then hove to, with the hope of intercepting some vessel in the morning, bound to Valparaiso, as all vessels bound there endeavour to make this point; but at sunrise, not discovering a sail, I determined to look into the harbour, and see at once what hopes we had in this quarter, and accordingly steered away for point Quaranmilla under all sail, doubling it at the distance of half a league. After passing this point, we perceived some scattering rocks lying some distance from shore, and shortly afterwards opened a handsome bay, with a fine sandy beach, and perceived a few fishing boats engaged there in fishing; and wishing to have some communication with them, I hoisted the English ensign and pendant, and a jack for a pilot, but none of them appeared disposed to come along side. In the bottom of the bay was a small enclosure with a hut, and on the top of the next projecting point was another small building, apparently covered with tiles; and on the sides of the neighbouring

hills were several cattle grazing. These were the only marks of civilization we had yet met on the coast, and nothing whatever appeared to indicate our approach to the most important city of Chili. With the exception of the few cattle that grazed on the arid rocks, the two huts before mentioned, and the miserable-looking fishermen, the coast here had the same desolate appearance as the rest we had seen, and since we had left Mocha but little of it had escaped our observation. It was in vain that we sought for those handsome villages, well-cultivated hills, and fertile valleys, which we had been prepared to meet in this part of the world.

The whole coast is skirted by a black and gloomy rock, against the perpendicular sides of which the sea beats with fury. At the back of this rock, the country appears dreary beyond description: yellow and barren hills, cut by torrents into deep ravines, and sprinkled sparingly here and there with shrubs; but not a tree of any size was to be seen on this whole extent of coast. When the weather was clear, we always saw the Andes; and as they were never clear of snow, they were not calculated to give us a more favourable impression of the interior.

The next point which presented itself, on the top of which the afore-mentioned tile-covered house was situated, was the point of Angels, which I had learned formed the western point of the Bay of Valparaiso; and as I perceived some rocks lying off it, I doubled it with a stiff breeze from the southward, at the distance of nearly half a mile, keeping the lead going, but got no bottom at the depth of sixty fathoms. As we rounded this point, I sought with my glass the city of Valparaiso, or some proofs of our approach to it: first a long sandy beach, on the opposite side, offered itself to view; next a large drove of loaded mules, coming down the side of the mountain by a zigzag pathway; and, in an instant afterwards, the whole town, shipping with their colours flying, and the forts, burst out as it were from behind the rocks, and we found ourselves becalmed under the guns of a battery prepared to fire into us. The scene presented to us was as animated and cheerful as it was sudden and unexpected; and had I not hoisted English colours, I should have been tempted to run in and anchor. A moment's reflection induced me to believe, that, under existing

circumstances, it would not be advisable to do so, as several large Spanish ships, with their sails bent, and in readiness for sea, were lying in the port; and as those vessels were, beyond doubt, bound to the northward, and in all probability to Lima, I concluded on keeping the sea a few days longer, to give them time to get out, in order that intelligence might not be given by them of an American frigate being in this part of the world. There was also in the port an American brig, deeply laden, pierced for eighteen guns, lying close in shore, with her yards and top-masts struck, and her boarding nettings triced up, and in appearance prepared for defence; a large and clumsy-looking English brig was also lying there, with her sails unbent, her crew employed in tarring down her rigging; and as she was very light, I concluded she was a whaler repairing her damages after her passage around Cape Horn; and calculating that she perhaps might put to sea in a few days, I determined on running some distance to the northward, and then beating up, believing my chance of intercepting her, as well as of obtaining a knowledge of the departure of the Spanish ships, would be more likely by pursuing this plan than any other. I consequently stood to the northward; and as soon as we took the breeze again, made all sail, and in four hours we were thirty miles from Valparaiso. The wind now dying away, and believing my distance sufficiently great to avoid being seen, I hauled on a wind to the westward. In the course of this run, in which we made a north course from the point of Angels, we perceived two reefs of rocks, that lay a considerable distance from the shore; the first three leagues from Valparaiso, and one mile from the coast; the second of greater extent, twenty miles from Valparaiso, and two miles from the coast. On both these reefs the sea breaks with great violence, and several of the rocks shew themselves out of water; these were the only dangers that we discovered; the rest of the coast appeared safe and bold, and had the same dismal appearance as that we had seen to the southward, with the exception of numerous herds of cattle, which were grazing on the sun-burnt hills.

On the morning of the 15th, we succeeded in getting off the point of Angels, which I ranged at two cables' length from a

few scattering rocks, which lay at the distance of about a cable's length from the shore. We had been running in with a good breeze, but it died away calm off the point, when we furled all sails, and put our drags into operation to get into the harbour; but in the mean time dispatched lieutenant Downes to inform the governor, that we were an American frigate, greatly in want of supplies of every kind, and that our wants were greatly augmented by the loss of our store-ship off Cape Horn, and that we threw ourselves on their hospitality and generosity. I was induced to use this little artifice from a knowledge of the unaccommodating disposition of the Spaniards, and their jealousies respecting foreign vessels that enter the ports of their American possessions; and from the stand the United States had taken against the aggressions of Great Britain, as well as their conduct with respect to the Floridas, I had not reason to expect from them much amity, and only hoped to extort from them, under the plea of distress, permission to take in a few provisions, and to fill our water; and indeed it was not without many restrictions that I hoped to obtain even this indulgence. Before I had got to an anchor, however, the captain of the port, accompanied by another officer, and lieutenant Downes, came on board in the governor's barge, with an offer of every civility, assistance, and accommodation that Valparaiso could afford; and, to my astonishment, I was informed that they had shaken off their allegiance to Spain; that the ports of Chili were open to all nations; that they looked up to the United States of America for example and protection; that our arrival would be considered the most joyful event, as their commerce had been much harassed by corsairs from Peru, sent out by the viceroy of that province, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels destined for Chili, and that five of them had disappeared from before the port only a few days before my arrival, and had captured several American whalers, and sent them for Lima. This unexpected state of affairs, as may naturally be supposed (considering our existing wants), was calculated to afford me the utmost pleasure, as it promised us a speedy departure from Valparaiso.

The affair of the salute was arranged ; and, after anchoring, I saluted the town with 21 guns, which were punctually returned ; immediately after which I waited on the governor, don Francisco Lastre, who gave me the most friendly, and at the same time unceremonious reception. On my passing the American armed brig Colt, she fired a salute of 9 guns, which was returned by the Essex by 7. I had not been long with the governor, before I discovered that I had, happily for my purpose, got among staunch republicans, men filled with revolutionary principles, and apparently desirous of establishing a form of government founded on liberty ; but it could not be concealed that some of the leaven of the old Spanish regime was still among them ; and that, however desirous they might appear of establishing liberty and equal rights, the chief aim of a few leading characters and designing men among them, was despotic power. The governor was himself one of those who owed his rise entirely to the revolution ; his grade was that of a lieutenant in the navy, but was created governor on shaking off his allegiance to Ferdinand. It could, however, be perceived, that his excellency was rather lukewarm and cautious in his expressions, and was still desirous of preserving a creep-hole, in the event of the province returning again to its former masters ; he was evidently one of those patriots whose best wishes are for *themselves*. The captain of the port, whose name I do not recollect, was a sterling honest patriot, and spoke his sentiments boldly ; he evidently felt as those should feel who are determined to be free ; appeared sensible they had yet much to do ; and I am sure was resolved to do his utmost to emancipate his country.

A courier was immediately dispatched, by the American deputy vice-consul, to Santiago, the capital of Chili, to inform Mr. Poinsett, the American consul-general, of our arrival in the port of Valparaiso ; and arrangements were made for getting our wood, water, and provisions on board : the latter article I found could be procured in the greatest abundance, of an excellent quality, and at a more moderate price than in any port of the United States. I also directed a daily supply of fresh beef and vegetables, fruit and fresh bread, for the crew, and, by the time I completed these

arrangements, was informed that the governor intended returning my visit. I consequently went on board to receive him, and on his arrival, with a numerous suit of officers, saluted him with 11 guns. It appears that many of them had never before seen a frigate, all of them being native Chilians, and this being the first, since their recollection, that had entered the port. The *Standard*, a British ship of the line, had touched there four months since for refreshments, on her way to Lima, but some misunderstanding having taken place between them and her officers, there was but little intercourse between them. The visit lasted about two hours, during which time they visited every part of the ship; and although she appeared under great disadvantage, from having been so long at sea, and from the tempestuous passage around Cape Horn, still they were much pleased and astonished that *Anglo-Americans*, as they styled us, could build, equip, and manage ships of so large a size.

The governor, before he left the ship, invited myself and officers to a party for the next evening, and expressed great regrets that we had not arrived sooner, as they had had the evening before great rejoicings, in consequence of a victory gained by their troops over those of Peru. It seems that a small, unimportant fortress belonging to the latter had fallen into the hands of the Chilians.

Our purchases of provisions went on as well as I could desire, but our watering progressed but slowly, as the only place from whence we could procure it was a small well near the landing-place by the custom-house, which would only admit of four or five casks being filled before it gave out; we were then compelled to wait for some time for the water to run in, before we could fill any more; but as it afforded a supply of from 1000 to 1500 gallons per day, I concluded to fix the period of our departure on the 22d, allowing one week to get all our supplies.

When we first arrived, a few boats came off with fruit, and, as was the case at St. Catharines, the most exorbitant prices were demanded for the most trifling article. However, as they continued to increase in numbers, I soon saw that the evil would be speedily removed; and as I permitted them to establish their market on board, our supply was in a few hours as abundant, and

at as low prices, as in the market on shore. Nothing could exceed the excellence and abundance of the apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, melons, onions, potatoes, and vegetables of every description. The potatoes are superior in size and quality to those of any other country, and are indigenous. Tons of the foregoing articles were sold to our people, which were laid by as a sea stock, as well as hogs and poultry in great numbers, and of the best qualities; the fowls are of the largest size, and of that kind called the China fowl, which were sold at the moderate price of $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per dozen; indeed I soon perceived, that, unless I placed some restrictions, my ship would be much encumbered with the stock on board her; I therefore, before my departure, gave directions that all the hogs belonging to the crew should be killed, except one for each mess; and this arrangement left upwards of 100 hogs on board, counting those belonging to the officers. No part of the world could have afforded us a more ample supply of every thing we wanted of the provision kind. The flour and bread were of a very superior quality, and could be procured in any quantities without difficulty. We could not, however, without considerable delay, procure salt provisions, except jerked beef: this was to be had in large quantities, and put up in a superior manner for exportation, in a net-work formed of strips of hide, containing one hundred weight. All the dry provisions were put up in hides; the flour was better secured in them, and more closely packed, than it could possibly be in barrels; and, although much heavier, we found them more manageable. The use they make of hides is astonishing; the most of the furniture for their mules and horses, and their houses, and, on some parts of the coast, even their boats, or (as they are called) balsas, are made of this article. It is used for every purpose to which it is possible to apply it, either whole, cut in pieces, or in long strips. When used for balsas, two hides each, cut something in the form of a canoe, with the seam upwards, are blown up by means of a reed, and stopped together; a piece of board is then laid across to sit on, and on this frail machine they venture a considerable distance to sea. The *laque*, for the use of which the Chilians are so famous, is formed of a very long strip of hide, with a running

noose; and their dexterity in using it, in catching animals at full speed, is surprising. Every pack-horseman and driver of a jack-ass is furnished with one of them; and so much do they delight in them, or in showing their dexterity, that when they wish to catch any one of their drove, either to load, unload, or for any other purpose, they take their distance, deliberately coil up their *laque*, and never fail of throwing it over the neck of the animal wanted.

On the 17th, capt. Munson, of the American brig in port, arrived from St. Jago, bringing me a letter from the consul-general, inviting myself and officers, in the name of the government of Chili, to visit the capital, and informing us that horses and every other convenience were provided for us on the road. Capt. Munson was also desired by the consul to inform me, that the president and junta, with a large military escort, would meet us at a considerable distance from the city, and that, in a political view, they considered our arrival as the most happy event. Capt. Munson stated, that the bells had been rung the whole day, and illuminations had taken place the evening after our arrival was announced, and that it was generally believed that I had brought from my country nothing less than proposals for a friendly alliance with Chili, and assurances of assistance in their struggle for independence. This idea I felt no disposition to do away with; and as I had not, since my arrival, given any hints of my object in this sea, I found it not too late to encourage a belief that suited my views and accorded with their wishes. I had prepared my officers and crew to secrecy before my arrival, and had now no objection that the good people of this place should put the most favourable construction on our arrival among them, provided it did not traverse my only object, the getting a supply of provisions, a circumstance which their solicitude to oblige gave me no cause whatever to apprehend.

When we were about to embark our provisions, it was signified to me by the deputy vice-consul, that the officer of the customs did not feel himself authorized to permit their embarkation free from duty, without orders from superior authority, unless we would enter into bonds to pay the duty, if it should be exacted by

the junta; the governor also had felt a delicacy on the subject, and had written to St. Jago for instructions. Knowing the favourable disposition of the superior government toward us, and learning that the officer of the customs was averse to the present form of government, and suspected of monarchical principles, I spurned the idea of entering into bonds, and refused to take any thing on board until I had full authority from the president and junta, which I was sure of getting without any material loss of time, as a courier was about being dispatched with my letter in reply to that of Mr. Poinsett, in which I took the opportunity of mentioning the circumstance. The governor, however, received orders the next day to permit us to take on board whatever we pleased, free from every embarrassment of custom-house or other regulations, and was directed to afford myself and officers every facility and civility in his power, calculated to forward our views, and render our stay among them agreeable. This order the governor brought himself on board to shew me, and at my request furnished me a copy.

Agreeably to the governor's invitation, we attended his party, where we found a much larger and more brilliant assemblage of ladies, than we could have expected in Valparaiso. We found much fancy and considerable taste displayed in their dress, and many of them, with the exception of teeth, very handsome, both in person and in face; their complexion remarkably fine, and their manners modest and attracting. This was our first impression on entering a room, containing perhaps 200 ladies, to whom we were perfect strangers. Minuets were introduced; country-dances followed; and the ladies had the complaisance and patience to attempt with my officers, what they had never before seen in the country, a *cotillion*. The intricacies of their country-dance were too great for us to attempt; they were greatly delighted in by those who knew them, and admitted a display of much grace. With their grace, their beauty of person and complexion, and with their modesty, we were delighted, and could almost fancy we had gotten amongst our own fair country-women; but in one moment the illusion vanished. The *ballas de tierra*, as they are called, commenced: they consisted of the most

graceless, and at the same time fatiguing movements of the body and limbs, accompanied by the most indelicate and lascivious motions, gradually increasing in energy and violence, until the fair one, apparently overcome with passion, and evidently exhausted with fatigue, was compelled to retire to her seat; her rosy cheeks and fair complexion disappeared in the large drops of sweat which ran trickling down her neck and breast, and were succeeded by the sallow tinge which nature had bountifully bestowed.

They daub themselves most lavishly with paint; but their features are agreeable, and their large dark eyes are remarkably brilliant and expressive; and, were it not for their bad teeth, occasioned by the too liberal use of the *matti*, they would, notwithstanding the Chilian tinge, be thought handsome, particularly by those who had been so long as we out of the way of seeing any women.

The *matti* is a decoction of the herb of Paraguay, sweetened with sugar, and sucked hot through a long silver tube; to the use of this beverage the Chilians are perfect slaves. The taste is agreeable, but it occasions terrible havoc among the teeth. We returned on board our ship, pleased with the novelties of a Chilian ball, and much gratified by the solicitude shewn by every one to make our stay amongst them agreeable. Invitations had been given by them to visit at their houses; but time was too precious to us to be spent in amusements; all were busily engaged until the 20th in getting on board our supplies, and on the meridian of that day we had completed our water, and, with the exception of a few small articles, had as much provisions on board as the day we left the United States; those we calculated on taking on board while our accounts were in a train for settlement; and as the next day was Sunday, and we all required some relaxation from our fatigues, I determined to devote it to pleasure, and invited the ladies and gentlemen of Valparaiso to spend the afternoon on board the ship, all, as well as ourselves, being previously engaged for the evening at a ball, at the house of Mr. Blanquo, the vice-consul: for it must be understood that Spaniards, and particularly catholics, do not, like the people of protestant coun-

tries, spend their Sabbath in penance and prayers, but in feasting and dancing; and although a good catholic would consider himself damned to eternal flames if he neglected confession, or eat meat during lent, yet he is above the vulgar protestant prejudice of devoting one whole day in each week to the worship of the Almighty, when he has it in his power to spend it so much more agreeably in amusement. The consul-general had arrived from St. Jago, accompanied by don Lewis Carrera, the brother of the president; also the consul, a Mr. Heywell, and another American gentleman; they dined on board my ship on Saturday, and were saluted with 11 guns. On Sunday, about 3 o'clock, myself and officers were on shore with our boats to take the ladies on board the ship, she having been previously prepared for their entertainment; and we had all laid aside our national and religious prejudices, and devoted ourselves entirely to the pleasures of the day, when, at the moment we were on the point of embarking with them, an officer came from the ship to inform me that a large frigate had appeared in the offing, and on perceiving us had hauled in for the harbour. We all immediately left our fair Chilians, and without any ceremony jumped in our boats and repaired on board, where I found every thing prepared for getting under way. I soon perceived that the strange ship was a 32 gun frigate, gave orders to cut the cables, and in an instant the Essex was under a cloud of canvas; but as the breeze, which had until this moment blown, now failed, we got all our boats a-head, and towed out of the harbour, and in the course of an hour we were along side the stranger, which proved to be a Portuguese, and had been sent round by the government at Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of getting a supply of flour for Lisbon. As there was every expectation of an engagement, the consul-general, and several Americans and Spaniards, and don Lewis Carrera, came on board to share with us the dangers; the latter appeared to us a spirited youth (about 22 years of age), and as he had never been in any engagement of importance, was evidently anxious to partake of one. His constant request of me was to board the stranger, and his disappointment was great when he discovered the Portuguese flag. We could perceive the hills crowded with men, women,

and children, all equally and perhaps more anxious than don Lewis to see the fight, and among them, as it afterwards proved, were our fair guests, who did not hesitate to declare their disappointment, and frankly acknowledged, that a sight of a sea engagement would have had more charms for them, than all the entertainment we could have afforded them on board the ship.

The wind continued light ; and, the day being far advanced, I gave up all thoughts of returning to port that night, and stood off to sea, endeavouring to get to windward. Don Lewis, as well as his servants who accompanied him, soon became excessively sick ; and however warlike he might have felt when he first came on board, he was now as helpless as an infant. We succeeded, by the help of our drags, in getting to our anchors early next morning, and were more fortunate in finding the buoys we had put to our cables than I had expected. We, immediately on securing our ship, took on board the remainder of our supplies ; and an invitation was brought for us to dine and spend the evening with the governor, who, we could perceive by the flags about the battery in front of his house, had made great preparations for the occasion ; and we were informed that the entertainment was given us by the order and at the expence of the superior government of Chili. The company was seated in an extensive tent, handsomely and fancifully decorated with the flags of different nations, and the ground covered with rich carpets ; the dinner was served up in silver plate, and, with the exception of the blades of the knives alone, no other metal or substance whatever was used for any part of the table furniture. The dinner consisted of at least twenty changes ; and by the time the third course had been removed we had cause to regret that we had not reserved our appetites for some of the delicacies which we perceived were likely to succeed the substantial food of the first course, which we had begun upon with keen appetites, and were soon cloyed. The officers of the Portuguese ship, and some English merchants, were also at table ; but when the wine began to circulate, and the Chilian officers to feel the ardour of their patriotism, such flaming toasts were given, as to make them think it prudent for them to retire.

As the ball was to succeed the dinner in the tent, we walked round with the governor to look at the fortifications, which we found to be in tolerable order; and on our return found the ladies assembled, dressed in all their splendour, and unusually bedaubed with paint. The night was spent with much hilarity, and at one o'clock in the morning we repaired on board. Having now little to detain us, I intended sailing early; but the ladies seemed determined not to be cheated out of a visit to the ship, for the governor, his wife, with a boat-load of other ladies, came on board about nine o'clock, and remained until twelve, and on their leaving us, I saluted them with eleven guns. We now prepared to weigh our anchor; but the arrival of an American whale-ship, that had been carried into Lima, and there liberated (after great loss of time, and paying costs of suit), occasioned some little delay, as I was desirous of obtaining the news from her. The captain (Worth), on coming on board, informed me, that a few days before he had spoken with two English armed whalers, one off the Island of Mocha, the other off the harbour of Conception; that three other American whalers were in company; and that the English ships were the first that gave them the intelligence of the war, and informed them that they had no orders to capture American vessels, but were in daily expectation of authority to that effect. Captain Worth also informed me, that several English whale-ships were cruizing among the Gallipagos islands, and off the harbor of Payta, on the coast of Peru, and recommended by all means my proceeding to those places, where I should be certain of meeting them; he also gave me such information as would render my falling in with them probable while running along the coast. He represented our whale-fishers, which were very numerous, as in a helpless and unprotected state, entirely exposed to attack and capture by the armed English ships in those seas, carrying from 14 to 20 guns, and well manned: he stated that, as our whale-ships sometimes kept the sea for six months at a time, most of them were ignorant of the war, and would fall an easy and unsuspecting prey to the British ships: he informed me that he had heard of the capture of one American ship, which had been taken by a British letter of marque, and carried to Lima; but that the

government had not permitted her to remain there, and that she had proceeded for St. Helena to take convoy for England. After receiving this intelligence, I got under way and proceeded to sea, with a fresh breeze from the southward, steering N.W. to get an offing from the land.

From my extreme occupation with my duty, and the rapidity of the events which took place during the week I remained at Valparaiso, it could scarcely be supposed that I could have an opportunity of making many observations on the place, the manners and customs of the people, or the political state of the country; perhaps no week of my life was ever more actively employed, both in labour and in pleasure; and had not a strong desire of serving our country to the utmost overcome every other consideration, we should have left Valparaiso with much regret; but during our stay there two Spanish ships had sailed for Lima, and the certainty that they would give intelligence of us to the enemy, made our speedy departure the more necessary, as it had always been my intention to visit that coast previous to my going to any other place; for, from all accounts, the coast of Peru, and from there to the Gallipagos, is the favourite fishing-ground of the British whalers; from thence I intended proceeding to the latter place, and to endeavour to arrive at their general rendezvous at Albemarle island, before the British agent at Lima could have an opportunity of giving them intelligence of my arrival in this sea; for it seemed beyond a doubt that they would conjecture that my designs were not confined to the doubling Cape Horn merely for the pleasure of visiting Valparaiso.

While we lay at Valparaiso, I established it as a general rule, that every person belonging to the ship should be on board at gun-fire, at 8 P. M., unless on some special occasion, when I should be on shore with them at a party. This rule was violated by the carpenter, under the most aggravating circumstances; and, as he was a worthless fellow, I did not permit him to return on board the ship again. The gunner was detected in smuggling rum on board, contrary to the regulations of the ship; and, as he had conducted himself very improperly in other respects, I caused him to be confined in irons. Three Americans belonging

to the English brig in port claimed my protection, and I took them on board; and, as my prisoners were an incumbrance to me, I landed the whole of them the morning I left port, except one, who the evening before had attempted to make his escape by swimming away; and as this man had not confided in my generosity, I considered that he had forfeited all claim to it. I also intimated to Mr. Nelson, (a Dane found on board the Elizabeth, who preferred remaining with us,) that he could not remain any longer on board; and, as he was destitute of money, we raised a subscription suited to his immediate wants, and I gave him a letter to the consul-general, which, I am in hopes, will be the means of placing him in some employment that will afford him a support.

The town of Valparaiso is pleasantly situated at the bottom of the bay, and is a place of considerable commerce. The anchorage is in front, and from two to five cables length from the shore, where vessels lie secure, and are sheltered from all except the north winds, which blow directly into the harbour, and occasion a considerable sea; and there have been instances of vessels having been driven on shore by them, and all hands perishing. On the eastern limits of the town, towards the village of Alman-dral, and near some rocks, is erected a cross, as a monument of the loss of a Spanish ship that was driven on shore there, and all her crew lost.

The bay is entirely free from danger, and the only advice necessary for running into the harbour, is to stand in for the middle of the town, choosing your anchorage in from 25 to 7 fathoms water; the bottom is every where clean, and the holding ground good; and as the port has been so accurately and minutely described by Vancouver and others, any further directions would be superfluous.

The customs of the inhabitants of this place differ so materially from our own (and perhaps from those of every other people), that I cannot help noticing a few particulars that struck me as the most singular.

At all their dinner entertainments, the principal guest is placed at the head of the table, the host on one side of him, and the

hostess on the other ; and their principal business appears to be to cram him with a part of every thing before him. This duty they are apt to perform most effectually, if he happens, like me, to be a stranger, and not aware of the variety of changes that are to be brought on, each one more and more inviting in their appearance and taste.

There is another practice at their balls or evening parties, which at first gave me some embarrassment. A very large silver dish, filled with sweet jelly, was presented to me by a servant, as well as a silver plate and fork ; believing that the whole dish could not be intended for me, I attempted to take the plate ; this the servant objected to ; I then attempted to take the dish, but to this she also objected ; I felt, however, certain that it was intended for me to eat in some way or other, and was determined to do it in that way which appeared the most natural and convenient ; I therefore took from her the plate and fork, and helped myself to as much as I thought I should want. The eyes of all the company, however, were on me, and I perceived that I had made some mistake, which I was soon convinced of, for the servant brought another plate with a fork, which was handed with the sweetmeats around to the company, and each one made use of the same fork to take a mouthful, holding their heads carefully over the dish in order that nothing might fall from their mouths to the floor ; the fork was then laid on the plate, and passed to the next. The *matti* is taken with as little regard to delicacy or cleanliness. When the cup containing it is brought in, one of the company blows into it, through the silver tube, until a high froth is produced ; it is then considered properly prepared. The same *matti* and tube is then passed around the room, and each one takes in turn a suck of it, with much apparent relish and delight ; but, considering the rotten teeth and unsavoury breaths of the Chilians, there could not be a dose offered more repulsive to a delicate stomach, than this same frothy *matti*, served up in their style. It is also a practice for one glass of water, one spoon, or one segar, to be served to the whole company, and one would almost be led to believe that they had a particular relish for the taste of each others dirty mouths. A Chilean lady would

sooner be caught in bed with a gentleman than be seen walking arm and arm with him ; and their refinement is so great, that it is thought indelicate even to accept his hand in any way, except in dancing, when, to be sure, every thing like delicacy is laid aside. They are, however, extremely hospitable and attentive to strangers ; and if they have their peculiar customs, which seem strange to us, we no doubt have our own equally deserving their animadversion.

The whole power and force of the kingdom of Chili is now concentrated in one family, who have taken advantage of the state of anarchy into which it fell for want of rulers, and placed themselves at the head of government. This family is the Carreras. The eldest brother has created himself commander of the infantry ; the second brother is president of the junta, and commander of the cavalry ; and the third, don Lewis, is commander of the artillery ; and they are altogether capable of bringing into the field 15,000 men, but they have not arms for more than 6,000. They are in alliance with the Buenos Ayreans, and have furnished them with 500 men, properly equipped, to assist them in carrying on their war against the Montivideans. The rest of their force, except a few men on the frontiers of Peru, remain unemployed ; and indeed they all appear too much engaged in the pursuit of pleasures, and the gratification of their sensual appetites, to be capable of making any great military exertions.

There is a strong and secret party opposed to the present administration, and favourable to the cause of Ferdinand VII. : they are styled *saracens* ; the party in power are denominated *patriots* ; the former are dangerous, and are not a little dreaded, from the concealed manner in which they carry on their hostilities ; several of their emissaries have already been convicted of attempts to assassinate the officers of the present government ; some have been sentenced to be hung, others to be banished to the island of *Juan Fernandez*. The patriots are known by a tri-coloured cockade, blue, yellow, and white ; and the ladies of that party are distinguished by wearing their hair gracefully brushed over on the left side of the face : they seem to have entered into

the spirit of the revolution, and perhaps not without cause, as most of the patriots are young, dashing native Chilians, and the adverse party are invariably crusty, old, formal Castilians. The patriots have not yet openly declared themselves independent, nor has any declaration of war taken place between them and the Peruvians; yet they have done what nearly amounts to the same thing; they have formed for themselves a constitution, one article of which punishes with death any person, residing in Chili, who shall entertain any intelligence with, or execute any order from any power, not resident within the state.

After the governor's party had broken up, Mr. Poinsett and don Lewis took their leave of me to proceed to St. Jago, and from thence they were to proceed with the president to Concepcion, with a view of fortifying and making the place more secure against foreign invasion.

Before my departure, I wrote a letter to commodore Bainbridge, and enclosed it to the minister at Rio Janeiro, and sent them to Mr. Poinsett, to be forwarded.

I shall now take my leave of Valparaiso, and continue my cruize.

CHAPTER V.

RUN DOWN THE COAST OF CHILI AND PERU ; ARRIVE AT THE GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS.

ON the morning of the 25th, at day-light, discovered a sail to the N.E., to which we gave chase and soon came up with. She proved to be the American whale-ship Charles, capt. Gardner, belonging to Nantucket, and had been about four months from Lima, where she had been sent for adjudication by a privateer belonging to that port, and had been liberated after paying costs. Capt. Gardner informed me, that, two days before, he had been in company with the American whale-ships Walker and Barclay, near the port of Coquimbo ; that he had been chased and fired at by a Spanish and an English ship ; and that he saw them take possession of both the Walker and Barclay. I consequently crowded all sail, in company with the Charles, for Coquimbo, with an expectation of falling in with them, and at 8 o'clock descried a sail to the northward, to which I gave chase, and at meridian we were near enough to discover her to be a ship of war, disguised as a whaler, with whale-boats on her quarters. She shortly afterwards hoisted the Spanish flag, when we showed English colours, and fired a gun to leeward, which she shortly returned, and ran down for us. The Charles, agreeably to directions I had previously given capt. Gardner, hoisted an English jack over the American ensign ; the Spaniard, when at the distance of a mile, fired a shot at us, which passed our bow. I immediately, from her appearance, and the description I had received of her, knew her to be one of the picaroons that had been for a long time harassing our commerce, and felt so exasperated at his firing a shot, that I was almost tempted to pour a broadside into him ; but reflecting that we were under British colours, and that the insult was not intended for the American flag, I contented myself with firing a few shot over him to bring him down.

Shortly afterwards, a boat was lowered down from her, and sent to the Essex; but perceiving her crew to be armed, I directed her to return immediately to the ship, with orders for her to run down under our lee, and for her commander to repair on board with his papers, and to apologize for firing a shot at us. She soon returned with the second lieutenant, who brought her commission, and stated that the captain was too unwell to leave his ship. She proved to be the Peruvian privateer *Nereyda*, of 15 guns; and the lieutenant informed me that they were cruising for American vessels, and had captured the *Barclay* and *Walker* in the port of *Coquimbo*, but that the British letter of marque *Nimrod*, captain *Perry*, had driven their people from on board the *Walker*, and taken possession of her, and that they were in search of the *Nimrod*, to endeavour to recover their prize; that seeing us, with the *Charles* in company, they had supposed us to be the vessels they were in search of, and this had been the cause of their firing the shot. He stated that the Peruvians were the allies of Great Britain; that he had always respected the British flag; and that his sole object was the capture of American vessels; that he had been out four months, and had only met the aforesaid vessels; and that the crew of the *Barclay*, and the captain and part of the crew of the *Walker*, were now detained as prisoners on board the *Nereyda*. I informed him that I wished to see the captain of the *Walker*, and one of the prisoners from the *Barclay*; and informed him, that if his captain was too unwell to come on board, it would be necessary for the first lieutenant to repair on board, and make the apology required; on which he dispatched his boat to the *Nereyda*, and, on her return, she brought captain *West*, of the *Walker*, and one of the crew of the *Barclay* as well as the first lieutenant of the *Nereyda*. On taking captain *West* into the cabin, and assuring him that he was on board an American frigate, he informed me that he, as well as the rest of the Americans on board the *Nereyda*, amounting to twenty-three, had been plundered of every thing; that the Spaniards had not assigned any other motives for the capture of the vessels, than that they were Americans; that both his ship and the *Barclay* were employed solely in the whale fishery, and not concerned in any mercantile pursuit whatever;

that both ships had a full cargo of oil, and were about returning to America, and had put into Coquimbo for refreshments ; and that the first intelligence they had received of the war was at the time of their capture.

The Nereyda was now under the muzzle of our guns, and I directed the American flag to be hoisted, and fired two shot over her, when she struck her colours. I then sent lieutenant Downes to take possession of her, with directions to send all the Spaniards on board the Essex ; and as I had reason to expect that the Nimrod and the other ships were some where in our neighbourhood, I stood in shore, with a view of looking into Tongue Bay and Coquimbo, sending lieutenant M'Knight to take charge of the Nereyda for the night ; and next morning had all her guns, ammunition, and small arms thrown overboard, as well as all her light sails. What surprized us very much was, that all the shot of this vessel, round, bar, and star shot, were made of copper ; and I have since been informed, that this metal is in such abundance, and is so cheap in Peru and Chili, as to be held in very little estimation, and there is no comparison between the value of that and iron ; for, wanting a few nails while at Valparaiso, I found they could not be procured for less than one dollar per pound ; but it seemed equally curious, that, although copper was in such abundance, and brass guns are so far preferable to iron, yet all the guns of this vessel, except one, were cast of the latter metal, differing in this respect from the customs of every other part of the world. After I had completely dismantled her, leaving her only her top-sails and courses to take her back to Callao, which is the port of Lima, I liberated all the Americans from on board of her, sent back all the Spaniards, and directed her commander to proceed to Lima with the following letter to the viceroy.

United States frigate Essex, at sea,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

March 26, 1813.

I have this day met with the ship Nereyda, mounting fifteen guns, bearing your excellency's patent, and sailing under the Spanish flag.

On examination of said ship, I found on board her, as prisoners, the officers and crews of two vessels belonging to the United States of America, employed solely in the whale-fishery of those seas, captured by her, and sent for Lima, after being plundered of boats, cordage, provisions, clothing, and various other articles ; and was informed by her officers, that they were cruizing, as the allies of Great Britain, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels they should meet with, alleging, at the same time, that they had not your excellency's authority for such proceedings.

I have, therefore, to preserve the good understanding which should ever exist between the government of the United States and the provinces of Spanish America, determined to prevent in future such vexatious and piratical conduct, and with this view have deprived the Nereyda of the means of doing the American commerce any farther injury for the present, and have sent her to Lima, in order that her commander may meet with such punishment from your excellency as his offence may deserve.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and consideration, your excellency's obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

His excellency the viceroy of Peru, Lima.

I then left the Nereyda, and looked into Tongue Bay ; but, perceiving no vessels, I stood on for Coquimbo, and at sundown arrived within five miles of some small rocks, called the Chinques, which lay off the mouth of the bay. I then caused one of the whale-boats to be manned (both of which I had taken from the Nereyda, as they belonged to the captured ships), and sent her in with lieutenant Downes and captain West to reconnoitre the harbour, lying off and on with the ship until they returned, which was not until 11 o'clock that night. I had fixed on signals, by which lieutenant Downes was to inform me whether the ships were in the port, as well as such by which the boat could find the Essex : the latter were observed from the shore, for immediately after we had made them, several alarm guns were fired from the battery, which consisted, as I was informed, of six guns,

without platform or breastwork. The boat had entered the harbour, and gone all around it, and had approached so near the shore and battery as to hear the people talking, without being discovered. Finding that the *Nimrod* was not at this place, I thought it probable that she had proceeded, with a view of intercepting the *Barclay*, on her way to Lima; and this I was the more strongly induced to believe, as the captain of that ship had stated his determination of taking the *Barclay* from the Spaniards, alleging, that, as she had not been engaged in any contraband or illicit trade, they had no right to capture her, and that the Peruvian government would certainly liberate her on her arrival at Calao, and by this means he should be cheated out of a prize. I therefore determined to lose no time in endeavouring to get on to the northward, on the coast of Peru, where I hoped to arrive in time, not only to frustrate the views of the captain of the *Nimrod*, but to recapture the *Barclay* and the *Walker*; for I considered the capture of the *Nimrod* of the greatest importance to our national interests in those seas, and while there was a chance of effecting this object, provided it did not interfere too much with my other views, I thought the pursuit of her should not be abandoned. To captains Gardener and West I intimated my intentions, advising the former to run into Coquimbo, and there demand for his vessel the protection of government. The latter I advised to proceed with all expedition to St. Jago, and lay his claim for damages before the government.

I gave the Americans whom I had liberated from the *Nereyda* choice, either to remain in the *Essex*, or be landed at Coquimbo: nine of them preferred remaining; the remainder, with captain West, were put on board the *Charles*, who made sail in for the harbour, and I steered to the N.W., with all the sail we could crowd.

Prior to leaving captains Gardner and West, I requested them to give me a list of all the whale ships, both English and American, that they could recollect, and were certain of being now in this sea. They both agreed that the Gallipagos was the most likely place to find them in, and confirmed in every particular the

account given by captain Worth. The list they gave me was follows :

American Ships on the Coast of Peru and Chili.

| Ship Fame, | Captain Coffin, |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| Lion, | Clarke, |
| John and James, | Clasby, |
| John Jay, | Coffin, |
| Criterion, | Clark, |
| Samuel, | Coleman, |
| Sterling, | Swain, |
| Henry, | Gardner, |
| William Penn, | W. Gardner, |
| President, | Folger, |
| Sukey, | Macey, |
| Perseverando, | Paddock, |
| Monticello, | Coffin, |
| Atlas, | Joy, |
| Gardner, | Ray, |
| Chili, | Gardner, |
| Lima, | Swain, |
| Renown, | Barnard, |
| George, | Worth, |
| Charles, | Gardner, |
| Barclay, | Randall, |
| Walker, | West, |
| Thomas, | Whipple, (doubtful.) |

British Ships on the Coast of Peru and Chili.

| Ship Nimrod, | Captain Perry, no figure head, |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Perseverance, | King, a figure head, |
| Seringapatam, | Stivers, a figure head, |
| Carleton, | Allero, a figure head, |
| Catharine, | Folger, a figure head, |
| Thames, | Bomon, |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ship Greenwich, | Captain ——— |
| Montezuma, | Baxter, |
| Rose, | Monroe, has a poop. |
| Sirius, | Has a figure head, is a low ship. |

These were all the vessels, the names of which they could at the moment recollect; but they assured me that the number of British whalers now on the coast of Chili and Peru did not amount to less than twenty, and were all fine ships of not less than 400 tons burthen, and that their cargoes in England would be worth \$ 200,000 each, which, agreeably to this estimate, would be upwards of four millions of British property now exposed to us; for I did not conceive that their whole force united would be a match for the Essex: but besides the capture and destruction of those vessels, I had another object in view, of no less importance, which was the protection of the American whale-ships; and if I should only succeed in driving the British from the ocean, and leaving it free for our own vessels, I conceive that I shall have rendered an essential service to my country, and that the effecting this object alone would be a sufficient compensation for the hardships and dangers we have experienced, and be considered a justification for departing from the letter of my instructions. That I can effect this, no doubts exist, provided the Standard has left Lima; and this it is necessary I should be informed of, before I make my attack on the Gallipagos, for I have knowledge of letters having been written to Lima by an active English merchant (perhaps an agent of the British government), residing at Valparaiso; they were sent by the ships which sailed four days before us; but as they had the reputation of being bad sailers, and calculating some on Spanish indolence, and much on our own activity and industry, I am in hopes of looking into Lima before they can arrive there, and shall so disguise the ship, that she cannot be known there from any description that the aforesaid letters may contain. Until information respecting the Standard can be obtained, all my proceedings must be governed by views toward that vessel, she being the only vessel of war the British have in those seas, and I can have but little apprehension of being pursued by any from the

Atlantic for some months, or at least until I have time to do them much injury ; for although information had been sent from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, giving information of my being on the coast of Brazils, and this information had reached Valparaiso two weeks before my arrival, yet they could not have had an idea of my intention of coming into this sea, as it was unknown to every person but myself, until after passing the river of Plate. The same mail that brought intelligence of my being on the coast of Brazils, also gave information of an action having been fought off Bahia between the American frigate Constitution, and the British frigate Java, of 44 guns, in which the latter was sunk ; also of the capture of her convoy ; and of some small place on the coast of Africa having been laid under contribution by the squadron under the command of commodore Rodgers. It was also stated, that the Wasp, an American sloop of war, had captured a British sloop of war, after a hard-fought action, but had afterwards been captured by a frigate ; and that the Constitution was repairing her damages in St. Salvador, where the British admiral (Dixon) had proceeded, with a determination of destroying her. This news of the operations of our little navy makes us pant for an opportunity of doing something ourselves. We have however a wide field for enterprize before us, and shall shortly enter on the scene of action ; and although, perhaps, we shall neither have an opportunity of laying towns under contribution, nor sinking frigates, still we hope to render a service to our country no less essential, to wit : the protection of our commerce, and the destruction of that of the enemy.

On the 28th, I made all sail to the northward, and on the 3d April made the high land of Nasia, on the coast of Peru. The interval between these two periods was not marked by any extraordinary occurrence ; we were employed in taking all advantages of the winds in getting to the northward, and in disguising our ship, which was done by painting her in such a manner as to conceal her real force, and exhibiting in its stead the appearance of painted guns, &c. ; also by giving her the appearance of having a poop, and otherwise so altering her, as to give her completely the appearance of a Spanish merchant vessel. The winds were

constantly fair; the weather remarkably clear, fine, and temperate; the sea smooth; and every thing favourable for making such little repairs and alterations as the ship required.

Immediately on passing the tropic, we met with flying-fish: this is the first we met with since we left the coast of Brazil.

At 6 o'clock of the 28th, we were abreast the island of Sangalan, or St. Gallan, when I hauled off to the N.W., with a view of crossing the track of vessels bound to Calao; and on the morning of the 29th, to the great joy of all on board, we discovered three sail standing in for the harbour, two to windward and one to leeward. I consequently made all sail for the port to cut them off, and, as I approached the headmost vessel, she seemed to answer the description I had received of the Barclay; and as she was nearest to the port, I determined to turn all my attention to her, and to use every effort to prevent her getting in; but as she approached the island of St. Lorenzo, which lies off the port of Calao, I began to despair of succeeding. I however directed all the light sails to be wet, in order to make them hold wind the better, and prepared my boats to send in to bring her out of the harbour, if she should succeed in getting past the island. As I approached St. Lorenzo, I discovered that she would be becalmed so soon as she doubled the point of the island, as she eventually was. We were, at the moment of her turning the point, at the distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from her, but shot in with the breeze to within 100 yards of her, then lowered the boats down, and sent on board to tow her out, which was not effected without considerable labour, in consequence of an indraught. As we were but a short distance from the shipping in the harbour, and perceiving the two Spanish vessels had not arrived from Valparaiso, I hoisted English colours on board the Essex, and directed the officer of the captured vessel (which proved to be the Barclay) to hoist English colours over the American. The vessels in port, which were numerous, now hoisted their colours, which were all Spanish except one British flag hoisted on board an armed ship, which did not answer the description of the Nimrod. The other strange vessels continued standing in; one of them had the appearance of a coasting brig, the other a fine-looking ship; and

we were induced to believe her the *Nimrod*, from the description we had received of that vessel. I therefore took a position to prevent her passing the point, when she hauled her wind to go between the island and main, where there is a passage for ships of large burthen, but shortly afterwards bore up, under a press of sail, to run by us, and on his near approach I perceived it to be one of the Spanish vessels that had sailed from Valparaiso before us. I felt satisfied that we had so altered the vessel, that they could not know us; besides, how was it possible that they could expect to find the *Essex* off Calao, when they left her at Valparaiso, beginning to take in provisions and water? On her getting into the calms under the lee of the island, I dispatched a boat to get the news from her, but recalled her on seeing the guard-boat go on board. I now sent for the captain of the *Barclay* (Randall), informed him he was at liberty to act as he thought proper with respect to his ship, and that, although his crew had entered with me, they were at liberty to return to the *Barclay*, if they were disposed to do so; but as they expressed their determination not to return to that ship, the captain informed me he was entirely at a loss what course to pursue, and asked my advice. I at the moment felt as much embarrassment as he; for he was without hands, except two or three who were down with the scurvy, having been constantly at sea for seven months without refreshments. No port on the coast of Peru could afford him a shelter, as our destruction of the armament of the *Nereyda*, in consequence of the capture of the *Barclay*, would render the condemnation of that vessel highly probable, if she should again be in the power of the Peruvians; and even if the remainder of his crew were all healthy, they would not be strong enough to take her to Valparaiso, or any other port of Chili, even if there was nothing to be apprehended from capture by British and Peruvian vessels. I however concluded to give him all the protection in my power, and advised him to remain by me, offering to put on board hands enough to work his vessel, and promised not to leave him until I had put him in a place of safety. With this promise he appeared much pleased, and offered his services to me in any way he could prove useful, giving me assurances that

he could take me where the British whale-vessels most frequented, advising me, by all means, to proceed to the islands of Gallapagos, keeping at the distance of from 30 to 50 leagues from the land, and on my way looking into Payta. He confirmed, in every respect, the information respecting the British whalers that I had formerly received, and assured me that there were many other vessels of that description, and others engaged in contraband trade, now on the coast, but had no doubt we could find as many as we could conveniently man among the islands, as well as the American vessels they might have captured. After putting on board the Barclay midshipman Cowan and eight men, and fixing on Payta and the Gallapagos as the places of rendezvous, in case of separation, also furnishing him with suitable signals, and giving him instructions to steer such courses as would enable us to spread over as much ground as possible in our track, I shaped my course to the W.N.W., to run between the rocks of Pelado and the Ilormigas, which lie about 30 miles from Calao.

The town of Calao is the sea-port of Lima, from which the latter is distant about three leagues. Calao is an open roadstead ; but as the wind here always blows from the southward, and never with violence, and as it is well sheltered from this quarter by the projecting capes, and by the island of Lorenzo, it is considered in this sea as one of the safest harbours for vessels. In this place all the trade of Peru centres ; it is apparently well fortified by batteries on shore, and is said to be well protected, in addition to those, by a formidable flotilla of gun-boats ; and the calms which appear to prevail in the bay seem to render this mode of defence very proper ; and if this is the case, it must be very dangerous for hostile vessels to venture beyond the island of St. Lorenzo. Off the point of St. Lorenzo is a very suitable station for a vessel blockading Calao, as she can there, in consequence of the calms, prevent every vessel from going in, as she can run in and have the breeze at the distance of half gun-shot of them, after they have doubled the point, and while they are perfectly becalmed ; and while they are, in this situation, exposed to her guns, the boats can take possession and tow them out.

While we lay to here, I observed the sea filled with small red specks, and supposed at first that some hog had been killed on board, and that part of the blood was floating along side ; but on a close examination I perceived them to have at times a very quick motion, and on directing some of them to be caught in a bucket, discovered them to be young craw-fish, of different sizes, but generally from one inch in length to one tenth that size. The ocean appeared filled with them ; and from the immense number of birds that kept about this spot, I am induced to believe, that no small numbers of them were daily devoured by them. They did not appear to be governed by any general laws, each one pursuing his own course, and shifting for himself ; no two appearing in the same direction ; and it is probable that, as soon as they left the egg, each one began to seek his own subsistence. Two of them were put into a bottle of sea-water, and on some crumbs of bread being thrown in, they seized and devoured them very ravenously.

About this time I concluded to change the water in which the fish had been put, that was pumped out of the cask off Cape Horn. To this period it had been very lively ; but perceiving the water to have a yellow tinge, and feeling apprehensive that it might undergo fermentation, from the food which had at different times been thrown in, I supposed that pure water would be better than that in which he had been so long confined, but supposed it best to produce a gradual change ; with this view I put into the bottle about one gill of the water we had taken on board at Valparaiso. The water in the bottle gradually assumed a milky appearance, and next morning I found the fish dead and floating on the surface. This confirmed suspicions we had before entertained, of the bad qualities of this water. Doctor Miller, who was in a very low state of health, and had been since he joined the Essex, complained of its producing costiveness. I also, and many others, experienced the same effect ; it has a disagreeable brackish taste, and with great difficulty it can be made to mix with soap.

On the evening of the 4th, James Spafford, the gunner's mate who had been so unfortunately wounded by accident at Mocha, departed this life, regretted by every officer and man in the ship.

He had distinguished himself by his moral and correct conduct since he had been under my command, and I had intended promoting him to a better situation, so soon as circumstances should admit.

I conceived it necessary to hold an inquest over his body, as well to satisfy the crew, and to remove every erroneous impression on the subject, as to relieve the officer himself, who had been the unfortunate cause of the death of this poor fellow. I consequently issued the following order :

United States frigate *Essex*, at sea,
April 5, 1813.

An inquest is hereby directed to be held on the body of James Spafford, in order to ascertain by what manner he came by his death ; and to this object lieutenant Downes, lieutenant Wilmer, lieutenant Wilson, and lieutenant Gamble, will obtain all possible information on the subject, and, assisted by Mr. Shaw, will draw up a statement of facts, in order that I may be enabled to judge whether further proceedings should be had in the case of the officer who is supposed to be the unfortunate cause.

They are authorized to summon such of the officers and crew as may be necessary for their purpose ; and they are directed to give all the solemnity to the inquiry that circumstances will admit of.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

After the officers composing the inquest had obtained every satisfactory information on the subject, they drew up and sent me a report, from which the following is an extract :

“ Having examined the witnesses as above, we beg leave to express our full belief, that the death of James Spafford was caused by an *accidental* shot, fired by ; and are of opinion, that further proceedings in the case of the unfortunate officer are entirely unnecessary.

(Signed)

JOHN DOWNES,
JAMES P. WILMER,
JAMES WILSON,
JOHN GAMBLE.”

United States frigate Essex, at sea,

April 5, 1813.

After this the body of Spafford was committed to the deep, according to the funeral ceremonies of the church.

We, as I before observed, steered to the W.N.W., and at 2 P. M., on the 6th, the man at the mast-head cried out a sail ; but on standing toward it, in a short time discovered it to be the Rock of Pelado, bearing N.E. by N. We soon gave up the chase, and stood on our course, as I was anxious to get an offing to fall in with the track of whalers, as, from the best information I could collect on this subject, on this part of the coast they keep at the distance of from 30 to 50 leagues.

At half-past 3, a sail was discovered from the mast-head, bearing W.N.W., and we immediately made all sail in chase of her, the Barclay making every exertion to keep up with us ; but by sundown we had run her out of sight astern. At 7 o'clock, we brought the chase to. She proved to be a Spanish brig from Calao, bound to Concepcion, but had taken in a load of salt at Oucho, a place a short distance to the north of Calao. The captain and supercargo of this vessel both came on board, and, supposing the Essex to be an English vessel, were disposed to give us every information in their power ; and, what was of the utmost importance to us, they informed me that an English frigate had been for some time expected at Calao, from Cadiz, for the purpose of taking in money, and that the money which was to compose her cargo was nearly all collected. He also informed me, that an English armed ship had put in there in distress a few days since, having sprung a leak ; that two English whale-ships had, within a few days, sailed from thence ; that they had been sent in for adjudication by the corsairs of Peru, and on examination had been liberated. On enquiry respecting the disposition of the government of Peru towards those of the United States and Great Britain, they informed me, that the latter was held in high repute, and its vessels treated with great civility, in consequence of being the allies of Spain ; but that the former were held in very little estimation ; and that, although war had not actually taken place between Spain and the United States, it was momentarily expected, and every preparation was made in Peru to meet it ; that the Americans were notorious violators of their

revenue laws (*grandes contrabundistas*), and neither received nor expected much civility; however, it was the policy of the government of Peru to hold out ideas and the appearance of a strict neutrality, and therefore British vessels were not allowed to dispose of their prizes at Calao. The supercargo of this vessel appeared to be a man of considerable intelligence; and when I enquired where was the most suitable place to proceed to give protection to British vessels, and annoy those of the United States, he advised me to go to leeward, observing, that the Gallapagos islands were much frequented by the British whale-ships, and between that and the latitude of the Lobos islands, I should most likely find many Americans, as the sea thereabouts was full of them. The Barclay was now a great distance astern; but as we ran to the northward under easy sail, after leaving the Spaniard, and made flashes at intervals, she was enabled to join us by midnight.

At day-light in the morning, we stretched away to the westward, leaving the Barclay to steer to the northward, and spread to such a distance as just to see her signals, and closed again at night. This course we pursued until our arrival off Cape Ajugia, where we arrived on the morning of the 10th, and in the course of our run saw but two vessels, only one of which we spoke, knowing them to be Spaniards. She was a small brig from Guyaquil, bound to the southward, and could give us no information whatever. In our run we passed near the islands of Lobos de la Mare, and Lobos de la Terre; they are two small islands, situated some distance from the continent, and at the distance of 5 leagues from each other, bearing N.N.W. and S.S.E.; they appear to be perfectly destitute of vegetation, and serve as a residence to an immense number of birds, with which the hills were covered; and there can be no doubt that an abundance of seals may be caught on them, as in passing we were surrounded with them, one of which we struck with the harpoon. The sea was here also covered with pelicans, and various other aquatic birds, feeding on the schools of small fish, which were to be seen in great numbers, constantly pursued by seals, boneters, and porpoises; and such as attempted to escape their ravenous jaws

by jumping out of the water, were immediately snapped up by the innumerable swarms of birds that were hovering over them.

On our arrival off Ajugia, we had another opportunity of witnessing a similar scene, and as the water was perfectly smooth and the winds light, we were enabled to examine it more minutely. We discovered the sea boiling violently in many places, and wherever this was the case, vast numbers of seals, large fish, and birds, were apparently in pursuit of small fish. On approaching one of those places, the water had so much the appearance of having been put into action by violent currents, opposed by sunken rocks, that I felt some uneasiness, and directed the helm to be put a-weather to avoid it; however, the next one had the same appearance, and was equally attended by fish; I therefore steered close to it, and saw that in the centre of the agitated spot (which bore the appearance of water boiling in a pot), were myriads of small fish, which were collected together, and appeared as though it were impossible for them to escape from this violent whirlpool, which was so powerful as to affect considerably the steerage of the ship. Whether this boiling of the water was occasioned by the vast numbers of seals and large fish which kept constantly darting in among the small fry, which were drawn as it were to a focus, I will not pretend to say; it is possible, however, that whales, or some fish perhaps as large as whales, which did not show themselves above the surface, might also have been concerned in the pursuit, and occasioned the agitation that so much surprized us; for I cannot think it possible that the seals and bonetas, numerous as they were, could have produced so violent a commotion.

A breeze springing up, we stood away for Payta, with a view of looking into that port, and at sundown were in sight of the island of Lobos, which lies a short distance to the southward, where we hove to for the Barclay to come up, as we had nearly run her out of sight; and, after speaking her, stretched off under easy sail, and at 2 o'clock in the morning made sail in shore. The weather at sunrise was hazy, and prevented us for some time from seeing the saddle of Payta, which is a remarkable irregular mountain to the south of Payta, and when once seen can-

not be mistaken, the highest part making something like a saddle, and running away to a low point to the northward, which is the point forming the harbour of Payta. As we stood in shore, we discovered two small sail coming out from Payta, and as we approached them were at a loss to know what to make of them; but at last discovered them to be two rafts or catamarans, steering by the wind, having each six men to work them. I had at first believed them to be fishing rafts from Payta, but was surprised they should have ventured so great a distance from the land, as we were, when we spoke them, about 7 leagues off shore, and was induced, from their strange appearance, to visit them. On going along side, I learnt, to my astonishment, that they were from Guyaquil, with cargoes of cocoa, bound to Guacho, a port to leeward of Lima, and had already been out 30 days. They were destitute of water, and had no other provisions on board than a few rotten plantains. We however perceived a number of fish bones and pieces of fish scattered about the rafts, which induced us to believe that they were enabled to catch an abundance of fish, which no doubt follow them to get the small barnacles and grass with which the logs were plentifully supplied. Nothing can exceed the miserable construction of these floats: eight logs, of from 25 to 30 feet in length, with the bark scarcely taken off, and three pieces lashed across with a kind of grass rope, form the floor; each side is formed of two logs, laid on one another, and the deck is composed of rough logs, laid crosswise, and projecting from 4 to 6 feet beyond the sides, and all lashed (though very insecurely) together; forward and aft are some pieces of board, from 3 to 4 feet in length, stuck down between the logs forming the floor, and serve as a substitute for a keel; a mast stepped in between the logs of the floor, and, instead of partners, secured by a lashing from side to side, and having the additional security of a stay and a shroud, which is shifted always to the weather side, and to this is hoisted a large lug-sail made of cotton. Their ground tackling consists of some bark, twisted in the form of a rope, which serves as a cable, and a large stone, with a stick lashed to it, of about 18 inches long, for a stock, serves as an anchor; she is steered by a paddle, carries her cargo on the logs

forming the deck, and has, as a substitute for a caboose, a small quantity of dirt thrown on the logs that project beyond the sides forward. The crews appear equally as miserable in their appearance as the machine they navigate on, and it excited no little surprize in our minds when we were informed, that the navigation from Guyaquil to Lima, a distance of about 600 miles, against a constant head wind, and frequently rapid current, should be very common with those rafts. This passage takes them two months; and there can be no stronger proof of the mildness of this ocean, so justly, in this part, deserving the name of the Pacific, than the fact that the loss of those vessels, frail as they are, is very uncommon; nor can there be a more convincing instance of the unenlightened state of the people of this part of the world, than that they should continue the use of such barbarous vessels, when the fastest sailing vessels are so necessary, and where materials for building them are so abundant, and where the state of the climate will admit of vessels of such construction as best suits their purpose, without any apprehensions of danger from the violence of the sea: but so far are they behind hand in civilization and intelligence with the rest of the world, that the appearance of all the vessels built on the Spanish coast of the Pacific (except the few built at Guyaquil) bespeaks the extreme ignorance of the constructor as well as the navigator. There are established at Guyaquil some European constructors, who have built large vessels, that have been justly admired in Europe and other parts of the world: but nothing, except the catamarans, can be more clumsy in their appearance, and apparently more unsuitable to the navigation of this ocean, than the miserable vessels employed in the coasting trade of Peru.

The two catamarans above mentioned had looked into the harbour of Payta, and were consequently enabled to give me all the intelligence I required. They informed me there were no vessels lying there, except two or three small coasting vessels; and as there was now no necessity for shewing ourselves before that place, I shaped my course for the Gallapagos Islands, directing the Barclay to steer W.N.W. by compass, in order that we might fall in with the latitude to the eastward of them, intimating to her com-

mander, that I should, from time to time, so vary from this course, as to look over as much ground in our way as possible; and this method we put in practice until we made Chatham Island, which was on the morning of the 17th. During our run we had no opportunity of correcting our dead reckoning by lunar observations, nor have we had a chance of ascertaining the rate of the chronometer since leaving St. Catharines. We were enabled to discover by our latitude, that we had a current of 15 miles per 24 hours, setting to the northward; and from the violent ripples we frequently met with, we were induced to believe, that its rate was much greater, and concluded it set also westerly; and, on our making the land, found we had, since taking our departure from Payta, been set two degrees a-head of our reckoning. We employed ourselves, during our passage, in getting our magazine in good order for service, as we had been led to expect some resistance from the heavy armed letters of marque that we expected to meet among the Gallapagos, employed in the whale fishery; and as we had understood that calms were very prevalent there, we prepared our boats in the best manner for attacking them, selecting crews for them in addition to their oarsmen; and laid down plans of attack, established signals for them; and the whole, amounting to 7 boats, carrying 70 men, were placed under the command of lieut. Downes.

I discovered that we should meet with great delays from the prevalence of calms; and as I could form no plans for future operations until my arrival at the general rendezvous of the whalers, I considered it advisable to put the crew on two quarts of water per day. This reduction was now severely felt, as the weather was extremely hot; but all seemed reconciled to bear every privation without a murmur. The health of the crew had improved in a remarkable manner since leaving Valparaiso, and at this time we had but two men on the sick list, one affected by chronic debility, the other by a pain in the muscles of the neck, but neither disabled from coming to their quarters. Doctor Miller, the surgeon of the ship, a very infirm man, who was in a deep consumption when he joined the ship, and whose health had not improved on board her, requested permission to go with his

servant on board the Barclay, and there remain, as he believed that a change of water, pure air, and greater tranquillity would render his situation more tolerable; and as the extreme debility of the gentleman prevented him entirely from doing his duty on board, and as he was constantly complaining of his sufferings from the confined air of this ship, I was happy he had fallen on an expedient to render his existence more supportable, and took the first opportunity of sending him on board the Barclay, where he soon found himself more comfortably situated than among the noise and confusion of a man of war, for which his low state of health entirely unsuited him.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS ; PRIZES.

ON our first making Chatham Island, which bore, on the morning of the 17th, N.W. by N., distant about 35 miles, I supposed it to be Hood's Island, a common stopping-place for whalers ; and as this was one of the islands I was desirous of examining for them, I hauled in for it, making a signal for the Barclay to do the same ; but shortly afterwards discovered Hood's Island bearing west, and bore away for it. At 7 o'clock in the evening, we were abreast the anchorage place on the N.W. part of the island, which is a good shelter from the prevalent winds ; and a small island which lies off forms a secure bay, where vessels lie at anchor in 12 fathoms water, clear white sandy bottom. Here wood is to be obtained, and land tortoises in great numbers, which are highly esteemed for their excellence, and are remarkable for their size, weighing from 3 to 400 weight each. Vessels on whaling voyages among these islands generally take on board from 2 to 300 of these animals, and stow them in the hold, where, strange as it may appear, they have been known to live for a year, without food or water, and, when killed at the expiration of that time, found greatly improved in fatness and flavour. Into this bay I sent lieut. Downes with a whale-boat (I had purchased from capt. Randall) properly armed, to reconnoitre, and directed him to make a signal on discovering vessels, in order that we might send in our other boats ; but at 10 o'clock he returned, after having sounded the bay without seeing any. We had entertained strong hopes of meeting enemies' vessels here, but bore the disappointment better than might be expected, considering the length of time that has elapsed since we have seen one of that description. We now hauled off toward Chatham Island, and lay to for the night, as I did not think it prudent to run for Charles' Island, the next place I intended to visit, until I could

have day-light, as a reef is said to exist about two leagues to the W.N.W. of Hood's Island, and one is known to lie about nine leagues to the west of it, both said to be very dangerous; and, what is calculated to render them the more so, is the violent and irregular currents, that baffle all attempts at calculation in this part of the world. In the morning I stood to the westward, with a pleasant breeze from the east, which run us, by 2 P. M., as far as the harbour of Charles' Island. On arriving opposite to it, we could perceive no vessels; but understanding that vessels which stopped there for refreshments, such as turtle and land tortoise, and for wood, were in the practice of depositing letters in a box placed for the purpose near the landing-place (which is a small beach sheltered by rocks, about the middle of the bay), I dispatched lieut. Downes to ascertain if any vessels had been lately there, and to bring off such letters as might be of use to us, if he should find any. He returned in about three hours, with several papers, taken from a box which he found nailed to a post, over which was a black sign, on which was painted *Hathaway's Post-office*. There were none of them of a late date, but they were satisfactory, inasmuch as they confirmed the information we had already received, both as respected the practice of vessels touching there, and cruising among the other islands for whales. From those papers I obtained information, that, in June last, the following British whale-ships had put in there, on their way to the island of Albemarle, where they generally cruize for a year at a time, and some for even a longer period, to wit:

Ship Governor Dodswell, Captain B. Gardner, with 170 tons sperm oil.

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| Charlton, | Haleran, 120 bbls. |
| Nimrod, | Parray, 250 bbls. |
| Hector, | Richards, 220 bbls. |
| Atlantic, | Wyer, 1000 bbls. |
| Cyrus, | West, 600 bbls. |

There were letters also from their commanders, giving information that the American ships *Perseveranda*, *Paddock*, and the *Sukey*, *Mary*, the first with 200, the latter with 150 bbls. of sperm oil, had touched there. Considering captain Macy's letter as

a rare specimen of literature, I hope I shall be pardoned for giving an exact copy of it.

June 14th 1812.

Ship Sukey John Macy $7\frac{1}{2}$ Months out 150 Barrels 75 days from Lima No oil Since Leaving that Port. Spanyards Very Savage Lost on the Braziel Bank John Sealin Apprentice to Capt Benjamin Worth Fell from the fore top sail Yard In A Gale of Wind. Left Diana Capt paddock 14 day Since 250 Barrels I Leave this port this Day With 250 Turpen 8 Boat Load Wood Yesterday Went Up to Patts Landing East Side. to the Starboard hand of the Landing $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles Saw 100 Turpen 20 Rods A part Road Very Bad

Yours Forevir

JOHN MACY

Charles' Island affords the same inducements for vessels to touch at as Hood's Island, but the harbour is not so good. It is formed on the N.W. part by a projecting point, off which lies a remarkable high, black, ragged rock, which, from its appearance, I have been induced to call *Rock Dismal*. Shipping lie in twelve fathoms, beyond the small reef which shelters the landing; the bottom is sandy, but vessels have had their cabies cut by scattering rocks. The landing here is very good; and, at the time lieutenant Downes was on shore, a torrent of very fine water, many feet deep, discharged itself near the beach; but as it was raining constantly while he was on shore, and the mountains were completely capt with the clouds, added to which, as the banks of the deep ravine, worn away by the stream, clearly shewed that the torrent had subsided ten feet within a very short period, it was evident to us, that this stream owed its existence to temporary rains alone; and this opinion was not only confirmed by those on board the Essex who had been there before, but by some person who had bountifully left on the island, near the post-office, several articles for such persons as might be left there in distress, and, besides a suit of clothes, tinder-box, and a barrel of bread, was left a cask of water. It is known that in the centre of the island

is a small spring of water: this a stranger might not be acquainted with, or, if he had a knowledge of it, might not have strength to reach it; but if the stream in question existed constantly, where would be the necessity of leaving this cask of water along side of it?

This island is mountainous (as are the whole group), and is covered with trees from 15 to 20 feet in length, scattered with considerable regularity, as to distance and appearance, on the sides of the hills, which all have evident marks of volcanic origin; but what seems remarkable is, that every tree on the island, at least all that could be approached by the boat's crew on shore, and such as we could perceive by means of our perspectives, were dead and withered. This must have been occasioned by the prevalence of an excessive drought, which entirely deprived them of the necessary moisture; and as this island is not of so great an elevation as many others, which has probably been the cause of its suffering more than the larger and higher ones, though they all seem more or less affected from the same cause; and as all the trees on the islands I have yet seen, appear much of the same size, not excepting those in the most flourishing state, it seems not improbable, that the drought has not only been recent, but that it has affected the whole at the same time; and as the whole group is destitute of trees of a large size, it seems reasonable to believe, that their vegetation may be checked at different periods by very dry seasons, and to this cause may be owing their being deprived of streams of waters; for although it seldom rains on shore, and never at sea here, yet the tops of the mountains are almost constantly covered with thick clouds, great part of the moisture from which, instead of being soaked up by the light and spongy soil of the mountains, would find its way in running streams to the sea, were the islands sufficiently furnished with trees to condense more constantly the atmosphere, and interlace their roots to prevent its escape into the bowels of the mountains.

These islands are all evidently of volcanic production; every mountain and hill is the crater of an extinguished volcano; and thousands of smaller fissures, which have burst from their sides, give them the most dreary, desolate, and inhospitable appearance

imaginable. The description of one island will answer for all I have yet seen ; they appear unsuited for the residence of man, or any other animal that cannot, like the tortoises, live without food, or cannot draw its subsistence entirely from the sea.

Lieutenant Downes saw on the rocks with which the bay was in many parts skirted, several seals and pelicans, some of which he killed ; but, on searching diligently the shore, was unable to find any land-tortoises, though they no doubt abound in other parts of the island. Doves were seen in great numbers, and were so easily approached, that several of them were knocked over with stones. While our boat was on shore, captain Randall sent his boat to a small beach in the same bay, about a mile from where our boat landed, and in a short time she returned loaded with fine green turtle, two of which he sent us, and we found them excellent. It may be seen by captain Macy's letter, that on the east-side of the island there is another landing, which he calls Pat's landing ; and this place will probably immortalize an Irishman, named Patrick Watkins, who some years since left an English ship, and took up his abode on this island, built himself a miserable hut, about a mile from the landing called after him, in a valley containing about two acres of ground capable of cultivation, and perhaps the only spot on the island which affords sufficient moisture for the purpose. Here he succeeded in raising potatoes and pumpkins in considerable quantities, which he generally exchanged for rum, or sold for cash. The appearance of this man, from the accounts I have received of him, was the most dreadful that can be imagined ; ragged clothes, scarce sufficient to cover his nakedness, and covered with vermin ; his red hair and beard matted, his skin much burnt, from constant exposure to the sun, and so wild and savage in his manner and appearance, that he struck every one with horror. For several years this wretched being lived by himself on this desolate spot, without any apparent desire than that of procuring rum in sufficient quantities to keep himself intoxicated, and at such times, after an absence from his hut of several days, he would be found in a state of perfect insensibility, rolling among the rocks of the mountains. He appeared to be reduced to the lowest grade to which human

nature is capable, and seemed to have no desire beyond the tortoises and other animals of the island, except that of getting drunk. But this man, wretched and miserable as he may have appeared, was neither destitute of ambition nor incapable of undertaking an enterprize that would have appalled the heart of any other man ; nor was he devoid of the talent of rousing others to second his hardihood.

He by some means became possessed of an old musket, and a few charges of powder and ball ; and the possession of this weapon first set into action all his ambitious plans. He felt himself strong as the sovereign of the island, and was desirous of proving his strength on the first human being who fell in his way, which happened to be a negro, who was left in charge of a boat belonging to an American ship that had touched there for refreshments. Patrick came down to the beach where the boat lay, armed with his musket, now become his constant companion, and directed the negro, in an authoritative manner, to follow him, and on his refusal snapped his musket at him twice, which luckily missed fire. The negro, however, became intimidated, and followed him. Patrick now shouldered his musket, marched off before, and on his way up the mountains exultingly informed the negro he was henceforth to work for him, and become his slave, and that his good or bad treatment would depend on his future conduct ; but arriving at a narrow defile, and perceiving Patrick off his guard, the negro seized the moment, grasped him in his arms, threw him down, tied his hands behind, shouldered him, and carried him to his boat, and when the crew had arrived he was taken on board the ship. An English smuggler was lying in the harbour at the same time, the captain of which sentenced Patrick to be severely whipped on board both vessels, which was put in execution, and he was afterwards taken on shore handcuffed by the Englishmen, who compelled him to make known where he had concealed the few dollars he had been enabled to accumulate from the sale of his potatoes and pumpkins, which they took from him ; and while they were busy in destroying his hut and garden, the wretched being made his escape, and concealed himself among the rocks in the interior of the island, until the ship

had sailed, when he ventured from his sculking-place, and by means of an old file, which he drove into a tree, freed himself from the handcuffs. He now meditated a severe revenge, but concealed his intentions. Vessels continued to touch there, and Patrick, as usual, to furnish them with vegetables; but from time to time he was enabled, by administering potent draughts of his darling liquor to some of the men of their crews, and getting them so drunk that they were rendered insensible, to conceal them until the ship had sailed; when, finding themselves entirely dependent on him, they willingly enlisted under his banners, became his slaves, and he the most absolute of tyrants. By this means he had augmented the number to five, including himself, and every means was used by him to endeavour to procure arms for them, but without effect. It is supposed that his object was to have surprised some vessel, massacred her crew, and taken her off. While Patrick was meditating his plans, two ships, an American and an English vessel, touched there, and applied to Patrick for vegetables. He promised them the greatest abundance, provided they would send their boats to his landing, and their people to bring them from his garden, informing them that his rascals had become so indolent of late, that he could not get them to work. This arrangement was agreed to; two boats were sent from each vessel, and hauled on the beach. Their crews all went to Patrick's habitation, but neither he nor any of his people were to be found; and, after waiting until their patience was exhausted, they returned to the beach, where they found only the wreck of three of their boats, which were broken to pieces, and the fourth one missing. They succeeded, however, after much difficulty, in getting around to the bay opposite to their ships, where other boats were sent to their relief; and the commanders of the ships, apprehensive of some other trick, saw no security except in a flight from the island, leaving Patrick and his gang in quiet possession of the boat; but before they sailed they put a letter in a keg, giving intelligence of the affair, and moored it in the bay, where it was found by captain Randall, but not until he had sent his boat to Patrick's landing, for the purpose of procuring refreshments; and, as may be easily supposed, he felt no

little inquietude until her return, when she brought him a letter from Patrick to the following purport, which was found in his hut.

SIR,

I have made repeated applications to captains of vessels to sell me a boat, or to take me from this place, but in every instance met with a refusal. An opportunity presented itself to possess myself of one, and I took advantage of it. I have been a long time endeavouring, by hard labour and suffering, to accumulate wherewith to make myself comfortable, but at different times have been robbed and maltreated, and in a late instance by captain Paddock, whose conduct in punishing me, and robbing me of about 500 dollars, in cash and other articles, neither agrees with the principles he professes nor is it such as his sleek coat would lead one to expect*.

On the 29th May, 1809, I sail from the enchanted island in the Black Prince, bound to the Marquesas.

Do not kill the old hen ; she is now sitting, and will soon have chickens.

(Signed) FATHERLESS OBERLUS.

Patrick arrived alone at Guyaquil in his open boat, the rest who sailed with him having perished for want of water, or, as is generally supposed, were put to death by him, on his finding the water to grow scarce. From thence he proceeded to Payta, where he wound himself into the affection of a tawny damsel, and prevailed on her to consent to accompany him back to his enchanted island, the beauties of which he no doubt painted in glowing colours ; but, from his savage appearance, he was there considered by the police as a suspicious person, and being found under the keel of a small vessel then ready to be launched, and suspected of some improper intentions, he was confined in Payta gaol, where he now remains ; and probably owing to this circumstance Charles' island, as well as the rest of the Gallapagos, may remain unpopulated for many ages to come. This reflection

*. Captain Paddock was of the society of friends, commonly called quakers.

may naturally lead us to a consideration of the question concerning the population of the other islands scattered about the Pacific ocean, respecting which so many conjectures have been hazarded. I shall only hazard one, which is briefly this: that former ages may have produced men equally as bold and as daring as Pat, and women as willing as his tender one to accompany them in their adventurous voyages. And when we consider the issue which might be produced from an union between a red-haired wild Irishman, and a copper-coloured mixt-blooded squaw, we need not be any longer surprized at the different varieties in human nature.

If Patrick should be liberated from durance, and should arrive with his love at this enchanting spot, perhaps (when neither Pat nor the Gallapagos are any longer remembered) some future navigator may surprize the world by a discovery of them, and his accounts of the strange people with which they may probably be inhabited; and from the source from which they shall have sprung, it does not seem unlikely that they will have one trait in their character, which is common to the natives of all the islands in the Pacific, a disposition to appropriate to themselves the property of others; and from this circumstance future speculators may confound their origin with that of all the rest.

We were little prepared to meet our second disappointment, in not finding vessels at Charles' island, but consoled ourselves with the reflection, that we should now soon arrive at Albemarle, and that in Banks' Bay, the general rendezvous, we should find an ample reward for all our loss of time, sufferings, and disappointments; and as we had a fine breeze from the east, I made all sail, steering west from Charles' island, to make the south head of the island of Albemarle, which was distant from us about 45 miles, and in the morning found ourselves nearly up with it. When we had arrived within eight or nine miles of a point, which I have named Point Essex, projecting to the S.W., and lying between Point Christopher and Cape Rose, the wind died away, and I took my boat and proceeded for the aforesaid point, where I arrived in about two hours after leaving the ship, and found in a small bay, behind some rocks which terminate the

point, very good landing, where we went on shore, and, to our great surprize, and no little alarm, on entering the bushes, found myriads of guanas, of an enormous size and the most hideous appearance imaginable; the rocks forming the cove were also covered with them, and, from their taking to the water very readily, we were induced to believe them a distinct species from those found among the keys of the West Indies. In some spots a half acre of ground would be so completely covered with them, as to appear as though it was impossible for another to get in the space; they would all keep their eyes fixed constantly on us, and we at first supposed them prepared to attack us. We soon however discovered them to be the most timid of animals, and in a few moments knocked down hundreds of them with our clubs, some of which we brought on board, and found to be excellent eating, and many preferred them greatly to the turtle.

We found on the beach a few seals, and one fine large green turtle; but as the boat was small, and the distance to row very great, I concluded on leaving it, as I did not wish to incumber her with its weight. Several of the seals were killed by our men, and proved of that kind which do not produce the fur. Nothing can be more sluggish or more inactive than this animal while on the sand; it appears incapable of making any exertions whatever to escape those in pursuit of it, and quietly waits the blow which terminates its existence. A small blow on the nose will kill them in an instant, but when they are in the water, or even on the rocks, nothing can exceed their activity: they seem then to be a different animal altogether; shy, cunning, and very alert in pursuit of their prey, and in avoiding pursuit, they are then very difficult to take. We also found a number of birds called shags, which did not appear alarmed in the slightest degree at our approach, and numbers of them were knocked down by our people with clubs, and taken on board; these, with the exception of some other aquatic birds, and some large lizards with red heads, and a species of crab, were the only animals we found on this spot. After trying in vain to catch some fish, we left the cove, and proceeded along the shore to the northward, with the expectation of finding another landing-place, but were much disappointed; for,

after rowing as far as Point Christopher, a distance of 15 miles, we found the shore every where bound with craggy rocks, against which the sea broke with inconceivable violence. The rocks were every where covered with seals, penguins, guanacs, and pelicans, and the sea filled with green turtle, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had we been enabled to have taken them into our boat; for we sometimes rowed right against them, without their making an exertion to get out of our way. Multitudes of enormous sharks were swimming about us, and from time to time caused us no little uneasiness, from the ferocious manner in which they came at the boat and snapped at our oars; for she was of the lightest construction, with remarkably thin plank, and a gripe from one of those would have torn them from her timbers; but we guarded as much as lay in our power against the evil, by thrusting boarding pikes into them as they came up to us.

As we proceeded along shore, and when we had arrived at a black gravelly beach, within about five miles of Point Christopher, we saw the shore covered with the wreck of some vessel, which, from the number of pieces, apparently staves, among them, I am induced to believe was that of a whaler; but as the surf beat so high, that we could not land without risking the safety of the boat, we were unable to determine whether her construction was American or British. From the appearance of the wreck, I should suppose she had not been lost more than two or three years; we could not, however, form any correct opinion on the subject, as the whole wreck consisted of a multitude of fragments, no part of the body of the vessel standing. She appears to have gone entirely to pieces, and some of her copper, &c. has been thrown a great distance among the rocks, by the violence of the sea.

The water is very bold all along this coast, and the largest ship may sail within a stone's throw of it, without the least risk of touching the bottom; but yet it is not safe to approach too near the shore, as calms are very frequent here, the currents violent and irregular, and a heavy swell constantly heaving on shore; and it would be almost impossible to bring a vessel up by her anchors, before she would strike against the sides of the rocks

which skirt the shore, on account of the extreme depth of the water.

Where we landed, the shore was moderately low, the soil apparently rich and moist, and the vegetation luxuriant, many of the trees being 30 feet in height, the underwood very thick, and pushing forth vigorously, and the grass as high as a man's middle. The rain appeared to be falling in torrents on the high lands, but we could see nothing that indicated the neighbourhood of a stream of water. From the landing to Point Christopher, the shores are bounded by precipices of several hundred feet in height, which are as regularly formed of strata of stones and earth, as if they had been laid by the most expert mason. The strata of stones and earth are each about two feet in thickness, and from the base to the summit of the precipice are laid with surprising regularity, in lines perfectly straight and parallel.

Perceiving a breeze springing up, I hastened on board (for I had objects in view of more importance than examining the rocky coast of this dreary place, or catching guanias and seals), where, on my arrival, I caused all sail to be made, and shaped my course for Narborough Island, which now began to shew itself open with Point Christopher, and in its appearance bears some resemblance to a turtle's back. I was in hopes that the breeze would carry us clear of the northern point of that island before day-light, in order that we might have the whole of the next day for securing our prizes in Banks' Bay, which lies between Narborough and the south head of Albemarle, Cape Berkeley ; for the island of Albemarle is formed something like a crescent, the convex side lying to the west ; and Narborough Island, which is nearly round, lies in the bend, forming Banks' Bay on the north and Elizabeth Bay on the south, leaving a safe passage inside from one bay to the other. To Banks' Bay the fishermen resort every year, between March and July, to take the whale, which come in there in great numbers at that season, in pursuit of the squid or cuttle fish, which are brought into the eddy formed there by the rapid currents which prevail. In this bay vessels are enabled to keep their stations, notwithstanding the currents and calms which prevail, and frequently lie for months be-

tween what is called the Turtle's Nose of Narborough and the North Head, without once being swept out ; but should it so happen that they are drifted out beyond the projecting points, and fall into the northern currents, they are sometimes a month, and even more, before they can recover their stations ; and it sometimes happens that the whole fleet, which generally consists of 15 or 20 sail, are driven as far north as the latitude of 2° , and are unable to return until the current changes. A knowledge of this now caused great uneasiness in my mind. I had formed the most sanguine expectations of meeting with great success here, and every thing seemed to justify them, but still I could not resist those anxious feelings, which cannot be repelled at such moments. We had all along calculated on reaping a rich harvest from the enemy at the Gallapagos Islands ; it was the constant subject of our conversation and solicitude, and every scheme was adopted that could prove likely to secure to us every vessel in the bay, and we did not calculate on a number less than 10 or 12 ; indeed we calculated on making more prizes there than we could man, and hoped to be thus indemnified for all loss of time, fatigues, and anxieties. For my own part, I felt the utmost desire to know the result of our visit to the Gallapagos, and at the same time a dread of a disappointment, which, although possible, I did not believe probable ; however, the anxiety to know as soon as possible our success or disappointment, induced me to dispatch lieut. Downes to take a look around the point of Narborough, and reconnoitre the bay ; for the ships had been swept by the current, during the night, into Elizabeth Bay ; and, as the wind was very light, we made very little head way ; but in the course of the day, it sprung up a breeze from the southward, with which we endeavoured to beat around Narborough against a strong current ; but toward night it died away, and in a few hours we lost as much ground as we had gained through the day.

At 1 o'clock in the morning, lieut. Downes returned to the ship, which he was enabled to find by means of flashes made from time to time by us, and reported that he did not arrive at the north point of Narborough or Turtle's Nose, until near sundown, and that he could perceive no vessels in the bay ; but observed, at

the same time, that the weather was hazy, and as the bay is about 35 miles from side to side, and about the same depth, it was possible for vessels to have been there without his being able to observe them. We did not wish to believe that the bay was destitute of vessels ; and while there was room to build a hope of meeting the enemy, we kept our spirits up with the expectation of finding them, either in the bay, or at anchor in a cove called the Bason, on the Albemarle side of the passage between Elizabeth and Banks' Bay, where the whalers frequently go to refit and wood, and get tortoises, and where, at times, a small quantity of fresh water may be obtained, but never more than 60 gallons per day, and seldom so large a quantity, and this only after heavy rains. Lieut. Downes brought with him several turtle of a very large size, and different in their appearance either from the green, hawks-bill, loggerhead, or trunk turtle ; they were shaped much like the green turtle, but were of a black, disagreeable appearance and smell ; and as I was apprehensive they might produce some unpleasant consequences should they be eaten by the crew, I directed them to be thrown overboard, though many contended that they were as good and as innocent as any others.

The winds continued light and a-head, and the current strong against us, and it was not till the afternoon of the 23d that we were enabled to weather Narborough ; but during this interval every person was anxiously looking out day and night, with the momentary expectation of seeing vessels ; and so fully was I of the belief that I should fall in with a force that would offer some resistance, that I considered it most prudent to clear away the guns every night, and keep the hammocks stowed in the nettings, so as to be prepared for any force that might be assembled. On doubling the point of Narborough, our yards were completely manned by seamen and officers, whose anxiety had taken them aloft, all examining strictly every part of the bay, but could discover no vessels ; at length the cry of *sail ho !* and shortly afterwards another, seemed to electrify every man on board, and it seemed now as if all our hopes and expectations were to be realized ; but in a few minutes those illusory prospects vanished, and as sudden dejection, proceeding from disappointment, took place ; for

the supposed sails proved to be only white appearances on the shore. Still, however, we did not despair; we had not yet examined the bason; perhaps it might contain some vessels; and, as we were now only about five miles from it, lieut. Downes was dispatched to reconnoitre, as well as to see if it was a suitable situation for us to refit the ship in, and fill up our wood, and ascertain what quantity of water could there be obtained. He did not get in until after sundown, and returned to the ship at 1 o'clock in the morning; and, to complete our disappointment, reported that he had seen no vessels. The account he gave of the bason was such as to induce me to believe it would be a secure harbour for the ship, as he made a favourable report of the depth of water and anchorage; but as it was night, he could form but an imperfect notion of the form of the harbour, nor could he give me any account of the watering-place, as he was not able to find it. He was equally uninformed whether we should there be enabled to get wood; I therefore, to remove all doubts in my own mind, determined to visit it myself; and, as the moon was now rising, directed my boat to be prepared, and started from the ship, arriving at the bason at sunrise, which I found every thing that could be desired to afford perfect security for a ship of the largest size. The art of man could not have formed a more beautiful bason, which is at the entrance about three cables' length over, and gradually enlarges to five cables' length, terminating in a round bottom. The whole is surrounded by high cliffs, except at the very bottom, where is the only landing for boats, at a small ravine, having three fathoms water along side of the rocks, which, from every side to the middle, gradually deepens to twelve fathoms, and has every where a clear, dark, sandy bottom, free from rocks and every other danger. Vessels should moor here head and stern, and when bound in should keep mid-channel, and choose their distance from the shore and depth of water; but as they may be liable to be deceived, from the great height of the hills, it would be advisable to send in a boat to anchor a buoy at the spot where the ship should let go her anchor. We saw here an abundance of fish and green turtle, and on landing found both the sea and land guanas, lizards, a small gray snake, and a considerable variety

of birds ; also trees of a considerable size, which would afford wood for shipping, and among them a species from which oozed a resinous substance, in very large quantities, dripping from the trunk and every limb. This tree produces a fruit nearly as large as a cherry ; but it was then green, and had a very aromatic smell and taste. From the bason we proceeded to the south, in search of the watering-place, and after rowing close along a rocky shore, about two miles, without discovering it, concluded to return, and land in every place where there was the least probability of finding it, although I was satisfied in my own mind, that, had one existed, it would have been impracticable to water at it, in consequence of the violence of the surf, which beats with such force against the rocks as to endanger the safety of the boat, although the sea appeared unusually calm. On our return we perceived a little moisture on a flat rock about half a mile from the mouth of the bason, and with much difficulty I succeeded in landing, which I found to be the watering-place we were in search of. In this rock I found four holes, each about 14 inches square, and from 6 to 7 deep, which had apparently been cut by some person with a pick-axe, for the purpose of catching the water as it dripped from the rocks above. At this time they contained only a little stinking water, as salt as brine, which had been thrown in by the sea. I caused them to be cleared out, but could not perceive, during the hour that I remained there, that any water whatever flowed into them, and I am persuaded that no water can ever be found there, except after heavy rains, and then only in small quantities, for the whole island is a light and thirsty soil, composed entirely of volcanic matter, and probably owes its origin to no distant period, for the volcanic cinders and other appearances lying on every part of the surface, as well as the innumerable craters, and hills composed of ashes and lava, all apparently fresh, and in most parts destitute of verdure, sufficiently prove that they have not long been thrown from the bowels of the ocean. These thirsty mountains, like a sponge, soak from the passing clouds the moisture which serves to keep alive the scanty vegetation scattered over their sides ; but they permit none of it to escape in springs or streams of water, for the support of animal

life. On the side of a rock at this watering-place, we found the names of several English and American ships cut, whose crews had been there ; and but a short distance from thence was erected a hut, built of loose stones, but destitute of a roof ; and in the neighbourhood of it were scattered in considerable quantities the bones and shells of land and sea tortoises. This I afterwards understood was the work of a wretched English sailor, who had been landed there by his captain, destitute of every thing, for having used some insulting language to him. Here he existed near a year on land tortoises and guanas, and his sole dependence for water was on the precarious supply he could get from the drippings of the rocks ; at length, finding that no one was likely to come to take him from thence, and fearful of perishing for the want of water, he formed a determination to attempt at all hazards getting into Banks' Bay, where the ships cruize for whales, and with this view provided himself with two seal skins, with which, blown up, he formed a float ; and, after hazarding destruction from the sharks, which frequently attacked his vessel, and which he kept off with the stick that served him as a paddle, he succeeded at length in getting along side an American ship early in the morning, where his unexpected arrival not only surprized but alarmed the crew ; for his appearance was scarcely human ; clothed in the skins of seals, his countenance haggard, thin, and emaciated, his beard and hair long and matted, they supposed him a being from another world. The commander of the vessel where he arrived felt a great sympathy for his sufferings, and determined for the moment to bring to punishment the villain who had, by thus cruelly exposing the life of a fellow-being, violated every principle of humanity ; but from some cause or other he was prevented from carrying into effect his laudable intentions, and to this day the poor sailor has not had justice done him.

At the landing-place at the head of the bason, we found a bag, which, from its appearance, had been there but a very short time ; also a fresh turtle shell and bones, as well as those of fish, and fresh ashes, where a fire had been kindled. From these traces we knew that some persons had been there but a short time before us ; and in searching about, we found the leaf of an

English political pamphlet, from which we were led to suppose they had been English. We were in hopes of finding also a bottle containing letters, as it is a frequent practice for vessels engaged in the whale trade to leave them at their stopping-places; but, after the most diligent search, we were unable to find any. In the neighbourhood of this place we killed an enormous sea-lion, and several seals, and in the course of half an hour caught as many fish as the boat could conveniently carry; and in the same time every boat belonging to the ship, had they been properly provided with hooks and lines, might have been loaded. There were a great variety, and all proved to be of an excellent quality. The sharks proved troublesome to us in taking away hooks, and sometimes snatching the fish from the lines; but on the whole we were well compensated for the time we spent, and the few hooks we lost, by the excellent repast they afforded.

Proceeding along shore to the northward of the bason, on a small sandy beach, among some rocks, we saw a number of turtle, which we turned on their backs; and a short distance further to the north, in a small and shallow cove near some mangrove trees, we found a great many more, and succeeded in turning upwards of 30 of them, all of that species called the green turtle, and most of them upwards of 300 weight. At both these places I caused large fires to be made, and on my return to the ship, where I did not arrive until dark, I dispatched two boats to bring them off; the fires guided them to the spot; but on their arrival on board next morning they brought with them only ten, as a sudden rise of the tide (a circumstance we had not sufficiently guarded against) had enabled the rest to make their escape, and even of those that were brought alongside, one of the largest among them was lost overboard in getting it on board. We however had enough remaining to give two or three fresh messes to all hands.

As the Barclay had not been enabled to get into the bay, in consequence of the violence of the current, and as we had lost sight of her, I concluded it best to run out and see what had become of her; and at 12 o'clock discovered her standing in for

the bay, under a press of canvas, with a fresh breeze from the westward, while we had it from the eastward. I had not yet made up my mind whether to remain in the bay a few days to await the arrival of vessels there, or to look around among the other islands for them. One great object with me now was to find a convenient place for watering my ship; none such was to be found at Albemarle, and I had but little hopes of being able to find any at the other islands; but as I had understood that some fresh water was to be had at times at James' Island, which lies at a short distance from Albemarle, I believed it would be advisable to proceed to that place, which is said to be much frequented by English whalers and smugglers, who resort there for wood and land tortoises; and considering the time I had been from the United States, during which period many of my crew had not been on shore, I considered it necessary, on account of their health, to take them where they could have an opportunity of getting on shore among the trees, the odour arising from which is said to be the most powerful antiscorbutic known. I determined, however, before I adopted any plan for future operations, to obtain from captain Randall his opinion respecting the cause of this unexpected absence of British ships from Banks' Bay, for I could not imagine any reason for it but one, which was, that they had, on the first news of war, captured all the American vessels they had found in the bay, and gone off with them; and yet it appeared to me extraordinary that none others should have arrived since, particularly as some had sailed at a late period from Lima for that station. But while the Barclay was running into the bay, I stood over for the north-head of Albemarle; and as I had no doubt, from what I had already seen, that every part of the bay abounded with fish, I sent three boats to endeavour to catch some, and shortly afterwards followed them myself. We proceeded to the foot of a remarkably black precipice, of a great height, evidently the half of a crater, which has been rent asunder by some violent convulsion of nature, or has been undermined by the slow but constant operation of the currents, and has gradually crumbled into the ocean; this, with a point or peninsula that projects to the southward, forms a bay, which may

probably afford shelter and anchorage for vessels ; but having but a short time to spare, we devoted it entirely to the object for which we came, and in less than half an hour we loaded all our boats with as many fish as they could carry, and returned to the ship. On the east side of the point before mentioned, is a remarkable cavern, formed by the beating of the sea, which has caused the rock to fall in, until it has formed what the French call a *trombe dans l'angle*, and excavated nearly the whole point or peninsula, leaving merely a support for the arch. Under this place we caught our fish, and all the boats of the ship might have been loaded in the same time. The moment the hook was in the water, hundreds of them were seen rushing towards it, and many of them of a size which made it very difficult to haul in with our largest lines. They were chiefly the black, yellow, and red grouper, and a fish greatly resembling the sheeps-head, all of an excellent quality ; and so abundant were they, that they were frequently caught with the boat hooks while swimming about the boats. They afforded not only a pleasant amusement to those who caught them, but a plentiful repast to the crew of the Essex, as well as to that of the Barclay ; and our supply was so much greater than we wanted for immediate consumption, that after salting many of them, large quantities were thrown overboard, to keep them from spoiling on our hands. We also caught one of that description of black turtle formerly mentioned ; and as many were desirous of tasting its qualities, it was brought on board, and found to be superior to any we had yet tasted ; after supplying my own table and that of the officers of the ward-room, it furnished an abundant meal to six messes of the ship's company, consisting of 48 men. We here also caught a number of shags and penguins, and killed some pelicans and other aquatic birds.

In the morning I stood out of the bay with the land breeze, which, since we have been here, has constantly sprung up at sunrise, and continued to blow until about 10 o'clock, when, after a calm of an hour or two, the sea breeze has set in from the westward, which continued until sundown ; the rest of the 24 hours has been perfectly calm. I made the signal to speak the Barclay ; and, on capt. Randall's coming on board, he assured me that the

English whalers were somewhere to the north, where they had been unavoidably swept by the current ; but this I could hardly credit, when we had found such difficulty in getting into the bay from the southward ; but he assured me, that, notwithstanding the southerly current we had to contend with to the south of the bay, I should find it to the north running equally strong northerly ; and, strange as it may appear, I found it absolutely the case, for in standing a little more out of the bay, and to the north of North Head, or Cape Berkley, we experienced a current setting northerly, which carried us with great rapidity. As we approached Point Albemarle (which is the northernmost extremity of the island of that name, and off which lies a reef of rocks, extending about two miles), the weather became hazy ; and while searching around the horizon with my perspective, I was at length cheered with the sight of what I believed to be a sail : numbers of others on board were under the same illusion ; all hands were called to make sail ; and in a few minutes another was discovered. We now began to believe that fortune had become tired of trying our patience, and began already to make some estimation of their probable value, and form some plan of disposing of them ; but to our mortification the illusion soon vanished, and it appeared we had been cheated by two sand banks, whose appearance had been so strangely altered by the intervention of the fog, as to assume precisely the appearance of ships under their top-gallant sails. The spirits of the crew had been highly excited by the prospect of making prizes, and the disappointment had occasioned no trifling degree of dejection and despondency among them ; but they did not murmur ; they were sensible that, if we were not successful, we had not ourselves to accuse, as we had not avoided the enemy by remaining in port ; nor had we been neglectful in our search for him. There were few on board the ship who did not now despair of making any captures about the Galapagos Islands ; and I believe that many began to think that the information we had received respecting the practice of British vessels frequenting those islands, as well as the flattering expectations which this information had given rise to, had been altogether deception ; but I could not so lightly lay down my opinions, which

had caused me to visit those islands, and which had been formed on information that could not be doubted; and I determined not to leave the Gallapagos so long as there remained a hope of finding a British vessel among them. The current continued to carry us with great rapidity to the north-west, and light and baffling winds, but more frequently calms, only served to increase our impatience, and dampen all our hopes of recovering our lost ground; for we had, by the 28th April, been drifted as far to the north as $1^{\circ} 8'$, notwithstanding every exertion we could make to get to the southward, by keeping on the most advantageous tacks. Our wood and our water, two articles of the highest importance to us, began to grow short, and there scarcely remained a hope of finding any of the latter article at any of the islands, unless it could be had at James'; and of this I had my doubts, although it has been asserted by some, that it furnishes it in considerable quantities. I however determined to visit it, not with an expectation of procuring water, but with a hope of finding there some English vessels, as I thought it not improbable that they might have put in there to take on board wood and tortoises, and were waiting for a change of current to enable them to reach Banks' Bay. Under every circumstance, I considered it advisable to endeavour to reach James' Island, and should I prove unsuccessful there, determined to extend my search among the groupe; for I could not be persuaded that they were entirely abandoned by the whalers.

At day-light on the morning of the 29th, I was roused from my cot, where I passed a sleepless and anxious night, by the cry of "*sail ho!*" "*sail ho!*" was re-echoed through the ship, and in a moment all hands were on deck. The strange sail proved to be a large ship, bearing west, to which we gave chase; and in an hour afterwards we discovered two others, bearing south-west, equally large in their appearance. I had no doubts of their being British whale-ships; and as I was certain that toward mid-day, as usual, it would fall calm, I felt confident we should succeed in taking the whole of them. I continued my pursuit of the first discovered vessel, and at 9 o'clock spoke her under British colours. She proved to be the British whale-ship *Montezuma*,

captain Baxter, with 1400 bbls. of sperm oil on board. I invited the captain on board; and while he was in my cabin, giving me such information as was in his power respecting the other whale-ships about the Gallapagos, I took his crew on board the Essex, put an officer and crew on board the Montezuma, and continued in pursuit of the other vessels, which made all exertions to get from us. At 11 A. M., according to my expectation, it fell calm; we were then at the distance of eight miles from them. I had reason, from the information obtained, to believe them to be the British armed whale-ships Georgiana, of six eighteen-pounders, and the Policy, of ten six-pounders, the one having on board 35 and the other 26 men; but that they were British ships there could not be a doubt, and we were determined to have them at all hazards. Thick and hazy weather is prevalent here, and, as there was every indication of it, I was fearful that, in the event of a breeze, one or the other of them might make its escape from us, as I had understood that they were reputed fast sailers; I therefore thought it advisable to attempt them in our boats, and with this view had them prepared for the purpose, and in few minutes they departed in two divisions: lieutenant Downes, in the whale-boat, commanded the first division, consisting of the 3d cutter, lieutenant M'Knight, jolly boat, sailing-master Cowell, and 2d cutter, midshipman Isaacs; and lieutenant Wilmer, in the pinnace, commanding the second division, consisting of the 1st cutter, lieutenant Wilson, and gig, lieutenant Gamble of the marines. The heavy-rowing boats occasioned considerable delay to the whole, as I had given the most positive orders that the boats should be brought into action altogether, and that no officer should take advantage of the fleetness of his boat to proceed a-head of the rest, believing that some of the officers, from their extreme anxiety to join with the enemy, might be so imprudent as to do so. At 2 o'clock, the boats were about a mile from the vessels (which were about a quarter of a mile apart), when they hoisted English colours, and fired several guns. The boats now formed in one division, and pulled for the largest ship, which, as they approached, kept her guns trained on them. The signal was made for boarding; and, when lieutenant Downes arrived within a few

yards of her gangway, and directed them to surrender, the colours were hauled down. They now proceeded for the other vessel, after leaving an officer and some men on board, and as soon as she was hailed she followed the example of the first, by striking her colours. Shortly afterwards a breeze sprung up ; the prizes bore down for us, and we welcomed the safe return of our ship-mates with three hearty cheers. The captured vessels proved to be, as I had expected, the Georgiana, captain Pitts, of 280 tons, and the Policy, of 275 tons ; and these three vessels, which we had taken with so little trouble, were estimated to be worth in England upwards of half a million of dollars. The ease with which the last vessels were taken by our open boats, gave us but a poor opinion of British valour ; and the satisfaction which the possession of these valuable vessels gave us, made us forget for a moment the hardships of Cape Horn, and the time we had spent without seeing an enemy ; and it also afforded us a useful lesson, as it convinced us we ought not to despair of success under any circumstances, however unfortunate they may appear ; and that, although the patient and persevering may for a time meet with disappointments, fortune will at length most commonly enable them to rise superior to every adversity. Slight murmurings had on one or two occasions been heard from some of the crew, occasioned by our want of success heretofore, and with a view of preventing it in future, I considered it advisable to inculcate this maxim by the following note :

SAILORS AND MARINES,

Fortune has at length smiled on us, because we deserved her smiles, and the first time she enabled us to display *free trade and sailors' rights*, assisted by your good conduct, she put in our possession near half a million of the enemy's property.

Continue to be zealous, enterprizing, and patient, and we will yet render the name of the Essex as terrible to the enemy as that of any other vessel, before we return to the United States. My plans shall be made known to you at a suitable period.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

April 30, 1813.

The possession of these vessels, besides the great satisfaction it produced, was attended by another advantage of no less importance, as it relieved all our wants except one, to wit, the want of water. From them we obtained an abundant supply of cordage, canvas, paints, tar, and every other article necessary for the ship, of all of which she stood in great need, as our slender stock brought from America had now become worn out and useless; and besides the articles necessary for the ship, we became supplied with a stock of provisions, of a quality and quantity that removed all apprehensions of our suffering for the want of them for many months, as those vessels, when they sailed from England, were provided with provisions and stores for upwards of three years, and had not yet consumed half their stock; all were of the best quality; and, were it only for the supplying our immediate wants, the prizes were of the greatest importance to us. We found on board of them, also, wherewith to furnish our crew with several delicious meals. They had been in at James' Island, and had supplied themselves abundantly with those extraordinary animals the tortoises of the Gallapagos, which properly deserve the name of the elephant tortoise. Many of them were of a size to weigh upwards of three hundred weight; and nothing, perhaps, can be more disagreeable or clumsy than they are in their external appearance. Their motion resembles strongly that of the elephant; their steps slow, regular, and heavy; they carry their body about a foot from the ground, and their legs and feet bear no slight resemblance to the animal to which I have likened them; their neck is from 18 inches to 2 feet in length, and very slender; their head is proportioned to it, and strongly resembles that of a serpent; but, hideous and disgusting as is their appearance, no animal can possibly afford a more wholesome, luscious, and delicate food than they do; the finest green turtle is no more to be compared to them, in point of excellence, than the coarsest beef is to the finest veal; and after once tasting the Gallapagos tortoises, every other animal food fell greatly in our estimation. These animals are so fat as to require neither butter nor lard to cook them, and this fat does not possess that cloying quality, common to that of most other animals; and when tried out, it fur-

nishes an oil superior in taste to that of the olive. The meat of this animal is the easiest of digestion, and a quantity of it, exceeding that of any other food, can be eaten, without experiencing the slightest inconvenience. But what seems the most extraordinary in this animal, is the length of time that it can exist without food; for I have been well assured, that they have been piled away among the casks in the hold of a ship, where they have been kept eighteen months, and, when killed at the expiration of that time, were found to have suffered no diminution in fatness or excellence. They carry with them a constant supply of water, in a bag at the root of the neck, which contains about two gallons; and on tasting that found in those we killed on board, it proved perfectly fresh and sweet. They are very restless when exposed to the light and heat of the sun, but will lie in the dark from one year's end to the other without moving; in the day-time, they appear remarkably quick-sighted and timid, drawing their head into their shell on the slightest motion of any object; but they are entirely destitute of hearing, as the loudest noise, even the firing of a gun, does not seem to alarm them in the slightest degree, and at night, or in the dark, they appear perfectly blind. After our tasting the flesh of those animals, we regretted that numbers of them had been thrown overboard by the crews of the vessels before their capture, to clear them for action; but a few days afterwards, at day-light in the morning, we were so fortunate as to find ourselves surrounded by about fifty of them, which were picked up and brought on board, as they had been lying in the same place where they had been thrown over, incapable of any exertion in that element, except that of stretching out their long necks.

I had merely placed a temporary crew on board the prizes, but took the first opportunity to make them permanent, putting midshipman Odenheimer in charge of the Montezuma, and midshipman Cowan of the Policy, giving them the necessary directions for clearing their decks of the lumber of oil casks and other articles, to bend all their light sails, and reave their running rigging, which had all been unbent and unrove, as unnecessary while fishing, and to preserve them from injury; I also furnished them

with the necessary signals, and appointed the island of Plata, and the bay of Tumbes, as rendezvous in case of separation, directing them to use the utmost economy in the expenditure of their provisions, stores, and water, ordering all hands to be put on the same allowance as the crew of the Essex.

On examining the Georgiana, I found her not only a noble ship, but well calculated for a cruizer, as she sailed well, and had been built for the service of the British East India Company, and had been employed as a packet until this voyage. I therefore determined to equip and arm her completely, and mounted on her the ten guns of the Policy, making her whole number now sixteen, to which were added two swivels, and a number of heavy blunderbusses mounted on swivels, as well as all the muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and other military equipments we could find on board the other vessels; by these means rendering her as formidable, in point of armament, as any of the British letters of marque I could hear of in this ocean; but this I did not undertake until I was well satisfied she could be well manned, without reducing too much my own crew. A number of seamen captured in the prizes had already proffered their services to us; and on inquiry I found many of them to be Americans. They volunteered their services in equipping the Georgiana, and freeing her from much of the lumber on board, consisting of empty casks and other cumbrous articles, which were sent on board the other prizes; and the heavy brick-work and large iron boilers used for trying out the oil, were taken down, to give more room on her decks, and relieve her from the great weight, which was found greatly to improve her sailing. The command of this vessel, now completely equipped for war, I gave to lieut. Downes, with a crew consisting of 36 of our old crew, and 5 of the men who had entered from prizes, making her number altogether 41 men; the remainder I kept on board the Essex, whose crew now amounted to 264 men, including officers and those on board the Barclay. I appointed midshipman Haddaway as acting lieutenant on board the Georgiana, and sent Mr. Miller (my former gunner) there to do duty, as well as Kingsbury as boatswain, and two quarter-masters. The equipping and manning of this vessel also

enabled me to make some promotions on board my own ship, from some of the most deserving of my crew, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the petty officers sent on board her; and we now considered the sloop of war *Georgiana*, as she was styled, no trifling augmentation to our own force; but, taken in another view, she was of the utmost importance to our safety; for in the event of any accident happening to the *Essex*, a circumstance to which she was every moment liable, while cruising in a sea with which we were little acquainted, we could calculate on relief from the *Georgiana*; added to which, she doubled the chance of annoying the enemy, and might serve as an excellent decoy, as we were particularly careful not to change in the slightest degree her appearance as a whaler. On the 8th, she hoisted the American ensign and pendant, and saluted the *Essex* with 17 guns, which was returned by our crew with three cheers.

The light baffling winds and strong westerly currents prevented me now from laying any plans for my future operations; my whole attention was turned to getting up to the islands again, as I had intelligence of several other British vessels being in the neighbourhood and expected there, and among others the *Perseverance*, the *Rose*, and the *New Zealand*, three fine vessels, with nearly full cargoes. I felt anxious to get into port to recruit my stock of water and wood, the only articles we now stood in want of, as was the case with my prizes, which were all short of water; but still was desirous of looking once more into Banks' Bay, where I confidently expected, on a change of current, to make as many prizes as I could conveniently man.

The weather being remarkably pleasant, I took advantage of it to put our rigging in order, by overhauling and tarring it, and painting the ship inside; and as we had been enabled to procure an abundance of small spars, planks, timber, and nails, I set the carpenters to work, making many repairs which we had not heretofore been enabled to do for the want of the necessary materials; for although we had had it in our power to supply ourselves at Valparaiso, I did not procure them there, confidently believing that the enemy would, in due time, furnish us with what we wanted.

Doctor Miller, about this time, became dissatisfied with his new situation on board the Barclay, and expressed a desire to remove to the Policy, where the accommodations, he had understood, were equal to those of the Barclay. To this wish I assented; as the captain of the Policy was in very low health, I had been induced to let him remain on board his ship; and as he was a man of considerable loquacity, and some intelligence, I believed that the doctor would find himself agreeably situated, if it were possible to make him so, as to comfort and society.

CHAPTER VII.

GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS ; FISHERY.

ON the 9th May, we were, by lunar observation, in the longitude of $89^{\circ} 12'$ W.; and on the meridian of the same day in lat. $1^{\circ} 18' 27''$ N. I found we were daily losing ground by the violence of the N.W. currents, and believed we should make more head-way by taking the dullest sailer, the Montezuma, in tow; but after after getting a hawser fast to her, we found that the best sailers, with all the canvas they could spread, could not keep way with us, and we were frequently obliged to shorten sail for them to come up.

As the weather was yet fine, I continued putting the ship in a good state for service; and on examining the breechings of the guns, I found them entirely rotten and unserviceable. This gave me great uneasiness, for fear that I should not be enabled to remedy the evil; but, on searching among our prizes, we found suitable rope to answer the purpose.

At 4 o'clock on the evening of the 12th, we very unexpectedly discovered land a-head, and on the weather bow; the wind continuing light and baffling during the night, we kept plying to the southward, and in our endeavours we were greatly assisted by a strong current. In the morning we were about 4 leagues distant from an island of considerable height, in the middle gradually sloping off every way to long low points, and bounded on every part (within sight) by fine long sandy beaches. The island appeared covered with verdure, and had a very agreeable and inviting appearance. I at first supposed it to be James' Island, as did all the prisoners who were acquainted with its appearance; but they all declared, that although it had some resemblance to that island, they could not recollect the sandy beaches and fine bays with which this appeared indented; and as I could not find any correspondence between the position of this and

other islands in sight, with those laid down on Colnet's chart, the only one which has been drawn of the Gallapagos, I felt myself much staggered in the belief of this being James', but thought it not unlikely that the want of correspondence might be owing to the general incorrectness of the chart, as we have found it filled with errors, none of the islands being laid down agreeable to their true position; nor are the shores of any of them correctly traced; and there are also many islands in this groupe not noticed in his chart: but it is not to be wondered that captain Colnet did not make a correct chart of the Gallapagos, as he merely sailed around the groupe, without passing through it; and had he even passed, as we have done, twice through them, strong currents and foggy weather would have tended greatly to mislead his judgment, and baffle all calculation as to distance. Having my doubts as to this being James' Island, although its great extent appeared to justify the belief, I make a signal for the Georgiana to proceed a-head, while we ran through the passage between that and a smaller island on the larboard bow, which to me had much the appearance of Barrington Island; but as all declared it to be Norfolk Island, I must acknowledge that I felt myself at loss to know what part of the cluster I had gotten into. I did not, however, believe the large island to be James'; and as a fine breeze sprang up from the northward, and a strong current set from the same quarter, I determined to give up the idea of making any further examination, with a view of getting to the southward, with the dull-sailing vessels under my care, hoping to reach Hood's Island, to get on board some tarrapins, as a refreshment for the crew. I consequently made a signal for a boat to be sent from the Georgiana, and sent to lieutenant Downes the following orders:

United States frigate Essex, at sea, Chatham Island

Sir,

bearing south-east, 12th May, 1813.

You will proceed to Albemarle, searching Charles' or James' island, whichever is most convenient, in your way. I shall endeavour to get into the harbour at Hood's island, where I should wish you to join me, if practicable; from thence I shall proceed

to the continent to take in water, probably to Tumbez, where you will proceed if you should not find me at Hood's island, or if on your arrival you should not receive different instructions from me. From Tumbez I shall beat up the coast towards Lima; and when I shall have taken as many prizes as will render my return to port necessary, I shall proceed to Conception, previous to my going to Valparaiso, with a view of gaining intelligence of the British cruisers on the coast. Should you not fall in with me at Hood's Island, or at Tumbez, you will follow me in my route; and if you should touch at Coquimbo, enquire for letters for me, and open them, and do the same at Conception. Should you not hear of me at Conception or Valparaiso, you will endeavour to dispose of the whole or part of the cargo of the Georgiana, and will continue to make short cruizes in the neighbourhood of the place, until my arrival, increasing your crew as circumstances may render expedient and necessary, and securing your prizes under the protection of the batteries, unless you can dispose of them to advantage; and if this can be done, you will please to consult the consul-general as to the most proper person to be employed as agent, and do whatever may to you seem expedient to the good of all concerned.

Near some conspicuous tree or object which I shall mark, not far from the landing-place at Hood's island, I shall bury a bottle containing further instructions. I shall do the same at Massafuero, should I touch there; and prior to my departure from Tumbez, if I should conclude on changing my route from thence and proceeding along the coast of Mexico, I shall intimate my intentions of so doing, by presenting the governor or principal person there with a *rifle*; and should you be certain of my having done this you will proceed to Quibo, and, near the watering-place marked A in the chart, I shall leave further instructions in a bottle, at the root of a marked tree. It is possible that I may leave a letter for you, directed to the commander of the Georgiana, at Tumbez. I calculate on cruising off Cape Blanco some time before and after going into Tumbez, so that I think it highly probable that you will find me there, an event very much desired by me. It is even possible that I may stop

at the island of Plata; should it be in your way, look in there, and search the landing for marked trees, and a bottle containing a letter.

If, on your way back from Albemarle, you can conveniently touch at Charles' island, do so, and search there for letters.

I have the honour to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes, commanding the
armed Prize-Ship Georgiana.*

Lieutenant Downes made sail to double the south point of the large island, and I proceeded with my other prizes and the Barclay to the S.S.E. At meridian the weather cleared up, and, to my great surprize, I discovered first Gardner's island, and a few minutes afterwards Charles' island, the latter bearing S S.W. We now perceived that we had passed between Barrington island and a fine large island, which occupies the place given to Duncan's and James' islands on Colnet's chart, and we were now convinced that no reliance whatever should be placed on Colnet's survey, which has been drawn only from fancy or the incorrect information of others; for no such islands as Duncan's and James' exist where he has placed them, nor has he any where traced an island bearing the slightest resemblance to the one in question. I now bore away for Charles' island, where I anchored at 4 P. M., in 8 fathoms water, at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the long sandy beach within the reef, the Devil's Rock, or Rock Dismal, bearing E.N.E., and the west point of the island S.W. by W.; the bottom, however, appeared rocky, and on a closer examination of the harbour I found we should have lain in deeper water, with much better shelter and bottom, closer in shore; the prizes and Barclay followed us in, and anchored between us and the beach. As soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore to examine the letter-box, but found no new papers in it; I however saw unquestionable evidence of a vessel's having been in the harbour since we had left it, for the cask of water, and the barrel of bread, and other articles, had been carried off, and no part of either remained but the hoops of the cask;

fresh tracks of men were plainly to be seen from the beach to the post-office, where the articles were placed; and an impression was made in the sand, as though a bag had been set down, near which were some whale-line yarns, part of which had been used, no doubt, for the purpose of tying it; all of which circumstances left no doubts on our minds of their having been carried off by some whale-ship; and, on comparing the yarns with those we had got from on board our prizes, they were known to be English. I now felt great regret that I had not kept the Georgiana with me until our arrival, that I could have dispatched her direct for Albemarle in search of the stranger, as I could have no doubt of her having gone direct for that place, as this is the common touching-place for vessels bound there, both from a high southern latitude, and from Tumbez, on the continent, where they generally go for water; and I was in hopes she was from the latter place, with a good stock of that article, of which we now stood more in need than any other; and although I was almost induced to consider her as our own (for I had no doubts that lieutenant Downes would fall in with her), yet, as I was not certain that he would be enabled to join me here, I had no strong expectations of receiving any immediate advantage from the supplies she might bring, and determined to make every exertion in my power to procure, if possible, a supply from the island. I had heard of a spring in the interior, which could be approached from a beach on the west side, about 6 miles distant from the ship; to this place I proceeded next morning, taking with me two tengalion kegs to make the experiment with, in order to estimate the quantity we could procure from there daily. We found the spring at the distance of three miles from the beach, and the water, after clearing it out, proved excellent; but it was found to be extremely laborious work getting it to the beach, as our stoutest men were exhausted after taking down one keg each; and it was found that each man could not carry any more than three kegs in twenty-four hours, owing to the distance, the badness of the roads, and the excessive heat on shore. I concluded, however, on attempting to get some water to answer our present purpose, notwithstanding the difficulties which opposed us, and

with this view returned to the ship to make the necessary arrangements, and on my way loaded my boat with some excellent fish.

On landing at the beach leading to the spring, we found fresh embers, and a tortoise, which had not been killed apparently more than two days; and on our way to the spring we found innumerable testimonies of persons having been recently there: there was also on the beach a pair of mockasons, made of English canvas, and a tortoise shell containing about two quarts of English barley.

This part of the island abounds with tortoises, which frequent the springs for the sake of the water, and upwards of 30 of them were turned on their backs by us, as they came down to drink, during the short time we remained there, which was not more than an hour and a half; but we were enabled to bring down but one, and he was selected more for his antiquated appearance than for his size or supposed excellence. His weight was exactly 197 pounds, but he was far from being considered of a large size.

As I returned from the spring, I could not help reflecting on the extraordinary scheme that I was about attempting to procure water, and was almost appalled by the obstacles which presented themselves; for, in addition to the difficulties of getting it down to the beach, it would be necessary there to put it into large casks, and from thence raft it to the ship, a distance of six miles, through a high sea, and sometimes against rapid currents; and to these evils must be added the danger and inconvenience of having one half of my crew at least separated from the ship, thus leaving not only her but our prizes exposed, in a defenceless state, to the attacks of an enemy. As water was to be procured in that part of the island, I thought it not unlikely that it might be found near the bay in which we lay; and well knowing the roving disposition of seamen, I determined to let a party go on shore to amuse themselves, confidently believing, if water was to be found within two or three miles of us, it would be discovered by them; and on their return at night I was not disappointed, for they informed me that they had found upwards of 40 or 50 bar-

rels of water lodged in the different hollows of the rocks, about a mile and a half from the shore ; that the difficulties of getting to it were very great, but they did not doubt that each man would be enabled to bring down, in ten-gallon kegs, forty gallons per day. I immediately caused casks to be landed, and, by sending parties on shore daily, procured while we lay here two thousand gallons, much of it, to be sure, of a filthy appearance, having a bad taste and smell, and filled abundantly with slime and insects ; but to us it was a treasure too precious to lose, and the greatest industry was used to save every drop of it, for fear that the sun, which was evaporating it rapidly, should cheat us of our prize.

In order that no means should be left untried to procure a large supply of water, I caused two wells to be dug in the most likely places for finding it ; but, after digging a considerable depth, salt water flowed in, and disappointed our hopes. I also sent on shore a wooding party, which soon procured us as large a supply of fuel as we stood in need of.

Early in the morning of the third day of our arrival, a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in for the island. I immediately caused preparation to be made for sending the boats after her, as the wind was very light ; but on her nearer approach, when she made her private signal, discovered it to be the *Georgiana*. Her arrival, although unexpected, gave me much pleasure ; and on lieutenant Downes coming on board, he informed me, that, on doubling the S.W. part of the island which we had supposed to be James', he had discovered several other small islands, and had experienced rapid currents, which had put the safety of his ship in jeopardy, as they had swept him very near to a high rock, which lies in a passage of about two miles wide, formed by the S.W. part of the island and another smaller island. He had felt the same embarrassments as myself with respect to the island, and it was with no little difficulty that he extricated himself from the dangers of rocks and breakers, with which he was environed in this unknown navigation ; but, after getting clear of them, and finding himself in the neighbourhood of Charles' Island, he had determined to look in there before going to Albe-

marle, in hopes of meeting a prize, little expecting to find me there at anchor.

After lieutenant Downes had been with me a short time, I dispatched him to Albemarle, in pursuit of the stranger who had touched at the island before us, directing him to stop at Charles' Island as soon afterwards as possible, and, should he not find me there, to search at the foot of the stake to which the letter-box is attached, where I should bury a bottle containing instructions for him.

After the Georgiana left us, I proposed to Mr. Adams that he should take two boats and proceed to the large island, for the purpose of making an accurate survey of it, and examining the resources it would afford us. Mr. Adams (whose zeal for promoting geographical and mathematical knowledge does him great honour) grasped at the proposal with avidity, and at 4 P. M. of the same day (supplied with a week's provisions, and every necessary for the same period), he sailed on his voyage of discovery, in a whale-boat belonging to the Essex, and accompanied by midshipman Odenheimer in another belonging to the Montezuma. I directed them to be back to the ship between the fifth and sixth day from their departure, and during this interval we occupied ourselves in painting our ship's bends and upperworks, keeping parties every day on shore bringing down to the beach tortoises for the ship's company, of which they succeeded in getting on board between four and five hundred; and although the parties on this employment (which were selected every day, to give all an opportunity of going on shore) indulged themselves in the most ample manner in tortoise meat (which by them was called Gallapagos mutton), yet their relish for this food did not seem in the least abated, or their exertions to get them on board in the least relaxed, for every one appeared desirous of securing as large a stock of this provision as possible for the cruise; and although they were brought the distance of from three to four miles, through thorns and over sharp rocks, yet it was no uncommon thing for them to make three and four trips a day, each with tortoises weighing from fifty to a hundred weight. We were enabled to procure here also, in large quantities, an herb in taste

much resembling spinage, and so called by our people ; likewise various other pot-herbs, and prickly pears in great abundance, which were not only of an excellent flavour, but a sovereign antiscorbutic ; and it afforded me much pleasure to observe that they were much relished by our people.

The cotton plant was found growing spontaneously, and a tree of a very aromatic flavour and taste, and indeed was no other than the one formerly mentioned, found on the island of Albemarle, and producing in large quantities a resinous substance. This Mr. Adams declared was the alcornoque, so famous for the cure of consumptions, and is probably the same as that mentioned by Colnet, and called by him the algarrooa.

The only quadrupeds found on the island were tortoises, lizards, and a few sea guanas ; the land guana was not to be found. Doves peculiar to those islands, of a small size, and very beautiful plumage, were very numerous, and afforded great amusement to the younger part of the crew in killing them with sticks and stones, which was no ways difficult, as they were very tame. The English mocking-bird was also found in great numbers, and a small black bird, with a remarkably short and strong bill, and a shrill note ; those were the only birds except aquatic found here ; the latter were not numerous, and consisted of teal, which frequented a lagoon on the east part of the bay, pelicans, boobies, and other birds common to all the islands of those seas ; sea turtles and seals were scarce and shy.

That every person might be employed to the most advantage, I directed that those having charge of prizes should paint them, and otherwise put them in good order, as to appearance, in the expectation that they would bring a higher price among the Spaniards, to whom I intended offering them for sale the first opportunity. They were noble ships, and a little paint added greatly to the beauty of their appearance. I also recommended to captain Randall to change as much as possible the paint and appearance of his ship, in order that we might not be traced by her, as she was well known on this coast. The appearance of the Essex had been so frequently changed, that I had but little apprehensions of her being known again by those who had seen her be-

fore, or from any description that could be given of her. While we lay here, I permitted all the prisoners to go on shore whenever they wished it, as many of them were affected with the scurvy; but one in particular was so bad with it as to be scarcely able to move; but on getting him on shore, where he could procure a kind of sorrel and the prickly pear, and burying his legs in the earth every day, he was so far recovered before our departure, as scarcely to complain of his disease, and could walk as briskly as any among us, assisting frequently in bringing down water and tortoises from the rocks and mountains.

We here found the tomb of a seaman, who had been buried five years before, from a ship called the *Georgiana*, commanded by capt. Pitts, the captain of one of our prizes of the same name; and over it was erected a white board, bearing an inscription, neatly executed, shewing his age, &c. and terminating with the following epitaph, which I insert more on account of the extreme simplicity of the verse, and its powerful and flattering appeal to the feelings, than for its elegance, or the correctness of the composition:

Gentle reader, as you pass by,
As you are now, so wonce was I;
As now my body is in the dust,
I hope in heaven my soul to rest.

The spot where his remains were deposited was shaded by two lofty thorn-bushes, which afforded an agreeable shade and fragrance, and became the favourite resort of our men at their meals; the pile of stones (which had been piously placed over the grave by his ship-mates) serving them both for table and seat, where they indulged themselves amply in their favourite food, and quaffed many a can of grog to his poor soul's rest!

On the 20th May, in the morning, discovered the two whale-boats returning with Mr. Adams from the island they had been sent to survey; and as I was apprehensive that they had exhausted their stock of water, I dispatched a boat with a supply, which proved very acceptable, as they had been eighteen hours without

any. Mr. Adams informed me, that he had made a complete survey of the island, and had determined the latitude and longitude of the principal points ; but that, on the most careful examination, he had not been able to find either good anchorage or fresh water ; but stated that it abounded in wood, and that land-tortoises and green turtle were in the greatest abundance, the former generally of an enormous size, one of which measured five feet and a half long, four feet and a half wide, and three feet thick, and others were found by some of the seamen of a larger size ; from this island, James', Albemarle, Norfolk, Barrington, Crossman's, Charles', and many others were to be seen ; but he could perceive none that bore the slightest resemblance, in position or appearance, to those called by captain Colnet Duncan's and Jarvis' islands ; and as this island was now destitute of a name, and he could perceive no traces of its having been visited before, he highly complimented me, by giving it the name of Porter's island.

The S.W. landing of this island is in latitude $0^{\circ} 42' 14''$ S., longitude $90^{\circ} 27' 9''$ W.

The N.W. landing is in latitude $0^{\circ} 32' 40''$ S., longitude $90^{\circ} 23' 54''$ W.

The N.E. landing is in latitude $0^{\circ} 31' 12''$ S., longitude $90^{\circ} 12' 45''$ W.

Having now got on board as much wood as we stood in need of, and all the water that could be procured, as well as a stock of salt provisions from the prizes, and a supply of tortoises, we had nothing to detain us longer at Charles' island ; I therefore made the signal to prepare to weigh, and at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, weighed our anchor, and, in company with our prizes, stood to the south-west, with a view of getting an offing sufficient to enable us to weather Charles' island on the other tack, which I had reason to hope we could do without much difficulty, as I perceived we had a current setting to the southward. We found our stream-cable a little chafed by the rocks, but less so than I had apprehended, from the quality of the bottom we had anchored in.

I should have mentioned before, that Mr. Adams, on the night of his return from Porter's island, fell in with a ship, which he passed at the distance of gun-shot from her ; she bore much the appearance of an English vessel, had a tier of guns, and was bound toward Albemarle ; in consequence of which, I determined to run down for Banks' bay to look for her, should the current have proved against our getting to the southward ; for I not only hoped, by so doing, to secure a valuable prize, but expected to be enabled to get a supply of water from her, which was what we now stood more in need of than any other article whatever.

On obtaining the above information from Mr. Adams, I believed it probable that we should be enabled to see the stranger from some one of the adjacent hills ; under this expectation I landed on the western point of the bay, and, in company with lieutenant Gamble of the marines, and Mr. Shaw, purser, proceeded to ascend a high and rugged mountain there situated, which did not appear to us to be a difficult task to attempt ; but we were soon convinced of our error, for it was not without great labour and fatigue, and at the risk of our lives, that we succeeded in reaching the top of it, after crawling through thorn-bushes, wounding ourselves by the prickly pear-trees, and scrambling over the loose lava, which tore our shoes, and was every moment giving way under us. We at length, however, arrived, exhausted with thirst, heat, and fatigue, at the summit, where we had an extensive view of the islands, but could perceive no vessels in the offing. Our descent was no less hazardous ; and on our way back we found a large tortoise, which we opened with some difficulty, with the hope of finding some water to allay our thirst ; but we were disappointed in only finding a few gills, of a disagreeable-tasted liquid, but little better than urine ; this our stomachs revolted at ; we therefore had recourse to sucking the leaf of the prickly pear, which we found to serve our purpose.

Prior to my departure, I left the following letter for Mr. Downes, buried in a bottle at the foot of the stake to which the letter-box was attached.

May 20th, 1813.

SIR,

I sail from this place to-morrow, and shall shape my course for Tumbez. Mr. Adams has surveyed the large island, but it affords no fresh water, nor good shelter; I have succeeded in getting 2000 gallons here, which perhaps will enable me to cruise a short time before going in. A ship was seen last night by Mr. Adams, on his return; he passed not more than a mile from her; she was bound down to the Bay or James' Island, and, from the description he gives of her, there is scarcely a doubt of its being the Charlton, mounting ten guns. The prizes are a great incumbrance to me. I feel much confidence in your success, and am anxious to meet as soon as circumstances will admit. It is not improbable that I shall look again into the bay before leaving the islands.

With much respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Lieutenant John Downes.

And in the box I put the following note :

Will sail from here to-morrow, the Montezuma, Baxter, and Policy, Bowman, on a whale cruise. *At the foot of this will be found* the quantity of oil each ship has on board. S. X.

Montezuma, 1300 bbls. sperm oil ; 20 ditto black fish.

Policy, 1500 bbls. sperm oil ; 25 ditto ditto.

Plenty of turpin at the Springs, and some at Pat's landing.

On the 23d, I tacked to the eastward, and on the 24th discovered Hood's Island, bearing N.W., distant ten leagues ; and, as we now had a good breeze from the southward, I determined to look in there, with the hope of meeting one of the enemy's vessels, and consequently bore away, with the vessels in company ; but, toward evening, the wind grew light and baffling, and a strong current setting directly on the S.E. point of the island, we had great difficulty in preventing our ships from being drifted on shore, even after we had succeeded in getting them on the other tack.

We made every exertion all night to keep to windward, but without effect; for in the morning Gardner's island bore west, about three leagues distant. Charles' Island was plain in sight, and, to add to the mortification, the Montezuma (which we had discontinued towing during the night, on account of our own safety) was as far to leeward as we could see her. I found it was in vain to struggle against this eternal current with such dull sailers, and saw no hopes of holding our own but at anchor; our want of water was very pressing, and I saw no prospect of getting into the continent to procure a supply; I therefore determined to bear away, look into the harbour of Charles' Island, and proceed from thence to the island of Cocos, looking into Banks' Bay in my way there. I had also some hopes of meeting the Georgiana, or hearing from her, at Charles' island. I was the more strongly induced to bear away, as captain Randall informed me, the preceding evening, that he had discovered some of the garbage of whales floating on the surface of the water near Hood's Island, a certain indication of whalers having been lately there; and as I believed there were now a greater number about Albemarle than could be managed by lieutenant Downes, I thought it most advisable to proceed there, entertaining, at the same time, a hope, that by their capture we should be enabled to procure a supply of water. Shortly after we had bore away, with the Montezuma in tow, a signal was made from the Policy to speak with me. I felt a conviction in my own mind, that it was caused by the death of that poor unhappy man, doctor Miller; and on the arrival of the boat along side, it proved to be the case; he had died a few minutes before the signal was made, and it was supposed that the danger we were in of going on shore the preceding night, as well as the disappointment occasioned by our not being able to get clear of the islands, tended greatly to hasten his death. I directed a coffin to be made for him, with an intention of burying him on one of the islands, if it should be in my power, and requested Mr. Shaw to go on board to make arrangements for his funeral.

I now appointed doctor Hoffman acting surgeon of the Essex, with the pay and emoluments of surgeon. The indefatigable attention of this gentleman to the sick, merits the highest enco-

miums, and to his providential care may be attributed in a great measure the extraordinary health we have all to this period enjoyed.

I ran close in for Charles' Island, and sent the boat on shore with the following note, to be left in the bottle, and on her return bore away for Albemarle.

May 25th, 1813.

After vain attempts to get to the continent, I am again brought back by the current to Charles' Island. I shall make the best of my way to Banks' Bay, and shall there look around Rodando and the Culpeppers; and from thence (to make sure work of it) I shall proceed for the island of Cocos, as our want of water makes this absolutely necessary. If, however, it should so happen that the current should change, and the wind should favour us in an uncommon degree, I shall proceed agreeably to my original intentions; but should wish you to touch at Cocos, where it is likely you may find me, or at all events you will know if I have been there; and if it is attended with no other advantage, you will be enabled to fill your water. Should you not hear of me at Cocos, you may naturally conclude that I have gone to the appointed rendezvous on the continent.

We have fallen in with the garbage of whales near Hood's Island; whalers have been about there lately.

I shall anchor in Chatham Bay, in the Isle of Cocos; but for fear of mistake, search both bays; they are but a few miles apart.

(Signed)

D. P.

Lieutenant Downes had not been there, as every thing remained as we had left it; nor were there any traces of any other person's having been there since we had left the island. Next day I went on board the Policy, accompanied by most of the officers; and, after the funeral service of the church had been read by Mr. Adams, the body of doctor Miller was committed to the deep.

On the 27th we were abreast cape Essex, or the south head of Albemarle; and as I intended now to go over the cruising-ground of whalers with great care, in order that none should

escape me, I caused the prizes to spread off in different directions, keeping at signal-distance, and there to keep a good look-out, with orders to make a signal to me in the event of their discovering any strange vessel, but ordered them to close in with the Essex at night, to guard against separation.

Benjamin Geers on this day departed this life, after an illness of about two hours. He complained of a violent pain in his breast, was constantly calling for water, and died in violent convulsions, frothing very much at the mouth. His death could not be well accounted for; many were of opinion, and myself among others, that he had taken arsenic; and yet we could assign no reason for his doing so, as he always appeared perfectly happy and contented. He was a valuable man on board the ship, and his death was much regretted.

On the afternoon of the 28th, as we were standing to the northward with the Montezuma in tow, the Barclay looking out on our starboard, and the Policy on our larboard quarter, the men on the look-out on board the Essex discovered a sail right a-head; immediately the Montezuma was cast off, and all sail made in "chace. At sunset we could see her plainly from deck, and, as she was standing from us with all the sail she could crowd, I entertained no hopes of coming up with her in the night, as I had no doubts of her altering her course, and thus eluding us. I continued, however, to carry all the sail the ship would bear, in hopes of nearing him as much as possible; and, being well aware of the prevalence of calms in this quarter, I had strong hopes that, as usual, it would fall calm before morning, and keep us in sight of each other; but as the wind continued fresh, and believing he would change his course as soon as it grew dark, I hove to, at 9 o'clock, for the other vessels to come up, when I directed the Montezuma to run N.W. (which was his bearing when we last saw him) seven miles, and then heave to, the Barclay to run the same distance to the east, and I intended sending the Policy to the S.W., but she did not come up in time. This arrangement I hoped would enable one or the other of the vessels to get sight of the chace in the morning, and I was not disappointed; for next day the Montezuma made a signal for a sail to the north-

ward, and at the same time we bore away in pursuit of her with all the sail we could carry, and it was not until two hours after we had given chase to her that we could discover her from our masts' heads. About meridian the wind began to die away; I had now sight of the stranger from deck, and had no doubt of his being an enemy. The Montezuma was still between us and him, and distant from us about six miles. I determined now that he should not again escape us, for I was fully convinced this was the same vessel we had chased the day before. I directed three of the fastest rowing boats to be manned with as many men as they could carry, and armed, and to proceed, under the command of lieutenant Wilmer, to the Montezuma, with orders to take three of that ship's boats, and before night to proceed to take his station astern of the stranger, so that he could keep sight of him, placing the other in a line astern of him, so that a communication could be had by signal from the headmost boat to the Montezuma, and from thence to the Essex; and by this arrangement I hoped to be guided by flashes in my pursuit of the enemy, and prevent the probability of his escaping. I directed lieutenant Wilmer not to make any attack on her, unless it should prove perfectly calm, and then to row up with muffled oars, and board him by surprise; and to prevent any other mode of attack being made, I allowed them no other arms than a pistol, cutlass, and boarding-axe each.

After the boats had left us, a breeze sprung up, which enabled us to continue the chase; and, as we soon passed the boats, I made a signal for the Montezuma to heave to and pick them up. As we approached the chase, she hauled close on a wind to the eastward, and shortly afterwards hove about to stand for us; and, from her warlike appearance, and the signals made by her, I supposed her to be an English sloop of war, as she wore both the English ensign and pendant. I now made such preparations for action as my weak crew would admit of, directing the marines and top-men to lay by their muskets, and for them, as well as the bracedmen and all others on board, to take their stations at the guns. All my officers were away from the ship, but still I could

not perceive that the small remains of my men had in time of need lost any of their wonted energy and zeal.

We were soon along side of him, when I hoisted English colours, and directed her commander to come on board, which order was soon complied with, when at this instant another strange sail was descried from the mast head. A few men were taken out of our prize, which proved to be the British letter of marque ship *Atlantic*, Obadiah Wier master, employed in whaling, and mounting six guns (eighteen pounders). As soon as the *Montezuma* came up, I threw some men on board the *Atlantic*, with lieutenant M^r Knight, and sent her in pursuit of the other stranger to the N.W., while I steered more northerly; for, as the *Atlantic* was reputed the fastest sailer in those seas, I had no doubt, by this means, of rendering her capture certain. We were soon convinced that the *Atlantic* deserved her character for sailing, as during the chase we had very little advantage of her, notwithstanding we had all the sail we could carry, and she the whole time without her studding-sails, as she had none bent. Night was now fast approaching; we were doubtful whether we were near enough to keep sight of our new chase, which our prisoners informed us was another British letter of marque; and, as it grew dark, we once lost sight of her; but we soon discovered her again by means of our night glasses, and on her heaving about to elude us (on the supposition that we could no longer see her), we soon got along side of her, and on firing a shot at her, she hove to. I directed her commander to repair on board, which he refused to do, until he knew who we were. I now perceived by his lights that he was prepared for action, and fired one shot between his masts to intimidate him, threatening him with a broadside if he did not repair on board immediately; and this had the desired effect, as he soon came on board, prepared to meet in us an enemy. This vessel proved to be the British letter of marque ship *Greenwich*, of ten guns, a prime sailer, employed in the whale fishery. Her captain had taken in a good stock of Dutch courage, and, from the preparations that were made on board his vessel, there could be no doubt of his intentions to have fired into us, had he not been intimidated by the shot we fired between his masts. He express-

ed great regret that the *Atlantic* and his ship had not joined one another before their capture, as he believed they would then have been more than a match for us; and, indeed, considering the then weakened state of the crew, and the absence of every officer (except the chaplain, the clerk, and the boatswain, from whom I received every assistance in their power), it seems not unlikely (as they were in every respect well prepared for action) that they would have given us some trouble, and have rendered the capture of one of them at least doubtful.

I must here observe, that the captain of the *Atlantic* (an American from Nantucket, where he has a wife and family), on his first coming on board the *Essex*, expressed his extreme pleasure on finding (as he supposed we were) an English frigate in those seas. He informed me that he had sailed from England under convoy of the *Java* frigate, and had put into port Praya a few days after the *Essex*, an American frigate, had left there; and that the *Java* had sailed immediately in pursuit of her, and that it was the general belief the *Essex* had gone around the Cape of Good Hope. He parted with the *Java* after crossing the line, and on his arrival at Conception heard she had been sunk off Bahia by the American frigate *Constitution*. On enquiry respecting the American vessels in the South Seas, he informed me that about Conception was the best place to cruize for them, for he had left at that place nine of them in an unprotected and defenceless state, and entirely at a loss what to do with themselves; that they were almost daily arriving there, and that he had no doubt, by going off there, we should be enabled to take the most of them. I asked him how he reconciled it to himself to sail from England under the British flag, and in an armed ship, after hostilities had taken place between the two countries. He said he found no difficulty in reconciling it to himself, for, although he was born in America, he was an Englishman at heart. This man appeared the polished gentleman in his manners, but evidently possessed a corrupt heart, and, like all other renagadoes, was desirous of doing his native country all the injury in his power, with the hope of thereby ingratiating himself with his new friends. I permitted him to remain in his error some time, but at length introduced to him the

captains of the Montezuma and the Georgiana, who soon undeceived him with respect to our being an English frigate. I had felt great pity for these two last gentlemen, and had made the evils of war bear as light on them as possible, by purchasing of them, for the use of the crew, their private adventures, consisting of slop-clothing, tobacco, and spirits, for which they were sincerely grateful; but to this man I could not feel the same favourable disposition, nor could I conceal my indignation at his conduct: he endeavoured to apologize away the impression his conduct had made, by artfully putting the case to myself; and, with a view of rendering him easy, as I did not wish to triumph over the wretch, I informed him that I was willing to make some allowances for his conduct.

After the capture of the Greenwich, I informed her commander, John Shuttleworth, as well as Obadiah Wier, of the Atlantic, that I felt every disposition to act most generously toward them. Shuttleworth was however so much intoxicated, and his language so insulting, that it was with difficulty I could refrain from turning him out of my cabin. Wier was more reserved during my presence there; but, duty requiring me on deck, he, in the presence of some of the officers, used the most bitter invectives against the government of the United States; and he, as well as Shuttleworth, consoled themselves with the pleasing hope, that British frigates would soon be sent to chastise us for our temerity in venturing so far from home. They were at length, however, shewn to the apartment allotted them, and feeling, in some measure, restraint removed, they gave full vent to their anger, and indulged in the most abusive language against our government, the ship and her officers, lavishing on me in particular the most scurrilous epithets, and gave me appellations that would have suited a buccanier. They really appeared to have forgotten they were prisoners and in my power, and that it would be more to their advantage to trust entirely to my generosity, than to irritate me by such unprovoked abuse. However, I determined next day to make them sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, and did so without violating either the principles of humanity or the rules of war. I let them feel that they were dependent entirely on my generosity, was more

generous than they either deserved or expected, and this haughty Englishman, who would wish to have terrified us with the name of a Briton, and this renegade, who would have sacrificed the interests of his country, were now so humbled by a sense of their own conduct, and of what they merited, that they would have licked the dust from my feet had it been required of them to do so.

The whole of the next day was occupied in arranging the crews of our new prizes, and getting the baggage of the prisoners out of them; and it afforded me no small degree of pleasure to discover, that the Atlantic had on board about one hundred tons of water, an article of more value to us than any thing else she could have had; for we scarcely had water remaining on board our own ship, to take us even to the island of Cocos, and some of our prizes were very far short of the necessary supply; and none others having more than sufficient to answer their purpose; it was also a consolation to find, that by these two last vessels we had obtained the most abundant supply of provisions of every description, and naval stores, such as cordage, canvas, paints, tar, &c. &c., more than we required; also seamen's clothing in considerable quantities, and of a superior quality, for our people; and as these vessels had been only a few days from James' island, we found on board them 800 tortoises of a very large size, and sufficient to furnish all the ships with fresh provisions for one month.

Our fleet now consisted of six sail of vessels, without including the Georgiana. On board of the last captured vessels I put a sufficient number of men to fight their guns, giving lieutenant M'Knight charge of the Atlantic, and, for want of sea-officers, I put lieutenant Gamble of the marines in charge of the Greenwich. I had much confidence in the discretion of this gentleman; and, to make up for his want of nautical knowledge, I put two expert seamen with him as mates, one of whom was a good navigator.

Volunteers continued to offer from the captured vessels, and my whole effective force in those seas now consisted of

The Essex, mounting 46 guns, and 245 men,

| | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|
| Georgiana | 16 do. | 42 do. |
| Atlantic | 6 do. | 12 do. |
| Greenwich | 10 do. | 14 do. |
| Montezuma | 2 do. | 10 do. |
| Policy | | 10 do. |

Making in all, 80 guns, 333 men ;

together with one midshipman and six men on board the Barclay. My prisoners amounted in number to 80 ; but as I had divided them among the different ships, giving them full allowance of provisions, on condition of their giving their assistance in working, we found them as useful as our own men in navigating the prizes ; so that our whole number, including the prisoners, amounted to 420, and all in good health, with the exception of some of the prisoners, who were slightly affected with the scurvy.

The capture of those vessels, in consequence of the supply of water they afforded, induced me to change my intentions of going to the Island of Cocos for a stock ; as they were such prime sailers, I hoped that, by their taking in tow the Barclay and Policy, while I took care of the Montezuma, we should be enabled to get to windward of the islands, so as to fall in with the track of vessels bound from the continent to the Gallapagos, or, at all events, to reach Charles' Island, where I hoped to join the Georgiana, or, if she should not have arrived there, to leave different instructions for her commander ; and as we had been swept by the current, for the two last days, considerably to the southward, I believed we should be greatly assisted thereby, and succeed in executing my intentions without much difficulty. The dull-sailing vessels were therefore taken in tow, and every exertion made to get to windward, with the hope of weathering the south point of Albemarle ; but although the wind favoured us on every tack, we found it impossible to get around it, as the current, which (until we had brought it to bear east) had favoured us, now left us, and an adverse current, equally strong, rendered all our exertions to get to the southward ineffectual : nothing was left for us but to bear away,

and endeavour to get around to the northward of the islands ; and during the calms which succeeded the light and variable winds we had for the three last days experienced, I took the opportunity of getting an anchor and cable, and three thousand five hundred gallons of water, from the Atlantic and Greenwich, as well as a supply of tortoises, and such other articles as we stood immediately in want of.

The Greenwich proved to be the vessel that had been seen by Mr. Adams, and the Atlantic the one that had taken from Charles' Island the barrel of water and bread, which the captain informed me was done with a view of preventing his men from deserting, a circumstance which he greatly apprehended, while they could be certain of finding a supply of those articles on the island.

It seems somewhat extraordinary, that British seamen should carry with them this propensity to desert even into merchant vessels, sailing under the flag of their nation, and under circumstances so terrifying ; but yet I am informed, that their desertion while at Charles' Island has been very common, even when there was no prospect whatever of obtaining water but from the bowels of the tortoises. This can only be attributed to that tyranny, so prevalent on board their ships of war, which has crept into their merchant vessels, and is there aped by their commanders. Now mark the difference. While the Essex lay at Charles' Island, one-fourth of her crew was every day on shore, and all the prisoners who chose to go ; and I even lent the latter boats, whenever they wished it, to go for their amusement to the other side of the island. No one attempted to desert or to make their escape ; whenever a gun was fired, every man repaired to the beach, and no one was ever missing when the signal was made.

On the 6th June, we were abreast the Island of Narborough, and in the afternoon saw a thick column of smoke, rising rapidly as from its centre, ascending to a great height in the air, where it spread off in large white curls, and presented us a grand and majestic spectacle. We soon discovered that one of the numerous volcanoes had burst forth ; but there were various opinions as to its situation : some supposed it to be on Narborough, others to the east of Narborough, and on the Island of Albemarle. I was

of the latter opinion, and was confirmed in it next day, when we had changed our position. At night the whole atmosphere was illuminated by it; and yet we could perceive neither flames nor sparks thrown out by the crater; and I am induced to believe the irruption was of short continuance, as, on the night of the 7th, I could perceive no appearance of it, although our distance, I should have supposed, would have admitted of our seeing it, had it not become extinct.

The winds now began to freshen from the S.E., and gave us at length some hopes of getting from those islands, where we had been so long and unexpectedly delayed by calms and currents. The Spaniards call them the Enchanted Islands, and probably from the great difficulty vessels have found in getting from among them. The title seems well applied, and is such a one as I should have felt disposed to give them, had they been destitute of a name. We have been since the 18th April among them, and the greatest part of the time making every effort in our power to get clear of them; and although good fortune in making prizes has well rewarded us for the time we have spent, still I think it not unlikely we should have been equally successful on the coast of Peru, had we been enabled to return there.

On the 8th, we passed to the northward of Abington Island, with a fresh breeze, and all the dull-sailing vessels in tow; but before I bid adieu to the Gallapagos, I shall offer a few hints to those who may hereafter visit them, either with pursuits similar to mine, or in search of whales.

In the first place, I would recommend to those who may come in search of whalers, to make Hood's Island and Charles' Island, both of which places I would advise them to search carefully for vessels and traces of their having been there; from thence they should proceed to Albemarle, looking into both Elizabeth and Banks' Bay; and, should they find none at either of these places, let them proceed to cruize in sight of Rock Rodondo, which lies off the north head of Albemarle. Here they will be sure of meeting with whalers, if they are about the Gallapagos; for this is the position they always attempt to keep, as whales most abound there. They, to be sure, get swept sometimes to the northward

and westward, and sometimes, but less frequently, to the southward, by the rapid currents ; but they make every exertion to get back again to their favourite spot ; and although the British whalers have, during their wars with Spain, been frequently captured here by Spanish cruisers sent out for the purpose, and have, even in times of peace, been seized here by the Spaniards, on suspicion of having contraband goods, and sent in for adjudication, still they continue to resort here, and will, no doubt, so long as spermaceti whales are to be found ; and I confidently believe, that in any future war between America and England, and indeed during the present war, an American cruiser may be certain of finding as many prizes as she can man, and all fine ships, well supplied, and equipped in a superior manner. Should she at any time need refreshments, none can be better than the tortoises, turtle, and fish, with which the islands and sea abounds ; wood can be had in the greatest abundance ; and at certain seasons, no doubt, water can be obtained without difficulty ; and it is not unlikely that some of the islands furnish running streams, where ships may always get a supply ; but they are but little known, and I have to regret that my pursuits did not admit of my giving them a more thorough examination. I have no doubt but the spring formerly mentioned at Charles' Island is a never-failing one, where water may at all times be had ; the distance from the sea, to be sure, is great, and but few would attempt to water a ship of war from it ; it may, however, be of use to those who are really suffering for water. Colnet and others mention streams of water at James' and Chatham Islands, but I am induced to believe, from what I have learnt from my prisoners, that they owe their existence to temporary rains, and are similar to the place I visited near the basin in Albemarle, where it is said water has been obtained formerly. Supplies from them, however, are too precarious to place any dependence on, and it is advisable for every vessel visiting the Gallapagos, to lay in a good stock of that necessary article, as they may not be so fortunate as myself in capturing vessels with a large quantity on board, which, although contained in the oily casks of a whale-ship, and from them, it may be supposed, derived no very agreeable taste or smell, but, on the contrary, produced nausea when drunk ;

yet we considered it the most valuable part of our prize to us. It is not improbable, that, after heavy rains, vessels may be enabled to procure, as we did, a supply from the hollows of the rocks at Charles' Island ; therefore it may not be unnecessary to describe the place, in order that it may be found with more ease.

At each end of the longest beach, or landing-place, opposite the anchorage, in Essex bay, is a deep ravine, formed by the torrents of water which come, during the heavy rains, from the mountains, and are bedded with a hard and porous kind of rock or lava. We ascended each of those, to the distance of from one and a half to two miles, where we found small hollows, containing, some half a barrel, and others more, but seldom any that contained more than six or seven barrels ; but, as incredible as it may appear to those who may hereafter visit this island, and see the difficulties of approaching this strange watering-place, we took from thence to the ship, in three days, about 70 barrels of water, besides a considerable quantity in kegs and jugs belonging to individuals, and considered as a private stock, amounting in all, perhaps, to 10 or 12 barrels more.

It may also be necessary to describe more particularly the route to the spring, in order that it may be found by those who have not been there before. On the west part of the island, about six miles from Essex Bay, is a dark sandy beach, called by the whalers, by way of distinction, the Black Beach, opposite to which is an anchorage for vessels, though much exposed to the prevalent winds, and to a heavy swell which is setting in there, and I have reason to believe the bottom is foul, therefore do not consider it by any means a safe anchorage ; from the aforesaid beach is a pathway, much trodden, which leads directly to the springs ; and this pathway once found, there can be no difficulty in finding the springs, which are about three miles distant from the shore, and where an abundance of water was to be had when we were there. The road here is the best in the island, though in many places steep and difficult.

The hints already given, intended chiefly for those who may be in pursuit of whalers, may also be of some service to whalers themselves ; but as my transactions about these islands have put

me in possession of much information respecting the best situations for catching spermaceti whales, the practices of those who follow that business, and the importance of the southern whale-fishery, I hope I may be pardoned for enlarging a little on that subject, for the advantage of those who are strangers to the Pacific ocean.

First, as respects the best place for finding spermaceti whales, I should recommend cruising a short time off the island of Mocha; indeed some vessels have filled up their cargoes at this place, and even farther south; but, as they are here subject to a great deal of tempestuous weather, it is found too harassing for their people, and soon brings on the scurvy and other diseases; from thence angle the coast as far down as Conception, keeping the land in sight; and, after cruising here a short time, put into Conception for wood, water, and refreshments, if you have not already obtained them at Mocha; from thence work down along the coast of Chili and Peru, keeping at the distance of from 20 to 80 leagues from the land; make the land in the latitude of 14° or 15° south, and from thence down to the *Lobos de Mar*, keeping at the distance of from 20 to 40 leagues from the land. Cruise close in with the Lobos islands, as the spermaceti whales resort much to this place, and are frequently taken within two leagues of the land; from the Lobos islands proceed to cruise in about the latitude of 5° S., angling down the coast, and inclining off shore towards the Gallapagos islands, about the whole of which spermaceti whales may be found, but in the greatest abundance near Rock Rodondo. To go over the ground I have already marked out, and to examine it with care, will require from three to four months; and it should be so arranged, if possible, that your arrival among the Gallapagos should be in the month of May, June, or July; by this means you will escape the most tempestuous seasons of the coast of Chili. After cruising here two or three months, it is likely that it will be necessary to go into port, on account of the health of your people, as not even the tortoises of those islands will prevent their having the scurvy. Proceed now for Tumbez, on the coast of Peru; here you may, if necessary, renew your stock of water and wood, and lay in a supply of

vegetables. From Tumbez stretch off to the southward and westward, keeping on that tack until you can make Juan Fernandez or Massafuero ; then stretch in for Mocha, and go over the same ground again, if you have not already filled your vessel, and it is likely you will not have done so, unless you have had extraordinary success.

On running down the coast of Chili and Peru, you will frequently observe streaks of coloured water, from 10 to 20 leagues from the land, on the outer edge of which is considered good whaling ground, as the squid, their principal food, keep about those places ; and it must be observed, that where soundings are to be had, spermaceti whales are not to be found.

Secondly, respecting the practices of those who follow this business, I shall only touch on the most important articles, as it is not to be supposed that a pursuit of this nature would be engaged in by those entirely unacquainted with it.

Fine vessels, of from 250 to 400 tons burthen, mounting from 6 to 18 guns, and manned with from 25 to 35 men, abundantly supplied with whaling geer, casks of a superior quality to contain the oil, large copper tanks, iron boilers, skimmers, tubs, leather hose for starting the oil, spare whale-boats, frames, plank, &c. &c., together with three years supplies of provisions of every description, and of the best kind, as well as clothing for the seamen, and as much water as they can carry conveniently, are dispatched, at an expence of from 50 to 70,000 dollars, on those voyages ; the crews are entered on shares, and, at the expiration of the voyage, receive their proportion of the neat proceeds thereof, agreeably to the contract they can make with their owners, the captain generally receiving one-eightieth part of the whole ; mates, boat-steerers, harpooners, line-managers, oarsmen, ship-keepers, &c., &c., all being allowed their due proportions. The captains are also pursers for their ships, and make large profits on their supplies of slops, &c., and advances of money to their crews ; and as they are allowed to sell on the coast small quantities of merchandize, to defray the expences of refreshing their ships' companies, they derive also considerable profits therefrom ; and, by means of presents or bribes to the governors and

others, are enabled to smuggle on shore, and sell at great profits, considerable quantities of dry goods, which are frequently brought out in their oil-casks, for fear of search being made by the Spanish guarda-costas, and other picaroons which infest the coast; for the smuggling business is monopolized entirely by the governors, they allowing no other person whatever to have any concern in it, unless well paid for granting the privilege.

When the whale is killed, and brought alongside the ship, the separating the head from the body, baling the liquid oil or head matter from the case which contains it, and flinching the whale, or separating the blubber or thick fat from the carcase, as well as trying out the oil, cooling, straining, starting it below, coopering the casks, and frequently wetting and examining them, are all laborious operations, and which it is supposed every one who undertakes to conduct the voyage must be acquainted with, before he engages in the business. If the voyage is successful, every thing that can be made to contain oil is filled with it, even to the buoys of their anchors, jugs, cans, kids, and buckets; and it is no uncommon thing for the oil contained in such small articles to amount to a sum sufficient to pay all the disbursements of a vessel during a voyage of two years. On their arrival in England, their cargoes are worth from 150,000 to 200,000 dollars, when oil is at a fair price, which is from 100 to 110 pounds sterling the ton. With good management and proper industry, to which all are stimulated by the hopes of gain, these voyages generally turn out to great advantage, and are never known to fail, unless from shipwreck, or some other unavoidable disaster. Vessels which come into this sea for the purpose of taking spermaceti oil, never consider it an object to take other whales, although they are so abundant that they would be enabled, in a very short time, to fill up their cargoes with the oil; but it is, when taken, of but little value when compared with the spermaceti, and a full cargo in England would not defray the expenses of the outfits. To those unacquainted with the business, it seems a mystery how they are enabled to determine the class of whale before they are taken. An expert whaler will, however, by the manner of their spouting (at the greatest distance the spout can be seen), tell in an instant

whether it be a hump-back, fin-back, black whale, right whale (or whale producing the whale-bone), or spermaceti whale. The latter is remarkable for throwing the water directly forward, and making a short bushy spout of but a few feet above the surface of the sea; whereas some of the others will throw it the height of 30 feet or more. Their motion is also different, being slow and regular, except when pursued; and their head is remarkable for its length, the nose for its bluntness, and the eye for its smallness, not being larger than that of an ox. The striking of them is attended with more danger than that of any other whale, and they are frequently known to attack and destroy both men and boats.

Thirdly, the fishery is considered by Great Britain of such national importance, that, in the year 1792, that government sent captain James Colnet, of the navy, in the ship *Rattler*, into the Pacific ocean, for the purpose of discovering such ports for the South Sea whale-fishers, who voyage round Cape Horn, as might afford them the necessary advantages of refreshments and security to refit. This voyage was planned in consequence of a memorial from the merchants of the city of London concerned in the South Sea fisheries, to the Board of Trade, and stated the calamitous situation of ships' crews employed in this trade, from the scurvy and other diseases incident to those who are obliged to keep the seas, from the want of that refreshment which is afforded by intermediate harbours.

The Spaniards about that time had admitted British vessels into their ports, for the purpose of refitting and refreshing, but under so many restrictions as almost to amount to a prohibition, in which it was expected to end; it therefore became an object of great importance to obtain such a situation as the British commerce then required, independent of the Spaniards, as it was expected it would in a great measure lessen their jealousy, and at the same time accomplish the wishes of the British merchants. With this object in view, captain Colnet sailed from England on the 4th January, 1793, and returned on the 1st November, 1794, after having doubled Cape Horn, running along the coast of Chili, Peru, and Mexico touching at the islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrosio, the Gallapagos, Cocos, the isles of Santo Berto, Rocca

Partido, Soccoro, and Quibo, and cruizing in the Gulph of California. In the course of this voyage, which occupied twenty-two months, it does not appear that he made either any new discoveries, or accomplished the object for which he was sent out. It was found necessary, therefore, to stimulate seamen to the undertaking voyages of such length and importance (where their sufferings were like to be so great), by every motive of interest, and to this end, on the 22d June, 1795, the British parliament passed an act for further encouraging and regulating the southern whale-fisheries, in which it is enacted, that for eight whale ships or vessels which shall sail from England on the last day of December of every year, for three years, and proceed into the Pacific, either by the way of the Streights of Magellan, or around Cape Horn, and shall not return in less than sixteen calendar months, nor be absent longer than two years, premiums shall be allowed as follows :

The ship bringing the greatest quantity of oil and head-matter, provided it exceeds thirty tons, is entitled to six hundred pounds : and each of the other seven ships (provided the oil and head-matter exceeds thirty tons) is entitled to five hundred pounds. And on the 25th May, 1811, it was enacted, that premiums should be paid for the three succeeding years to ten ships, under the conditions aforesaid.

It was also further enacted (with a view of extending the whale-fisheries, and giving encouragement to foreigners to establish themselves in England, and particularly Americans, who were supposed to be the most skilful in that pursuit), that forty families of foreigners, who had carried on that business, might establish themselves at the port of Milford, in the county of Pembroke, bringing with them twenty ships, with their crews, on giving bond, that they will reside in the kingdom of Great Britain during three years, and that they will not absent themselves during that time, without the consent of his majesty, except it be on a whaling-voyage. Those ships, on their first arrival, and afterwards, were allowed to import cargoes of oil, on paying the same duties as are paid on oil imported in British vessels, provided the owner should have taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty, in

which case he enjoyed the same privileges and advantages as a British subject, and was entitled to all the bounties and premiums granted to any British ship employed in the whale-fishery, but subject to the same regulations and penalties. An enterprising quaker, named Benjamin Rotch, who had long conducted the whaling-business at Nantucket, embraced the liberal offers of the British government (the object of which was no doubt the destruction of our fisheries), and established himself, with several families, at the port of Milford, taking with him a number of ships, where he carried on business to great advantage. One of his ships (the *Montezuma*), with a British register, fell into my hands ; and this, it seems, is the only misfortune which has been known to happen to any of his vessels, since he established himself in England.

It is supposed there are not less than sixty ships employed in the southern sperm whale-fishery, including those off New Zealand, Tiane, and about the Cape of Good Hope, which, with their outfits on leaving England, may be estimated at three millions, and on their arrival with their cargoes to twelve millions of dollars. These ships are bound, under certain penalties, to have on board an apprentice for every fifty tons burthen, who, as well as the rest of their crews, is protected from impressment into his majesty's service. They are all permitted to arm and sail without convoy, but on their return from their voyages always touch at St. Helena to join the homeward bound fleets, as their cargoes are then too valuable to trust to the paltry defence which they could make with their few men and guns.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARRIVAL AT TUMBEZ ; RETURN TO THE GALLAPAGOS.

As I before observed, we passed, on the 8th of June, to the northward of Abington island, and from thence made the best of our way for the river Tumbez, intending, however, to touch at the island of La Plata on my way there, to leave a letter for lieutenant Downes, for I judged, from the difficulties which I had experienced in getting to windward, that he would not be enabled to reach Charles' island, and consequently would not receive my instructions to go to the island of Cocos, a route now by no means necessary, as our want of water had been amply supplied by our last prizes. I still, however, felt desirous of joining him as soon as possible, and, feeling much confidence in his punctuality, I felt it incumbent on me to repair to the appointed rendezvous with all dispatch.

Nothing of consequence transpired from the time of leaving the Gallapagos to our making the land of Peru, in the latitude of $0^{\circ} 47' 28''$ south, on the 14th. On the beginning of our passage, the winds blew from the south-east, but, as we approached the coast, they gradually hauled to the south, and when we made the land they blew from the south-south-west. I had felt some uneasiness, on account of the difficulty I should meet with in getting to the southward ; but the captains of the prizes assured me we should have the wind and current both favourable as we approached in shore, which proved to be the case. In this run we saw no vessels, although I kept my prizes spread in every direction on the look-out. Every favourable opportunity that offered I embraced, to supply ourselves from our prizes with such things as were necessary for the ship, and, among other precious articles, I was so fortunate as to obtain a new cable, sufficiently large for the Essex.

On the night of the 16th, discovered the land ahead, bearing S. by E. ; and as we had, the preceding day, been beating up

along shore, and I had expected, in the morning, to be up with the Island of La Plata, and as the haziness of the weather gave this the appearance of an island, I was fully impressed with a belief of this being La Plata, made every preparation for anchoring, and stood boldly in, keeping the lead going, having regular soundings and muddy bottom, our first cast of the lead giving us 45, which gradually shoaled to 25 fathoms, without any material change in the quality of the bottom. At break of day, we were not more than two and a half miles from the shore, and standing in for a white sandy beach, on which I saw some fishermen hauling their nets; and as it grew light, I discovered the steeple of a church, and shortly afterwards a town in the mountains. The haze now cleared off, and enabled me to see a great extent of coast, and I soon perceived that we had mistaken Cape Lorenzo for the Island of Plata, and had been set by the current, which had changed during the night, into the deep bay formed by that and Cape Pasado, in which is the convenient port of Manta, which takes its name from a fish of that name, caught there in great abundance. I had made the signal to prepare to anchor; but, on discovering my mistake, soon changed my determination, although I perceived no danger, and indeed sent a boat in to sound, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, where good anchorage was to be had in 15 fathoms, well sheltered from the prevalent winds, and smooth landing; but I could perceive no rivulet of water, though it is not improbable one is to be found there, as the land was very much cut up by deep ravines. This place afforded convenient anchorage; but my object was to touch at the Island of Plata, which I had understood furnished both wood and water, as well as good anchorage on the east side, in twenty fathoms, opposite to a small sandy bay. At this place, it is said, admiral Drake anchored, and divided his plunder; and as it was said to be a place little frequented, and furnished both hogs and goats, I believed (should it answer the description given of it) that it would be an admirable place for a rendezvous, as all British, and indeed other vessels, bound either from the Gallapagos to Tumbez, as well as those from Mexico, Panama, &c. &c. and bound to the south, all pass within sight of this island, as indeed do those bound to the north from Lima

and other parts of Peru, as well as those from the coast of Chili ; and this island was supposed to be the more suitable for our purpose, as it was represented as very high, and affording an extensive view of the horizon. Every exertion was therefore made to reach this desirable spot, which began to shew itself above the horizon, bearing S.E., as soon as we had stretched out of the bay. On the evening of the 16th, we weathered the Island of La Plata, which appeared on every part perpendicular and inaccessible, the surf beating with great violence on the south and west sides. On the summit were thinly scattered prickly pear and other bushes, and off the south side stood a few rocks or islets, or rather detached pieces of the island, for they had been evidently separated therefrom by the sea breaking through. We ran along about two miles to windward of the island, and had 25 fathoms, coarse gravel and shells ; and as it was too late to give it an examination that night, kept between that and the continent (from which it is distant about 5 leagues) until the morning, having soundings in from 22 to 25 fathoms. While standing in for the island, and at the distance of from 3 to 5 leagues from it, we saw innumerable shoals of spermaceti whales, all going with great rapidity to the N.W. ; and the whalers on board assured me, that they never before had seen them in such numbers together. Their keeping so close together, and their rapid movements, they said, was a certain sign of their having been lately pursued, either by whalers, or by a fish very destructive to them, called the whale-killer : and when we got on soundings, inside the island, we were surrounded by an equal number of that kind of whale called the fin-back. At daylight I ran in for La Plata, until I supposed myself within two miles of it, when I hove to. A small sail was discovered to the eastward, in chase of which I sent the *Atlantic* and *Greenwich* ; then took two whale-boats, and proceeded to examine the island, giving directions for the *Essex* to lie off and on until my return. I soon found I had been deceived in estimation of my distance from the island, for, on my arrival there, I could scarcely see the ships. On the east side, I found a soft, white, sandy beach, with smooth water, and every appearance of good anchorage and shelter ; but on sounding within musket shot of the shore, could get

no bottom with 22 fathoms of line, and on the strictest examination, could find no fresh water, although I went on shore at every place where it was possible for a boat to land; and I can say with safety, that the Island of La Plata affords no fresh water, except during heavy rains, which are very uncommon on this coast; nor does it afford wood in sufficient quantities to supply ships.

This island has been much frequented by the pearl fishers, and those employed in salting fish, of which we had sufficient testimony in the large piles of shells of the pearl oyster, as well as considerable heaps of salt, and ground cleared away, levelled, and otherwise prepared for drying fish, which are more abundant at this island than any other place I have visited in those seas, and are of the same kind as those found among the Gallapagos. The only birds we found here were boobies, and man-of-war hawks. We saw no seals on or about the island, and only two turtles were seen, and they some distance from the shore. No animals or their traces were discovered on the shore; and the aspect of the whole island was the most desolate imaginable. It is about eight miles in circumference, and offers no advantages whatever, that I could discover, to induce navigators to touch there; and although it is represented to have been a favourite resort for the buccaniers, who stopped there for the purpose of watching the Spanish fleets, I am induced to believe that the want of anchorage would have prevented their using it for that purpose, although I acknowledge that its want of every other advantage prevented my giving it so strict an examination in that respect as I should otherwise have done.

As I thought it not unlikely that Mr. Downes would touch at this place, with the expectation of finding letters from me, I left one suspended in a bottle on the branch of a bush, at the western part of the sand beach; and to attract his attention to this place, I painted on the side of a rock the two letters S. X., of so large a size as to be seen at a considerable distance. The sound of these two letters approaching so near to that of the name of the frigate, would be a sufficient proof to lieutenant Downes of our having been there, and would naturally lead to a strict search for further information respecting us; while, at the same time, they would be incomprehensible to any other person, as my letter was

couched in such terms as to be understood only by those belonging to the expedition.

I did not get back to the ship until twelve o'clock. The Greenwich and Atlantic had returned from their chace of the strange sail, which proved to be a small Spanish brig from Panama bound to Payta; and, on enquiring the news, they informed the commanders of the prizes (supposing them to be English), that a Peruvian privateer, called the Nereyda, had attacked a large American frigate, and shot away her main mast, and that the Nereyda had suffered much in the action; but finding the frigate too powerful, and at the same time to outsail the Nereyda, she found it necessary to endeavour to make her escape, to effect which she was compelled to lighten ship, by throwing all her guns overboard!

This small brig had run in and anchored in a spacious bay, to avoid our vessels, where she was followed by them. It was represented by lieutenants M'Knight and Gamble as affording good shelter, anchorage, and landing; and they were informed by the commander of the brig that an abundance of fresh water was to be conveniently obtained from a well near the sea shore. The Spaniards called it the Bay of Cabo.

On the 19th, made the island of St. 'Close, or Deadman's Island. It lies in the mouth of the Bay or Gulph of Guyaquil, and owes its last name to the strong resemblance it bears to a corpse, the head lying to the westward. It is equally desolate in its appearance with the island of La Plata, is about three miles in length, extremely narrow, and is said to have anchorage on the north side. The soundings off this gulph extend out of sight of land, where you have from 40 to 45 fathoms, soft muddy bottom. We all ran in for the river Tumbez, which lies on the south side of the gulf, and anchored in a depth of five fathoms and a half water, soft bottom. The outermost breaker, at the mouth of the river, then bore S.W. of us, distant about one mile; Deadman's Island N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. The surf broke with great violence on the bar which runs across the mouth of the river, as well as on the beach, and on first anchoring I saw but little prospect of succeeding in supplying our wants.

I had here to lament the death of the best seaman in my ship. John Rodgers, one of the gunner's crew, had, from too great a fondness for rum, become somewhat inebriated, and while on the main-yard, assisting in furling the main-sail, fell head-foremost on deck (on the very spot where Samuel Groce fell), and shattered his scull. His death was instantaneous, and his remains were interred the next day, with the following appropriate epitaph, placed on a board at his head by his messmates.

Entombed here

The body of John Rodgers, seaman, who departed this life
June 19th, 1813, aged 32 years.

Without a sigh,
He bid this world adieu;
Without one pang,
His fleeting spirit flew.

Soon after anchoring, capt. Randall proceeded to Tumbez, by my request, to sound the governor as to the reception he was disposed to give us, taking with him a handsome present, and an invitation for him to come on board; and was desired to apologize for my not coming up, on account of indisposition. Soon after his departure, we commenced wooding and watering, both of which we found extremely difficult, on account of the violent surf, which frequently broke our rafts, filled our boats, and endangered the lives of those on board them. We in a few days, however, became more accustomed to it, and were better able to guard against its effects.

On the 22d, observed captain Randall's boat crossing the bar of the river, with some strangers in, and soon afterwards saw one of them dressing himself in uniform; and on her coming alongside, was informed that this was the governor of Tumbez, accompanied by the collector of the customs, and an old gentleman who called himself the god-father of the governor, and the governor's son. Although the appearance of the whole was as wretched as can well be imagined, policy induced me to shew them every attention; and, to impress them with a belief of my friendly dispo-

sition and respect, I gave them a salute of 9 guns on their coming on board; and while they remained with me, which was until the next day, I paid every attention to them in my power, although their contemptible appearance, which frequently excited the risibility of my crew, made me sometimes blush for my guests. I had, on my first arrival, dispatched the Spaniards found on board captain Randall's ship, to Guyaquil, with a view of getting them out of the way, and prevent them from interrupting, by their information, the friendly intercourse I was desirous of establishing, as well as to endeavour to procure purchasers for my prizes, which I had been informed could be readily obtained there. The collector, however, finding we had nothing to smuggle, and giving up all hopes of making a little money in that way, offered to go to Guyaquil, and bring down purchasers for the ships, provided I would give him \$200 dollars for each ship he should be the means of selling. To this bargain I agreed; and the prospect of gaining 8 or 900 dollars, kept the creature restless the whole time he was on board, and he promised to start from Tumbez as soon as he could get a conveyance from thence to Guyaquil. To the governor and his suite, I gave presents to the amount of about \$100, before their departure, with strong expectations of more, and they left me with assurances of the most friendly disposition on their part, and the most pressing invitation for me to go to Tumbez, which I promised to do in the course of a day or two. The next day I visited the town or hamlet. It is situated about six miles from the river's mouth, on the left bank of the first rising ground you meet with; from thence to the mouth of the river the land is all low, similar to that of the Mississippi, covered with rushes, reeds, and mangroves, and here and there, on the most elevated parts, are to be found the huts where the natives have settled themselves, for the purpose of cultivating the soil, which produces, in great abundance, cocoa, corn, plantains, melons, oranges, pumpkins, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, &c. &c. Their houses are formed of reeds, covered with rushes, open at all sides, and having the floor elevated about four feet from the earth, to protect them from the alligators, which are here numerous and of an enormous size. One of them I killed with a musket.

ball, 15 feet in length, and of the most hideous appearance. The ball entered below the joint of his fore-leg, near the shoulder, and penetrated his heart, every other part being so well guarded by the thick scales as to render it invulnerable. We saw here vast numbers of wild turkeys, which prove very troublesome to the planters, as well as parrots, vultures, hawks, herons, pelicans, white curlews, and a great variety of small birds with beautiful plumage. The river was filled with fish, some of them of a large size, among which the saw-fish abounded. The stream ran in a serpentine manner through the low grounds, and had several outlets, where the surplus waters escaped to the ocean. Several sunken trees render the ascent as well as descent dangerous. The musketoes were numerous and tormenting, and in almost every respect this stream bore the strongest resemblance to the Mississippi, except in size and depth, it being not more than 75 yards across in its widest parts, and in many places very shallow.

I arrived at Tumbez at 11 o'clock, but took the precaution to have my boat's crew well armed, and every arrangement made to secure a retreat if necessary ; for, notwithstanding their professions of friendship, I had reason to doubt their sincerity, from the innumerable instances of their treachery on this coast ; and I had cause to rejoice in my precautions, as the repeated interrogations of the governor respecting the state of affairs between the United States and Spain, convinced me he had his doubts whether he should attempt to detain me or not, as he was uncertain whether the war between Great Britain and the United States did not extend to their allies, the Spaniards. The hopes, however, of further presents from me, as well, perhaps, as the dread of punishment from us, overcame every other consideration ; and although there was a degree of restlessness and uneasiness in the governor, that he could not well conceal, he did all that lay in his power to give me the best reception his means would afford ; and while his wife (who was a handsome young native, of Indian and Spanish parents) was cooking the dinner, I strolled about this wretched place, which consisted of about 50 houses, formed in no way different from those on the banks of the river, except that the reeds were placed closer, in the manner of basket-work ; and some of

those of the higher class, such as that of the governor and curate, were filled with mud. The inhabitants gave me the most friendly reception, every where invited me into their huts, where hogs, dogs, fowls, jackasses, men, women, and children, were grouped together, and from whence, in a few minutes, I was always glad to make my escape, from the innumerable swarms of fleas with which they were infested ; and the house of the governor was no more exempt from this plague than those of the plebeians, of which his wife and naked children bore innumerable testimonies, in the large red blotches on their neck and bodies.

The men of this place seem to be of the lowest class of those who call themselves civilized ; and the women, although of fine forms, animated, cheerful, and handsome countenances, are destitute of all that delicacy, the possession of which only can render the female lovely in our eyes. I shall mention one instance only of the many I witnessed during my short stay in this place, to convey an idea of their total want of decency. The governor's wife had a young child in her arms. I asked her if it was yet weaned ; she informed me it was not, that she had plenty of milk, and, to convince me of the truth of the assertion, took out one of her breasts, and spirted the milk to a considerable distance, observing at the same time, that she should not wean him until she found herself again pregnant, accompanying the observation with suitable gestures to make me understand her meaning. The inhabitants, finding that I had some presents to dispose of, came flocking to the governor's, some with a nosegay, some with a pair of fowls, a half dozen of eggs, a few oranges, watermelons, goats, or whatever else they considered most likely to extort from me something of value ; but having soon got clear of the articles I had taken with me, which consisted of silk shawls, &c., and having nothing else to dispose of, I was compelled to leave them, in the expectation of my returning with a larger supply. I left Mr. Shaw, the purser, to procure a supply of fruit and vegetables for the crew, not considering it prudent to remain all night from the ship, a thing I was by no means induced to do on a view of the bed I should in such case have been compelled to occupy, which

consisted of four stakes stuck in the ground, with reeds laid across, and over that a thin mat.

On my return to the ship, a most disagreeable circumstance took place, which, for the credit of the ship, and of the officers of the American navy generally, I wish it was not necessary to relate; but as it took place in the presence of our prisoners, who no doubt will make their representation of it, with suitable embellishments, alterations, and exaggerations, and as it led to some changes of considerable importance, I conceive it proper to give a correct statement of the affair.

Lieutenant W., the (then) second lieutenant, had in two or three instances become intoxicated, and so much so as to compel me once to arrest him, as at such times his conduct had been extremely violent and offensive to all on board; but as this officer possessed many good qualities, and was much esteemed for his goodness of heart, his brother officers interceded for him, pledging themselves for his future good conduct; and on a solemn promise from him, that he would abstain from ardent liquors while he continued under my command, I relieved him from his arrest, and put him to duty, with an assurance that for another similar offence his authority should for ever cease on board the Essex.

During my short absence at Tumbez, lieutenant W. felt himself relieved from that restraint which my presence had imposed, and could not resist the opportunity of again indulging in his horrid propensity, which an abstinence of many months had rendered doubly dear to him, and to which he was strongly invited by captain Shuttleworth, the prisoner whom I formerly mentioned as having conducted himself so improperly. On my return he was officer of the deck, and, fearing that I should discover his situation, he left the deck as soon as I entered the ship, and, while I was engaged in conversation with the first lieutenant, retired to his state-room. Not knowing his condition, I sent repeatedly for lieutenant W., who was reported to me as lying in his cot, and could not be made to answer. He had once before attempted to commit suicide, and I felt apprehensive that he had now made attempts on his life. I went to his state-room, where I

found him in his cot, with his face down; and, after considerable difficulty, and repeated efforts to move him, succeeded in turning him over. He now requested me to let him alone; I told him, as he was evidently in his senses, and apparently knew what he was about, I was determined to investigate the cause of his conduct. He then sprang up, and with great violence of gesture and language demanded to know what I intended to do, observing, at the same time, that he had been drunk, and had not had time to get sober. I informed him that he was under arrest. He asked me how long. I told him, as long as the cruize lasted. He then seized a pistol, which he attempted to load, observing, that myself nor any other should have the satisfaction of arresting him. As there was a threatening manner with him, and not knowing whether he intended to use the pistol against me or himself, I grasped him and took it from him. He then attempted to load another, which was also taken from him. He then assured me he had no intentions of using the pistol against me; that, if I would permit him, he would blow his own brains out, observing, that he would put an end to his existence before morning. I now sent for a guard, and had his room searched for arms, which were all taken away from him, and afterwards confined him there, with two centinels at the door, with orders not to permit him to leave it. When the arms were taken out, he refused to go into the room until some violence was used to compel him; he, however, became at length pacified, and by morning dejected and penitent. He frequently declared, that, as he had violated his promise to me as well as to his brother officers who had interceded for him, he could not survive the shame, and had formed the determination of putting an end to his existence the first opportunity which presented itself.

The ship now being left with only one sea lieutenant, it became necessary to supply the deficiency, and the more so as I had suffered lately much from the want of officers; I therefore ordered lieutenant M^r Knight to join the Essex, placing Mr. Adams, the chaplain, in charge of the Atlantic; gave the sailing-master the appointment of acting third lieutenant; and appointed midshipman J. S. Cowan acting fourth lieutenant, giving the ap-

pointment of sailing-master to midshipman Odenheimer; and, to supply their places on board the prizes, I put the younger midshipmen, boys from 12 to 15 years of age, making them nominally prize-masters, with careful seamen, in whom I could confide, to take care of them.

Our wooding and watering went on briskly, and every thing promised a speedy supply to all our wants, except vegetables. On our first arrival, boats had come off to the ship; but the governor, finding by the purser's remaining in town he could monopolize the whole trade, forbade every person selling any article whatever, and placed guards at the river's mouth to prevent boats from coming off to us. Hearing nothing of the purser for two or three days, and not knowing the cause of the boats keeping aloof from us, I had some serious apprehensions for his safety; and this fear was somewhat increased by the disappearance of one of my prisoners, the mate of a ship, whose absence could not be accounted for in any way but on the supposition of his being murdered by the natives, for a few dollars he had taken with him on shore, for the purpose of procuring a few articles for the others. He had been permitted to go on parole, and had left on board a considerable sum of money, as well as all his clothing and other property, and his not returning at the appointed time caused considerable suspicion to us all. Another circumstance which led me to suspect some treachery was a letter I had received from Guyaquil, which shewed the inimical disposition of the governor of that place towards us; and, as the governor of Tumbez was subordinate to him, I felt confident that he would be conformable to the views of his superior, unless I should secure his friendship by fresh presents, which was what I was by no means induced to, while we could supply our most urgent wants without his consent.

The letter I speak of was as follows:

Captain Porter, sir,

Guyaquil, 22d June, 1813.

I have seen the description of the four ships that are in Tumbez, knowing that several merchants have seen the same, and all would be willing to enter a negotiation; but it is impossible, as

there is no licence from the government, and it is losing time to think of the same. The sooner you go off the better. The bearer is at present en declarations en government.

Please to excuse the few words and signing of

Your humble servant

And well-wisher.

The bearer of this carries a few little articles of refreshment, and if they should wish for any little trade they are confident.

I now directed all my watering and wooding parties to go armed, to be prepared for the worst that might happen, and determined (if I should not hear from the purser next day) to go to Tumbez with a few armed boats, to know the cause of his detention.

On the morning of the 24th, we discovered three square-rigged vessels standing into the bay, and as they approached with apparent caution, many on board conjectured them to be enemies. I believed it to be lieutenant Downes in the Georgiana, with two prizes, but directed the Atlantic and Greenwich to be prepared to get under way in pursuit of them, if it should prove otherwise. They continued to approach to the distance of five or six miles of us, when the headmost vessel hove to, and shortly afterwards we discovered a boat, which had left them for the purpose of reconnoitering us. I directed two of the fastest rowing boats to be prepared to pursue her; but on her nearer approach she showed the private signal of the Georgiana, and shortly afterwards lieutenant Downes came on board the Essex, where his arrival was greeted by our crew with three hearty cheers.

He informed me that he had captured, near James' Island, three British ships, to wit:

The Hector of 11 guns, 25 men, 270 tons

| | | | |
|-----------|---|----|-----|
| Catharine | 8 | 29 | 270 |
|-----------|---|----|-----|

| | | | |
|------|---|----|-----|
| Rose | 8 | 21 | 220 |
|------|---|----|-----|

The Catharine and Rose approached the Georgiana without the least suspicion of her being an enemy, and the captains of them did not find out their mistake until they got on board her. The Hector was discovered in the afternoon; but lieutenant Downes did not succeed in getting alongside of her until late at night; and,

as she was very warlike in her appearance he had made every preparation for action, supposing her at first to be a Spanish sloop of war. His crew at this time only amounted to twenty men and boys, the rest being on board his two prizes, the Catharine and Rose, while his prisoners amounted to upwards of 50, the most of whom he had confined in irons, to prevent their carrying into execution a plan that had been laid for taking his vessel from him. They all, however, volunteered their services to attack the supposed Spaniard; but lieutenant Downes very prudently considered, that, as he now had them in security, he had better keep them so, as they might not be disposed to return to their irons after being placed at liberty, with arms in their possession; he consequently declined accepting their offers, and trusted to the bravery and exertions of his own men for the success of the attack.

When he had got within hail of the Hector, and ascertained that she was a British ship, he summoned her to surrender; to which he received no reply, but heard her captain give directions for the guns to be cleared away. He now fired a shot, which entered her stern, and did considerable damage, when the captain of the Hector gave orders for making sail, and, on being asked if he intended to surrender, answered, No, no. Lieutenant Downes now opened his fire on the enemy, and after firing five broadsides, which killed two men and wounded six others dangerously, shot away her main topmast, and most of her standing and running rigging, and rendered the ship a wreck, she struck to the Georgiana. After lieutenant Downes had put a prize crew on board the Hector, his own crew amounted to only ten in number, while his prisoners amounted to seventy-five; it became therefore necessary to get clear of them as soon as possible; and as the Rose proved to be a very dull sailing vessel, and had occasioned him considerable delay, he caused all her guns, and most of her cargo, which consisted of spermaceti oil, to be thrown overboard, and gave the ship up to her captain, on condition that he would proceed to St. Helena with all the prisoners, who entered into an obligation not to serve against the United States unless regularly exchanged. He gave to the captain of the Rose a passport for St. Helena, with an assurance, if he attempted to go elsewhere, and should

be met by an American cruizer, his vessel would be taken from him. After lieutenant Downes had got clear of those two great encumbrances, the *Rose* and his prisoners, he proceeded for Tumbez, where he arrived the day before us; but not finding us there, proceeded to cruize off Cape Blanco for a few days, with an intention of looking into Tumbez occasionally.

The *Georgiana* and her prizes anchored near us and our fleet now amounted to nine sail of ships; and as the *Atlantic* was far superior to the *Georgiana*, in size, appearance, sailing, and every other qualification necessary for a cruizer, I immediately gave orders for 20 guns to be mounted on her, and removed lieutenant Downes and crew to that ship, placing Mr. Adams in charge of the *Georgiana*. To the *Atlantic* I gave the name of the *Essex Junior*; and as I had received some additions to my crew by volunteers from prizes, I was enabled to increase her crew to sixty men, and appointed midshipman Dashiell sailing-master of her. I also removed from the *Greenwich* to the other prizes all cumbersome articles, and converted that vessel into a store-ship, putting on board her, from the rest, all provisions, cordage, and other articles of value to us, and mounted on her 20 guns, and by this means secured to us a supply of almost every article we should want for seven months. These changes, and the alterations necessary to be made to fit the *Essex Junior* for a cruizer, as well as the wooding and watering of the *Georgiana* and prizes, proved likely to occasion some further delays; every exertion was made to leave the place as soon as possible, and the absence of Mr. Shaw seemed the only important obstacle; at length, however, a boat arrived, and informed me he was on the point of leaving there, and explained the cause of his long detention, which was owing entirely to the avarice and indolence of the governor, who was desirous of monopolizing all the trade, and too indolent to make any exertions to supply our wants. Mr. Shaw, at length, arrived, but was compelled to leave all the articles he had purchased in possession of the governor, as he could not procure a boat to bring them down, and as they were not of sufficient importance to induce me to run any farther risk, I determined to leave them there.

It now became necessary to think of disposing of all my prisoners, as, independent of the inconvenience they were likely to put us to by their great consumption of provisions, they were a great incumbrance to us ; and as repeated application had been made to me by them to put them on shore at this place, I at length consented, furnishing them with provisions, and giving to them three boats, for the purpose of transporting them and their baggage from the river's mouth to Tumbez, which, with a large canoe and a launch which they hired for the purpose, were found fully sufficient. Previous to putting them on shore, I carefully restored to each prisoner (even to that renegado Wier and captain Shuttleworth) every article which had been taken from them, and all entered into an obligation not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged.

And now having no occasion to remain longer in Tumbez, I on the morning of the 30th made the signal for getting under way, and on the 1st got clear of the Gulf of Guyaquil, and stretched away to the westward, to fall in with the easterly trade-winds, which are seldom met with until you get from 100 to 150 leagues from the land.

As the Essex Junior was very imperfectly equipped for a cruize, I continued in company with her, keeping my carpenters and others constantly at work on board her, building up breast-works, and making the necessary alterations on board her ; and on the 4th of July a salute of 17 guns was fired from the Essex, Essex Junior, and Greenwich, in commemoration of the anniversary of the independence of the United States ; and as we were enabled to procure from the prizes a sufficient quantity of spirits to issue to our crew, the day was spent in the utmost conviviality, their grog being doubly relished from their having for some time past been entirely destitute of it.

On the 9th, having completed the equipments of the Essex Junior, and there being no necessity for my remaining longer with her, I directed lieutenant Downes to proceed to Valparaiso with the prize-ships Hector, Catharine, Policy, and Montezuma, and the American ship Barclay, with directions to leave the Barclay there, and to sell the others to the best advantage, leaving

ing it discretionary with him whether to send the Policy to the United States, she having a full cargo of spermaceti oil, which cannot be sold on this coast without great loss. I furnished him with blank powers of attorney for appointing an agent for the sale of our prizes ; and as I gave him directions to procure for the Essex a quantity of spirits and some other articles, I furnished him with \$4,000 to make the purchases, in the event of his being disappointed in the sale of the vessels. On leaving me, I gave him sealed instructions, with orders not to open them until he had left Valparaiso, which were as follows.

(Confidential.)

United States' Frigate Essex,

SIR,

At sea, 1st July, 1812.

On leaving Valparaiso, you will scour the coast of Chili and Peru, keeping the usual distance for whalers. It will be advisable to look into the harbour of Lima ; from thence proceed to the Gallapagos, searching Hood's and Charles' Islands for letters ; should you find none at either of those places, look into James' Island. Get clear of all prisoners before leaving the islands if possible, and proceed to join me at the Island of Chitahoo, or Sta. Christiana, one of the Marquesas, where you will find me at anchor, or hear from me in Resolution Bay, in the latter part of September, and first of October. I intend there to refit my ship.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Lieutenant John Downes.

And now finding myself in the latitude $7^{\circ} 15' S.$, and nearly in the longitude of the Gallapagos, I parted company with the Essex Junior and her convoy, and stood to the eastward, until they were out of sight ; I then shaped my course for the Gallapagos Islands, which I was strongly induced to visit again, as I had received intelligence of three English armed ships having sailed from Tumbez a fortnight before my arrival there, and I had every expectation of their having gone to their favourite fishing ground, and particularly as it was stated that they had information

of my being on the coast, and had kept together for mutual protection, and had expressed a determination to seek for and attack me.

I kept with me the store-ship Greenwich and the Georgiana, intending to send the latter to the United States on my arrival at the islands, as she had her cargo of oil nearly complete, and the season was now approaching which would be most proper to dispatch her. I was desirous that she should approach our coast in the dead of winter, as British ships of war could not, at that season of the year, keep the sea to blockade our northern ports.

On the 12th, I made Charles' Island, and hove to for the night; in the morning I ran close in with Essex Bay, and sent the boat on shore to the *post-office*, and on her return was informed, that all the papers had been taken from the box; that some small kegs, which had been left through neglect by our people, when last there, had been taken away, as well as some wood we had left on the beach; and that some fresh tortoise shells had been found there, which convinced us that some vessel had been there quite lately.

The letters for lieut. Downes, buried in the bottle, remained, however, untouched. Those were brought on board, and a short note, informing him of the time of my having stopped there, was left in their place; I then bore up for Banks' Bay, and arrived at midnight off the south head of Albemarle, where I hove to, for the purpose of giving the ground a good examination, and at daylight made all sail to the northward. At 11 A. M. discovered three sail off Banks' Bay, standing on a wind, some distance from each other. I gave chase to the one in the centre; the others, which appeared to be fine large ships, stood on different tacks, with a view of eluding us, while the one I was in chase of bore up from us. I felt apprehensive for the safety of my prizes, which were now a great distance astern of us; and the in-shore ship tacked to windward of us, and stood for them, with a view of cutting them off; but my anxiety was considerably relieved, on seeing the Greenwich heave to for the Georgiana to come up, as I was confident it was for the purpose of getting her crew out, as she soon after stood boldly down for the stranger. We were not long in capturing the vessel we were in chase of, which proved to

be the English ship Charlton, of 10 guns, the captain of which informed me, that the ship now to windward was the Seringapatam, of 14 guns and 40 men, commanded by William Stavers, and that the other was the New Zealander, of 8 guns.

Notwithstanding the great interest I felt for the critical situation of my prizes, as well as that which every officer must feel when in pursuit of an enemy, I could not help remarking the operations of nature on the south side of Narborough and on the southern part of Albemarle. Narborough appeared to have undergone great changes since our last visit, by the violent irruptions of its volcanoes, and at this time there were no less than four craters in operation on that island, and one on the south part of Albemarle. And I should have before mentioned, that a few hours after leaving Charles' Island, a volcano burst out with great fury from its centre, which would naturally lead to the belief of a submarine communication between them.

Perceiving that the New Zealander had hove about to stand toward us, I was impressed with a belief that they had got over their alarm; but, from the manœuvres of the other ship, I was persuaded that he supposed us an enemy, therefore determined to use every effort to take her first. The Greenwich continued to run down for him, while the Georgiana ran for the Essex. I soon threw a crew on board the Charlton, and gave chase. Several broadsides were exchanged between the Greenwich and the Seringapatam, when the latter hauled down her colours, but endeavoured to make her escape in a crippled state, having her sails and rigging much cut. The Greenwich kept up the pursuit close on her quarter; the Essex was coming up with her fast; when, in the dusk of the evening, seeing no possibility of escape, the enemy bore up for the Essex, and surrendered his ship. I immediately took the captain and officers from her, left the Greenwich to take care of her, and pursued the other ship, which I captured in about an hour afterwards.

It proved to be the Seringapatam which had taken the letters, wood, kegs, &c. from Charles' Island. The capture of this ship gave me more pleasure than that of any other which fell into my hands; for, besides being the finest British ship in those seas, her

commander had the character of being a man of great enterprize, and had already captured the American whale-ship *Edward* of Nantucket, and might have done great injury to the American commerce in those seas ; for although he had come into the Pacific on a whaling voyage, he had given but little attention to that object while there was a hope of meeting American whalers ; but on requiring of this man that he should deliver to me his commission, he, with the utmost terror in his countenance, informed me that he had none with him, but was confident that his owners had, before this period, taken out one for him, and that he had no doubt would send it to Lima, where he had expected to receive it. It was evident that he was a pirate, and I did not feel that it would be proper to treat him as I had done other prisoners of war ; I therefore ordered him and all his crew in irons ; but after enquiring of the American prisoners, whom I found on board the prize, as to the manner they had been treated by the crew of the *Seringapatam*, and being satisfied that they, as well as the mates, were not to blame for the conduct of their commander, I liberated them from confinement, keeping *Stavers* only in irons.

I now bore up for *James' Island*, at which place I was anxious to arrive, in order that I might, at anchor, be enabled to get from my prizes such articles as we might want, such as anchors and cables, with which they were well supplied ; but, on account of the violence of the current, which was setting to the N.W., our attempt was ineffectual ; for, notwithstanding every exertion to prevent it, we were swept to the N.W. as far as the latitude of $2^{\circ} 3'$ N., and seeing no hopes of succeeding in a short time, I determined to give the *Charlton* up to the captain, (as she was an old ship, and a dull sailer,) on condition that he should land all my prisoners at *Rio de Janeiro*, to which contract he, as well as the captain of the *New Zealander*, bound themselves by oath ; and after taking from her a cable, and such other articles as were necessary for us, and sending all her guns and military equipments on board the *Seringapatam*, I dispatched her on the 19th, with 48 prisoners. The mates and sailors, however, expressed their determination not to go to *Rio de Janeiro* with the ship, for fear of being pressed on board a British man of war ; they were very so-

licitous that I would allow them whale-boats, and let them take their chance in them, declaring that any fate, however dreadful, would be preferable to a servitude in his majesty's navy. To this I would not consent, lest it might be supposed I had turned them adrift in the middle of the Pacific; they then requested to remain by the Essex; I did not wish to be encumbered by them, and would not agree to this proposal. They, however, at length grew turbulent, and I was apprehensive I should have to use some coercive measures, in order to restore to the captains the necessary authority to keep them in order; but, after reasoning with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they became more orderly, and made sail to the southward, giving us at their departure three hearty cheers, and many (I believe sincere) good wishes for our success, and safe return to America.

As the Seringapatam proved to be a fast-sailing ship, and was in every respect calculated for a man of war (and indeed was built for one, in India, for Tippoo Saib), I determined to render her as formidable as possible, that, in case of any accident happening to the Essex (an event much to be dreaded in a navigation so little known to us), our cruize might not be entirely broken up. With this view I sent the gunners and carpenters to work on her, and in a few days she was completely equipped with 22 guns mounted on her. I gave her in charge to Mr. Terry, master's mate, with directions not to separate from us, and placed the New Zealander under the charge of Mr. Shaw, the purser, with similar instructions.

We continued our ineffectual exertions to get to the S.E., and on the 22d, discovered Wenam's island, bearing S.S.E., and Culpepper's island bearing W.N.W. I saw now that all attempts to get to James' Island were useless, unless we should be favoured by a change of current; and at 2 o'clock, being but a short distance from Wenam's island, I went with three boats from the Essex, and one from each of the other ships, and returned before sun-set with them all deeply loaded with fish, which afforded several fresh meals for our crew, and if we had been provided with salt, we should have been enabled to have

cured large quantities of them, but not having any, many were thrown overboard.

Wenam's island, like the Gallapagos, is evidently of volcanic origin. It is thinly scattered on its summit with withered shrubbery; its sides are every where inaccessible; it affords no anchorage; is 7 or 8 miles in circuit, and has two small islets, one off the S.E. the other off the N.W. parts, but neither more than 100 yards from the island; but there is no danger, except from the rapidity of the currents, in approaching it on any side, and there is every where water enough for the largest ship to lie within a few yards of the shore. We saw here but few turtle, and only one seal. The only birds we saw, were the man-of-war hawk, garnets, gulls, and the black petrell, all of which were very abundant. On the north-west side I discovered the mouth of a cave, very small at the entrance, into which I went with my boat, and proceeded, as near as I can judge, about 100 yards; and, judging from the beating of the sea against the sides, and the echo from the top, I supposed it to be there 40 yards wide, and 20 yards high. We were, however, in perfect obscurity, and the apprehension of not finding my way out again prevented my proceeding further. The water was every where of sufficient depth to float a ship of the line, and in this cavern, and at its mouth, we caught the most of our fish. Bait was scarcely necessary, as they were so ravenous as to bite at the bare hook, the line, and at the boat-hook, with which many were caught. They were of that kind called the rock cod, and were greatly relished by our crew.

I now stood away on a wind to the southward and westward, with a hope of getting beyond the influence of the current, and thus be enabled to reach the islands again.

On the 24th, I determined, for several reasons, to send the Georgiana to the United States. In the first place, I considered that, on her arrival on our coast, the season would favour her getting in, as I calculated it would require five months for her to reach it, which would be the dead of winter, and consequently at a time when ships of war cannot cruize on the northern parts, on account of the prevalence of tempestuous weather. Secondly,

the ship had a full cargo of spermaceti oil, which would be worth in the United States about 100,000 dollars, and could not be sold on this coast without making great sacrifices. Thirdly, I was desirous of getting rid of Stavers: he was a man of great cunning, and considerable observation, and, however desirous I might be of concealing my intentions, I was apprehensive that some circumstances might lead him to conjecture rightly as to my future views; and, to put it entirely out of his power to obtain and give such information as was calculated to benefit the enemy, or frustrate my plans, I thought it advisable (as I always intended sending him to America for trial) to dispatch him in the Georgiana. Fourthly, repeated applications had been made to me, by the officers, to overlook the offence of lieutenant W.; and his activity and bravery on board the Greenwich, during her action with the Seringapatam, gave me a secret inclination to do so, without violating my word, or incurring the imputation of inconsistency. To reinstate him on board the Essex was entirely out of the question; but I saw no obstacle to giving him command of the Georgiana to take to America; an arrangement which gave general satisfaction to every person, as I at the same time liberated him from arrest, and withdrew the charges I had intended to present against him. Fifthly, the period was fast approaching when the times of many of my crew were to expire. I was desirous of sounding them as to their views on the occasion, and, with this object, I permitted the crew of the Georgiana to be made up of those whose period of enlistment would expire next month; and I had the great satisfaction to observe but little desire on the part of any to return before the Essex. A crew, however, was made up for her, but composed by no means of the best of my men. Every arrangement being made, the Georgiana left us on the 25th July, giving us a salute and three cheers at her departure. We had an opportunity, by this vessel, of writing to our friends, and enjoyed in pleasing anticipation the effect that the news of our great success would produce in the United States.

We had now got drifted as far to the westward as longitude $91^{\circ} 15' W.$; our latitude, at noon of the 25th, was $1^{\circ} 8' 25''$

N., the wind from the south, with a strong current ripple, which induced me to believe the current had shifted, gave me strong hopes of fetching the islands, and with this view I made all sail, but was soon compelled to heave to for the prizes, and particularly the New Zealander, which in a short time was run out of sight. The short sail I was compelled to keep under occasioned considerable delay, which, added to the current, which we still found setting to the west, prevented my making the land until the 27th, when we saw the north part of Narborough, bearing S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. Being considerably a-head of the prizes, I ran into Banks' bay, and on satisfying myself there were no vessels there, ran out to meet the prizes, and bore away in company with them for the north-east part of Albemarle, intending to proceed to James' island to make myself acquainted with its resources, and to search for English whalers, as it is said to be much frequented by them, for the purpose of taking in land tortoises and refitting their ships, the harbour having the reputation of being the best among the Gallapagos islands. At midnight the north head bore S. by W., and Rodondo W.N.W. At 7 o'clock on the morning of the 28th, discovered a strange sail to the eastward, and, on viewing her with my spy-glass from the top-gallant yard, she appeared to be close on a wind under her top-sails, with fresh breezes, while our ships were lying nearly becalmed, with a strong current setting us with great rapidity for Rodondo, which bore of us W. by S. A light air, however, springing up from the westward, we made all sail in chase; but the rapidity of the current was so great, that we soon lost sight of the stranger, and at meridian we were driven so close to Rodondo, that we entertained the most lively apprehensions for the safety of the ship; and even with the assistance of our drags, which were plied with their utmost power, and a smart breeze which fortunately sprung up at the most critical moment, it was with some considerable difficulty we escaped getting on shore on it; and as the sea was beating with great violence against its perpendicular and inaccessible sides, this apprehension was calculated to produce reflections of no very agreeable nature.

As soon as the ship was out of danger, we began again to think of our chace ; and as we were not in the habit of readily giving up a pursuit, while it was probable the chase was an enemy, our uncommon success having taught us to believe, that to see and to capture were one and the same thing. Although we had lost sight of her, we still felt confident it would only be for a short time, and that she owed it solely to her having a fresh breeze, while we were becalmed ; an advantage we hoped to enjoy equally with her, so soon as we should be enabled to pass the N.E. point of Albemarle. I firmly believed that the stranger was a British whale-ship, and bound to James' Island, and every advantage was taken of the light airs which prevailed all that day and the next night, to endeavour again to get sight of her ; and next morning, at half past 7 o'clock, she was discovered to the N.E. from the mast-head, standing on a wind towards us, and across our bows. At half past 9 she was directly to windward of us, distant about 7 miles ; and as she had discovered that we were a frigate, and no doubt had intelligence of our being in this quarter, she hoisted American colours, and made all sail from us. Every exertion was made to come up with her ; she was evidently a whale-ship ; and from every appearance I had no doubt of her being English. The winds became light, inclinable to calm ; we made use of our drags, and found considerable advantage from the use of them ; but, from the constant labour requisite to work them, our people became very much harassed, and finally worn out with fatigue. We had, however, by the greatest exertions, approached within four miles of the chace, and were enabled, by the assistance of our glasses, to see all his movements. He now got his boats ahead to tow his ship, with a view, as I supposed, of running her on shore on the Island of Abington, which was not far distant ; and to prevent his effecting this object, I dispatched the gig and whale-boat, the first under command of lieut. M'Knight, the other under Mr. Bostwick, clerk, with a few good marksmen to drive them from their boats, but with the most positive orders to make no attempt on the ship. They soon succeeded in driving the boats alongside the ship, but found great difficulty in keeping out of the range of his shot, as he had mounted two guns on his fore-castle, with which

he kept up a constant fire on our boats, having hauled down his American colours and hoisted English. At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th, both ships were perfectly becalmed, at the distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from each other, our two boats lying ahead of the enemy, and preventing his boats from towing; my crew so worn out with fatigue, as to be incapable of working the drags to any advantage; the enemy with English, and we with American colours flying. I considered him as already our own, and that the ceremony of taking possession was all that was now requisite. I could plainly perceive that his force did not exceed 10 guns and 30 men; and, as any alternative was preferable to working the drags any longer, I, to the great joy of every one on board, gave orders for attempting her with the boats, which were soon hoisted out, manned, and armed, and dispatched after her. The enemy, seeing so formidable a force coming against him, fired a few guns, apparently with a view of intimidating them, but finding that they continued to advance, he ceased firing and hauled down his colours. The boats had now got within three-quarters of a mile of her, when a fresh breeze sprung up from the eastward, with which she made all sail to the northward, hoisted her colours, fired at our gig and whale-boat as she passed, which in return gave her volleys of musketry, and before sunset she was hull down ahead of us, while we were lying the whole time perfectly becalmed. Our boats continued the chase, with the hope that it would again fall calm, and made flashes occasionally to guide me in the pursuit, which I was enabled to renew when the breeze struck me, which was not until after sundown. I came up with the boats at 9 o'clock at night; we had all lost sight of the enemy, and the apprehension of losing all my boats and officers, and the greater part of my crew, induced me to heave to and take them on board, which was soon done, when I renewed the pursuit on the same course I had before observed her standing, as I did not think it proper to run away before the wind, on the expectation of her having changed her course; as this would have caused a separation from the prizes, and the strong current setting to leeward would have prevented our rejoining them again for some time; I therefore concluded it best to continue my course on a wind all

night, but at day-light, seeing nothing of the enemy, I hove about to rejoin my prizes.

At 12 o'clock next day, we were joined by the Greenwich and Seringapatam, but we saw nothing of the New Zealander until the day following. Nothing, perhaps, could equal our disappointment in not taking this vessel. We had already calculated with such confidence on her, as to arrange her prize crew, and were exulting that we had completely destroyed (with the exception of one vessel more) the British whale-fishery on the coast of Peru. We believed the vessel we were in pursuit of to be the British whale-ship Indispensable, and we knew of no other besides her on the coast, except the Comet, of 20 guns, fitted out both for whaling and cruising against the Americans. Great, however, as our mortification was that he should make his escape after so long a chase, we consoled ourselves in some measure with the reflection, that this was the first enemy who had ever escaped us where we had known him to be such, and that his escape was owing only to a fortuitous circumstance, which might not happen again in a thousand chases, and not to any good management on his part, or bad management on ours; but yet, such is our nature, that we could not help blaming fortune for thus jilting us, and for this freak of hers forgot for a moment all the favours she had hitherto lavished on us.

I now made every exertion to reach James' Island; but light and baffling winds, and a constant lee current, prevented our making any progress until the 3d of August, when the current changed, and ran with great rapidity to the eastward, as it had hitherto done in a contrary direction.

On the 2d, being close under Abington, I had an opportunity of examining the west side of that island, and under a high and inaccessible precipice, opposite to a sandy beach, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the shore, found a good anchorage in 22 fathoms water, over a smooth sandy bottom, well sheltered from the prevailing winds by a point to the north-west of that, called by Colnet Cape Chalmers. This place, however, affords anchorage and shelter only; it is impossible to penetrate from thence into the island; but I have no doubt landing may be effect-

ed elsewhere ; and, from the verdant appearance of the interior of the island, I should suppose that, like all the others, it affords tortoises. On the small beach opposite the anchorage, we found one turtle, and in the bay an abundance of fish were caught by the boat's crew. I attempted to ascend a small hill on the south point of the bay, and the only one that had the appearance of being accessible, for the purpose of taking a better view of the bay, in order to discover if there were any sunken rocks or other dangers, but I soon was compelled to desist, as the loose lava, ashes, and other volcanic substances, which were constantly giving way under me, rendered my ascent very difficult, and my descent dangerous. From thence I proceeded to the north part of the island, which wholly consists of hard black lava, totally destitute of vegetation, and apparently owes its existence to an eruption of no distant period. The whole of the west as well as the north part, we found to be inaccessible, and of the same dreary appearance. We shot here a number of seals, and, after loading our boats with fish, returned to the ship.

CHAPTER IX.

JAMES'S ISLAND ; PORT RENDEZVOUS.

ON the morning of the 4th, at 6 o'clock, we were between James' Island and Albemarle, beating up the passage, which is about eighteen miles wide, to reach the harbour, which was now in sight, when the New Zealander, which was far to leeward, made a signal for a strange sail to the eastward ; but on chasing it proved to be a rock off the east part of James' Island. This prevented our getting into the bay until half past two, when we came to an anchor in six fathoms water, within a quarter of a mile of the middle of the beach, over a soft sandy bottom, and moored with our bower-anchor to the southward, and the stream to the northward, the south-west part of Albany Island bearing north-west by north ; Cape Marshall, on Albemarle, north-west ; and the west point of the bay south-west by south. I caused the prizes to moor ahead and astern of the Essex, in a line along the shore, so close as to prevent an enemy from passing inside of us in case of attack, and directed their commanders to keep them constantly prepared for defence. I caused the pinnace and cutters to be hoisted out, rigged, and anchored in shore, to be in constant readiness for service, in the event of an enemy appearing off, and, after every arrangement was made that could suggest itself to me for the safety of the ships, as well for offensive as defensive operations, I commenced making those little repairs, which every ship requires, in a greater or less degree, on going into port, after being some time at sea. I also filled up my water from the New Zealander, took on board such provisions and stores as were requisite for us, and removed from the Seringapatam to that vessel all empty casks and other cumbrous articles, taking from her such provisions and stores as were not necessary for her, and might hereafter be wanted for us, and put them on board the Seringapatam. I also caused the Seringapatam to be painted exactly like the Essex, so that it would have been very difficult to have known

them apart at a short distance. I then changed entirely the appearance of the Essex, and gave to the Greenwich the appearance of a sloop of war, hoping at some future period to derive some advantage over the enemy by the deceptions I should be enabled to practise by means of those changes.

It became necessary to take all our powder on shore, for the purpose of sunning and sifting it; and I discovered, to my great regret, that nearly one-third of that contained in casks was damaged and unfit for use, in consequence of the water having entered the magazine, either during our passage around Cape Horn, or (which is more likely) while our rudder coat was in a damaged state, off the coast of Patagonia. We were, however, enabled to get a considerable quantity from the Seringapatam, which (although it left that ship nearly destitute) in a great measure supplied our deficiency.

We here, after painting our ships, repairing our sails and boats, setting up our rigging, and doing various other jobs which could not be done conveniently at sea, began to lay in our stock of tortoises, the grand object for which every vessel anchors at the Gallapagos Islands. Four boats were dispatched every morning with this object, and returned at night, bringing with them from 20 to 30 each, averaging about 60 pounds; and in four days we had as many as would weigh about 14 tons on board, which was as much as we could conveniently stow. They were piled up on the quarter-deck for a few days, with an awning spread over (to shield them from the sun, which renders them very restless), in order that they might have time to discharge the contents of their stomachs, which is considerable; after which they were stowed away below, as you would stow any other provisions, and used as occasion required. No description of stock is so convenient for ships to take to sea with them as the tortoises of those islands; they require no provisions or water for a year, nor is any further attention to them necessary, than that their shells should be preserved unbroken.

The shells of those of James' Island are sometimes remarkably thin and easily broken, but more particularly so as they become advanced in age; for then, whether owing to the injuries they receive from their repeated falls in ascending and descending the

mountains, or from injuries received otherwise, or from the course of nature, their shells become very rough, and peel off in large scales, which renders them very thin and easily broken. Those of James' Island appear to be a species entirely distinct from those of Hood's and Charles' Islands. The form of the shell of the latter is elongated, turning up forward, in the manner of a Spanish saddle, of a brown colour, and of considerable thickness ; they are very disagreeable to the sight, but far superior to those of James' Island in point of fatness, and their livers are considered the greatest delicacy. Those of James' Island are round, plump, and black as ebony, some of them handsome to the eye ; but their liver is black, hard when cooked, and the flesh altogether not so highly esteemed as the others.

The most of those we took on board were found near a bay on the N.E. part of the island, about 18 miles from the ship, and among the whole only three were male, which may be easily known by their great size, and from the length of their tails, which are much longer than those of the females. As the females were found in low sandy bottoms, and all without exception were full of eggs, of which generally from 10 to 14 were hard, it is presumable that they come down from the mountains for the express purpose of laying ; and this opinion seems strengthened from the circumstance of there being no male tortoises among them, the few we found having been taken a considerable distance up the mountains. One remarkable peculiarity in this animal is, that the blood is cold. I shall leave it to those better acquainted with natural history to investigate the cause of a circumstance so extraordinary ; my business is to state facts, not to reason on them.

The temperature of the air of the Gallapagos Islands varies from 72° to 75° ; that of the blood of the tortoise is always After the most diligent search, no appearance of fresh water could be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the tortoises were taken, although some of the seamen searched to a considerable distance from the sea-shore ; and yet each of these animals had in its stomach or reservoir from one to two gallons, of a taste by no means disagreeable, and such as thirst would readily induce any person to use ; and from this circumstance, as well as from the

verdant appearance of the interior, I should be induced to believe, that this island furnishes springs of water in its mountains, but that they are soaked up by the loose and thirsty lava and cinders, of which it is chiefly composed, long before they can reach the sea. The eggs of the tortoise are perfectly round, white, and of $2\frac{2}{7}$ inches diameter ; they are far from being a delicacy when cooked, as they are dry, tasteless, and the yolk is little better than saw-dust in the mouth.

The sea and land guanas abound at this island ; flamingoes and teal, of an excellent quality, may be killed in a salt lagoon, a few rods back of the beach opposite to where the ships lay ; and the species of doves formerly mentioned may be killed with the greatest ease, and in any numbers, in every part of the island ; they are fat and delicious ; and the land guana is superior in excellence to the squirrel or rabbit. Fish were caught in considerable abundance, with our seine as well as with hooks and lines, along side the ship, and with our boats near the rocks ; but we did not resort to the first-mentioned expedient through scarcity, but for the sake of procuring a greater variety, as we were thereby enabled to take mullet of a superior quality, and other fish that do not bite at a hook. The rock-fish did not here yield in abundance or excellence to any place we had yet been in ; and among other delicacies we were enabled with ease to supply ourselves abundantly with cray-fish, at low water, among the rocks, where they were caught by hand.

We found captain Colnet's chart of the island, as far as he surveyed it, sufficiently accurate for our purpose, but we neither found his delightful groves, his rivulets of water, nor his seats formed by the buccaniers of earth and stone, where we might repose ourselves after our fruitless search for them. Led by his description of the beauties of the island, I proceeded to the southwest part of it, as far as Watson's Creek, and on rounding the second point from the ship, I landed in a small cove, on a white beach, formed of small pieces of coral ; this we found had been the principal landing-place of ships which have visited here for the purpose of procuring tortoises. The land here is level, and upon an extensive valley, which lies between two remarkable moun-

tains or craters of extinguished volcanoes, strongly resembling each other, you may proceed for about three miles without experiencing much inconvenience, except from the intense heat of the sun (from which there is nothing to screen you but a few withered dwarf-trees, destitute of leaves), and from occasionally falling into the holes made by the guanas in the loose cinders, heated by the sun's rays, as well as from occasionally encountering in your route beds of sharp lava, about as agreeable to walk on as a hackle; and to those who are bare-footed, or whose shoes are not remarkably good, and provided with thick soles, this transition from hot to sharp and from sharp to hot is equally desirable, for either of the evils is so great that they cannot be long borne at a time, and of the two it is difficult to say which is the least. On my return to the beach, however, from my excursion, I discovered beauties that had before escaped my notice. A verdant mangrove, which had shot its branches into the sand, formed an arbour which afforded an agreeable shade; and after supplying ourselves with seats from the stones in the neighbourhood, Mr. Adams and myself made a hearty meal from the tortoises, crayfish, crabs, &c., which had been procured in the vicinity, for which our promenade in the delightful grove of captain Colnet had not a little contributed to prepare us to relish*. We met with great numbers of English mocking-birds, hawks resembling the fal-

* At every place where we landed on the western side, we might have walked for miles through long grass and beneath groves of trees. It only wanted a stream to compose a very charming landscape. This isle appears to have been a favourite resort of the buccaniers, as we not only found seats, which had been made by them of earth and stone, but a considerable number of broken jars scattered about, and some entirely whole, in which the Peruvian wine and liquors of that country are preserved. We also found some old daggers, nails, and other implements. This place is, in every respect, calculated for refreshment or relief for crews, after a long and tedious voyage, as it abounds with wood, and good anchorage for any number of ships, and sheltered from all winds by Albemarle Isle. The watering-place of the buccaniers was entirely dried up, and there was only found a small rivulet between two hills, running into the sea; the northernmost hill forms the south point of Fresh-Water Bay.

Colnet's Journal, page 156.

con, a considerable variety of smaller birds, some resembling the small common sparrow, some not unlike the brown Canary-bird, the small black bird found in Charles' Island, and a black bird with a red breast. We saw but few seals, and the only aquatic birds we met with, were pelicans, boobies, and petrells. A few small snakes were seen, much resembling the common American striped snake, and a great number of lizards. In the bottom of the crater of the northern mountain, near the foot of which we landed, some of my sailors (who had been there in search of tortoises) informed me that they had found one barrel of fresh water contained in the hollow of a rock. This is the only fresh water we found on any part of the island, and it cannot be come at without the greatest difficulty and danger, which none would attempt to overcome but such as, like our sailors, had long been confined on ship-board; for, feeling all restraint removed while on shore, they delighted in making an extensive range, and in overcoming difficulties which to others seemed insurmountable. From this place we procured about seventy-five tortoises; but as the men had to bring them from a distance not less than three miles, and as the fatigue was excessive, this was the only time we visited it, as the parties which went to the north-east part of the island were more successful, and gave a more favourable account of the facility of getting them down to the beach. They reported also, that there was every appearance of good anchorage on the north-east, in a bay not inferior in its appearance to the one we were then occupying. Mr. Adams, with his usual zeal, proceeded to sound and survey it, and reported anchorage about half a mile from the shore, in 13 fathoms, sandy bottom. This bay was distant from where we lay about 18 miles; I gave it the name of Adams' Bay.

I proceeded to examine Fresh-water bay, and Fresh-water valley, as they are called by Colnet; in the former there are appearances of anchorage. We found great quantities of broken jars, such as the Spaniards transport their liquids in; a deep ravine, evidently formed by violent torrents; but it was perfectly dry, and had the appearance of having long been so. Three separate times I examined Fresh-water valley, when we first arrived, and

twice after showers of rain ; but all my researches were ineffectual, although I traced the ravine of this place to the top of the mountain. While I was about embarking, I perceived three or four small birds, of the size of a sparrow, fluttering about a moist place, on the side of a cliff, over my head ; and on further observation I perceived that the small birds of this description constantly resorted here for the purpose of sucking the moisture from the rock ; and, by a closer examination, I discovered that beneath this place a small and rude basin had been formed in the rock, for the purpose of catching the drops of water, which perhaps at certain seasons of the year trickle down the side of the cliff. At the time I visited the place, the basin was perfectly dry ; and I should not have known the purpose for which it was intended had not I noticed the marks of a pick-axe, or some other iron instrument, in the rock. Of these places captain Colnet, in his view of James' island, gives the following description :

“ Round the north-west point is a small bay, which I take for the one the buccaniers call Fresh-water bay, in which were many of their traces such as old jars, &c. ; also ground cleared away, either as a platform for guns or to land stores, &c. ; but the water since then has taken a different course, and falls down between two hills, and runs over a little clift of rocks into the sea.”

“ As soon as the ship was secured, I set out with Mr. Sharp to search for water in Fresh-water bay, where the buccaniers had formerly supplied themselves, but the surf prevented us from landing. We rowed close to the beach, but saw not the least signs of any spring or rivulet. Boats were dispatched from both vessels to different parts of the shore, and my chief mate was sent away to the south for a night and a day. On the following morning, at the dawn of day, the whaling-master was ordered to land if the surf was fallen, and search Fresh-water bay. He accomplished getting on shore, but found no water ; in the evening the chief mate returned with the same account of his unsuccessful errand. For my own part, I never gave up my opinion, that there was plenty of fresh water in the isle ; but as neither of my boats were in a condition to encounter the least bad weather,

I deferred taking a survey of the isle till they were repaired." *Colnet's Journal, page 153.*

"These isles deserve the attention of the British navigators beyond any unsettled situation : but the preference must be given to James' isle, as it is the only one we found sufficient fresh water at to supply a small ship." *Colnet's Journal, page 158.*

It seems from captain Colnet's account, that his principal motive for going to James' island was to accompany an English ship called the Butterworth, commanded by a Mr. Sharp, whom he accidentally met off Banks' bay in distress for want of water ; and that he persuaded Mr. Sharp to proceed to this place, where he was confident he would procure a supply ; but as he did not find it immediately on his arrival, he sent the Butterworth daily supplies of that article, which produced a consequence captain Colnet little apprehended, for from that moment Mr. Sharp neglected to look for water. Captain Colnet, it seems, from civility to the owners of that ship, had determined to keep company with her during the voyage, and to give her only a monthly supply ; and this information, it appears, stimulated Mr. Sharp to search for water, which he found within two miles of his ship. Now it seems extraordinary that the place where so important a discovery was made, should not have been pointed out by captain Colnet. I have, however, reason to doubt the correctness of his statement, as I have carefully examined James' island for fresh water, and so have many others of my officers and crew, for at least 12 miles to the southward of our anchorage, and as much as 6 miles to the northward ; indeed several have searched to the north-east 18 or 20 miles, and none of us yet have been able to discover any of that precious article, except the small damp place on the cliff at Fresh-water valley, and the small quantity in the bottom of the crater of the aforementioned mountain. It is true, he might have arrived there after a long spell of rainy weather ; but it seems it was in the latter part of April he arrived there, after cruizing some time among the islands for whales ; and if he had experienced so extraordinary a thing as heavy rains among the Gallapagos, I think he would have noticed it in some part of his journal. There can be no doubt, that, at some former period, small quan-

tities of water have been procured from the place called Fresh-water valley ; and indeed the old captains of some of the captured ships have informed me, that they have, by great care, obtained from 10 to 12 gallons in 24 hours, and this is the most they have ever known to have been procured ; and it rarely happens that this much can be gotten ; then, when so inconsiderable a quantity can be obtained, how could captain Colnet so far impose on the world, as to hold out encouragement for vessels to stop there for water*?

That the island affords water in the interior, there cannot be a doubt ; but this can only be of service to the tortoises, whose patience and perseverance enable, and whose instinct teaches them to find it. But it certainly cannot be supposed, after what captain Colnet has said of Fresh-water Bay and Fresh-water valley, that it was from either of those places that the Butterworth procured her supply, for it seems that an unsuccessful search was made there by captains Colnet and Sharp on the first arrival of the ships : they could not land on account of the surf ; they rowed close to the beach, but saw not the least sign of any spring or rivulet. Boats were sent in different directions, and the mate and whaling-master of captain Colnet's ship were ordered on the search, but without success. Captain Colnet proceeded also himself on the search, and was equally unsuccessful with the rest ; yet the captain of the Butterworth found it within two miles of his ship, and we are not informed in what direction ! Where is the advantage of James' Island furnishing fresh water "sufficient to supply a small ship," if we are ignorant where it is to be found ? Surely captain Colnet could not have been ignorant of the importance of this information, and, as he has not given it, I must take the liberty of doubting the correctness of his statement, page 153 of his journal*. However, he has committed so many errors in his description of this island, as well as in the chart he has drawn of the whole groupe, that in their multiplicity this single one might be passed over in silence, were it not for the deplorable consequences that might result to a whole ship's company, who, when short of wa-

* See the quotations from Colnet, p. 232, 233.

ter, should (relying on Colnet's statement) put into James' Island for a supply. To prevent the ill effects of information so calculated to mislead, I felt it my duty to point out the inaccuracy of the statement; and if it is true that the captain of the Butterworth obtained the supply of water mentioned, it was more the duty of captain Colnet to have particularized the spot, considering the object for which (as he informs us) he was sent into this sea.

I have now the painful task of mentioning an occurrence which gave me the utmost pain, as it was attended by the premature death of a promising young officer, whereby the service at this time has received an irreparable injury, and by a practice which disgraces human nature. I shall, however, throw a veil over the whole previous proceedings, and merely state, that without my knowledge they met on shore, at day-light, and at the third fire Mr. Cowan fell dead. His remains were buried the same day in the spot where he fell, and the following inscription was placed over his tomb:

Sacred to the memory
OF LIEUT. JOHN S. COWAN,
Of the U. S. Frigate Essex,
Who died here anno 1813,
Aged 21 years.

His loss is ever to be regretted
By his country;
And mourned by his friends
And brother officers.

Having entirely changed the appearance of the ship, so that she could not be known from description, or taken for a frigate at a short distance; having made all the repairs which our sails, rigging, boats, &c. required, made a new main top-sail, a considerable quantity of cordage from old rope, and supplied ourselves with such articles as we required from the prizes, as well as broken up our hold, cleansed and re-stowed it, scrubbed our bottom,

on which considerable quantities of grass and barnacles had collected, and supplied ourselves abundantly with such refreshments as the island afforded, we, on the morning of the 20th August, got under way ; but, prior to my leaving the place, I buried a letter for lieut. Downes, in a bottle at the head of Mr. Cowan's grave, and a duplicate of the same at the foot of a finger-post, erected by me, for the purpose of pointing out to such as may hereafter visit the island the grave of Mr. Cowan ; and, with a design of misleading the enemy, I left in a bottle suspended at the finger-post, the following note :

The United States frigate *Essex* arrived here on the 21st July, 1813, her crew much afflicted with the scurvy and ship-fever, which attacked them suddenly, out of which she lost the 1st lieut. surgeon, sailing-master, two midshipmen, gunner, carpenter, and 36 seamen and marines.

She captured in this sea the following British ships, to wit: *Montezuma*, *Policy*, *Atlantic*, *Catharine*, *Rose*, *Hector*, *Charlton*, *Georgiana*, *Greenwich*, *Scringapatam*, and *New Zealander* ; but, for want of officers and men to man them, the four last were burnt ; the *Rose* and *Charlton* were given up to the prisoners.

The *Essex* leaves this in a leaky state, her foremast very rotten in the partners, and her mainmast sprung. Her crew have, however, received great benefit from the tortoises and other refreshments which the island affords. Should any American vessel, or indeed a vessel of any nation, put in here, and meet with this note, they would be doing an act of great humanity to transmit a copy of it to America, in order that our friends may know of our distressed and hopeless situation, and be prepared for worse tidings, if they should ever again hear from us.

The British prisoners have been landed at Tumbez, sent to St. Helena and Rio de Janeiro.

The following is a list of the names of those who died as above mentioned, to wit.

(Then followed a list of 43 names.)

While we lay at the bay in James' Island (which I called Cowan's Bay), we put our goats on shore to graze, keeping a person to attend them through the day and give them water ; and as they

were all very tame, and kept about the landing-place, we every night left them on shore. There was one young male, and three females, one of which was of the Welch breed, and was with young by a Peruvian ram with five horns, which we had taken in one of our prizes; the rest were of the Spanish breed. The sheep was also left on shore with them; but one morning, after they had been there several days and nights, the person who attended them went on shore, as usual, to give them their water; but no goats were to be found; they had all, as with one accord, disappeared. Several persons were sent in different directions, for two or three days, to search for them, but without success: they undoubtedly took to the mountains in the interior, where unerring instinct led them to the springs or reservoirs from whence the tortoises obtain their supply; and owing to this circumstance, future navigators may perhaps obtain here an abundant supply of goat's meat, for, unmolested as they will be in the interior of this island, to which they will no doubt confine themselves on account of the water, it is probable their increase will be very rapid; and perhaps nature, whose ways are mysterious, has embraced this first opportunity of inhabiting this island with a race of animals, who are, from their nature, almost as well enabled to withstand the want of water as the tortoises with which it now abounds; and perhaps she has so ordained it, that the breed which shall be produced between the Welch goat and the Peruvian ram shall be better adapted to the climate than any other.

I shall leave others to account for the manner in which all those islands obtained their supply of tortoises and guanans, and other animals of the reptile kind; it is not my business even to conjecture as to the cause. I shall merely state, that those islands have every appearance of being newly created, and that those perhaps are the only part of the animal creation that could subsist on them, Charles' and James' being the only ones where I have yet been enabled to find, or been led to believe could be found, sufficient moisture even for goats. Time, no doubt, will order it otherwise; and many centuries hence may see the Gallapagos as thickly inhabited by the human species as any other part of the world. At present, they are only fit for tortoises, guanans, lizards,

snakes, &c. Nature has created them elsewhere, and why could she not do it as well at those islands?

There was one fact, which was noticed by myself and many others, the day preceding the departure of the goats, and must lead us to believe that something more than chance directed their movements. It was observed that they all drank an unusual quantity of water; the old Welch goat particularly did not seem satisfied until she had drunk upwards of half a gallon (which for a goat, it must be admitted, is an extraordinary quantity), and the others a quantity not far short of it, which seems as though they had determined to provide themselves with a supply to enable them to reach the mountains; and this fact, which (if we take into consideration the extraordinary sagacity of the goat) bears something the appearance of the marvellous, I do aver to be as strictly true as any other I have stated, and in no one instance have I exaggerated or gone beyond the bounds of strict veracity.

I now made the best of my way for Banks' Bay in company with my prizes, and fixed on the small cove inside of Narborough as a rendezvous for them in case of separation, as it now was my design to leave them there until I made a short cruize among the islands, in order to make myself acquainted with all their resources, and with the hope of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels. I had also the design of leaving instructions for lieutenant Downes at Charles' and Hood's Islands, similar to those left at James', that, in case he should fail in finding my letters in one place, there might be a chance of his finding them in another, and thus our meeting be rendered more certain.

On the 22d I reached Banks' Bay, and directed the prizes to proceed into the cove, with the following orders, which will sufficiently explain the arrangements made, as well as my future designs; after which I stood out of the bay.

U. S. Frigate Essex,

Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

Sir,

You will proceed to the cove with the Greenwich, and moor her agreeably to the instructions already given you. The crew

of the Greenwich will be kept complete, for the protection of the other vessels, and, in the event of being attacked, you will call on the other prize-masters and their men to assist on board your ship ; but it is expected you will only act on the defensive. Should I not appear in six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will proceed for Valparaiso, in company with the Seringapatam, after the articles of value are taken from the New Zealander, and that ship is burnt. If, however, lieutenant Downes should appear before the expiration of six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will please to deliver him the enclosed letter, which contains instructions for the guidance of his conduct respecting the disposal of the prizes.

I must recommend your keeping constantly on your guard, with a look-out from a suitable point. Let the ships be ready for sea on the shortest notice, and suffer no guns to be fired, no fires at night, or any other practices by which you may be discovered.

Should I appear off with an English red ensign, hoisted union down, at the fore, you will send a boat on board the Essex. If the same signal is made at the main, it will be for the Seringapatam and New Zealander to send their boats for their crews, and you will please to furnish them assistance for the purpose, if necessary. Should you leave the cove before I arrive, you will bury a bottle, containing a letter, in some suitable spot, near the landing-place at the head of the cove, and cut in the rocks immediately over it the letters S. X., in order that I may be enabled to find it.

I need not inform you how important it is that the prizes should not fall into the hands of an enemy. Your situation will render their destruction (in the last extremity) very easy. I would recommend to you to have as many boats, as may be necessary for the escape of their crews, in constant readiness for service, and a sufficiency of provisions and water, &c. &c. provided for them at the shortest notice ; and, in the event of the necessity of taking to them, I would advise your proceeding to Charles' Island, as the most likely place of meeting with the Essex Junior, or Essex ; and, in case you should not fall in with either, it appears the

most likely place for you to take by surprize some British vessel.
Trusting much to your discretion,

I have the honour to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Lieutenant John M. Gamble,

Prize-master of the ship Greenwich.

P. S. It is likely I shall be in the bay again in 20 or 25 days.

U. S. Frigate Essex,

Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

Sir,

You will proceed to the cove with the prize under your command, and moor agreeably to the instructions I have given you. When you have properly secured your ship, you will send on board the Essex all your crew, except the following, to wit: one quarter-master, one seaman, and two ordinary seamen, and you will give every aid in your power to lieut. Gamble to protect the ships against any force that may attack them. Should you not hear from me in six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will burn the New Zealander, after taking every article of value from on board her, and putting them on board the Seringapatam, and assist with your crew in navigating her, in company with the Greenwich, to Valparaiso, unless the Essex Junior should arrive within that period, in which case lieutenant Downes will have instructions from me as to the disposal of the vessels.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Mr. John R. Shaw, Prize-master
of the ship New Zealander.*

Corresponding instructions were delivered to Mr. James Terry, prize-master of the ship Seringapatam.

U. S. Frigate Essex,
Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

Sir,

I have directed the prize-ships Greenwich, New Zealander, and Seringapatam to proceed to the cove, and there await my arrival six weeks from this date. I left letters for you at James' Island. I shall now proceed to Charles' Island, and from thence to Hood's Island, at both of which places I shall leave instructions for you. I intend to cruize a short time about Hood's and Chat-ham Islands. Should I not arrive at the cove by the 2d October, you may calculate that some accident has happened to me; and at the expiration of that period, you will take the prizes under your convoy, and proceed with them to Valparaiso, where you will pursue that course most likely to conduce to the good of the service.

I have the honour to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes,
Commanding the U. S. armed
Prize-ship Essex Junior.*

CHAPTER X.

GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS ; DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

ON the 24th, I stretched in toward the cove, to meet the boats, which I expected off with the crews of the Seringapatam and New Zealander, and at one o'clock discovered them on a sand beach on Narborough, where they had landed to await our coming in ; and about an hour afterwards they came on board, with 21 men from the two ships. We had now got to the entrance of the passage between Narborough and Albemarle. A steady breeze from the N.W. and a current setting from the same quarter, as well as a desire of looking into the cove, to see in what order the prizes had been secured, altogether tempted me to endeavour to go through the passage, in which I could perceive no danger whatever, nor had I ever heard of the existence of any, except what arose from the violence of the current, and a reef off the S.E. part of Narborough. Accordingly all sail was made ; but, contrary to my expectations, the wind died away at sunset, and shifted ahead, leaving us nearly becalmed until after dark, when a brisk breeze sprang up from the S.W., with which, after great anxiety and uneasiness on my part, we succeeded in beating through ; but this anxiety was unnecessary, as the passage is as safe as any other that is liable to sudden shifts of wind and rapid currents. Soundings were obtained in mid channel with 80 fathoms of line, coarse gravelly bottom. There appears no dangers lying any distance from the shores of either side, with the exception of the aforesaid reef, which we got sight of before night, and does not extend more than a mile and a half from the shore. On the beaches of the Albemarle side, we saw vast numbers of turtle, and seals kept playing around us during the whole passage, or it may more properly be called a sound.

I had here an opportunity of seeing in what manner the seals are enabled to devour their prey when in the water, which had hitherto been a mystery to me, not having feet to assist them in

tearing to pieces the large fish they frequently take. One ran near the ship with a large red fish, of the snapper kind, in his mouth; this fish was still alive, and made considerable struggle; the seal reared himself out of the water as far as his breast; then throwing his head around on one shoulder, appeared to rally all his strength, and jerking it with great violence to the other, throwing the fish at a great distance from him, tearing off with the jerk a mouthful, which he greedily swallowed, and, by repeating this action, in a few minutes devoured the whole fish, which, from its size, I should suppose weighed at least ten pounds: and it was in vain that the man-of-war hawks, boobies, pelicans, and other birds which hovered over him, endeavoured to seize on his prey; his activity baffled all their attempts, and prevented them even from picking up the scraps which frequently flew off from the fish as he threw it from him.

After getting clear of the sound, I stood out of the bay, and at 12 o'clock at night was off the south head of Albemarle; there I continued beating to get to windward until the 29th, without gaining much ground, on account of the prevalence of a rapid current setting to the westward. At length, however, the wind hauled to the southward, and enabled us to make Charles' island on the 31st, where I sent my boat on shore, with a letter for lieutenant Downes, similar to that left at James' island. On her return, I was informed that every thing remained as I had left it, there being no appearance of strangers having been there since my departure. We had had several showers of rain while in the neighbourhood of the isle, and, from the heavy clouds hanging over it, I had hoped to obtain there a supply, and gave directions that our former watering-places should be examined, but was informed that they were entirely dried up, not a drop of water remaining in the places where we had formerly obtained it. I now made sail for Chatham island, running along to windward of Barrington island, which appears bold and free from danger. Towards sunset, the man on the look-out cried out, *a sail to the N.W.!* All sail was made in chace, but in a short time we discovered from the mast-head, by our glasses, that it was one of two rocks that lie off the north end of Porter's island, which we

have called Bainbridge's Rocks. At night the weather became thick and hazy ; and at 10 o'clock, supposing myself nearly up with Chatham island, I hove to, with the ship's head to the S.W. ; and in the morning the Kicker Rock, which lies off the mouth of Stephen's bay, bearing E.N.E., distant about 10 miles, I made sail for it, and at 9 A.M. anchored in Stephen's bay, in 12 fathoms water, sandy bottom, the Kicker Rock bearing W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N., Dalrymple Rock S.W. by S., the west point of the bay S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S., and the north point N.N.E. In running in, we passed to the north of the Kicker Rock, at the distance of two cables' length, and obtained no bottom with thirty fathoms of line.

This rock is very remarkable in its appearance, and is the surest mark for finding the bay. It is very high, flat on the top, and from some points bears strongly the appearance of a castle. On the western side the rock is split from the summit to the base, and the part detached stands like an obelisk on a very narrow base, and from its slender appearance seems as if ready to tumble down at every breeze. The bay is capacious, and well sheltered from the prevailing winds ; there is good landing on several small white sandy beaches ; and to the N.W. of our anchorage is a small cove, which would afford good shelter for vessels not drawing more than 10 feet water. We found here sea turtle in the greatest abundance, and of a most excellent quality, of which we took on board as many as we could stow away, some of them weighing upwards of 300 weight. They were found always at low water, lying on the small sandy beaches below the rocks. We killed also a number of seals, the skins of which were very serviceable to us as mockasons, made after the manner of those of the North American Indians, and were a very good substitute for shoes, of which we began to stand in need. Our seamen converted them into caps, hats, and various other articles of use to them. We obtained here a large quantity of prickly pears, of a size far exceeding any I had hitherto met with ; they were found on low trees, growing among the hard beds of lava which skirt the bay, and were gathered in quantities more than sufficient for the supply of the whole ship's company, some of them of the size of an orange, and nearly equal to that fruit

in excellence. Their juice, when stewed with sugar, made a delicious sirrup, while their skins afford a most excellent preserve, with which we made pies, tarts, &c. We saw, in some small lagoons at the back of the beaches, teal and plover; but as I had forbid the use of fire-arms, in consequence of the scarcity of powder, we did not obtain any of them. Cray and other fish were found here in abundance, but we were not enabled to procure any tortoises, though there can scarcely be a doubt that an abundance of them are to be found on other parts of the island.

The vegetation on that part forming the bay, was entirely burnt up, and, with the exception of the prickly pear-trees, there was no verdure whatever for the support of animal life; and they were so situated among the sharp beds of lava, it would be impossible for the tortoises to approach them. We saw a few of their shells and bones; but they appeared to have been long dead. We were not enabled to make any progress into the interior of the island, on account of the great difficulty of walking, nor would I permit the boats in their search to go beyond the points of the bay, as I wished to be always prepared for getting under way at a moment's warning, and wished them to be within signal-distance; and indeed the great stock of tortoises we brought from James' Island, and the supply of turtle we had here obtained, left no room for adding to our stock, if we had found them. We saw here none of the land-guanas; and the only animals of the reptile kind we met with were a few lizards. Land-birds were very scarce; boobies, pelicans, and man-of-war hawks were in abundance.

This island, like all the rest, is of volcanic origin, but the ravages appear less recent here than at most of the others. Its vegetable productions are the same, with the exception of the cotton-tree, of which I saw no vestige; but, owing to the extreme drought, it may have perished in this part, and perhaps exists in the interior, where there is some appearance of verdure. At James' as well as at Charles' Island, the cotton-tree grows very luxuriantly, most of the trees being from eight to ten feet high, and appears to be of the same kind as that produced on the Mississippi; but, for want of culture, the pods do not produce in such large quantities, nor is the cotton equal in quality; attention to its

cultivation would, no doubt, greatly improve it. The soil of these islands, although dry and parched up, seems rich and productive; and, were it not for the want of streams of fresh water, they might be rendered of great importance to any commercial nation that would establish a colony on them. They afford good harbours, are situated in the finest climate under heaven, are in the neighbourhood of the best fishing-ground for the spermaceti whales, and afford a rich supply of fresh provisions, in the land-tortoises and other animals with which they abound. Nothing is wanting but water; and I am still of opinion that may be found. A fine spring was discovered in Charles' Island, not far from the sea-coast, in a place by no means promising in its appearance; and I think, by a strict search, an abundance may be found. We have seen, from what Pat has effected, that potatoes, pumpkins, &c., may be raised, and of a superior quality, and with proper industry the state of these islands might be much improved.

Chatham Island differs little in its appearance from all the rest: the land in the interior is high, thrown up in irregular hills by the operations of volcanoes, and the sea-coast bounded by loose flakes of lava. On the north side of the bay is a high bluff, where Colnet states that he found a rill of fresh water. I gave it the most careful examination, and could not find the smallest quantity. The rise and fall of the tide here is about eight feet.

After scrubbing our ship, we on the 3d of September left Chatham Island, and stood over for Hood's Island, where we anchored on the 7th, in a bay on the north side, formed by a small island and some islets on the east. Previous to going in with the ship, I sent lieutenant Wilmer in, with directions to place a buoy in the most suitable anchorage; and, as the wind was directly out of the bay, I beat up for the buoy, making short tacks. We got twenty-five fathoms about two miles from the shore, clean sandy bottom, and anchored in nineteen fathoms, one mile and a half from a white sandy beach in the bottom of the bay, near the middle of which is a remarkable black rock, lying about forty yards from the shore, between which and the shore is a passage for vessels of a light draft of water.

This bay I called Rodgers' Bay, and the island forming it Rodgers' Island, in honour of commodore Rodgers. The best anchorage is about the middle of the bay, in twelve fathoms water, where you lie well in the bank, where there is little or no danger of drifting off. We lay too far out, and on the edge of the bank, where it was very steep; our anchor, as I before observed, lay in nineteen fathoms, while our stern lay in twenty-seven; we were moored with our ridge to the westward, the north-west point of the bay bearing west by south; the north-west point of Rodgers' Island east-north-east; the south point east by south $\frac{3}{4}$ south; the west point of the south part of Chatham Island, north; the east point north by east $\frac{3}{4}$ east; Barrington Island north-west by west; and Charles' Island west-south-west. The wind, during the day, generally blew from the south-east, but at night it was calm; the tides set east-north-east and north-north-west, along the land, and the rise and fall was about ten feet.

We here procured an abundance of fish alongside with the hook and line, but were not enabled to procure more than fifty tortoises, and they small, but of a quality far superior to those found on James' Island; they were similar in appearance to those of Charles' Island, very fat and delicious. The vegetable productions were nearly the same as those of the other islands, and the island is evidently of volcanic origin, but it appears to have been a long time since it has suffered from their ravages. Few birds were found on this island, and they of the same description as those found on the others. We found a few lizards, but no snakes or guanas. We killed a few seals, and saw a number of turtle, but caught none; and on the most diligent search could find no fresh water. Wood is scarce, and what is to be found is very small and withered; and the whole island, and every thing on it, appears parched up and famished for the want of rain.

We lay here until the 8th September, in hopes of the arrival of lieutenant Downes, or the appearance of some stranger, as this is the island which all whale-ships endeavour to make, running down for Albemarle between it and Chatham Island. On the 8th I prepared to weigh, but, previous to quitting the bay, sent on shore a letter for lieutenant Downes, similar to those left at

Charles' and James', and buried it in a bottle at the back of the sand beach, at the foot of a post, on which was nailed a board, with the following inscription, S. X. Anno Dom. 1813.

And now having accomplished the main object for which I had come to this island, I determined to cruize a few days to windward of it, with the hopes of falling in with him there; and I was the more strongly induced to do this, as I had for some time past been extremely harassed by being so much among those islands, our knowledge of which was as yet by no means perfect, and the rapid and irregular currents kept me in a constant state of anxiety, from which I was glad to be relieved for a short time. A fresh breeze springing up from the southward, which caused us to drift off the bank, I weighed the anchor, and stood on a wind to the eastward, keeping the island in sight from the deck, bearing west. Here I remained until the 13th September, when I ran down for Charles' Island, looking into Hood's Island, and searching for M'Gowen's Reef in my route, and can now with safety declare, that M'Gowen's Reef does not exist but in the chart of captain Colnet.

Off the N.W. part of Hood's Island, about two and a half miles from the shore, is a reef of some extent. It should be avoided. This is the only danger I could discover, and that lies so close in, and breaks with so much violence, that it may at all times be discovered in time to shun it. This, however, is not M'Gowen's Reef, which by Colnet's chart lies nearly half way between Hood's and Barrington Islands, and in the direct passage of vessels running down between Hood's and Chatham for Charles' Island; whereas the one I speak of lies close under Hood's Island, and is joined to it by other rocks.

I looked into Charles' Island, and stood down for Cape Essex, intending to cruize for a few days off the south part of Albemarle, and at midnight of the 14th, hove to, the southern part of Albemarle bearing north, distant 9 or 10 leagues. At day-light in the morning, the men at the mast-head descried a strange sail to the southward. On going aloft with my glass, I could perceive that she was a ship, and under very easy sail, apparently lying to; and as she was directly to-windward of us, I did not wish to alarm them

by making much sail, as I believed her to be an English whaler. I consequently directed the fore and main royal-yards to be sent down, and the masts to be housed, the ports to be shut in, and the ship to be disguised in every respect as a merchantman, and kept plying to windward for the stranger under easy sail, as he continued to lie to, and drifted down on us very fast. At meridian, we were sufficiently near to ascertain that she was a whale-ship, and then employed in cutting in whales; and from her general appearance, some were of opinion that it was the same ship that had given us so long a chase, and put us to so much trouble, near Abington Island; she was, however, painted very differently, and from her showing no appearance of alarm, I had my doubts on the subject. I had got possession of some of the whalers' signals, and made to her one which had been agreed on between a captain Wm. Porter and the captain of the *New Zealander*, in case they should meet. I did not know but this might be captain Porter's ship, and that the signal might be the means of shortening the chase, by inducing him to come down to us.

At 1 o'clock we were at the distance of 4 miles from the chase, when she cast off from the whales she had alongside, and made all sail from us. Every thing was now set to the best advantage on board the *Essex*, and at 4 o'clock we were within gun shot, when, after firing 6 or 8 shot at her, she bore down under our lee, and struck her colours. She proved to be the British letter of marque ship, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, pierced for 20 guns, commissioned for 16, but had only 12 mounted, with a complement of 36 men, and commanded by the identical captain Porter whose signal I had hoisted; but the most agreeable circumstance of the whole was, that this was the same ship we had formerly chased; and the captain assured me, that our ship had been so strangely altered, that he supposed her to be a whale-ship until we were within 3 or 4 miles of him, and it was too late to escape; nor did he suppose her to be a frigate until we were within gun shot, and indeed never should have supposed her to be the same ship that had chased him before, as she did not now appear above one half the size she did formerly.

The decks of this ship were full of the blubber of the whales

they had cut in, but had not time to try out. The captain informed me there was as much as would make from 80 to 90 barrels, and that it would require three days to try it out; but as I understood that it would be worth between two and three thousand dollars, I determined that it should not be lost. I therefore put on board her a crew who had been accustomed to the whaling business, and placed the ship in the charge of Mr. Adams, the chaplain, with directions to try out and stow away the oil with all possible expedition; but that he might do it more conveniently, I directed him to bear up for the harbour where the other prizes lay, (which I have called Port Rendezvous,) and there I intended to run with the Essex; but the wind growing light, and having a strong current against me, I was not enabled to get abreast the harbour until 10 o'clock at night; and not conceiving it prudent to run in, I stood through the sound into Banks' Bay; and this I was the more strongly induced to do, as lieut. Gamble had come off in his boat to the Essex, and informed me that the look-out had reported that he had heard several guns to the northward the day before; and that, since my departure, a ship had appeared in Banks' Bay at three different times; but on comparing the dates of her appearance with the log-book of the Sir Andrew Hammond, it proved to be her. The guns I could not so well account for, nor could I for the appearance of a fresh whale carcass that had lately come into the bay; I therefore took a look in the offing, but, perceiving no vessels, I beat up for Port Rendezvous against a fresh land breeze, and anchored there in fifteen fathoms water, a little outside of all the prizes, being one and a half cable's length distant from each side of the harbour, and two and a half or three cables' length from the bottom of the port. I here moored head and stern, and lay perfectly secure from all winds. The officers and crews of the prizes, as may naturally be supposed, were greatly rejoiced to see me, as they were heartily tired of being confined to this most desolate and dreary place, where the only sounds to be heard were the screeching of the sea-fowls, and the melancholy howlings of the seals. Their rest was much disturbed the few first nights of their arrival there, but after that the seals abandoned their haunts; and even their absence was regretted, as their noise, disagreeable

as it was, served to break in upon that irksome monotony, which, for the want of occupation and amusement, became to them insupportable.

The time was now arriving for me to expect lieutenant Downes ; I therefore determined to fill up my water and provisions from my prizes, and wait until the 2d day of next month, which was the period fixed for our departure. I had determined, should he not arrive in that time, to leave letters for him, and proceed to either the Marquesas or Washington Islands, where I intended to clean my ship's bottom, overhaul her rigging, and smoke her to kill the rats, as they had increased so fast as to become a most dreadful annoyance to us, by destroying our provisions, eating through our water-casks, thereby occasioning a great waste of our water, getting into the magazine and destroying our cartridges, eating their way through every part of the ship, and occasioning considerable destruction of our provisions, clothing, flags, sails, &c. &c. It had become dangerous to have them any longer on board ; and as it would become necessary to remove every thing from the ship before smoking her, and probably be necessary to heave her out to repair her copper, which in many places was coming off, I believed that a convenient harbour could be found among one of the groups of islands that would answer our purpose, as well as furnish the crew with such fresh provisions and vegetables as might be necessary during our stay there, and thus be enabled to save our salt provisions.

The Sir Andrew Hammond having an abundant supply, I hauled her alongside, and took from her as much beef, pork, bread, water, wood, and other stores, as we required ; and what was more acceptable to our men than all the rest, I took from her two puncheons of choice Jamaica spirits, which was greatly relished by them, as they had been without any ever since our departure from Tumbez ; and whether it was the great strength of the rum, or the length of time they had been without, I cannot say ; but our seamen were so much affected by the first allowance served out to them, that many were taken to their hammocks perfectly drunk ; and indeed there was scarcely a seaman in the ship but what was in some degree intoxicated. To prevent a recur-

rence of a similar scene, I caused it to be considerably diluted, before it was again served out; this, however, did not prevent some from getting intoxicated, as the rum was such a rarity to them, and so far superior to what they had ever been accustomed to drink, that an allowance of it would command almost any price; and as several found the ways and means to make their purchases, drunkenness could not be effectually stopped, as I did not conceive it expedient to resort to rigid measures; for, considering the long time they had been deprived of it without murmuring, and the great propensity of seamen for spiritous liquors, and as no evil was likely to result from a little inebriety, provided they conducted themselves in other respects with propriety, I felt disposed to give them a little latitude, which in no instance was productive of unpleasant consequences, except one. James Rynard, a quarter-master, had belonged to the Essex four years, and had at times endeavoured to render himself of importance among his ship-mates, by placing himself at the head of all parties formed for the purpose of obtaining redress of grievances. At all complaints of short allowance of rum or provisions, or if any provisions were supposed to have been of a bad quality, Rynard was always engaged stirring up others to complain, but took care to conduct himself in such a manner as to let it be supposed, by the officers, that he was perfectly contented; nor did he dare, except at one time, to come forward boldly, and that was at the reduction of the allowance of rum on the coast of Brazils. He then supposed all hands to be of his disposition, and placed himself as spokesman at their head. I had always marked him as a villain; that was his character with all that knew him; and at this moment, and with such a crew as I had reason to believe that Rynard might, from his habitual villany and restlessness, be induced to stir up discontent among them. It must be remembered, that their times had mostly expired; they saw no appearance of any intention on my part of returning to America immediately; and at such a moment the secret villany of Rynard was not to be despised. He had ever endeavoured to distinguish himself as their champion; and although I believed that he was considered by every man in the ship a notorious villain, still I did not know

how far his influence might extend. I had, therefore, long determined to get clear of him on the first favourable opportunity. One was not long in offering itself. I had directed him to proceed to superintend some duty on board one of the prizes; he appeared, a short time after I gave him the order, somewhat intoxicated, and insolently told me he had not been sent from the ship in a proper manner. Finding him not in a proper state, I directed him to stay aft on the quarter-deck until he was sober. He attempted, however, shortly afterwards, to rush by me. His dinner was taken on deck to him by his messmates; this he threw overboard in the presence of the officer of the deck, and at the same time demanded permission to go below; and while the officer of the watch was reporting to me his conduct, he left the deck. I then caused him to be confined there in irons, and as he had dropped some expressions respecting his time being out, and treated with derision (more by his actions than by his words) his confinement, I determined at once to discharge him. I therefore directed the purser to make out his accounts, and discharge and sent him on board the Seringapatam, until we should arrive at some place where he could be put on shore. The discharge of Rynard produced an effect I little expected; it rendered every man in the ship sober, attentive, and active in the discharge of his duty, and assiduous to please; and those who, in the rum affair, had shown themselves more forward than the rest, now appeared desirous, by their good behaviour, to do away any unfavourable impression that their conduct might at that time have produced.

The officer having charge of the New Zealander informed me, that his ship required caulking in every part; I consequently set my carpenters at work on her, and in the meantime the Sir Andrew Hammond was painted and otherwise put in order. The crews of the prizes were again sent to them, and on the 28th, we had completed all our work; each ship had provided a stock of turtle, and we had nothing now to detain us but the expected arrival of the Essex Junior. We had, ever since our arrival, kept men constantly on the look-out from the top of the hill forming the north side of the port, which commanded a view of both bays;

there we had a flag-staff erected, and suitable signals established, to which point the attention of every one was now turned ; and on the meridian of the 30th, a signal was made for a ship in the south bay, and shortly after another was hoisted for a boat standing in for the harbour. A fresh breeze springing up, she soon rounded the S.E. point of Narborough, and from her general appearance all believed it to be the *Essex Junior*, which opinion was soon confirmed by the arrival of lieut. Downes, who had left the ship early in the morning, while she was becalmed. His arrival was welcomed by our seamen with three cheers ; and at 3 P. M. the *Essex Junior* anchored near us. By this ship I received several letters from our consul-general at Valparaiso, as well as other friends there ; also letters from our consul at Buenos Ayres, and newspapers, which, though of old dates, contained news of the greatest interest to us.

We obtained intelligence by them of the re-election of Mr. Madison to the presidency, and various changes in the different executive departments of the government, also the most satisfactory accounts of the successes of our navy, in every instance where our ships had encountered an enemy of equal force ; and my letters from our consul at Buenos Ayres informed me, that on the 5th July the British frigate *Phoebe*, of 36 guns, and the *Raccoon* and *Cherub* sloops of war, of 24 guns each, accompanied by a store-ship of 20 guns, had sailed from Rio de Janeiro for the Pacific ocean, in pursuit of the *Essex*. I also obtained intelligence that several British merchant ships were soon expected at Valparaiso from England, with valuable cargoes ; and Mr. Downes informed me, that he had left one there richly laden, and on the point of sailing for India.

Lieut. Downes had moored the *Montezuma*, *Hector*, and *Catharine* at Valparaiso, but had dispatched the *Policy* for America, as there was no prospect of selling the ship or her cargo to any advantage at Valparaiso, as an open declaration of war had taken place between Chili and Peru, and an entire stop put to the commerce between the two governments, which had hitherto continued uninterrupted, notwithstanding their hostilities to each other.

The Chilians showed to *lieut. Downes* the same friendly disposition which I had formerly experienced, and every facility was offered to him in procuring his supplies, as well as those wanting for the *Essex*. He met with some delays in consequence of the stagnation of commerce, but every assistance that the government could give him was afforded.

The only British whale-ship we could hear of on the coast was the *Comet*, a letter of marque of 20 guns ; her guns had been taken from her by the government of Chili, in consequence of her having taken an active part in favour of the Peruvians ; she was therefore laid up at Conception. She and the aforesaid ship at Valparaiso bound to India, and the English brig which I found there on my arrival, were the only British vessels that I could hear of on the coast of Chili and Peru ; and as I believed it highly probable, that the ship bound to India would touch at the Marquesas on her way thence, I thought it likely, that, by a speedy arrival there, I should be enabled to catch her. There was none of the news I had received which could induce me to alter my original plan of going to the Marquesas ; the repairs and smoking of my ship were paramount to every other consideration, and I knew of no place where I could be more likely to do it undisturbed.

The morning after the arrival of the *Essex Junior*, I hauled her alongside of the *Essex*, and took from on board her a quantity of rum and other articles ; and now having nothing to detain us but a head wind, we made every preparation for getting under way, which we were not enabled to do until the afternoon of the 2d of October, when a light land breeze sprang up, which we took advantage of to get out of the harbour ; and as it soon after shifted to the southward, we were the greater part of the succeeding night in beating through the sound (which I call *Deçatur's Sound*) into the south or Elizabeth Bay.

Prior to leaving the cove, *Rynard* wrote a penitent letter to me, begging me to overlook his conduct, and reinstate him on board the *Essex* ; this however I would not consent to ; but on his request, as well as that of *lieutenant Downes*, I agreed that he should join the *Essex Junior* in the capacity of seaman, on his

promise that in future there should be no cause of complaint against him.

And now I shall notice the important services rendered by our coming into the Pacific. In the first place, by our captures, we have completely broken up that important branch of British navigation, the whale-fishery of the coast of Chili and Peru, as we have captured all their vessels engaged in that pursuit except the aforesaid ship *Comet*. By these captures we have deprived the enemy of property to the amount of two and a half millions of dollars, and of the services of 360 seamen that I liberated on parole, not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged. We have effectually prevented them from doing any injury to our own whale-ships, only two of which have been captured, and their captures took place before our arrival. Shortly after my appearance in those seas, our whale-ships, which had taken refuge at Concepcion and Valparaiso, boldly ventured to sea in pursuit of whales, and on the arrival of the *Essex Junior* at Valparaiso, four of them had returned there with full cargoes, and were waiting for a convoy to protect them some distance from the coast, that they might be enabled to take the advantage of the winter season for getting into a port of the United States. This protection lieutenant Downes was enabled to afford them on his departure from thence, and the four ships lying there, as well as my prize the *Policy*, sailed in company with him until he had seen them a sufficient distance beyond the usual cruising ground of British armed ships.

The expence also of employing the frigate *Phœbe*, the sloops of war *Raccoon* and *Cherub*, and their store-ship, should also be taken into the estimate of the injury we have done them; for it is evident that they would not have been sent into the Pacific had it not been for the appearance of the *Essex* there, as for many years past they have employed no ships of war in this part of the world, nor were those sent until they had heard of our arrival at Valparaiso. Whether the said ships will succeed in doubling Cape Horn, or meet the fate of lord Anson's squadron, time alone will shew; at present, I shall merely take into my estimate the expences of equipping and employing them for one year, which cannot fall far short of

250,000 dollars, which it is more than probable will prove a dead loss to them, as the United States have now no commerce in this part of the world for them to annoy; and as they are reported to be dull sailers, it does not seem likely that they will succeed in their pursuit of the Essex, even if they should all keep together and fall in with her; and if they should cruize separately, they will have more to fear from our enterprize than we have to apprehend from theirs.

Value of prizes taken by the Essex in the Pacific \$ 2,500,000

Value of American whale-ships on the coast of

Chili and Peru, which would in all probability

have been captured had we not arrived 2,500,000

Cost of equipping and employing for one year,

one frigate, two sloops of war, and a store-ship 250,000

\$ 5,250,000

Expences of the Essex for one year

80,000

Balance \$ 5,170,000

It appears by this estimate, that the balance against the British, occasioned by our coming into this sea, is 5,170,000 dollars; for there cannot be a doubt that all our whale-ships would have been captured, had we not effectually prevented it by the capture of all of theirs. It is true that we have, as individuals, been as yet but little benefitted by our captures; this consideration, however, has had but little weight with us; the object of the government is to injure the enemy; it derives no advantage from captures, however valuable they may prove; by our captures we have effected the object of government, and whether we sell or destroy them is of importance only to ourselves.

And now I am about quitting the Gallapagos islands, perhaps for ever, and have shaped my course to the westward, let us compare our situation with that of lord Anson when he left the coast of Peru for China. I have already taken the liberty to touch on that subject at the time I passed the streights of Le

Maire ; the comparison was then greatly to our disadvantage. It has been seen what were our successes ; our distresses are not worth mentioning ; and the only evil now to be removed is the rats, which, although disagreeable companions (which it is necessary to remove), and occasion considerable havoc, are very far from rendering our situation a distressed one. Our supplies of every thing are equal to our wants for seven months ; my prizes in company, which consist of four sail of fine ships, besides the Essex Junior, are equally well furnished ; and our sick list is as follows :

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Henry Kennedy | Boatswain's mate | Ulcer of the leg. |
| 2. Peter Ripple | Seaman | Ulcer of the leg. |
| 3. William White | Prisoner | Intermittent fever. |

Total on the sick list 3.

Of the six ships of war with which lord Anson left England, having on board 1980 men, not including the two victualling ships that accompanied him, only two now remained, to wit : the Centurion of 60 guns, and the Gloucester of 50, the crews of both so sickly, and the latter ship in so disabled a state, as to make it necessary to destroy her soon after leaving the coast ; and the united efforts of both crews were scarcely sufficient to manage the Centurion until she arrived at Tinian, where she remained near two months to recruit the exhausted health of her officers and men.

The estimate of the damage done to the enemy by the whole of lord Anson's squadron, agreeably to the estimate of the historian of that expedition, is supposed to be (including the treasure taken on board the galleon) about one million of pounds sterling ; but as the galleon was not taken until the Centurion had put into China, and there received a complete outfit, the amount of the treasure found on board that vessel (which was supposed to be near half the whole amount) should be deducted, and the balance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of dollars will be the supposed injury done by his squadron on the coast of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and the adjacent seas. This, however, is the estimate of Mr. Waters, chap-

lain of the Centurion, whose exaggerations in many instances have been proved by the accounts given of the places he visited by other navigators, and as he was evidently disposed to give the expedition as much *éclat* as possible, it may naturally be supposed that he has taken good care not to fall short in his calculations.

Lord Anson was compelled to destroy every vessel he took, because they were miserably wretched barks, unable to navigate even this mild and pacific ocean, as well as because he had not men to navigate them. On leaving the coast he had no trophies of his success to exhibit.

The case with us is different, as the list of prize-ships now in company will show.

They are as follows, viz :

| | | |
|--------------------|----------|---------|
| Essex Junior | 351 tons | 20 guns |
| Greenwich | 338 do. | 20 do. |
| Seringapatam | 357 do. | 22 do. |
| New Zealander | 259 do. | 10 do. |
| Sir Andrew Hammond | 301 do. | 10 do. |

Two ships have been dispatched for America, to wit:

Georgiana

Policy

And three ships have been safely moored under the batteries of Valparaiso, to wit:

Montezuma

Catharine

Hector

All these vessels are copper sheathed and fastened, and in a state to proceed to the most distant part of the world, some of them remarkably fast sailers, and all superior ships.

NOTE A. *Page 1.*

Prior to the pilot's leaving us, I caused him to deliver into my possession all letters which might have been given him by the crew, apprehensive that, from some accidental cause, they might have become possessed of a knowledge of our destination; they all however contained only conjectures, except one, the writer of which asserted, as he stated from good authority, that we were bound on the coast of Africa: as some of their conjectures were not far from being correct, I thought it best to destroy the whole of them, and forbid the pilot's taking any more without my consent. To the officers who were desirous of writing to their friends, I enjoined particularly not to mention the movements of the ship in any way.

EXPLANATION OF THE SKETCH OF THE ISLANDS OF ST. CATHARINE'S AND ALVARADO.

(See the plate of head-lands.)

At the time these appearances were sketched, we were in 50 fathoms of water ; the ground was soft blue mud, very tenacious, and almost of an impalpable grain. The wind was very light and variable, and much of our advancement toward the entrance of the sound we were obliged to make by beating ; consequently, we had the better opportunity for proving the soundings. Our aim, in fetching the entrance, was to reach, as near as we could with safety, the south point of Alvarado. The lead, while on either tack, was kept constantly going ; the ground was uniformly of the same quality, and the soundings very gradually decreased. When we had arrived between the northern point of St. Catharine's and the southern point of Alvarado, the distance between them being about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and the latter point about 1 mile distant from the ship, we found the depth of the water to be $12\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms, and the ground of the same quality as before, except its being a little harder, and intermixed with some coarse white grains of sand. Having passed these points, we proceeded, about midway between the shores, toward fort Santa Cruz, a small island close to the main-land. Fetching this fort to bear, per compass, S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., distant $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and fort Ponte Groce S.E., distant about two miles, we came to, and anchored in $6\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water ; the soundings, all along, having preserved the character of remarkable regularity. On the following morning, we weighed, passed by fort Santa Cruz, came to and anchored in $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water ; when fort Santa Cruz bore, per compass, N. $\frac{3}{4}$ E., dist. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ; fort Ponte Groce, E.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., dist. 7 miles ; fort Ratonía, S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., dist. 4 miles ; and the highest point of Alvarado, N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., dist. 13 miles. The town of St. Miguel, on the main, was in plain sight, bearing south-westward and the town of St. Catharine, not in view, was said to be

about 14 miles to the south-eastward of our anchoring place. This proved to be an excellent situation for wooding and watering. The watering-place at which we got the greater part of our supply, was on the main-land, bearing N. by W. from the ship, and at a very short and convenient distance.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| The variation of the compass in this sound and at the | | } Determined by astronomical observations. |
| N.E. ward point, St Catharine's, | 6° 27' east. | |
| The ship, at anchor, was situated | | |
| in S. lat. 27° 26' 10" and W. long. 48° 02' 20" | | |
| The fort at Ponte Groce, in | | |
| S. lat. | 27° 24' 46" ————— 47° 55' 30" | } |
| N.E. point of St. Catherine— | | |
| Ponte de botte, | | |
| | 27° 26' 49" ————— 47° 42' 48" | |

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

St. Nicholas bearing W 7/8 N. 28°

Fernando N.E. by E 3/4 E 7 Miles dist

Fernando de Noronha E. by N. 6 Miles dist

Mayo S.E. by E. 10°

S. 6. W 12 Miles.

Isle of St. E. 3/4 S. 28°

S. S. W 9 Miles

N.E. by E. 10 Miles.

A. St. Jago bearing S. 64° W Dist 16 Miles

S.E. Point

Island of St. Catharine

Entrance to the sound of St. Catharine

Island of Alvarado 8 1/2 S.W. 3/4 W 7 1/2 M.

Traversed by D. Adams Captain

W. St. John's etc.



JOURNAL OF A CRUISE

MADE TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN,

BY

CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,

IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE

ESSEX,

In the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814.

CONTAINING

Descriptions of the Cape de Verd Islands, Coasts of Brazil, Patagonia,
Chili, and Peru, and of the Gallapagos Islands;

ALSO,

A full Account of the Washington Groupe of Islands, the Manners,
Customs, and Dress of the Inhabitants, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH FOURTEEN ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER XI.

PASSAGE TO WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

BUT to proceed with my journal: after leaving the Gallapagos, it was my intention to have run to the westward, keeping on or in the neighbourhood of the equator, to endeavour to fall in with a group of islands said to have been discovered by the Spaniards, and laid down in some charts; but on reflection I determined to make the best of my way for the Washington Islands, as this pursuit would have cost some expense of time, an expense I had no right to enter into, as the object of government in sending me to sea was to annoy the enemy and not to make discoveries, and should any accident happen to the ship in consequence of taking that route, I knew not how I should be able to justify my conduct in wandering from the direct course to the place of our destination. I had no doubt of the existence of the islands in question, as I had been informed by some of my prisoners that they had conversed with persons who had seen them; but their correct situation or resources were unknown to them. I determined however to keep well to the northward, before I fell in with the latitude of the Marquesas, with the hope of making some new discoveries, and therefore shaped my course on the most direct line for them; but finding the weather unpleasant, accompanied by a heavy and disagreeable cross sea, I in a few days kept

more to the southward, until I reached the latitude of 9° south, then shaped my course due west, allowing for the variation of the compass.

On the 6th October finding that some of my prizes occasioned some delay, I determined to despatch the Essex Junior for the Marquesas, and my reasons for so doing were founded on a firm belief that the Mary-Ann, the ship left by Mr. Downes at Valparaiso, would touch at those islands on her way to India: and the cause of this belief was, that the captain of that ship had frequently declared in the presence of Mr. Downes his intention of going round Cape Horn, and the fact that she was short of firewood, which was an article that could not be procured at Valparaiso without paying very high for it, which was what the captain of that vessel did not seem disposed to do—added to which there was an American captain at Valparaiso of considerable intelligence, who had lately made a voyage to China from that port and had touched at the island of St. Christiana (one of the Marquesas) in his passage there, where he had supplied himself abundantly with refreshments and wood, as he had also done in a former voyage. Between this gentleman and the English captain a considerable degree of intimacy subsisted, and I felt satisfied that his advice would be for him to take that route and touch there, which advice I had no doubt of his following, for I could not persuade myself that any person would be so mad as to brave the tempestuous seas of Cape Horn to go to India, when it was in his power to proceed the whole way there with fine winds and pleasant weather, and I believed that the declarations made in the presence of lieutenant Downes were purposely to mislead that officer. Under the impression therefore that he would touch at St. Christiana, I directed lieutenant Downes to proceed there, and afterwards join me at Port Anna Maria, in the Island of Nooaheevah, one of the Washington Islands, which place I also appointed as a rendezvous for all the other vessels, in case of separation. Lieutenant Downes consequently made all sail, and at sunset was out of sight ahead.

From the time of the departure of lieutenant Downes until the 23rd. October when we made the island of Teebooa, one of the group of the Marquesas, few circumstances of any moment

took place. The weather throughout the passage was remarkably pleasant, but gradually increasing in temperature as we increased our distance from the Gallapagos; but the heat was unaccompanied by squalls, thunder and lightning, or rain. Two of my prisoners at the time of making land were slightly affected with the scurvy; but (with the exception of them) we had not a sick man on board. We frequently saw tropic birds, sea swallows, gulls, and other birds that indicate an approach to land, but in greater numbers between the longitude of 100° and 105° than in any other part except in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, where we saw vast numbers the day before making land, at which time also we saw immense shoals of spermaceti whales of all sizes which were slowly directing their course to the northward. In this run we saw vast numbers of flying fish, and many of that kind which have red wings: they are much larger than the others and are never seen in shoals. From the time of leaving the Gallapagos we experienced a constant westerly set of the current, which gradually decreased in velocity until we made the land, when we found its rate to be only twelve miles in twenty-four hours; but at the time of our departure from the Gallapagos we found ourselves set to the westward daily twenty-five miles, and this was ascertained by the difference between our dead reckoning and our lunar observations, assisted by our chronometer.

As we had little to employ our people about during our run, and as I believed that at this time more than any other I had much to apprehend from the scurvy getting among them, I considered it necessary to rouse them from that listlessness and apathy into which the human mind is apt to fall when destitute of employment. All were ignorant of the place of our destination or my intentions; I saw no prospect of evil resulting from making them known; and as I have ever considered that cheerfulness is a more powerful antiseptic than any other known, I determined to apply one of the doses which I believe had heretofore greatly contributed to preserve the health of my men. The following note was communicated to them; and those who know the disposition of sailors may readily conceive the effect it produced. For the remainder of our passage they could talk and think of nothing but the beauties of the islands we were about visiting; every one imagined them Venus's, and amply indulged themselves in fancied bliss, impatient of

our arrival at that Cytherean Paradise where all their wishes were to be gratified.

"We are bound to the Western islands, with two objects in view:

"Firstly, that we may put the ship in a suitable condition to enable us to take advantage of the most favourable season for our return home:

"Secondly, I am desirous that you should have some relaxation and amusement after being so long at sea, as from your late good conduct you deserve it:

"We are going among a people much addicted to thieving, treacherous in their proceedings, whose conduct is governed only by fear, and regulated by views to their interest. We must put nothing in their power, be ever on our guard, and prevent by every means that can be used, disputes and difficulties with them; we must treat them with kindness, but never trust them, and be most vigilant where there is the greatest appearance of friendship. Let the fate of the many who have been cut off by the savages of the South Sea islands be a useful warning to us:

"It will require much discretion and good management to keep up a friendly intercourse with them; and in the regulations that I shall lay down for this object I shall expect the hearty concurrence of every person under my command:

"Disputes are most likely to arise from traffic with them; therefore to prevent them I shall appoint a vessel for the express purpose of trading, and shall select an officer and four men to conduct all exchanges, and every other person is positively forbid to traffic with the natives, except through the persons so selected to conduct the trade:

"No canoes or male natives will be permitted to come along side the *Essex*, or any other vessel, except the trading ship, on any account, unless it may be the chiefs whom I may designate. And if every person exerts themselves to carry on the work of the ship, as well as to enforce the above regulations, and such others as I may from time to time adopt, I shall allow you time to amuse yourselves on shore; but this indulgence shall cease the moment I discover any relaxation in vigilance or industry.

Signed D. PORTER.

U. S. Frigate Essex, October, 1813.

CHAPTER XII.

WASHINGTON'S ISLANDS,—ROOAHOOGA.

ON the meridian of the 23rd. October the man at the mast-head discovered land bearing S.W.; our latitude at this time was $9^{\circ} 6'$ south, and the longitude by chronometer $138^{\circ} 27'$ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by lord Hood, while a midshipman with captain Cook, and from its position it could be no other; yet the description given of this island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. The Hood's Island, seen by us, is a barren lump of a rock inaccessible on all its sides, destitute of verdure, and about three miles in circuit. After making this island, which is the most northerly of that group called the Marquesas de Mendania, first discovered by the Spaniards, I hove-to for my prizes to come up, which were a great distance astern (as they had been generally during our passage) and on their joining me I steered a little more the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by a captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792; this group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c., they were seen the preceding year (1791) by a captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than perceive them and point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen and their position determined by a captain Marchand, in the French ship *Solide*, bound on a trading voyage to the N.W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th

PORTER'S JOURNAL.

March, in the year 1792, who examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and lieutenant Hergest, probably ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names: those seen by the French captain received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Frers, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevenien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery,) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship *Dædalus*. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans; yet captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American captains; his ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world; and even Mr. Fleurien the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well

known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand: he has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow to them the names given by our countrymen. These substitutions (as Fleurien justly remarks) cannot but create confusion in the nomenclature of Geography, and, in the sequel give birth to uncertainties and doubts respecting the periods of discoveries. Fleurien in the discovery of this group claims for the French priority of the British, and in the discussion loses sight of any claim of ours: perhaps he has not considered us as rivals worthy of either of the great nations, and has attached to us no more merit than he would have given to one of the natives for being born there. The whole merit of a navigator, he says, consists in finding what he seeks for, not in accidental discoveries: if so, where is the merit of captain Marchand's finding this group, if he was previously ignorant of their existence. Yet monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography will however do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will know them only as Washington's Group.

After this digression, which I have been led into from a sense of duty and justice to my countrymen, I shall proceed in my narrative.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Roohaogga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among; but on our nearer approach the fertile valleys, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and intervened by groups of the natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting—indeed the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S.E. point of

he island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S.E. part of the island we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture along side until we had run very close in; but no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them in a bucket made fast to a rope several of the above articles, they sent up to us by the same conveyance a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that the *vahienas*, or women, were entirely at our service. Their bodies were entirely naked, and their chief ornament consisted in the dark and fanciful lines formed by tattooing, which covered them. The fore-skin of their privates was drawn so close over and tied with a strip of bark as to force that member entirely into their bodies, and gave to them a strange and unnatural appearance. I displayed to them some whales' teeth, an object to which I had understood that the natives of this group were greatly attached. They seemed to be greatly attracted by them, and promised to return to the shore and bring us in exchange for them fruit and *vahienas*, not however before I had assured them that, as an additional compensation, I would cause their heads and privates to be shaved, which was what they seemed most to desire. On their leaving us I bore away for several other canoes which were lanchd from the different coves with which the coast was indented, but nothing

30'

Long

45'

8°



Roberts Islands



to the

15'

30'



could induce them to come near the ship. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. and through the same medium informed them that I should proceed to the shore, and there remain as a hostage for their safety. Some of them went off to the ship, but the greater number followed me to the shore, where they were collected in groups, armed with their spears and war-clubs, to receive me, and collecting in considerable numbers from every quarter. There were no women or children among them; and although both my boats were well armed I did not think it advisable to put it in their power to make an attack on them, which would probably have terminated in the loss of several of their lives. I consequently directed lieutenant M^r Knight, who was in the other boat, to keep out of the surf, which beat with considerable fury on the beach, while I went close in with my boat, where I made an exchange of pieces of iron hoops and other articles for their ornaments and fruit: some of the former were handsome, and consisted of several pieces of wood neatly joined together in the form of a gorget, and covered with small red beans, neatly attached to it by means of a resinous substance. In a few minutes the spears and war-clubs were laid aside, and swarms of natives swam off to me loaded with the produce of the island: all seemed greatly to rejoice that we had so precious an article to offer them as pieces of old iron hoops, which were held in such high estimation that good sized pigs were purchased for a few inches. Some, to express their joy, were seen dancing on the beach with the most extravagant gestures, while others expressed the pleasure they felt by shouting and clapping their hands; and although I invariably paid them in advance for the articles received, I in no case, but one, met with an instance of dishonesty. Three men presented them-

selves to me, each with a bread-fruit: with a view of diverting myself with their embarrassment, I gave to them two fish-hooks to be divided among them: they all agreed to the exchange, but on delivering the fish-hooks, one of them swam off with his bread-fruit, refused to deliver it up, and appeared much pleased with the trick he had played me, believing no doubt that it would be attended with less difficulty to divide the hooks between two than three. The other two seemed to affect anger with their companion, and made signs for me to pursue and beat him; but as one of them had a stick in his hand, I directed him to inflict punishment; this he pretended to do, but it was mere pretence. But notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, it was very evident that they had strong suspicions of us. They always approached the boat with the greatest awe and agitation, and in every instance, where articles were presented to them, they shrunk back with terror, and retreated to the shore with the utmost precipitation. This want of confidence in me, was greatly calculated to lessen my confidence in them, and even if the surf had admitted of my landing, I should not have considered it advisable to venture among them. One among them, however, ventured to raise himself by the side of the boat, and perceiving a pistol lying in the stern sheets, showed an evident desire to possess it. It was with some difficulty I could make him let go his hold of the boat; and to intimidate him I presented the pistol at him; but it produced no other effect than joy, as he immediately held out both his hands to receive it, from which I concluded that they were unacquainted with the use of fire arms.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper; each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round their wrists, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, with large shells and whales' teeth hung round their necks, and made altogether no inelegant appearance. They were all highly tattooed,

and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present; but they had no article to offer in return but their women: and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us. The men repeatedly invited us to the shore and pointed to the women and the house near which they were standing, accompanying their invitation with gestures which we could not misunderstand; and the girls themselves showed no disinclination to grant every favour we might be disposed to ask; and to render themselves the more attractive, they retired and soon appeared clad in clean, and no doubt, their best attire, which consisted of a white and thin paper cloth, which enveloped their whole persons, with the exception of one arm and breast: and this simple drape-ry, when contrasted with the nakedness of the men, gave them an appearance of grace and modesty, we had little expected to find among savages. Finding that all their allurements could not prevail on us to land, the old chief directed the young girls to swim off to us: but on the appearance of reluctance, the young men led them toward the water, where they were soon divested of every covering and conducted to the boat amid the loud plaudits of the spectators on the shore. On their entering the boat, the seamen threw them their handkerchiefs for a covering, with which they carefully concealed those parts which modesty teaches us should not be exposed: and after making them some small presents and delivering them one for the old chief, I found more difficulty in getting them out of the boat, than they had made in coming off to her; and one of them actually shed tears because I would

not consent to their going on board the ship. After leaving these friendly people I proceeded for the frigate, where I found the traffic with the canoes that had gone off, had been conducted with much harmony. Some of them I passed very close to on their return, and the natives on board them expressed their extreme satisfaction by expressions of the most extravagant joy. One of them in the fullness of heart, said he was so glad he longed to get on shore to dance. On rejoining the ship, I was informed by the officers that the natives who had been on board, had expressed much surprise at the sight of the goats, sheep, dogs, and other animals, but what seemed most to astonish them, was one of the large Gallapagoes tortoises: it seemed as though they could not sufficiently feast their eyes on it; and to view it more at their ease they stretched themselves at full length on the deck around it; and this appeared to be their general practice when they wished to view leisurely any object that excited their attention, a practice which seems to bespeak the natural indolence of this people: and yet some circumstances seem to be at variance with this opinion; for on occasions they appear capable of the greatest exertions of strength and activity, as when paddling their canoes, climbing the rocks, &c. The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is that of a copper colour: but some are as fair as the generality of working people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men, (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black; but this is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing with which they are covered all over, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause; and when the eye is once familiarised with men ornamented after this manner, we perceive a richness in the skin of an old man highly tattooed comparable to that which we perceive in a highly wrought piece of old mahogany: for, on a minute examination, may be discovered innumerable lines curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste and symmetry, and yet apparently without order or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly

have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. The neatness and beauty with which this species of ornament is finished, served greatly to surprise us, and we could not help believing that they had among them tattooers by profession, some of them no doubt, equal in celebrity to M'Alpin and other renowned taylor's of America, for we afterwards discovered that the most wealthy and high class were more fully and handsomely tattooed than those of an inferior station, which is a sufficient evidence that tattooing has its price.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were, as I before observed, handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunetts in America celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we have visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented-naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. Nakedness they cannot consider offensive to modesty; they are accustomed to it from their infancy; and there is but one part which they seem to think it necessary to hide, and for a concealment of that part hands are employed, when no other covering can be obtained. Our great mother Eve believed herself sufficiently clad when covered with a fig-leaf: perhaps a refinement of manners, perhaps only a view to the gratification of our vanity, in the number of our ornaments has rendered any farther covering necessary, for dress is not always a proof of modesty and virtue, nor is nakedness that of depravity and want of shame. I find no difficulty in believing, that an American lady, who exposes to view her face, her bosom and her arms, is as modest and virtuous as the wife of a Turk, who is seen only by her husband; or that a female of Washington's Group, who is seen in a state of nature, with every charm exposed to view, may be as modest and virtuous as either. That they have a high sense of shame and pride, I had afterwards many opportunities of observing, and am well satisfied that an intercourse with strangers is not

considered by them criminal; but on the contrary, attaches to them respect and consideration. Whether the two females, of which I am now speaking, would have carried their complaisance so far, I had not an opportunity at that time of knowing, but circumstances afterwards, which gave me a further knowledge of the females of the Group, gave me no reason to doubt a willingness on their part to gratify every wish: but if there was any crime, the offence was ours, not theirs: they acted in compliance with the customs of their ancestors; we departed from those principles of virtue and morality which are so highly esteemed in civilization. For the honour of every person under my command, from whom a correct deportment might be expected, I feel happy in the assurance that none indulged in that indiscriminate intercourse, every facility to which was offered them; each confined himself to one object, and she of the best family and rank. This was as much perhaps, as the most zealous celibate would have required from men all healthy, youthful and amorous, who had scarcely seen a female for more than a year. But I am anticipating events; I am apologizing before there seems cause for apology. I shall resume the thread of my narrative, and let every one judge for himself.

The canoes of these people are not so perfect in their construction as I had expected to find; yet they have much labour and no doubt time expended in their formation, considering the tools with which they were for the most part constructed. Iron they know the use of; but from their desire to possess a few pieces of old iron hoop, its scarcity was evident. It is therefore highly probable that they were formed with tools made of stones or of such as could be made with the scraps of iron which it is possible they may have received from transient visitors: for as it does not appear that they are furnished with any articles of trade it is not likely that tools of more value have been furnished them. These vessels are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep: they are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree cut into the form of planks and sewed together by a sinnet made of the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut, and the seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank to keep in a stuffing of oakum made of the same material as the sinnet, which does not prevent them from

leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out of them. The keel consists of one piece which runs the whole length, and is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together; and outriggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which from their narrowness would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal, and most probable a man: sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the fore part of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished; their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. At some of the coves I saw the frames of boats of a different construction, set up shorter and wider than the canoes, and in shape somewhat similar to the common whale boat; but I saw no such vessel in use among those who visited the ship.

Toward sunset I passed the western part of the island and had a view of a bay, which makes in, after rounding some islets, which appeared to afford good anchorage, secure against the prevailing winds, with a smooth landing. The valley which extended from the head of it, had the appearance of great fertility, and several houses were interspersed among the clusters of trees, and the whole had a very agreeable and inviting appearance, but no natives or canoes were observable: and it is probable that, intimidated by the number of vessels in sight, they had all left their residence and retired to the other side of the island.

CHAPTER XIII.

MADISON'S ISLAND.—HAPPAH WAR.

AFTER passing the island I have-to for the night, and directed my prizes as they came up to do the same. We had here very heavy squalls and some showers of rain; and at day light next morning I bore up for the island of Nooaheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, which bore from us W. not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the E. side of the weather bay, called by lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay. This point is steep, and the coast from thence to the N. appears iron bound and inaccessible, and the whole island seems to have suffered much during former periods, from the ravages of volcanoes. On standing in for Comptroller's Bay, I perceived a rock above water at the distance of one mile and a half or two miles from the point: this I left on the starboard hand and stretched into the bay, which was deep, spacious, and appeared very safe and commodious. It contains several interior bays, which seemed to afford good landing; several pleasant villages were situated near the beaches, and the houses were interspersed among the trees of the valleys, which appeared highly cultivated and thickly inhabited. Several canoes came off the point, but none seeming disposed to visit us, I bore up for a small but high island, about two leagues to leeward, which I supposed formed one side of the entrance of the harbour, where I intended anchoring, which is called by lieutenant Hergest Port Anna Maria. In about an hour after bearing up, we opened the bay, which appeared to offer us every advantage we could possibly desire. It may be known by the small, but high and rocky island before-mentioned, which forms the E. side, and a similar one, but more in the form of a sugar loaf, which forms the W. side of the entrance. About half way between the entrance and Comptroller's Bay, is a



Drawn by Capt. J. J. J.

Engraved by W. J. J.

Washington in Massachusetts Bay - Essex & her crew.



red cliff of rocks, the only one to be seen; and the point forming with the Rocky Island, the E. side of the entrance of the bay, is marked from its summit to the water's edge, by a remarkable white streak, which, at a distance, bears the appearance of a sheet of water, tumbling from the rocks: this mark can be seen from a great distance; and is a never failing guide to the harbour's mouth. Between each of the aforesaid small islands, and the main island, is passages only for small boats; and as they seemed placed by nature, for the protection of the port, when considered either as affording shelter from the winds and sea, or as suitable situations for batteries, I shall hereafter call them the Centinels.

On entering the bay I rounded the E. Centinel, within one and a half ship's length of the shore, and obtained sounding in thirty-five fathoms water, clear, sandy bottom: the water was perfectly clear, no danger was to be seen; the wind was blowing out of the harbour; and I believed it to be of sufficient width, to enable us to work up to the bottom of the bay, which appeared to be about four miles deep. I was soon, however, convinced that I was deceived in my calculations; for although there was sufficient room, had the breeze been steady to have worked up, yet it was impracticable to do so, from the flaws so frequently changing their direction; and at one moment blowing fresh, while the next would prove a dead calm, and thus render a ship perfectly unmanageable with her sails: I therefore, let go the anchor at the mouth, in thirty fathoms water, to wait for a more favourable time for running in, and directed my prizes to lay off and on the port until we could get the frigate secured. Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from the shore, with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them: my mind was prejudiced against them; I was provoked to find such characters, as I expected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment

of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out toward us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity; for as I was desirous of establishing, with the natives, the most friendly intercourse, I was fearful my intentions might be frustrated, by their representations, and the unfavourable impressions they might be enabled to make on their minds. Therefore to correct my error, as soon as possible, if I had committed any, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines I proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat: and to my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with lieutenant Lewis for Canton, in the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after procuring his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return: he had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him: and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. To this I consented, provided lieutenant Lewis should not return before my departure. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked was named ——— Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite

with me, as well as every other person. He became indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other: I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease: the women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men. I directed them to be put through their exercise; and the firing of the muskets occasioned but little terror, except among the women, who generally turned away their faces and covered their ears with their hands. The men and boys were all attention to the skipping of the balls in the water; but at every fire all habitually inclined their bodies, as if to avoid the shot, although behind the men who were firing. After remaining a short time with them, I distributed among them some knives, fish-hooks, &c. &c. which they received with much apparent pleasure; but no one offered, like the natives of the other island, any thing in return.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, and had destroyed many houses and plantations, and had killed, by cutting around the bark, a great number of bread-fruit trees. I was also informed they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed

they had been deterred by the appearance of the ships. I inquired if it were possible to get a message to them; and was informed that notwithstanding they were at war and showed no quarters to each other, there were certain persons of both tribes, who were permitted to pass and repass freely and uninterrupted from one tribe to another: such for example as a man belonging to one tribe who had married a woman belonging to the other. I inquired if any such were present; and one being pointed out to me, I directed him to proceed to the Happahs and to tell them that I had come with a force sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to tell them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. To the natives of the valley (who listened attentively and with apparent pleasure to the message sent to the Happahs) I then addressed myself, and assured them that I had come with the most friendly disposition; that I wanted nothing from them but what I paid for: that they must look on us as brethren: and that I should protect them against the Happahs should they again venture to descend from the mountains. I directed them to leave at home their spears, slings, and clubs, (their only weapons of war) in order that we might know them from the Happahs; and told them that I should consider all as my enemies who should appear armed in my presence: assuring them at the same time, that there would be no necessity for their using those weapons, as I had not only the will and power to give them the most ample protection, but to chastise severely their enemies, unless they were governed by the advice I had given them. All listened with much attention: their spears and clubs were thrown on one side; and when I wished to assemble my officers and men to return on board, I perceived that they had formed with the female part of the community, an intimacy much closer than that which brotherly relationship gave them a title to: they had soon made themselves understood without any aid of interpreters; and had wandered to the houses or perhaps the bushes, which suited their purpose, as well to ratify their treaty, the negotiating of which neither cost them much time or trouble. The detachment of marines had remained with me;

all no doubt saw me on my guard against any attack of the natives; and the probability of my remaining so, perhaps made them perfectly easy as to their safety; or (which I think is just as likely,) every one saw an opportunity to indulge themselves, which had not for a long time presented itself; and all were determined to take advantage of it, at all hazards, even at the risk of violating every principle of subordination and obedience to orders. The women were inviting in their appearance, and practised all the bewitching language of the eyes and features, which is so universally understood; and if an allowance can be made for a departure from prudential measures, it is when a handsome and sprightly young girl of sixteen, whose almost every charm exposed to view, invites to follow her. Such was the case with the party with me: they abandoned prudence and followed only the dictates of nature. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair, and her skin was highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat, sleek, and comely; on inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand-daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in great estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connection with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed

out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places in this valley, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, and securing them together by pieces of timber strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breast-work of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattane-wa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution: the other is more to the right, and as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him: a messenger was therefore despatched for him; and after collecting my people I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ship to be got into port and secured. Probably they had heard from those who had been on shore, of the friendly reception they had met with; and while I had some thoughts of putting to sea to wait a favourable opportunity to run in, application was made to warp the ship up, and in a few hours we had her secured in the bottom of the bay, on the starboard side, near a white sandy beach, and within half a mile of the shore. The Essex Junior had hove in sight about the time we commenced warping; but lieutenant Downes did not get his ship secured until late in the evening, when he came on board and informed me he had obtained no intelligence of the vessel I had sent him in pursuit of. The prizes did not get in and secured until next day.

When the ship was moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where on landing, they

were taken complete possession of by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words of the most indecent kind, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

Indeed the ship was a perfect Bedlam from the time of their arrival until their departure, which was not until morning, when they were put on shore, not only with whatever was given them by all such as had shared their favours, but with whatever they could lay their hands on.

The object of the greatest value at this as well as all the other islands of this group, is whales' teeth: this I had understood while I was on shore, and knowing that there were several of them on board the frigate, I determined if possible, to secure the whole of them at any price, as I had been informed that hogs, the only animal food on the island, could be procured for no other article. I succeeded in procuring nearly all on board, by paying for them at the rate of one dollar each; but few of them were of a sufficient size to make them of much value. I shall in all probability have occasion to speak of the strange infatuation of this people for this strange ornament, which is worn suspended to the neck, and sometimes is cut to form ornaments to the ears. No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here: I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth is worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, and the only object of trade necessary to procure it, is ten whales' teeth of a large size; and for these the natives will cut it,

bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship; and this cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of that of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable; the odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which is said to be of great value.

The warlike attitude of the Happahs, who still kept their station on the mountains, made me determine to wait a day or two before I commenced my repairs on the ship. I had understood, that there was a bay to leward, which might suit our purpose, where the natives who inhabited its valleys were at peace, but it was not represented to me as being so commodious as the one we now occupied, nor so easy of access and egress. I had not yet determined what place to form our encampment in, where we might land our water-casks, and pitch tents for our coopers, sail-makers, carpenters, and other workmen, all of which would be necessary in order to make the extensive repairs of which the ship stood much in want. I was apprehensive of engaging too precipitantly in the undertaking, lest the unforeseen difficulties I might encounter, should give me cause to regret my haste.

The spot which appeared most suitable for our purpose, was a plain, at the back of the sandy beach, near where we lay. This plain was well shaded by bread-fruit and other trees, was destitute of inhabitants, and separated from the inhabited part of the valley by a hill, well suited for erecting a fort, as it completely commanded the whole bay, as well as every part of the valley. The place of which I now speak, as suited for our encampment, was situated between the two hostile tribes; and I was informed, that from some motives of religion, neither party had visited it since the war had commenced; and with the hope that they would continue to keep aloof from it, I determined within myself to fix on this spot, should I commence my repairs here. While I was deliberating on the subject, I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine large

English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, (excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal.

Soon after I had sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since I had arrived, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and with the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied around their waists, their ancles, and their loins: a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk; from their neck suspended a whale's tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron: this with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. This is a faithful picture of a warrior, and of the chief of such warriors I had formed an exalted opinion; but what was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head: a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) with which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. After he had been a short time on deck, I endeavoured to impress him with a high opinion of our force; and for this purpose assembled all my crew: it scarcely seemed to excite his attention. I then caused a gun to

be fired, which seemed to produce no other effect on him, than that of pain; he complained that it hurt his ears: I then invited him below, where nothing whatever excited his attention, until I showed him some whales' teeth: this roused the old man from his lethargy, and he would not be satisfied, until I had permitted him to handle, to measure and count them over and over, which seemed to afford him infinite pleasure. After he had done this repeatedly, I put them away; and shortly afterwards asked him if he had seen any thing in the ship that pleased him; if he did to name it and it should be his: he told me he had seen nothing which had pleased him so much as one of the small whales' teeth; which on his describing, I took out and gave to him: this he carefully wrapped up in one of the turns of his clout; begging me not to inform any person that he had about him an article of so much value: I assured him I should not; and the old man threw himself on the settee and went to sleep. In a few minutes he awoke, somewhat recovered from his stupidity, and requested to be put on shore: he, however, previous to his departure, wished me to exchange names with him, and requested me to assist him in his war with the Happaahs: to the first I immediately consented: but to the latter request, I told him I had come to be at peace with all on the island; that I wished to see him at peace with the Happaahs; and that I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happaahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people. He told me they had cursed the bones of his mother, who had died but a short time since: that as we had exchanged names, she was now my mother, and I was bound to espouse her cause. I told him I would think of the subject, and did not think it necessary to make any farther reply to the old man's sophistry.

Next morning he sent me a present consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa-nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels.

I now unbent my sails and sent them on shore; landed my water casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes: the ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers

went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happaahs, descending from the mountains into the valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Those who were on shore had returned on board; and as the Happaahs had descended to within half a mile of our camp, and had succeeded in destroying two hundred bread-fruit trees, it became necessary to be more on our guard against their enterprize. My messenger shortly afterwards returned from among them to say that notwithstanding my injunctions, they had come into the valley and destroyed the bread-fruit trees, and we had not opposed them: that they believed we were cowards; and they should soon visit our camp and carry off our sails. Believing from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view I caused one fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley and amuse themselves with the girls who had assembled in great numbers on the outside of the inclosure, and were neither coy nor cruel; black or white, it made no difference to them, provided they could receive a *tie tie*, or present, which at first consisted of a piece of iron hoop; but in a few days this coin became no longer current: then the iron hoops were fashioned by the seamen into a tool somewhat in the form of a plane iron, lashed by several close turns of sinnet on a crooked stick, used by the natives as a short handled adze, and called by them a *tokay*. This passed very well for a few days; but they soon found out the cheat, and required something of more value. Our men had money, which was offered them: but money was rejected as trash; clothing they had given, until they had scarcely any left for themselves. Junk bottles were in great demand, and always passed current; but ere long so many females assembled, that with or without a *tie tie*, the men had no difficulty in procuring

sweethearts; and it was astonishing to us to see with what indifference fathers, husbands, and brothers would see their daughters, wives, and sisters fly from the embraces of one lover to that of another, and change from man to man according as they could find purchasers. Far from seeming to consider it an offence against modesty, they seemed to view it only as an accommodation to strangers, who had claims on their hospitality.

I had caused a tent to be erected on shore for myself, as believing my presence necessary there to preserve order, and that my health required that I should remain some time on shore after being so long confined to the ship.

The threat of the Happahs had somewhat provoked me. I did not view this people as mere savages, but as intelligent beings, capable of reason, and having proper ideas of right and wrong. I thought, however, before I proceeded to extremities, I would try if I could frighten them out of their hostile notions. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to him, I would send men up to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on. I supposed, however, that it would terrify the Happahs: and if it was attended with no other advantage, it would occupy the natives for a week or fortnight and keep them from our camp, as the numbers who resorted there had already caused us some embarrassment, and I apprehended would cause us more.

On the gun being landed, I caused a few shot to be fired, to convince them of the distance the shot would have effect—firstly, a shot was fired with the gun considerably elevated; they seemed much surprised at the length of time the shot remained in the air, and many had given up all expectations of seeing it fall, and a general shout of admiration marked the time of its fall in the water. I now directed the gun to be fired that the ball might skip along the surface of the water: at every bound of the shot they gave a general shout of applause, as if all were operated on by the same impulse: last of all I directed her to be fired with grape shot,

which seemed to afford them more pleasure than all the rest; they hugged and kissed the gun, lay down beside it and fondled it with the utmost delight, and at length slung it to two long poles and carried it toward the mountain. On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them; they declared that it stuck to the ground; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

While the natives were employed with their darling gun, I occupied myself in forwarding as much as possible the ship's duty; and as an additional security to our camp, landed another six pounder, and mounted also a long wall piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging; her provisions, stores, and ammunition put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers in setting up new water casks (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) to supply the place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were employed overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to them. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement. One fourth of the crew being allowed after that hour to go on shore, there to remain until daylight next morning. An oven was also built on shore with bricks found on board the prizes; and so long as we remained here fresh bread of an excellent quality was issued every day to every person under my command: this was not only adding greatly to their comfort, and probably contributing to preserve their health, but was the cause of great saving of our hard bread which it was necessary to reserve as a sea stock. Every thing went on as well as I could have wished, and much better than I could possibly have expected. It only now was necessary that we should fall on some substitute for salt provisions, as we had not yet been enabled to procure hogs in sufficient quantities to issue to the ships' companies, nor had we been able to catch fish with our seine, although we had made repeated trials. The natives did not appear willing to traffic for fruit or hogs; and from the best information I could obtain I was induced to believe there was a considerable scarcity of both in the valley. A few had been furnished as presents, but no persuasions would induce them to sell any to us, even for

articles which were held in the highest estimation by them. They could not supply them in sufficient quantities to exchange for whales' teeth, nor could they be persuaded to part with them for harpoons, of which we had a large stock on hand.

The day after the gun was moved for the mountains, the chief warrior, named Mouina, was introduced to me. He was a tall, well shaped man of about thirty-five years of age, remarkably active, of an intelligent and open countenance, and his whole appearance was prepossessing. He had just left the other warriors in the fortified village, and had come down to request me to cause a musket to be fired (which he called a *bouhi*) that he might witness its effects. Several individuals of the tribe of the Happahs were at that moment about the camp, and I was pleased at the opportunity which was afforded me to convince them of the folly of resisting our fire arms with slings and spears. I fired several times myself at a mark to show them that I never failed of hitting an object the size of a man. I then directed the marines to fire by volleys at a cask, which was soon like a riddle. I directed them to tell their countrymen that it would only be making a useless sacrifice of their lives; that I had no wish to destroy them, but that my own safety and the security of the friendly tribes, whom I had promised to protect, required that they should be driven from the mountains overhanging the valley, where they had constantly kept their position, daily waving their cloaks to us to come up, and threatening us with their spears and clubs. Indeed considerable numbers of them had been seen in the grass on the hills at the back of our encampment, and I had much reason to apprehend an attack from them soon, if means were not taken to dislodge them.

Mouina appeared much pleased with the effect of our musquetry; and frequently exclaimed, *mattee, mattee!* killed, killed! The Happahs, however, replied that nothing could persuade their tribe, that *bouhies* could do them the injury that we pretended: that they were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten, that they would be willing to make peace; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present; and that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They



Drawn by Capt Porter

Engraved by W. Strickland

Mouina.
Chief Warrior of the Teyehs.



informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that, by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happaes present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Parques*, *Hoattas*, &c. for the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

But before I proceed farther in my narrative, it may be best, for a proper understanding of the subject, to give a statement of the names of the different tribes of the island, with the names of the chiefs of each tribe, as far as I have been able to obtain a knowledge of them.

The tribes residing in the valley of *Tieuhoy* are in number six, and are called collectively *Taeahs*, which signifies friends. *Gattanewa* is the acknowledged chief of four tribes, to wit: the *Pakeuhs*, *Maovhs*, *Howneeahs*, and *Hekuahs*. He has, however, much influence with the other two, called *Hoattas*, of which *Kecoponea* is chief; and *Havouhs*, which is a perfect democracy without a chief. The priest, however, whose name is *Tawattaa*, has great influence with the people, and decides in all cases of controversy, and names the time of going to war. It seems that a few years since they expelled their chief, who was a relation of *Gattanewa*, and a notorious glutton. His offence, it appears, was the frequently waylaying the children of the poorer class on their return from fishing, and taking from them their fish: they therefore rose in a body, and drove him from the valley. He took refuge with *Gattanewa*, where he now lives. He is the

largest man on the island, and his enormous size and unwieldy appearance soon gained him among us the name of *Elephant*.

The fact is that these people cannot be said to live under any form of government, except it be under a patriarchal one. The oldest man of the tribe, if he possess the most land, and is the owner of most bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, is the most influential character among them. Wealth, with them, as in all other countries, attaches respect and gives power; they have such thing as rank among them; a rank which is hereditary; and they take much pride in tracing their ancestry. Gattanewa traces his for eighty-eight generations back, (about fourteen hundred years) which is to the period when the island was first peopled. According to tradition, Oataia, or day-light, and Ananoona his wife, came from Vavao, an island underneath Nooaheevah, and brought with them bread-fruit and sugar-cane, and a great variety of other plants. They had forty children, who were all named after the plants they brought with them, with the exception of the first son, who was called Po or night. They settled in the valley of Tieuhoy; but soon becoming very populous, they went off to other parts of the island, taking with them plants of different kinds, and inhabited the valleys. Be this tradition true or fabulous, it is certain that Gattanewa draws his greatest consideration from inheriting the honours of the great Oataia, and an alliance with him is sought by every family of any considerable rank in the island.

The chiefs and the sons and grandsons of every chief in the island are married to his sisters, his daughters, or his grand-daughters; many of the latter were now unmarried, and their youth and beauty soon drew the attention of our officers; and as they did not suffer them to despond, many of them soon had the honour of boasting a relationship with the great chieftain.

The people called collectively Happahs, reside in a valley which makes up from the N.W. part of Comptroller's Bay. They consist of six tribes; namely, Nicekees, Tattievows, Pachas, Kic-kahs, Tekaahs, and Muttaaohas; the names of the chiefs of which are, Mowatach, Peiowho, Tekawanuohē, Kawatuah, and Tonicotufah. This is the people which now daily dared us to battle.

In a bay to leward, called Huchaheucha, there are three tribes, called Maamatuahs, Tiohahs, and Cahhaahe; their chiefs are named Potunah and Mahitatahee. Those are the allies of the

Taeahs, and join them in all wars with the tribes residing on the east of the valley of Tieuhoy, although they are sometimes engaged in war among themselves.

On the north part of Comptroller's bay, an extensive and beautiful valley runs deep into the island, and is thickly inhabited by a warlike race of people, called collectively Typees. This valley, which is more highly cultivated than any other in the island, and interspersed with beautiful villages, contains three tribes, called Poheguha, Naeguha, and Attaiyas. Of the first and second Tohenueh and Poheguah are the chiefs: the latter is a democracy without a chief.

The valley of Shoeume contains three tribes, namely Cahhuna, Tomahvaheena, and Tickeymahu: the principal chief is Temaa Tipee. These are the allies of the Typees, and generally join in peace or war with them. This valley also runs up from Comptroller's Bay.

The valley of Hannahow, which lies on the east side of the island, is inhabited by two great tribes of people, the first called Hatecaah, the principal chief of which is Tahehow. They consist of three tribes, and are called Mooaekah, Attishou, and Attestapwiheenah. Secondly, the people called Woheaho, consisting of three tribes; namely, Attehacoes, Attetomcohay, and Attekakahaneuah.

There is also, in a valley called Tahtuahtuah, a small tribe called Tiakahs.

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|------|
| The Taeahs | - - - - | 2500 |
| Happahs | - - - - | 3000 |
| Maamatuhahs | - - - - | 2000 |
| Typees | - - - - | 3500 |
| Showneus | - - - - | 3000 |
| Hatticahs | - - - - | 2500 |
| Wooheahos | - - - - | 2500 |
| Tatuahs | - - - - | 200 |

Making in all - - - - 19200 men, and in a climate like this, and living as the natives of this island do, this num-

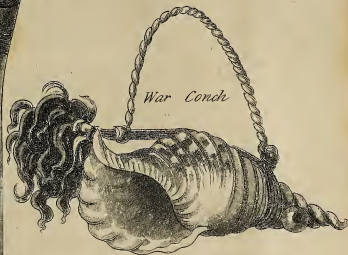
ber should not excite any astonishment, for all are in health and vigour: old and young are active and strong, and all are capable of managing a spear, club or sling. Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c. advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat: they are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly despatched with spears and war-clubs and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare: those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory: these are made with much neatness, and are never thrown from the hand: the other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are all highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree; they are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry—wherever they strike they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, proves that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding those missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity, and yet the wounds were perfectly healed, and appeared to give no pain.

War Club

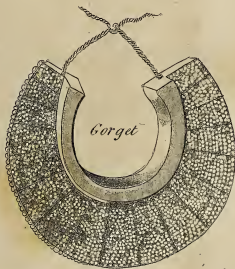
Ear Ornament



War Conch



Gorget



Hair Ornament

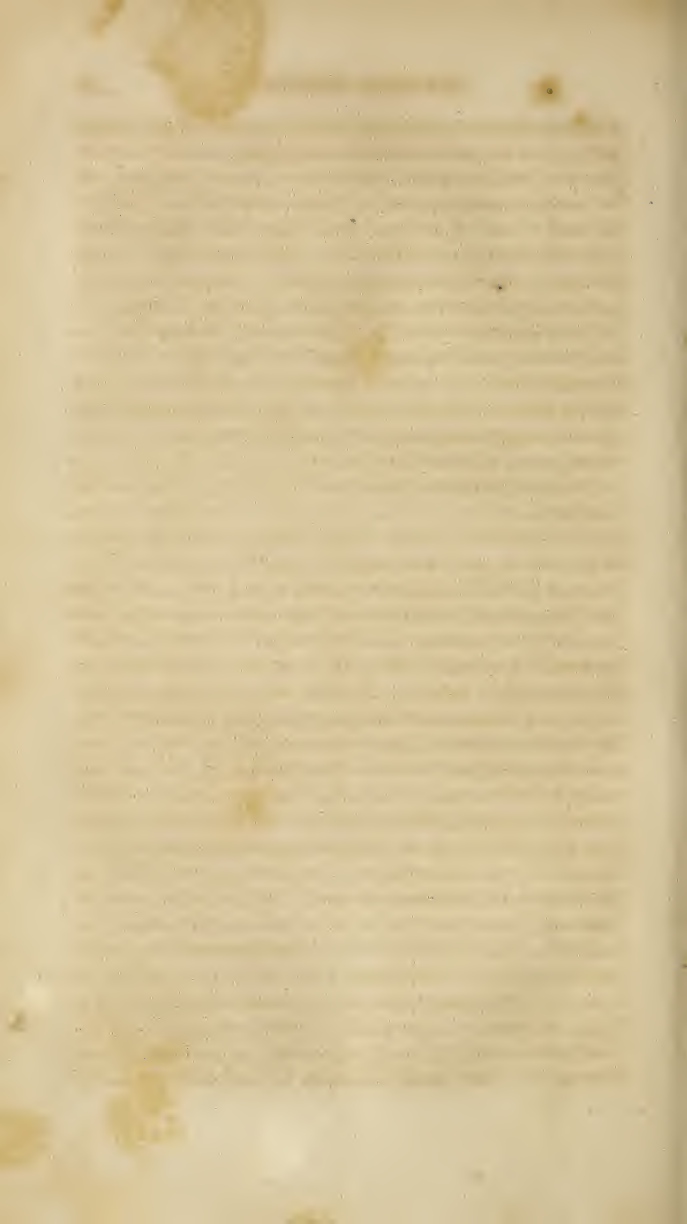


Sling



Whale's Tooth





I shall probably have occasion to speak hereafter of their art in healing wounds; but I must now, while on the subject of fractured skulls, mention a practice which is pursued by them, and may be common elsewhere, although I never heard of it. Whenever the skull is cracked, the bone is laid bare, and the fracture traced to its end, and there a small hole is drilled through the skull to prevent the crack from going any farther. This practice is pursued wherever the fracture branches off in rays. If there are any loose pieces of bones, they are carefully laid in their places, the wound is bound up with certain herbs, the virtue of which is known to them, and nature, a temperate mode of living, and a good constitution, do the rest. They have their professed surgeons and physicians among them; but they have much more confidence in our skill than in their own.

On the 28th October Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore and in readiness to march; and as I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder, which they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to lieutenant Downes. I was this afternoon visited by Taihea-taioa, the wife of Gattanewa, accompanied by several of her daughters and granddaughters. Every object about the camp seemed to excite in them the most lively attentions, but none more so than the sheep and goats, which they call *boarka*, which is the name for a hog. The Gallapagoes tortoises they called *manu*, which is the name of a sea tortoise. The different occupations in which our people were employed, seemed greatly to excite their astonishment. They

went from place to place examining, with great curiosity, the operations within the camp; and as they were all entirely new to them they appeared to view them with admiration; but as it was a subject they could not fully comprehend, they made no inquiries, but silently turned their attention to the next object which attracted them. In this manner they wandered from my tent to the sail-makers, the coopers, carpenters, armourers and bakers, and even the turning of the grindstone occasioned no less wonder than the rest. They were like children pleased with novelties, which they could not comprehend. Taiheataioa appeared to be an intelligent, and had no doubt been a handsome woman; she bore the traces of beauty in her features, and the beauty of her children and grandchildren, whose features strongly resembled hers, left no doubt in my mind as to what she had been. Her manner was dignified, and her gestures graceful. I found she possessed that vanity which is so much attributed to her sex, and that she evinced no little pleasure at being complimented on the strong resemblance of her grand-daughters to herself. I made them presents of several small articles, which gave them much pleasure, and the old woman frequently reminded me that as I had exchanged names with Gattanewa, I was now her husband, and (pointing to the others) that those were my children and grand-children, who looked up to me for protection. But when I in a joking way, insisted on enjoying all the privileges of a husband, she pointed to her grand-daughters, informing me that they would suit me better, and they showed by their ogling and smiles to be of the same opinion.

On the morning of the 29th the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march. Gattanewa arrived at the moment of my giving the order; and informed me that his daughter, who was married to a chief of the Happaahs had just descended the mountains and had come as an envoy to beg that I would grant them peace—the detachment had marched, every arrangement had been made: I apprehended that the Happaahs only wanted to gain time: I had met with considerable provocation from them, and they still kept their hostile position on the mountains. From the

old man's solicitude for peace, when contrasted with his former desire for war, I for a moment believed some treachery on foot; I had sent but a handful of men, and their arms, their ammunition, their provisions, and even their lives were in the hands of the Indians. Gattanewa was in my power, and I determined to secure him as a hostage until their return. I directed him to send for his daughter, for the same purpose; but he informed me she was far advanced in pregnancy and unable to come to the camp. I told him that no harm was intended him, but that he must not leave the inclosure until the return of the party: that the Indians of his tribes were in possession of many articles of value to us, and that when every thing was returned to us he should be at liberty to proceed to his family. I told him that peace could not now take place until after a battle, when I should feel disposed to come to terms with the Happahs and would respect a messenger sent from them with a white flag. The old man appeared very uneasy at his detention, and repeatedly asked me if I would not kill him, should any of our people be injured by the Happahs; and my assurances to the contrary did not relieve his anxiety and fears for his safety. The party on shore at the camp now consisted only of about ten or twelve working men, and one centinel: they were all engaged in their usual occupations, when an Indian girl, who had been wandering in the bushes came running toward us the picture of fear, and with terror stongly marked in every feature, exclaimed that the Happahs were but a short distance from the camp. I directed the alarm gun to be fired; every person was immediately armed with such weapons as presented themselves, and we waited the expected attack behind our barrier, the water casks; but hearing no noise we sallied out to examine the bushes and supposed it a false alarm: but on returning to the camp, casting our eyes up the hills, we perceived a party skulking among the reeds and grass: we got the six pounder to bear on them, soon dislodged them, and had no other interruption or alarm during the day.

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore

the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place until they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw from behind their strong barrier, and it was not until our people entered the fort that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place

was taken all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, matts, callabashes and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs and soon despatched them: then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

As soon as the party returned, I gave orders for the liberation of Gattanewa, who hastened with speedy steps to escape from the hill which separated us from the settlement. His alarm had been great, and terror had taken such fast hold on his mind, that he dared not look behind, lest he should perceive some danger in pursuit of him. He had heard from the natives of our having taken the fort; and as this was, in his estimation, a place of incomparable strength, he believed that nothing could resist our progress. He supposed us stronger than we really were, and dreaded an ally so powerful. I informed him, previous to his departure, that I was now ready to listen to a messenger from the Happahs; but the poor old man's fright would allow him to attend to nothing but his own safety. We had gained a victory, which, to him, seemed incredible; and the number of dead which they had borne off as trophies had far exceeded that of any former battle within his recollection; as they fight for weeks, nay for months sometimes, without killing any on either side, though many are, in all their engagements, severely wounded. The Tavees had, however, a short time before our arrival, lost one of their priests of the greatest note, who had been killed by an am-

buscade of the Happahs; and this circumstance had occasioned a taboo of the strictest nature to be established, which was now in full force and continued as long as we remained on the island.

I am not acquainted with the ceremony of laying on these taboos, which are so much respected by the natives. They are, however, laid by the priests, from some religious motive. Sometimes they are general, and affect a whole valley, as the present; sometimes they are confined to a single tribe; at others to a family, and frequently to a single person. The word taboo signifies an interdiction, an embargo, or restraint; and the restrictions during the period of their existence may be compared to the lent of the catholics. They suffer, during this period, many privations; they are not allowed to use paint, of which they are very fond, to ornament their bodies; they are neither allowed to dance nor sing; the chiefs are bound to abstain from women; nor are they in many instances, allowed to enter the houses frequented by them. They have tabooed places, where they feast and drink kava—tabooed houses where dead bodies are deposited, and many of their trees, and even some of their walks are tabooed. The women are, on no occasion whatever, allowed to enter their places of feasting, which are houses raised to the height of six or eight feet on a platform of large stones, neatly hewn and fitted together, with as much skill and exactness as could be done by our most expert masons; and some of them are one hundred yards in length and forty yards in width, surrounded by a square of buildings executed in a style of elegance, which is calculated to inspire us with the most exalted opinion of the ingenuity, taste, and perseverance of a people, who have hitherto remained unnoticed and unknown to the rest of mankind. When we consider the vast labour requisite to bring from a distance the enormous rocks which form the foundation of these structures (for they are all brought from the sea side, and many of them are eight feet long and four feet thick and wide) and reflect on the means used in hewing them into such perfect forms, with tools perhaps little harder than the materials worked on, for the appearance of many of these places strongly mark their antiquity, and their origin can no doubt be traced to a period antecedant to their knowledge of iron, and when we count the immense numbers of such places which are every where to be

met with, our astonishment is raised to the highest, that a people in a state of nature, unassisted by any of those artificial means which so much assist and facilitate the labour of the civilized man, could have conceived and executed a work which, to every beholder, must appear stupendous. These piles are raised with views to magnificence alone; there does not appear to be the slightest utility attending them: the houses situated on them are unoccupied, except during the period of feasting, and they appear to belong to a public, without the whole efforts of which, they could not have been raised, and with every exertion that could possibly have been made, years must have been requisite for the completion of them.

These public houses differ not much from the houses belonging to individuals except in the degree of elegance with which they are finished. Those which I have now in view to describe are situated round a public square, high up the valley of the Havvouhs and are sixteen in number. Four large pillars, neatly formed of the bread-fruit tree, are planted in the ground, extending to the height of twenty feet above the surface; in the upper end is a crutch for the reception of a long and slender cocoa-nut tree, which is neatly polished: this forms the ridge-pole of the houses, and is the chief support of the structure. From this ridge-pole, with the lower ends inclining out about five feet, are placed bamboos, of equal sizes, at the distance of two or three inches asunder, with the lower ends planted in the ground; and to give them additional stability they are neatly and firmly secured by turns of different coloured sinnet to the well polished trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: across this row of bamboos is lashed, with the utmost neatness and strength, rows of smaller bamboos, placed in a horizontal position, and this forms a frame work for the back part of the house, which also answers for one side of the roof. At the distance of five feet in advance of the aforesaid long pillars are fixed in the ground four uprights, extending eight feet above the surface, having also a crutch for the reception of a cocoa-nut tree, or sometimes a piece of hewn timber neatly fashioned for the purpose. This also extends the whole length of the house, and serves to support the front part of the roof, which is formed of the same materials, and is secured in the same manner as

the back part of the building. The ends are, in like manner, closed in, as sometimes are the sides, for the distance of twelve feet, forming at each end of the house a small room. The framework being completed, they proceed to cover it, first with the leaves of the palm tree, and next with those of the bread-fruit tree, which are laid on with surprizing neatness and regularity, and give it an appearance of beauty, security, and durability not to be equalled by our best mode of shingling. The building is then divided longitudinally into two equal parts, by placing from one end to the other, in the middle, the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: the part toward the front is then neatly paved with smooth stones: the back part is covered with the finest mats, and is occupied as a sleeping place for the whole family: the middle tree serving for them to place their feet against, and a similar one placed against the back of the building serves them as a pillow. The external and more useful parts of the house being finished, they proceed to ornament it by covering the bamboos, which form the framework, with different coloured cocoa-nut sinnet put on in the most fanciful manner, while the upright columns are covered first by layers of their finest and whitest cloth, which is firmly secured on by the sinnet aforesaid, in such a manner, as to give them, at a short distance, the appearance of being handsomely and fancifully painted. Sometimes, indeed, the columns are richly carved in the form of gods, and give to the whole an air of grandeur and elegance which, although in a style differing from that of every other people in the world, does not the less astonish.

But, to proceed in my narrative: the Tayees had brought in the bodies of the five men killed in storming the fort. We met with no loss on our side or on that of our allies. We had two wounded, and one of the Indians had his jaw broke with a stone. I saw him the day afterwards; it was neatly and securely bound up with the leaves of the palm tree, and he appeared to suffer but little from the pain. One of the dead, it appeared, was a native of our valley, who had married among the Happaes. His relations had taken charge of his body, which, on being found, had been carefully wrapped up in matts. The rest I was informed were lying in the public square, where the natives were rejoicing over them. I had been informed by the whites, on my arrival, and even by

Wilson, that the natives of this island were cannibals: but, on the strictest inquiry, I could not learn that either of them had seen them in the act of eating human flesh. I was desirous of having this point put beyond a doubt, though the assurances they had given me that they really were cannibals, had strongly inclined me to believe that it was the case. Indeed, in conversing with Gattane-wa on the subject, he did not hesitate to acknowledge that it was sometimes practised by certain characters; but with much pride and exultation he added, that none of his family, to the earliest period of their existence, were known to have eaten human flesh, or to have tasted a hog, which had died or been stolen. He said they sometimes eat their enemies. Yet in all their wars, which had been carried on since Wilson and the others had been among them, it does not appear that any had been eaten, according to our acceptation of the word. Several of the dead bodies of their enemies had fallen into their hands, and had been seen by the whites in an un mutilated state for several days after their death, until indeed they had become too offensive for the natives to bear; and certainly it cannot be supposed that they would prefer eating them in that putrid state, although Wilson declared that that was the time they feasted on them. Desirous of clearing up in my own mind a fact which so nearly concerned the character of a whole people, who otherwise deserved to rank above the mere savage, I proceeded, the day after the battle, with Wilson, and accompanied by a marine (my usual practice when I went among them) to the house of Gattane-wa, with a view of claiming the dead bodies, in order that they might be buried; and, at the same time, to endeavour to find out whether they were really addicted to a practice so unnatural. The acknowledgments of Gattane-wa left but little doubt on my mind, and yet I found it difficult to reconcile this practice with the generosity and benevolence which were leading traits in their character. They are cleanly in their persons, washing three or four times a day. They are cleanly in their mode of cooking and manner of eating; and it was remarked, that no islander was known to taste of any thing whatever, until he had first applied it to his nose, and if it was in the slightest degree tainted or offensive to the smell, it was always rejected. How then can it be possible that a people so delicate, living in a country

abounding with hogs, fruit, and a considerable variety of vegetables, should prefer a loathsome putrid human carcass, to the numerous delicacies their valleys afford? It cannot be: there must have been some misconception. I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said now that we had destroyed the Happahs they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance with a centinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. Addressing myself to her daughter, an interesting woman of about twenty-three years of age, who had come to solicit peace, I told her I should respect any messenger sent from her tribe bearing a white flag; that her husband might come in safety, and that I should be as ready to make peace, as I had been to punish their insolence. I then exhorted the wife of Gattanewa to endeavour to impress on the minds of every person the necessity of living on friendly terms with us; that we were disposed to consider them as brothers; that we had come with no hostile intentions toward them, and so long as they treated us as friends we would protect them against all their enemies; that they

and their property should be secure, and that I should inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of my people as should be known to impose on a friendly native; but that should a stone be thrown, or an article stolen from me or my people, and the offender not be given up to me, I should make the valley a scene of desolation. The old woman was all attention to this discourse as delivered through Wilson the interpreter; and I was about proceeding when she requested me to stop. She now rose and commanded silence among the multitude, which had considerably augmented since my arrival, and addressed them with much grace and energy in a speech of about half an hour; exhorting them, as I understood, to conduct themselves with propriety, and explaining to them the advantages likely to result from a good understanding with us. After she had finished, she took me affectionately by the hand, and reminded me that I was her husband. I, as usual, jestingly claimed my rights as such; she pointed to her grand-daughters, and they smiled assent. All alarms now were subsided. I inquired for Gattanewa, and was informed that he was at the public square rejoicing over the bodies of the slain, but had been sent for. I proceeded for the place and met the old man hastening home. He had been out from the earliest dawn, and had not broken his fast. He held in one hand a cocoa-nut shell, containing a quantity of sour preparation of the bread-fruit, which is highly esteemed by the natives, and in the other a raw fish, which he occasionally dipped into it as he ate it. As soon however as Wilson gave him to understand that the practice of eating raw fish was disagreeable to me, he wrapped the remainder in a palm leaf, and handed it to a youth to keep for him until a more convenient opportunity offered for indulging himself. On my way to the square I observed several young warriors hastening along towards the place armed with their spears, at the ends of which were hung plantains, bread-fruit, or cocoa-nuts, intended as offerings to their gods; and on my approach to the square, I could hear them beating their drums and chanting their war-songs. I soon discovered five or six hundred of them assembled about the dead bodies, which were lying on the ground, still attached to the poles with which they had been brought from the scene of action. The warriors were all armed with their spears, and several large drums

highly ornamented with cloth, tastily secured on with sinnet, were placed near the slain, on which some were employed beating, while Tawattaa and another priest, elevated above the rest, appeared to preside over the ceremonies. Ah! said Wilson, they are now making their infernal feast on the bodies of the dead. At this moment my approach was discovered. They were all thrown into the utmost confusion; the dead bodies were in an instant snatched from the place where they lay, and hurried to a distance among the bushes, and shouting and hallooing evinced the utmost consternation. I now believed the truth of Wilson's declaration, and my blood recoiled with horror at the spectacle I was on the point of witnessing. I directed them in an authoritative manner to return the bodies to the place whence they had taken them, and refused to advance a step farther until they had done so. With much reluctance they brought them back; two of them carefully covered with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, the others were entirely uncovered. I immediately caused them all to be exposed to my view, and to my great surprise found them un mutilated, except by the clubs with which they had been despatched. I inquired immediately into the cause of their carrying them off in such haste, and was informed that they supposed the sight of dead bodies would have proved disagreeable to me. I told them I had come to claim them, in order that they might be buried, and desired that they might be carried to the camp, where a grave was already dug for their interment. I told them that I was apprehensive that they intended to eat them, and expressed, with the strongest marks of horror, my detestation of the practice. They all assured me they had no intention of eating them, and promised a compliance with my wishes should I exact it: but entreated that I would indulge them with the bodies a day or two longer to sing over and perform their ceremonies, and that I would grant them two to offer as a sacrifice to the manes of their priest, who had been slain; requesting, at the same time, that I would send a person to attend the ceremony and witness their burial; assuring me that they would bury them any depth I should wish. Gattanewa, Tawattaa, and the other priest then joined their earnest entreaties to the rest, and informed me that it would be the cause of great triumph to their enemies should I deprive them of all the dead

bodies, and would attribute to them none of the honours of the victory obtained over them. Overcome by their solicitude, I consented to their request, and being in some measure satisfied that these people were not cannibals, I consented to their keeping two, on their promise that the others should be sent to the camp. I remarked that as they brought back the dead bodies every person carefully avoided touching, not only them, but even the blood on the poles to which they were slung, and in removing the covering of cocoa-nut leaves, a stick instead of the hand was used for the purpose: also that horror was marked on every countenance when their numerous wounds of spears were exposed to view; for it must be observed, that those who were covered with leaves bore innumerable marks of the spears which had been thrust into them at the moment of their death; the others had been despatched with clubs, after they had been shot, the marks of which were to be seen about their heads. This delicacy in concealing the wounded body of an enemy, and their caution in avoiding the touch of the blood or the dead carcasses, greatly staggered my belief of their being cannibals, although they did not deny that they sometimes eat their enemies, at least so we understood them; but it is possible we may have misunderstood. We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we are satisfied that it is not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motee* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it away, &c. &c.* *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee*; *mattee* is to be sick, to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be killed, to be broke (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variation of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent*: it signifies the qualities and disposition of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or

beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous humane. Kcheva, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed, with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies *to eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow*; may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted? it may signify *to cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies*; whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods: they are also converted into fan-handles, form part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose a part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied. Many specimens of this kind of ornament are now in my possession; and there are few of the male natives who are destitute of them. I remarked, however, that none were in the house, or to be found among the numerous family of the venerable Gattanewa; and I am inclined to believe that the old man wished to signify this when he was understood to say that none of his family had ever eaten human flesh. After this little digression (if such it may be called) which is due to a people, who do not appear to deserve the stain which has been cast upon them, I shall proceed in my narrative.

As I before observed, on my appearance the music (if it may be called such) ceased; anxious to know as much as possible the religion and other ceremonies of this people, I informed Gattane-wa that they might proceed. The priest mounted on his elevation; the warriors ranged themselves in lines about the square;

the priest, after shaking the dried branch of a palm tree, to which was hung a bunch of human hair, repeated a few words, when three shouts were given by the warriors, as if with one voice, each shout accompanied with a loud clap of the hands, after which the drums beat for the space of about five minutes, during which time they all sung with loud voices and animated gestures until their voices gradually dying away silence ensued—this ceremony was three times performed, and at each time with more and more animation: they repeatedly pointed to the dead bodies, and would, at times, address themselves to me. Wilson told me they were singing their victory over their enemies, and returning thanks to their gods for sending me to their aid. After the ceremony was over, the priest asked me if it was not *motahee*, very fine, and on my signifying my assent, it gave the most lively pleasure.

I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for: he approached, trembling for his safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgment of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribes of Tieuhoy.

CHAPTER XIV.

MADISON'S ISLAND.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dextrous, greatly improves their size and appearance as well as their flavour; the pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, and although many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us during our stay, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of the larger size of hogs six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the E. side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found: the tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death: a white man is viewed by them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are like them human. Yet in the comparison every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

* It must be observed that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him from the name given to him by the natives. We found it impossible for them to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Ophotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; lieutenant M^r Knight, *Mucheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by and answered to so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditional accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged: the natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that given by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder: they then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down: in this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send down the fruit,

which is then hung together in bunches to a cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security, where they are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting; which is done after the shell is broken and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their sprouting state, consists chiefly of a soft spongy substance with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground, and a small inclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo by a god named Tao, many generations since: this island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which, if they do exist, are entirely unknown to us: and so fully are they impressed with the belief that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattaneva sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes; but peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of this and the Marquesas Group in search of other lands; none have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes

sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N.W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nuts and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island and built a hut. The canoe was never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sailed, and in a squaking and affected voice inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, and every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six of them, two have already been mentioned, to wit: Vavao and Ootoopoo; the others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, and is said to be a small island. Nookuâhee and Kappenooa, to leward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, and the existence of it is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have no such fruit on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious: they dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them as candles. These are broken, mixed with the dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also careful-

ly lined; after which, the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them; then the whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste, which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them: it renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise: it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor: it has the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales; affects their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word *kava* to every thing we eat or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum or wine was called *kava*; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, was called *kava*, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrophulous and some other complaints, is called *vic kava*.

The bread-fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. I have but little new to offer on the subject; yet as a description of it may not be disagreeable to such as may chance to peruse these pages, and as they are written chiefly for the improvement and information of my son, it is

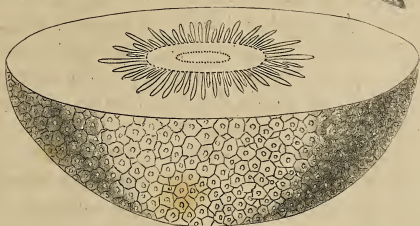
proper that I should instruct him on every subject which has come within my knowledge. The bread-fruit tree of this island grows with great luxuriance, in extensive groves, scattered through every valley. It is of the height of fifty or sixty feet, branching out in a large and spreading top, which affords a beautiful appearance and an extensive shade from the rays of the sun; the trunk is about six feet in circumference; the lower branches about twelve feet from the ground; the bark soft, and on being in the slightest degree wounded exudes a milky juice, not unpleasant to the taste, which, on being exposed to the sun, forms an excellent bird-lime, and is used by the natives as such, not only for catching birds, but a small kind of rat with which this island is much infested. The leaves of this tree are sixteen inches long and nine inches wide, deeply notched, somewhat like the fig leaf. The fruit, when ripe, is about the size of a child's head, green, and divided by slight traces into innumerable six sided figures. This fruit is somewhat elliptical in its shape, has a thin and delicate skin, a large and tough core, with remarkable small seeds situated in a spongy substance between the core and the eatable part, which is next the rind. It is eaten baked, boiled or roasted; whole, quartered, or cut in slices, and cooked; either way was found exceedingly palatable, was greatly preferred by many to our soft bread, which it somewhat resembled in taste, but was much sweeter; it was found also very fine, when cut into slices and fried in butter or lard. It keeps only three or four days, when gathered and hung up; but the natives have a method of preserving it for several years, by baking, wrapping it up in leaves, and burying it in the earth: in that state it becomes very sour, and is then more highly esteemed by them than any other food. The bread-fruit tree is every thing to the natives of these islands. The fruit serves them and their hogs for food throughout the year, and affords large supplies to be laid up for a season of scarcity. The trees afford them an agreeable and refreshing shade; the leaves are an excellent covering for their houses; of the inner bark of the small branches they make cloth; the juice, which exudes, enables them to destroy the rats which infest them; and of the trunk of the tree they form their canoes, many parts of their houses, and even their gods. Describe to one of the natives of Madison's Island a coun-

try abounding in every thing that we consider desirable, and after you are done he will ask you if it produces bread-fruit. A country is nothing to them without that blessing, and the season for bread-fruit is the time of joy and festivity: the season commences in December, and lasts until September, when the greatest abundance reigns among them. They sometimes gather it when at the extremity of the branches, by means of a long stick split at the end, with which they seize the stem and dexterously twist it off, rarely letting the fruit fall to the ground; they commonly, however, have a small net, kept open at the mouth by means of a hoop, and attached to a pole, in the manner of a crab-net; with this they disengage the fruit from the branches, receiving it in the net.

The young shoots from the roots are carefully collected and planted in a nursery until they arrive at a sufficient size to be transplanted; they are several years old before they bear.

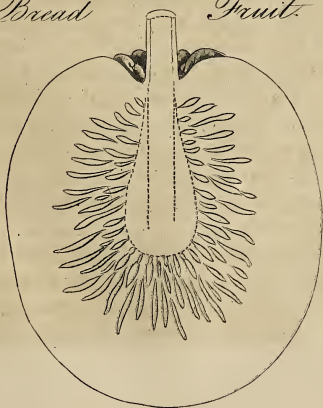
The bodies of the two Hapahs were brought to the camp on the morning of the first of November. They were attended but by few of the natives, who kept aloof, on account of the smell, which was somewhat offensive. The bodies were bloated, and corruption had already began. On depositing the bodies near the graves they drew from the lashings the poles with which they had been brought, and retired to a distance. No persuasions of mine could induce them to take hold of the bodies, to put them into the graves: they at length, however, run the poles through the lashings and laid them over the grave, letting each end of the pole rest on the ground, with the body hanging over the pit. I now endeavoured to persuade them to cast off the lashings to let them fall in, but without effect: they all retired to a distance, when this request was made, with a great degree of disgust marked on their countenance. Finding that nothing could induce them to touch the bodies, and feeling well satisfied, from this circumstance, that they were not cannibals, I directed the lashings to be cut, and on their falling into the grave the natives hastened to assist in covering them with earth.

This day *Mowattaeah*, a chief of the *Hapahs*, of the tribe of *Nieekes* and son-in-law to *Gattenewa*, came accompanied by several others of his tribe with the white handkerchief which I had sent them, to treat with me for a peace. I received him with mild-



Bread

Fruit.





ness, and gently expostulated with them on their imprudence, in having insisted on hostilities with me. They expressed the utmost regret for their past folly, and hoped that I would allow them in future to live on the same friendly terms with me as *Gattanerwa* and his people, stating their willingness to comply with every thing I should exact from them in reason. I informed them that as I had offered them peace, and they had rejected it, and had put me to the trouble of chastising them, it was proper that we should receive some compensation. We were in want of hogs and fruit, and they had an abundance of them, and I wished them to give me a supply, once a week, for my people, for which they should be compensated in iron and such other articles as would be most useful to them. *Gattanerwa* and many of his tribe were present, and appeared charmed with the terms offered to the *Happahs*; said they would henceforth be brothers, and observing that I had not yet presented my hand, took it affectionately and placed in that of *Mowattaech*. After a short silence *Mowattaech* observed that we must suffer much from the rain in our tents, as they did not appear capable of securing us from the wet. Yes, said *Gattanerwa*, and we are bound to make the *Hekai* (a title which they all gave me) and his people comfortable while they remain with us. Let every tribe at peace with him, build a house for their accommodation, and the people of the valley of *Ticuhoy* will show them the example by building one for the residence of *Ophotee*. This proposal met with general applause, and people were immediately despatched to prepare materials for erecting the fabric next day, at which time the *Happahs* promised to bring in their supply, and the day after to construct their house. In the course of the day, the other chiefs of the *Happahs* came in with their flags and subscribed to the terms proposed, and in less than two days I received envoys from every tribe in the island, with the exception only of the warlike tribes of *Typees*, of the valley of *Vicchee*, and the *Hatecaahcottwohos*, in the distant valley of *Hannahow*; the first confiding in their strength, valour, and position; the others in their distance and numbers for their protection. The first had always been victorious in all their wars and the terror of their enemies; the others were their firm allies; neither had ever been driven; they had been taught by their priests to believe that they

never would be, and it was their constant boast that they had ever kept their valley free from the incursions of an enemy.

All agreed to the terms proposed; supplies were brought in by the tribes in great abundance, and from this time for several weeks, we rioted in luxuries which the island afforded. To the principal persons of the tribes I always presented a harpoon, it being to them the most valuable article of iron, and to the rest scraps of iron hoops were thrown, for which they took much delight in contending; those who got none appeared equally satisfied with the rest, and those who were so fortunate as to obtain a large piece generously divided it with the others, and in no one instance did the mode of payment produce among them riot or dispute; the division was amicably and satisfactorily settled among themselves without any interposition on my part or that of the chiefs: all seemed perfectly satisfied that they would get their proportion, and the only contention among them was who should get the most at their first outset that they might afterwards have the pleasure of dividing it among the others. I have frequently thrown to them whole hoops, and it was no uncommon thing for one of them to seize three, into one of which he would slip his boby while his arms were thrust through the others and endeavour to make his escape from the camp: he would soon, however, be encompassed by numbers, who would each mark, with slips of bark, six or eight inches of a hoop, which he would claim as his own; they would all then retire, in a friendly manner, when the hoops would be broken in pieces, and each man receive his own. In this manner were all their affairs transacted without riot, without confusion, and without disputes; and so long as I remained on the island, I never saw or heard of the slightest difference between individuals, except in one instance, and they were of different valleys and tribes. The utmost harmony prevails among them, they live like affectionate brethren of one family, and the authority of their chiefs appears to be only that of fathers among their children.

Whether they have any mode of punishing offences or whether punishment is ever necessary among them, I cannot say. I am inclined to be, however, of the latter opinion. I saw no punishments inflicted, nor did I ever hear that there was any cause.

Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their cloths are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude, that thefts among themselves are unknown; that they, but particularly the women of that class which cohabited with the sailors, will steal from strangers, I had abundant proof; they however were of the lowest order, and honesty is not expected from them in any part of the world: they seemed to consider every thing belonging to their paramours as fair game, who as frequently cheated them of their only disposable commodity (I do not mean their virtue); those trials of skill frequently produced some little delays and difficulties in the consummation of their bliss, as *Taihea* (for such is the soft name they generally assumed, signifying a favourite daughter) would frequently require to be paid her *tie tie* in hand, when Jack had none to offer: this, however, would produce no disputes, she would either accommodate him gratuitously, for they are in this respect generous, or would proceed in search of another purchaser, in which latter case Jack would endeavour to find a girl less cruel.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it may be natural to suppose that many small tools and articles of great value were exposed to the natives, and as from sun-rise to sun-set the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined; but as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, added to which, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious objects, still, during our stay, no article, of the most trifling nature, was ever missed by any person, except the small articles which

were pilfered from the sailors by their girls, and this was in all probability in retaliation for the tricks which had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men which were washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of near half a mile from the camp, were frequently exposed to them, and might easily have been carried off unperceived; but no article of this nature was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that an honester or more friendly and better disposed people do not exist under the sun. They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally or physically. We find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and their beauty and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds: they are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned: their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which bespeak every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as a model for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance: the skin of the men is of a dark copper-colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown—the first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing intelligent and open countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men—their limbs and hands (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence and susceptible of improvement; the second is natural to their sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands; and although transient visitors, like us, may have wished it, and they knew that it would have been agreeable, still they could not be persuaded

that we had stronger claims on them in this respect than those who had generously given them up entirely to us during our stay among them. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers: all our men appeared to have a right to all their women, provided they could agree among themselves; every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property. Virtue among them, in the light which we view it, was unknown, and they attached no shame to a proceeding which they not only considered as natural, but as an innocent and harmless amusement, by which no one was injured: many parents considered themselves as honoured by the preference given to their daughters, and testified their pleasure by large presents of hogs and fruit, which to them must have appeared munificent. With the young and timid virgins, no coercive measures were used by their parents to compel them to make any sacrifices, but endearing and soothing persuasions enforced by rewards, were frequently adopted to overcome their fears. With the common sailors and their girls all was helter skelter, and promiscuous intercourse, every girl the wife of every man in the mess, and frequently of every man in the ship; each one from time to time took such as suited his fancy and convenience, and no one among them formed a connection which was likely to produce tears at the moment of separation. With those of a superior class, the case was different; the connections formed were respectable, and although their fair friends delighted in playing, on every occasion, little tricks of infidelity, which they considered as perfectly harmless, still they showed a fondness for the person with whom they were connected, and the parting in several instances, I am sure, occasioned tears of real sorrow.

I must however do them the justice to say that in practising the little infidelities above mentioned, they did not appear sensible of doing an injury to their lover; they were done as acts of retaliation on some of their female acquaintances; they were always flattered by a preference given them, and this preference en-

forced by the powerful charm of a whale's tooth could at all times purchase the favours of the best of them. When they had gained their prize they could not refrain from boasting of it to their confidants, and in time it came to the ears of the lady who supposed she had the stronger claim to the tooth; this produced an act of retaliation on her part, not to injure her lover, but to mortify the lady who had infringed on her prerogatives. It is true they are not insensible to jealousy, but this feeling is confined altogether to the females, who watch as carefully the conduct of their lovers as the most jealous Don the wanderings of his spouse. She appears much offended if he show any attention to another female, and claims him exclusively as her own: whether this proceeds from motives of interest, which leads them to believe that all the little *tie ties* which he has to bestow should in time fall to them, or from custom, which gives to the females of this island a privilege which is supposed to be confined only to the men in other countries, I cannot say, but perhaps from both. The young girls of this island are the wives of all who can purchase their favours, and a handsome daughter is considered by her parents as a blessing which secures to them, for a time, wealth and abundance. After they have advanced in years and have had children, they form more permanent connections, and appear then as firmly attached to their husbands as the women of any other country: indeed it has often afforded me the most lively pleasure to witness the strong affection which husbands and wives have shown for each other, and the tender care they at all times bestow on their offspring; they appeared actuated by one interest, and both took equal pleasure in fondling their infants. But the girls, from twelve to eighteen years of age rove at will; this period of their lives is a period of unbounded pleasure, unrestrained in all their actions, unconfined by domestic occupations, their time is spent in dancing, singing, and ornamenting their persons to render themselves more attractive in the eyes of man, on whom they indiscriminately bestow their favours, unrestrained by shame or fear of the consequences. That terrible disease which has proved so destructive to mankind is unknown to them, and they give free scope to the indulgence of their passions, living in the most pleasurable licentiousness.

The dress of the women is handsome and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: The head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third *ahuwahee*. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spiders' web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap; the hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelops the body extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm and part and sometimes the whole of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing and at others exposing most of their charms; sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole of both breasts is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

The *ahuwakee* is a piece of cloth which passes twice round the waist and hangs down to the calves of the legs performing the part of a petticoat to conceal the only part they are ashamed of exposing. The whole of this dress being white, and generally kept clean and neat, gives to these female islanders an appearance of grace and modesty not to be found among any others in a state of nature. Their ornaments consist of beads strung round their necks, and circular pieces of ivory or whales' teeth attached to their ears; they have also another species of ornament tastily formed of a dark kind of wood, which receives a high polish; it is fashioned something in the form of the letter Z, has its ends tipped with the mother of pearl, and is otherwise ornamented with beads and small teeth. They also wear occasionally round their necks a small wild cucumber, which abounds on the island; also a large red berry, which grows on a tree and resem-

bles at a distance the dried red peppers; the smell of this latter is agreeable, and is probably what they most esteem it for. They also are fond of tying round their necks large bunches of sweet scented flowers, and when not restrained by tabbooes they ornament their heads with rich plumage formed of the breast and tail feathers of the cock, and anoint themselves with cocoa-nut oil mixed with a red paint made from turmeric-root, which is here highly esteemed and cultivated with much care; this, in a short time, removes the yellowness of the skin, and displays a fair and clear complexion, which might vie in beauty with our handsomest dames. The roses are then blooming on their cheeks, and the transparency of their skin enables you to trace their fine blue veins. I had an opportunity of visiting a tribe that had not for a long time been tabooed: the beauty and gayety of the women astonished me, and my attention was rivetted to some of the young girls, who, as respected the form of their persons, beauty of their faces, and fairness of their skins, might have served as the most perfect models.

Agreeable to the request of the chiefs I laid down the plan of the village about to be built; the line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks; they were to take the form of a crescent, were to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height; the houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3rd. November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling house for myself and another for the officers, a sail loft, a coopers' shop, and a place for our sick, a bake house, a guard house, and a shed for the centinel to walk under; the whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing can exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise; they performed their labour



Engraved by Wm. B. Wood

Engraved by Wm. B. Wood

Woman of Nooakheevah

From the first settlement of the city in 1630 to the present time, the history of the city of Boston is a story of growth and development. The city was founded by a group of Puritan settlers who sought a place where they could practice their religion freely. Over the years, the city has grown from a small fishing village to a major center of commerce and industry. The city has been the site of many important events in American history, including the Boston Tea Party and the Battle of Boston. The city has also been the home of many famous people, including John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. The city is known for its rich cultural heritage and its beautiful harbor. The city is a place of many firsts and is a true American city.

with expedition and neatness; every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops; all were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us; they appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse; they can be compared only to the beaver, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works much claim our admiration. Of all the labour which most surprised me that of carrying the gun to the mountains seemed the greatest. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and have climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculian. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley, had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject; no doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being ex-

pressed on my part, when there was no longer expected to be a use for it. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them, they have only patriarchs who possess solely, the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, his tenants pay him in kind; when presents are to be made he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other land-holders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are assembled Gattanewa, his son, or grand-son takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy, were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa, although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd, although he steered and sometimes paddled his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorn to pass a gate-way which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as the unrestrained manners of their lives; he will pass under nothing which has been raised by the hand of man, if there be a possibility of getting round or over it; often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk

of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall in preference to going through the gate-way. The matt on which Gattanewa reposes is held in such respect, that it cannot be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose matts in turn are tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a matt, they are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. it does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services, he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay; they mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate; the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes, and the ship had been thoroughly smoaked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made: several tubs full of them were collected and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests and could not be found, we did not destroy a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found her main-top-mast in a very decayed state; we were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer; we next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed: fortunately finding a small quantity of the oil of the black-whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed and generally known by the name of linseed oil; with this we were enabled to improve the

external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned, as being used by the natives for ripening bananas, and as candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is no ways inferior to the best paint oil, and as such is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

We found our copper much injured in many parts a little below the surface of the water, and were enabled by means of the supply we had obtained and secured from our prizes to give it the necessary repairs, after giving the ship a slight careen. Her bottom was found, on examination, to have on it very large barnacles, in considerable quantities, together with much grass and moss, which had no doubt collected at the Gallapagos; to cleanse it and free the ship from those embarrassments which must greatly impede her sailing, the natives were employed, who by diving down, with the assistance of the outer shell of the cocoa-nut, soon removed all these obstacles. The boatswain, as soon as he had completely overhauled the rigging of the ship, was employed on shore with a number of hands, where a rope-walk was established, to enlarge to a suitable size for a sea stock, the whale line and other small cordage found on board our prizes, as also to make into small cordage the junk remaining from our old and condemned cables. Every thing went on with order and regularity; every person was employed to the best advantage, and yet all were allowed sufficient time for amusement and relaxation; wrestling, throwing the spear, jumping, and pitching quoits now occupied some of their leisure time, for the girls, who had formerly engrossed the whole of it, were now less attended to, and indeed were frequently reduced to the necessity of suing in vain.

Temaa Tipee of the valley of Shoueme had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending in his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to inquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly

terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tippee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley: (I suspected this to be false, I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes) he, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace; they denied positively having refused him a passage, and strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

On the arrival of Temaa Tippee I remonstrated with him on the falsehood he had told me; he assured me that as he returned home from my camp, they had not only threatened, but had thrown stones at him, calling him coward, and threatening to drive him off his land; but on a closer inquiry I found that I had been misinformed as to the tribe that had treated him so cavalierly. It had been the warlike tribe of the Typees of the valley of Viechee, who had excited so much alarm in the minds of the Shouemes. They had always been the allies of each other; their valleys were only separated by a small ridge, they had intermarried and became almost as one tribe. The principal villages of the Shouemes were situated near the water, and wholly exposed to our attacks, while those of the Typees were considered as secured by their distance from the sea, and the almost impenetrable forests and perpendicular mountains by which only they were to be approached. The first consulted prudence, the others felt their own strength and security, and confided in them, and losing sight of the exposed situation of the Shouemes, attributed their conduct to cowardice alone, and spurned them as a degenerate tribe, unworthy of future alliance with them. Temaa Tippee claimed my protection, which I promised him; he then requested me to exchange names; I told him I had but

two, one of which, (and the one I most esteemed) I had exchanged with Gattanewa, the other, however, was at his service as long as he and his tribe remained faithful to us; he and all present promised fidelity, and I gave him the name of David, while I took that of Temaa Tipee. Tavee (for so he called himself) and all his tribe were greatly pleased at the compliment, and from that time to the time of our departure conducted themselves with the utmost fidelity and friendship, and seldom permitted more than four or five days to elapse without sending in presents. Tavee was one of the handsomest men on the island, remarkably fond of ornamenting his person, a strip of red cloth, a string of beads, or a whale's tooth, had charms for him which were irresistible, and every thing which he held most dear were offered to obtain them.

The wife of Tavee was said to be the handsomest woman on the island, and he the fondest husband. Yet Tavee has repeatedly offered her to me for a string of glass beads.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to know if they wished to be at peace with us, and threatened them with punishment in case of hostilities to any tribe which had allied themselves to us; that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply they desired to know why they should desire a friendship with us? why they should bring us hogs and fruit? that if I was strong enough they knew I would come and take them; and that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley. I was desirous of avoiding as long as possible hostilities with those people, but was fearful that their example might change the conduct of others towards us; their message was delivered to me in the presence of Gattanewa, of Mouina, and many of the friendly tribes. Mouina frothed with rage, and was for proceeding to hostilities immediately; but Gattanewa became serious and dejected, and

after a silence of a few minutes told me he would send his son to advise them to be friendly with us; nay, said the old man, I will go myself; they are not aware of the dreadful effects of bouhies, and they must not suffer in consequence of their ignorance. I told him to send his son, that he was too old to proceed to so great a distance, and that I would wait his return before I determined what course to pursue. In two days he returned and was desired by the Typees to tell Gattanewa and all the people of the valley of Tieuhoy that they were cowards—that we had beat the Hap-pahs because the Happahs were cowards; that as to myself and my people, we were white lizards, mere dirt; and as the most contemptible epithet which they could apply, said we were the posteriors and the privates of the Taechs. We were, said they, incapable of standing fatigue, overcome by the slightest heat and want of water, and could not climb the mountains without Indians to assist us and carry our arms; and yet we talked of chastising the Typees, a tribe which had never been driven by an enemy, and as their gods informed them were never to be driven. They dared us to come into their valley, and said they would convince us they did not dread our bouhies as much as they were dreaded by the cowardly tribes of the Taechs, Happahs, and Shouemes. Now, said Gattanewa, I consent to war, they deserve chastisement; and Mouina shortly afterwards appeared at the village boiling with rage, and in rather a peremptory tone insisted on immediate hostilities. My aim was to render all the tribes subservient to my views, and I thought it necessary to check the manner of Mouina, lest it might become contagious, and I should find a difficulty in keeping them in that subjugation by which only we could render ourselves secure. I told him, therefore, that I did not need his advice, and that I should go to war or make peace when I thought proper, without consulting him; that it was only necessary that he should do as I directed him, and every thing must be left to my management. I further told him to leave our village until he could learn to conduct himself more respectfully. He walked off a few paces among the crowd, then turning round, coolly said, he believed I was a great coward. Forgetting that this was the observation of a mere Indian, I seized a musket and pursued him; he retreated among the crowd, and on my approaching

him, presenting the musket and threatening him with destruction, on a repetition of such expressions, terror was marked on his countenance; I directed him immediately to leave the enclosure and never presume to enter it again.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and despatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Tacehs to understand that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible. Every thing now bore the appearance of war; the Tacehs and Happahs could talk and think of nothing else, and I found it policy to keep this spirit alive, as it was likely to secure their friendship to us: apprehensive however of a change of disposition on their part, I now conceived the design of constructing a fort, not only as a protection to our village and the harbour, but as a security to the Tacehs against further incursions; and while it would enable us to give to them the most ample protection, it would place them perfectly in our power, in the event of any hostility on their part. The place I had fixed on has been in some measure described as well suiting the purpose: we had an abundance of old water casks, which, when filled with dirt, would afford an excellent breast-work, and small guns which we could conveniently mount: but before the commencement of this undertaking, I considered it adviseable to obtain the consent of the tribes of the valley. I had for some time past intended leaving my prizes here as the most suitable place

to lay them up, and this fort would give them additional security; besides I believed that the possession of this island might at some future period be of importance to my country, and I was desirous of rendering her claim to it indisputable. With these objects in view I called on Gattanewa, and inquired of him and his people, who had assembled, whether they had any objections to my constructing the fort: they informed me that they were much pleased with my intention, as it would enable me to give them more effectual protection, and requested that they might be permitted to assist in its construction. I now required to know of them whether they would always be faithful to the American flag and assist us in opposing our enemies; they informed me that they had placed themselves entirely under my protection and control, that our enemies should be their enemies, that they would always receive my countrymen as brethren among them, and as far as lay in their power prevent our enemies from coming among them, knowing them to be such. I had frequently informed them of our being at war with Great Britain, and now explained to them the nature of our government, on which Gattanewa requested that they might not only be our friends and brothers but our countrymen. I promised them that they should be so, and that they should be adopted as such as soon as the fort should be completed, when a salute should be fired on the occasion.

The Indians instructed and assisted by a few of my people levelled the top of the hill, the breast work of water casks were formed and filled with dirt, suitable spaces being left for embrasures, guns were landed from our prizes and mounted, and on the 14th of the month our fort was completed, being calculated for mounting sixteen guns, but I did not conceive it necessary at present to mount more than four. All worked with zeal, and as the friendly tribes were daily coming in with presents, all joined in the labour. The chiefs requested that they might be admitted on the same footing as the Tseehs, and every thing promised harmony between us; they would frequently speak of the war with the Typees, and I informed them I only waited for their war canoes to be put together and lanchd. And now I am on the subject of war canoes I must break the chain of my narrative for

the purpose of describing these vessels, as well as such others as are in use among the natives.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those already described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooahooga or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more splendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two feet in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor: to one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow, the pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families; each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up every one brings his piece with materials for securing it; and the setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used but for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another; in such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their estimation what the feathers of the ostrich or heron or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gayly dressed and richly ornamented with plumes; the chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the fore part of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who work them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all

Drawn by Capt. Porter



Engraved by W. Strickland.

Waverley



the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendor of their men of war: they are not however so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width and of an equal depth; they are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side; with those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a matt similar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the hypotenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of cattamanaw, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that used by the natives of the Sandwich Islands; these, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

About this time I discovered a conspiracy on foot among my prisoners; their object was to possess themselves of the Essex Junior, and the plan and method by which they expected to effect this object was as follows:

They had all been permitted to go on shore and on board the different vessels whenever they wished, on a promise of con-

ducting themselves with propriety, and not absenting themselves so that they could not be found; they were in fact admitted on parole, and all restrictions removed.

This extensive indulgence encouraged them in the hopes of making their escape, and headed by Lawson, the mate of the Sir Andrew Hammond, they had fixed on the night of the 14th to make their attempt, which was to be effected by getting such of her crew as remained on board intoxicated with rum mixed with laudanum, which was already prepared to administer, and Lawson was to attend to this part of the scheme. The third mate, with the prisoners on shore were to get possession of the canoes on the beach, and with them surprize the ship and take her to sea, there being no other vessel ready to follow her, and there being no powder on board the Essex which would enable her to stop them. Such was their plan, and such their expectations. I had been informed of it almost as soon as it was planned, was willing to humour the scheme, and gave them every opportunity of making the trial, adopting, at the same time, suitable means to have them secured and punished for their perfidy. At the time of the formation of this plan, and while Lawson and the others were using their greatest exertions to get rum at any price it could be obtained for, our rum casks were lying on the gun-deck under charge of a centinel, where they had been put while we were smoaking the rats; two of the centinels were detected, one in conniving and the other in assisting some persons in stealing rum. I did not inquire who were those concerned in the theft, lest the discovery might make known to the conspirators my knowledge of their scheme. I therefore punished the centinels severely for not putting them to death, informed the crew generally of the most absolute necessity for extraordinary vigilance; and told the marines that for the next neglect of duty I should punish the offender to the utmost extent of my power, observing if it was such an offence as merited death, I should without hesitation shoot the offender.

The next evening after going my rounds at the camp to see that every thing was right, I went to bed, and at half past ten o'clock, not hearing the centinel at the bake-house call out *all's well*, I inquired the cause, and the sergeant of the guard, on ex-

amination, reported to me that the centinel was lying down asleep, and that he had not disturbed him. I determined now, should this be the case, to punish him as he deserved. I felt the necessity of vigilance, not only on account of our prisoners, but on account of the natives. I felt persuaded that we owed the friendly footing on which we now stood with them entirely to our convincing them we were always on our guard, and I was determined that the safety of the whole should not be hazarded by the neglect of the marines. I therefore seized my pistol, and followed by the sergeant and a guard proceeded for the bake-house, where we found the culprit fast asleep, his musket lying beside him. I directed him to be seized, and at the same moment he was wounded through the fleshy part of the thigh; this example had a proper effect, and rendered every person more vigilant, particularly the marines. I shall make no further comments on this affair: if the punishment should appear a severe one, let those who censure me place themselves for a moment in my situation: I was far distant from the means of obtaining a judicial inquiry into his offence, which would probably have terminated fatally for him; promptness and vigilance on my part were the only sure guarantees to the success of a cruize as eventful and as extraordinary perhaps as any that was ever made.

As I before observed, Sunday night was the period fixed on by the conspirators for making their attempt; but it unfortunately (or rather fortunately) for them it so happened that a ship hove in sight off the mouth of the harbour on Saturday afternoon, and on discovering us stood off to sea under a press of sail. The *Essex Junior* immediately slipped her cables and gave chase to her, and not expecting her back before Monday, I put all my prisoners in irons, and thus at once frustrated a scheme which had wholly engrossed them for the last week; and with a determination that I would make them suffer for violating their parole, I sent them all on shore to the village, and set them to work in building a wall to surround it, which was finished before my departure from the island.

On Sunday afternoon the *Essex Junior* arrived: Mr. Downes had spoke the stranger, she proved to be the American ship *Albatross*, from the Sandwich islands, and had come for the purpose

of procuring sandal-wood: the Albatross did not get in until the next day. The arrival of this ship gave me no pleasure; for although the meeting with my countrymen in any part of the world but this would have proved a joyous event, I was in hopes that our arrival and operations here would for a long time be kept a secret, and the evils I apprehended from her making her knowledge of us public, far more than counterbalanced any satisfaction which I expected from her arrival. Some short time prior to this an event took place which threatened disagreeable consequences; the matter was however adjusted much to my satisfaction, and on the whole I considered the circumstance which gave rise to it as the most fortunate that could have happened, as it relieved me entirely from my anxiety on a subject which of all others had given me the most uneasiness.

Robert Dunn, quarter-master, had been threatened (by the officer of the watch) with punishment for some neglect of duty. Dunn said the time for which he enlisted had expired, and if he was punished he would never again do duty in the ship. When this was reported to me it occasioned me much uneasiness; most of my crew were in the situation of Dunn, and it became necessary to find a remedy for the evil; promptness and decision were necessary, and with as little loss of time as possible I caused all hands to be called on the quarter-deck, when I informed them of the offence of Dunn, then directing him to strip, I assured him that I should punish him severely, and to prevent his ever doing duty in the ship I should turn him on shore on the island, observing that his time was out, and it was proper he should have his discharge; then addressing myself to the ship's company, I expostulated with them on the impropriety and the evils likely to result from such conduct as Dunn's, and expressed a determination to have no man under my command who had it in his power to say his time was out, and he would no longer do duty. I informed them that the times of many were out, and from that moment I gave up all claim on them for their services; that they were their own masters, and should have their discharge on the spot. If they wished to enlist again for the cruise, I would enlist them, and give them the usual advance, and on a suitable occasion I would give them three days liberty on shore. That

such as refused to enlist, but would bind themselves to do duty, might remain on board till I would have an opportunity of putting them on shore in some civilized part; they should be supplied with provisions; but should be allowed neither pay nor prize-money. Such as wished their discharge were called on for their names, in order that their discharge might be made out in form, and they were all informed that the shipping papers were laid open for all such as wished to enter. I now was about proceeding to the punishment of Dunn, when most of the officers, petty officers and seamen came forward and solicited his pardon, stating that he appeared intoxicated at the time he made the observation and not sensible of the offence he committed. Dunn also begged forgiveness most earnestly, and hoped whatever other punishment I might inflict I would not turn him on shore; he was sensible his offence had been a great one, but pleaded intoxication, and as a proof of his attachment to the ship requested his name to be placed first on the list. I thought it on the whole advisable to pardon him, the men were dismissed, every man of all the ships re-entered except one, who from some foolish whim did not wish to re-enlist, although he was desirous of remaining doing duty and receiving pay. I determined not to depart from the principles laid down; I stopped his pay, and afterwards sent him to America in the New Zealander. This affair (which when joined to conspiracies, neglect of duty, and my difficulties with the tribes had caused me much uneasiness) was now settled. The arrival of the Albatross was hailed by our seamen as the most joyful event: she had brought from Canton a cargo suited to this Island, consisting of beads and various other trinkets, to exchange with the natives for sandal-wood. She soon procured all that was to be obtained, and disposed of to our seamen the principal part of her remaining trade at the most exorbitant prices; they had all received their advance money; it was to them useless trash, and soon disposed of for such articles as would be most likely to please their female friends, who soon hearing of the abundance of *peeppees* (for so they called beads) and other *tie ties*, with which our men were supplied, flocked round our settlement from every tribe with whom we were at peace; for it must be observed that in all our treaties, the first point insisted on by the chiefs of

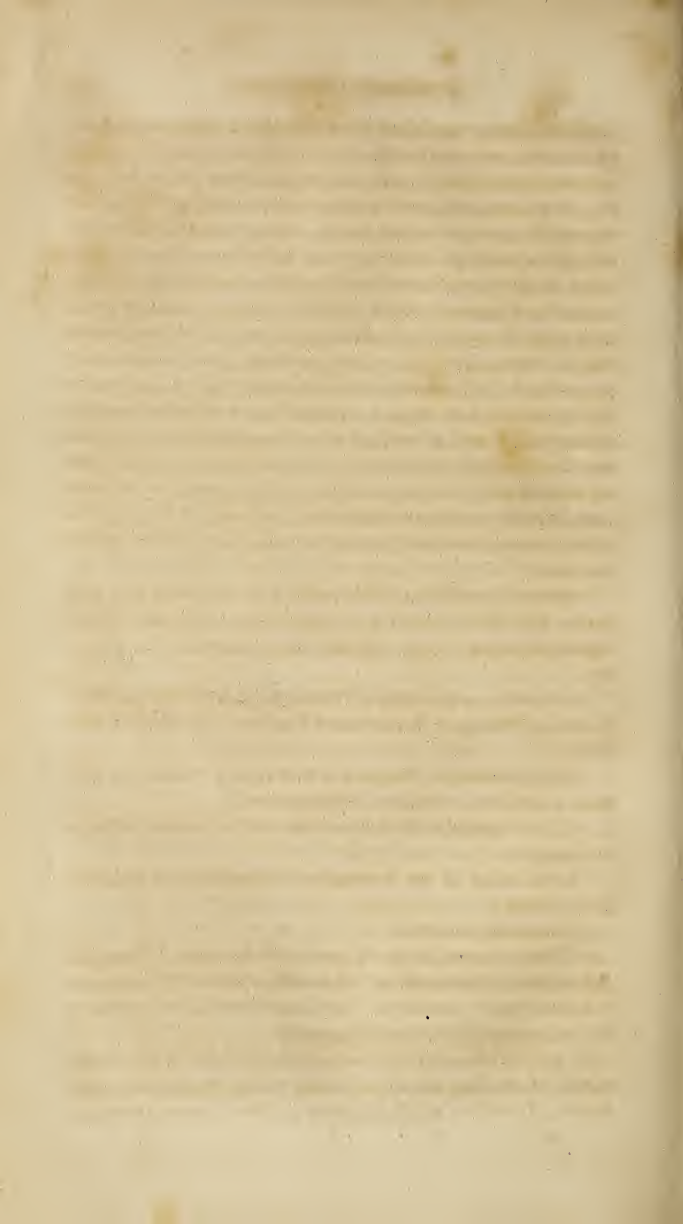
the different tribes was, that their women should be permitted to enjoy the same privileges as those of the valley of Tieuhoy. The females of our valley frequently looked with a jealous eye on these intrusive strangers, who either from their superior beauty, or from their novelty, or from some cause unknown to me, too frequently obtained the preference over our female Tacehs, and bore off in triumph the largest strings of green-glass beads, which were, in their estimation, diamonds of the first water.

On the 19th November, the American flag was displayed in our fort, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the artillery mounted there, and returned by the shipping in the harbour. The island was taken possession of for the United States, and called Madison's Island, the fort, Fort Madison, the village, Madison's Ville, and the bay, Massachusetts Bay. The following declaration of the act of taking possession was read and signed, after which the prosperity of our newly acquired Island was drank by all present. The object of this ceremony had been previously and was again explained to the natives; they were all much pleased at being *Melleেকেস*, as they called themselves, and wanted to know if their new chief was as great a man as Gattanewa.

DECLARATION.

"It is hereby made known to the world that I, David Porter, a captain in the navy of the United States of America, and now in command of the United States' frigate the Essex, have, on the part of the said United States, taken possession of the island called by the natives Nooaheevah, generally known by the name of sir Henry Martin's island, but now called Madison's Island. That by the request and assistance of the friendly tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy, as well as of the tribes residing on the mountains, whom we have conquered and rendered tributary to our flag, I have caused the village of Madison to be built, consisting of six convenient houses, a rope walk, bakery, and other appurtenances, and for the protection of the same, as well as for that of the friendly natives, I have constructed a fort, calculated for mounting sixteen guns, whereon I have mounted four, and called the same Fort Madison.





"Our rights to this island being founded on priority of discovery, conquest, and possession, cannot be disputed; but the natives, to secure to themselves that friendly protection which their defenceless situation so much required, have requested to be admitted into the great American family, whose pure republican policy approaches so near their own; and in order to encourage these views to their own interest and happiness, as well as to render secure our claim to an island valuable, on many considerations, I have taken on myself to promise them they shall be so adopted; that our chief shall be their chief; and they have given assurances that such of their brethren as may hereafter visit them from the United States shall enjoy a welcome and hospitable reception among them, and be furnished with whatever refreshments and supplies the island may afford; that they will protect them against all their enemies, and, as far as lies in their power, they will prevent the subjects of Great Britain (knowing them to be such) from coming among them until peace shall take place between the two nations.

"Presents consisting of the produce of the island to a great amount have been brought in by every tribe in the island, not excepting the most remote, and have been enumerated as follows, viz.

"Six tribes in the valley of Tieuhoy called the Taechs, viz. 1 Hoattas, 2 Maouhs, 3 Houneeahs, 4 Pakeuhs, 5 Hekuahs, 6 Hayvouhs.

"Six tribes of the Happahs, 1 Niecekees, 2 Tattievows, 3 Pahashas, 4 Keekahs, 5 Tekaahs, 6 Muttawhoas.

"Three tribes of the Maamatwuahs, 1 Maamatwuahs, 2 Tioahs, 3 Cahahas.

"Three tribes of the Attatokahs, 1 Attatokahs, 2 Takeeahs, 3 Paheutahs.

"Niecekees, one tribe.

"Twelve tribes of the Typees, 1 Poheguahs, 2 Naeguahs, 3 Attayiyas, 4 Cahunukohas, 5 Tomavaheenahs, 6 Tickeymahues, 7 Mooacekas, 8 Atteshows, 9 Attestapwyhunahs, 10 Attelacoes, 11 Attetomohoy, 12 Attakakahaneuahs.

"Most of the above have requested to be taken under the protection of our flag, and all have been willing to purchase, on any terms, a friendship which promises to them so many advantages.

"Influenced by considerations of humanity, which promises speedy civilization to a race of men who enjoy every mental and bodily endowment which nature can bestow, and which requires only art to perfect, as well as by views of policy, which secures to my country a fruitful and populous island, possessing every advantage of security and supplies for vessels, and which, of all others, is the most happily situated, as respects climate and local position, I do declare that I have, in the most solemn manner, under the American flag displayed in Fort Madison, and in the presence of numerous witnesses taken possession of the said island, called Madison's Island, for the use of the United States, whereof I am a citizen; and that the act of taking possession was announced by a salute of seventeen guns from the artillery of Fort Madison, and returned by the shipping in the harbour, which is hereafter to be called Massachusetts Bay.—And that our claim to this island may not be hereafter disputed, I have buried in a bottle at the foot of the flag staff in Fort Madison, a copy of this instrument, together with several pieces of money, the coin of the United States.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature, this 19th day of November, 1813.

Signed,

DAVID PORTER.

"Witnesses present:

"Signed, John Downes, lieutenant U. S. N.

James P. Wilmer, lieutenant U. S. N.

S. D. McKnight, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

John G. Cowell, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

David P. Adams, chaplain U. S. N.

John M. Gamble, lieutenant U. S. marines.

Richard K. Hoffman, acting surgeon U. S. N.

John M. Maury, midshipman U. S. N.

M. W. Bostwick, acting midshipman U. S. N.

William Smith, master of the American ship Albatross.

William H. Odenheimer, acting surgeon master U. S. N.

Wilson P. Hunt, agent for the American North Pacific fur company.

P. de Mester, }
Benjamin Clapp. } Citizens of the United States."

The wooding, watering, and taking on board the provisions and stores went on expeditiously, and all appeared to exert themselves to hasten our departure. The Albatross remained with us but a few days, when she sailed on her return to the Sandwich Islands; but previous to her departure I sold to her commander the guns mounted on Fort Madison solely with a view of doing away any impression as to my motives in mounting them there: all now supposed that it was done only with a view of going through the formality of taking possession; but at a suitable time after her departure they were replaced by others.

On the Albatross going to sea, which was on the 24th of November, I sent some of my boats to tow her out, and went on board myself to deliver to the captain all our letters, carefully put up in lead, to be thrown overboard in case of capture. I went as far as the mouth of the harbour, when finding the morning pleasant and the sea smooth I determined to proceed to the bay, which I had understood was to the westward, for the purpose of giving it an examination. I accordingly despatched Mr. Shaw to the frigate for arms, and on his rejoining me we put off and arrived in the bay we were in search of in about an hour and a half; the distance from Massachusetts Bay was supposed to be about eight miles, the coast between being generally iron bound, with the exception of two beaches and some coves making in, which did not appear to offer any shelter or other advantages. The bay, of which we could see no traces, until we were very close in with it, is narrow at its entrance and makes in two coves, the most eastern of which affording the best shelter and landing, but appears destitute of inhabitants and (I concluded also) of water, as I could perceive no rivulets. We landed in the western cove, near the village, and at the mouth of a beautiful rivulet which was meandering through the valley, and is of sufficient depth for their largest canoes to enter. On landing, many of the natives came to the beach, who seemed disposed to treat us in the most friendly manner; but apprehensive of being troubled by their numbers I drew a line in the sand at some distance about the boats, and informed them they were *tabbood*, and as an additional security to us, I caused all the arms to be loaded and ready for service on the first alarm, and centinels placed over them. Shortly after this the

chief came down to invite me to the public square, the general place in all their villages for the reception of strangers. Shortly after our arrival the women and girls assembled from all quarters of the town, dressed out in all their finery to meet us; they were here free from all the restraints imposed by the *taboos* and were abundantly anointed with the oil of the cocoa-nut, and their skins well bedaubed with red and yellow paint, as was their clothing; some were also smeared with greenish paint, the object of which I found on inquiry, was to preserve the fairness and beauty of the skin, and indeed of this they seemed to take particular pains, every one of them being furnished with a kind of umbrella, formed of a bunch of palm leaves, to shield them from the effects of the sun: their care and attention in this particular had rendered them far superior in point of beauty to the females of our valley, and the difference was so striking as to make them appear a distinct people. Some of the girls, probably in compliment to us, or to render themselves more attractive in our eyes, cleansed themselves (by washing in the stream) of their oil and paint, threw aside their bedaubed clothing, and soon appeared neatly clad in cloth of the purest white; and I can say, without exaggeration, that I never have seen women more perfectly beautiful in form, features, and complexion, or that had playful innocence more strongly marked on their countenances or in their manners; all seemed perfectly easy and even graceful, and all strove by their winning attentions, who should render themselves most pleasing to us. The girls formed a circle round us, and those of a more advanced age were seated outside of them; the men showed us every kind attention, and strove to convince us of their friendship by bringing us cocoa-nuts, and cooking for us hogs and bread-fruit after their manner, which were found excellent. The manner of cleansing and cooking their hogs is as follows: a hole of a convenient size is dug in the ground, the bottom and sides of which are lined with stones, a fire is then made in it and the whole covered with more stones. The hog is then strangled, and when the stones are sufficiently heated is drawn backwards and forwards on them to remove the bristles, which, by this practice, is easily taken off; he is then taken to the stream and there gutted and washed clean; the upper layer of stones and fire are then remov-

ed, and the lower tier and sides are carefully covered with plantain leaves, on which the hog is laid after having his inside filled with hot stones enveloped with leaves; the whole is then covered with the same kind of leaves, and the remaining stones are laid on him, over which is placed another covering of leaves, and this is covered with dirt, which had been taken from the hole: in the course of an hour it is perfectly cooked, the coverings are carefully removed, and the meat served up on clean plantain leaves, and no mode of cooking can possibly excel it in point of taste, cleanliness, or appearance. The bread-fruit is also enveloped in plantain leaves and roasted in the embers. When the hog was cooked it was served up to us in the circle, and we amused ourselves in dividing the choicest pieces among the handsomest girls, who testified much pleasure at the attentions paid to them, after which we extended our civilities to the other women, and divided the remainder among the men, after reserving a small portion to ourselves. A daughter of Gattanewa was among them; she was the wife of the chief who had met us on our arrival; she seemed no less friendly disposed than her husband, and embraced me as her father, reminding me frequently that from the exchange of names I had become such; from her filial affection she bestowed on me a bountiful supply of the red and yellow paint with which she was covered, and insisted on my sending away my boats and people and remaining with them until the next day, and no excuse that I could offer for my return to the ship would satisfy her; they all joined in her solicitations, and, as an inducement for me to remain, promised me the choicest mats to sleep on and the handsomest girls in the village to sing me to sleep. After our repast all the women joined in a song, which was accompanied by the clapping of hands; it lasted near half an hour, and was not unmusical. I inquired the subject of it, and was informed by Wilson that it was the history of the loves of a young man and a young woman of their valley: they sung their mutual attachment and the praises of their beauty; described with raptures the handsome beads and whales' teeth ear rings with which she was bedecked, and the large whale's tooth which hung from his neck. They afterwards joined in a short song which they appeared to compose as they sung, in which I could plainly distinguish the words *Opotee, ti ties*,

peepies &c. (Porter presents beads, &c.) after which they strove in various ways who should most amuse us, the men in dancing, the girls in playing scratch cradle, (an amusement well known in America) at which they are more dextrous than any other I ever met with: the thread used for this purpose is made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, and is generally worn by the young girls (who greatly delight in this amusement) round the neck, or made up with much ingenuity and compactness into a small skein and is put through the hole of the ear and serves the double purpose of keeping it distended and amusing them occasionally. It is really astonishing to see what variety of forms they will give to this thread and with what dexterity and expedition they will change it from one form to another: sometimes it assumes the appearance of the finest net-work, and in an instant changes its appearance to that of lace. Sometimes the reticulations are diamond like, square or polyedrous, and sometimes compounded of the whole: in this amusement every finger is employed, which, as well as the hand, being remarkable for their slender and delicate form, occasioned us to contemplate this diversion with much pleasure, for what in nature can be more interesting than a beautiful young female, whose face bespeaks the guilelessness of her heart engaged in an amusement which requires the employment of both their hands, and (habited as they are) leaves every charm exposed to the devouring eyes. Let the philosopher mourn over the depravity, as he may call it, of human nature; let him express his horror, that civilized man can, for a moment, be lured by the charms of a savage; let the moralist, from his closet, preach the charms of virtue and deformity of vice; still I shall not let fall the curtain; the veil shall still be raised and nature exposed; I shall exhibit her deformities, when I meet them; but shall also display her beauties. The charms of wild uncultivated nature are not the less admired, and the rose of the wilderness is not less beautiful than that of the parterre.

Our time passed rapidly with these kind people, and the evening approached before we were aware of it. It became necessary to hasten to the ship, and we bade them farewell, with a promise that we should shortly return and bring with us a larger supply of *peepies* and other *tie ties*, so much desired by them.

This bay, as I before observed, affords good shelter; the entrance is narrow, the water deep, and the landing good; but I should not deem it adviseable to enter with a large vessel, as the lee point runs out for a great distance, and must render the egress difficult and dangerous. The rocks forming this valley are steep and inaccessible, but the lower grounds fertile and are thickly covered with plantations. The village is handsome and regularly laid out in streets, and the whole country romantic in the extreme. I called this bay in compliment to lieutenant Lewis of the United States navy, who first discovered it, Lewis's Bay.

On my return to the ship, I directed Mr. John J. King, master's mate, to take command of the *New Zealander*, to proceed to the United States, after taking on board that ship all the oil of my other prizes, which I expected would complete her cargo; every article not necessary for her was sent on shore, and every exertion was made to despatch her as soon as possible.

CHAPTER XV.

MADISON'S ISLAND—TYPEE WAR.

THE Tacehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Tacehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Tacehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure; him and his people, concluded it, therefore, the wisest to bear their insults and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject; but they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation with them, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

On the 27th November I informed the Taeehs and Happahs that I should next day go to war with the Typees, agreeable to my original plan, and directed Gattanewa to proceed on board the Essex Junior, with two persons who went to perform the office of ambassadors, and on the arrival of the ship in their bay, were to be sent to the Typees offering the same terms of peace as were accepted by the others. The Essex Junior sailed in the afternoon, and I proceeded next morning, at three o'clock, with five boats, accompanied by ten war canoes, blowing their conchs as a signal by which they could keep together. One of our boats separated from the others, passed the bay and did not rejoin us again until the middle of the day. We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taeeh and Happah warriors, armed with their spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was covered with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills; our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive which, we were informed, led to the habitations was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Taeehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre. We only waited for reinforcements from the Essex Junior, our interpreter, our ambassadors, and Gattanewa; and on the ship's anchoring I went on board to hasten them on shore, directing lieutenant Downes to bring with him fifteen men; these with the twenty on shore, I supposed would be fully sufficient to bring them to terms. On my return to the beach I found every one in arms, the Typees had appeared in the bushes and had pelted our

people with stones, while quietly eating their breakfast; they as well as the Tacehs and Happaes were all on their guard, but no hostilities had been offered on our part. I had brought with me one of those whom I had intended to employ as ambassadors; he had intermarried with the Typees and was privileged to go among them; I furnished him with a white flag and sent him to inform the Typees that I had come to offer them peace, but was prepared for war; that I only required that they should submit to the same terms as those entered into by the other tribes, and that terms of friendship would be much more pleasing to me than any satisfaction which I expected to derive from chastising them. In a few minutes after the departure of my messenger he came running back, the picture of terror, and informed me he had met in the bushes an ambuscade of Typees, who, regardless of his flag of truce, which he displayed to them, had driven him back with blows, and had threatened to put him to death if he again ventured among them; and in an instant afterwards we had a confirmation of his statement in a shower of stones which came from the bushes, at the same moment one of them darted across the pathway and was shot through the leg, but was carried off by his friends. Hostilities had now commenced; lieutenant Downes had arrived with his men and I gave the order to march. Mouina, having forgot the difference which had taken place between us, placed himself, as usual, in advance; we entered the bushes, and were at every instant assailed by spears and stones, which came from different parties of the enemy in ambuscade. We could hear the snapping of the slings, the whistling of the stones, the spears came quivering by us, but we could not perceive from whom they came; no enemy was to be seen, not a whisper was to be heard among them. To remain still would have proved fatal to us; to have retreated would have convinced them of our fears and our incapacity to injure them; our only safety was in advancing and endeavouring to clear the thicket, which I had been informed was of no great extent.

We had advanced about a mile, and had received no injury, nor had we reason to believe we had done any to the enemy (who we could only get a glimpse of as they darted from tree to tree) although we had kept up a scattering fire on them; we at length

came to a small opening on the bank of a river, from the thicket on the opposite side of which we were assailed with a shower of stones, when lieutenant Downes received a blow which shattered the bone of his left leg, and he fell. We had left parties in ambush in our rear, which we had not been able to dislodge, and to trust him to the Indians alone to take back was hazarding too much. I was fearful of weakening my force by sending a party to escort him, and to have returned back would have been construed by the allied tribes into a defeat. They had taken no active part, they sat as silent observers of our operations, the sides of the mountains were still covered with them, and myself as well as the Taechs had no slight grounds to doubt the fidelity of the Happaes; a defeat would no doubt have sealed our destruction. I had come with a force very inadequate to reduce them to terms, as I had recieved wrong impressions as to the country through which we had to pass; but since we had come it was necessary something should be done to convince them of our superiority. The Indians began to leave us, all depended on our own exertions, and no time was to be lost in deliberation. I therefore directed Mr. Shaw with four men to escort lieutenant Downes to the beach; this with the party I had left for the protection of the boats reduced my number to twenty-four men. As we continued our march the number of our allies became reduced, and even the brave Mouina, the first to expose himself, began to hang back; while he kept in advance, he had, by the quickness of his sight, which was astonishing, put us on our guard as the stones and spears came, and enabled us to elude them, but now they came too thick even for him to withstand.

We soon came to the place for fording the river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles; here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse; the stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented

numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank and continued our march rendered still more difficult by the underwood which was here interlaced to that degree as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harrassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impassible. Mouina and two or three others of the natives had kept with us, the others had not crossed the river; we soon came to a small space cleared of the small trees and the underwood; the natives had ceased to annoy us, and we had hoped soon to have arrived at their village, which I had been informed was at no great distance. On immerging from the swamp we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket, and in an instant afterwards were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, which left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones enabled me, accompanied by lieutenant Gamble, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us: these were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage; others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm: but some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party; without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. Our only safety now depended on holding our ground until we could procure a fresh supply of ammunition, and in reserving the few charges on hand un-

It could be brought to us. I mentioned my intentions to my people, exhorted them to save their ammunition as much as possible, and despatched lieutenant Gamble with a detachment of four men to the beach, there to take a boat and proceed to the Essex Junior for a fresh supply. We were from the time of his departure chiefly occupied in eluding the stones which came with redoubled force and numbers. Our fire had become slackened, a few muskets only occasionally were fired to convince them we were not yet disposed to retreat. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. Mouina begged me to retreat, crying mattee! mattee! The wounded entreated me to permit the others to carry them to the beach, but I had none to spare to accompany them. I saw no hopes of succeeding against them, so long as they kept their strong hold; and determined to endeavour to draw them out by a feint retreat, and by this means to gain some advantage. For to return without gaining some advantage would, I believed, have rendered an attack from the Happaahs certain. I communicated my intentions; directed the wounded to be taken care of; gave orders for all to run until we were concealed by the bushes, and then halt. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead and precipitately retreated to their fort. Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones; but here they halted, and we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

On my arrival I found the boat which had been missing, together with a reinforcement of men from the Essex Junior, and a supply of ammunition. I was desirous of sounding the Typees

before I proceeded to further extremities, as also to impress our allies with the idea that we could carry all before us. Assuming the air and language of a conqueror (although I must confess I felt little like one) I directed one of the ambassadors to proceed to the Typee fort to tell them that with a handful of men we we had driven them into their fortifications, that we had killed two and wounded several of them, and had now a force sufficient to drive them out of the valley; that I did not wish to do them further injury, and still offered to them the terms I had first proposed. They told my messenger to tell me that they had killed my chief warrior (for such they supposed Mr. Downes to be); that they had wounded several of my people, and compelled us to retreat. It was true, they said, we had killed two of them, and wounded many others; but considering their superior numbers, what was this compared to the injury they had done us. They had men to spare, we had not. If we were able to drive them from their valley, what could I promise myself by telling them of it. I must know they would not believe me until I had done it. They said they had counted our boats; they knew the number that each would carry, and were as well acquainted with my force as myself. They knew their strength and the numbers they could oppose; and held our bouhies in more contempt than ever, they frequently missed fire, rarely killed, and the wounds they occasioned were not as painful as those of a spear or stone; and, they added, they knew they would prove perfectly useless to us should it come on to rain. They dared us to renew the contest; and assured us they would not retreat beyond where we had left them.

Overcome with fatigue and discouraged by the formidable appearance of their fortress, my men also fatigued and disheartened from the number of wounded, I determined to leave them for the present, but meditated a severe punishment for them. The Hapahs had now descended the hills with their arms; the Shouemes appeared on the other side, and "the Typees have driven the white men," was the constant topic of conversation. We were still but a handful and were surrounded by several thousand Indians; and although they professed friendship, I did not feel safe. I therefore directed every body to embark and proceed to the Essex Junior, anxious to know the state of lieutenant Downes. We had

scarcely arrived at the ship before the Typees rushed on our allies, who had remained behind, and drove them into their canoes and into the water; we sprung into our boats, and pulled towards the shore, when they precipitately retreated, and our allies pursued in turn, and knocked over with a stone one of the Typee warriors, whose body they triumphantly bore off. Finding they would not face us in a clear space, and being perfectly sick of bush fighting, I returned to Massachusetts Bay with my boats, and directed the Essex Junior to follow when the wind suited.

The next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived), and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before day light next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening the boats being found leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we supposed could be depended upon for their knowledge of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, which would be more likely to bring them to terms than any number of them we could expect to kill. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties headed by their respective officers. I gave the orders for marching, and sent word of my intentions to Gattanewa, in order that neither him nor his people might be alarmed by our warlike movements. I directed the party sent in advance to halt as soon as they had gained the top of the mountain until I came up with the main body. There I intended encamping for the night, should our men not be able to stand the fatigue of a longer march. Several gave out before we reached the summit, which we did in about three hours, with great difficulty; but after resting a short time, and finding ourselves refreshed, the moon shining out bright, and our guides informing us (though very incorrectly) that we were not more

than six miles from the enemy, we again marched. Several Indians had joined us, but I had imposed silence on them, as we were under the necessity of passing a Happah village, and was fearful of their discovering us, and giving intelligence to the Typees. Not a whisper was heard from one end of the line to the other; our guides marched in front, and we followed in silence up and down the steep sides of rocks and mountains, through rivulets, thickets, and reed breaks, and by the sides of precipices which sometimes caused us to shudder. At twelve o'clock we could hear the drums beating in the Typee valley accompanied by loud singing, and the number of lights in different parts of it induced me to believe they were rejoicing. I inquired the cause, and was informed by the Indians they were celebrating the victory they had obtained over us, and calling on their gods to give them rain in order that it might render our bouhies useless. We soon arrived at the path way leading from the top of the mountains into the valley; but the Indians told us that it would be impossible to descend it without day-light; that the mountain was almost perpendicular, and that in many places we should be under the necessity of lowering ourselves down with great caution, and that it would be even necessary for them to assist us in the day-time to enable us to get down with safety. Believing from experience that when the natives considered the roads bad, they would prove really so to us, and finding that my men were much fatigued and averse to risking their necks any longer at night, added to which several of my stoutest men had given out, and were left under charge of the Indians on the road, I concluded that it would be most advisable to wait for day-light before we attempted to descend. We were in possession of the path way to the valley, and could prevent the Happahs from giving them any intelligence of us; we were on a narrow ridge running between the valleys of the two tribes and well situated to guard against surprise and defend ourselves from an attack from either; and what added to the convenience of our situation we had a stream of water not far distant.

I had left a small party in charge of a hill, which appeared to me then a commanding situation; but as I had come to my present determination I sent a messenger to call them in, and after plac-

ing guards we laid down on our arms. I had fallen into a dose when an Indian came to inform me that it was coming on to rain very heavy, and as he expressed himself would mattee! mattee! bouhie. This appearance of rain caused loud shouts of joy in the Typee valley and drums were beating in every quarter. I cautioned my men about taking care of their arms and ammunition; but from the violence of the rain, which soon poured down in torrents, I had little hopes that a musket would be kept dry or a cartridge saved. Never, in the course of my life, did I spend a more anxious or disagreeable night, and I believe there were few with me who had ever seen its equal. A cold and piercing wind accompanied the deluge, for I can call it nothing else, and chilled us to the heart; without room to keep ourselves warm by moving about, fearful of stirring, lest we might be precipitated into eternity down the steep sides of the mountains, for the ridge had now become so slippery we could scarcely keep our feet—we all anxiously looked for morning, and the first dawn of day, although the wind and rain still continued, was a cheering sight to us, notwithstanding our apprehensions for the fate of the ammunition and the conditions of our muskets. We were all as perfectly wet as though we had been under water the whole time, and we scarcely entertained a hope that a single cartridge or musket had escaped. The Indians kept exclaiming that our muskets were spoilt, and anxiously wished us to retreat in time; but notwithstanding my fears on the subject, I endeavoured to impress them with a belief that water could do them no injury. As soon as it was light enough I went among my men and inquired into the state of their arms and ammunition. The first had escaped better than I had any reason to hope; but of the latter more than one half was wet and unfit for service.

The Happah village lay on one side of the mountain, as I before observed, the Typee on the other, and when it was light enough to see down into the valley of the latter we were astonished at the greatness of the height we were elevated above them, and the steepness of the mountain by which we should have to descend to get to them. A narrow path-way pointed out the track, but it was soon lost among the cliffs. The Indians informed me that in the present slippery state of the mountain no one could de-

scend, and as our men were much harrassed with fatigue, overcome with hunger, shivering and uncomfortable, I determined to take up my quarters in the Happah valley until next day to enable us to refresh, and I hoped by that time the weather would prove more favourable. The chief soon arrived, and I communicated to him my intentions, directing him to send down and have houses provided for us as also hogs and fruit, all of which he promised should be done. Before I left the hill I determined by firing a volley to show the natives that our muskets had not received as much injury as they had expected, as I believed, under their impressions, at that moment, the Happahs would not have hesitated in making an attack on us, and to avoid any difficulties with them I thought it best to convince them we were still formidable. I had other motives also for firing, the Tayeehs and Happahs, I knew, would accompany us into the Typee valley; and as I had put off our descent until the next day, I concluded that it would be best to give them timely notice of our approach, that they might be enabled to remove their women and children, their hogs, and most valuable effects; for although I felt desirous of chastising them for their conduct, I wished to prevent the innocent from suffering, or the pillage and destruction of their property. My own men, I knew, would be sufficiently occupied in fighting to prevent their plundering, but the Indians, who accompanied us, I knew would be intent on that object alone; added to which I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means terrify them into terms without farther effusions of blood; I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicions of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other: and what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley, which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Hap-

pahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses which had, in all appearance, been vacated on our account: in these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted; and after placing guards, and taking such precautions as our situation rendered necessary, I retired to sleep; my recommending to others to do the same was unnecessary. We saw no appearance of cooking hogs however, no fruit was brought in, nor did the natives appear disposed to accommodate us further than to abandon to us their houses: every thing was taken out of them, and we were left to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could. I requested a matt to sleep on, but it was long before one could be obtained: I wanted a piece of cloth to wrap round my loins, while my clothes were washing and drying, and it was with great difficulty I could get it; many of my people were complaining of hunger and could get nothing to eat, although the valley abounded in hogs and fruit. The Happahs assembled about us, armed with their clubs and spears; and the women, who had at first crowded round us, now began to abandon us. Every thing bore the appearance of a hostile disposition on the part of the Happahs: our friends the Tayeehs cautioned us to be on our guard. I directed every one to keep their arms in their hands, ready to assemble at a moment's warning. I now sent for their chief and required to know if they were hostilely disposed. I told him it was necessary we should have something to eat, and that I expected his people to bring us hogs and fruit, and if they did not do so I should be under the necessity of sending out parties to shoot them and to cut down their fruit trees, as our people were too much fatigued to climb them. I also directed that they should lay by their spears and clubs. No notice being taken of these demands, I caused many of their spears and clubs to be taken from them and broken, and sent parties out to shoot hogs, while others were employed in cutting down cocoa-nut and banana trees until we had a sufficient supply. I now expostulated with them on their unfriendly conduct, compared their reception of us to that given by Gattanewa, and appealed to Tawattaa and Mouina (who had both arrived) for the correctness of my statement.

The chiefs and the people of the Happah tribe now became intimidated and brought and baked hogs in greater abundance than were required; friendship was re-established, and the women returned.

When night approached, proper look outs were placed, fires made before each house: those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at day light, next morning, we equally divided our ammunition, and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day.

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length and three or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains: the upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, inclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness—never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt for the necessity which compelled me to punish a happy and heroic people.

Many may censure my conduct as wanton and unjust; they may inquire what necessity could compel me to pursue them into their valley; where, in fact, was any necessity for hostilities with them so long as they left us in quietness at our camp: But let such reflect a moment on our peculiar situation—a handful of men residing among numerous warlike tribes, liable every moment to be attacked by them and all cut off; our only hopes of safety was in convincing them of our great superiority over them, and from

what we have already seen, we must either attack them or be attacked. I had received many wanton provocations from them; they refused to be on friendly terms with us; they attacked and insulted our friends, for being such; and repeated complaints were made to me on the subject. I had borne with their reproaches, and my moderation was called cowardice. I offered them friendship, and my offers were rejected with insulting scorn. I sent to them messengers, and they were sent back with blows; hostilities had been commenced by them, and they believed they had obtained an advantage over us; a mere thread connected us with the other tribes; that once broken our destruction was almost inevitable; they feared us and were our friends; should there be no longer cause for fear, should they no longer believe us invincible, instead of hostilities with the single tribe of Typees, we should, in all probability, have been at war with all on the island. The Happahs considered themselves a conquered tribe, ready, at the first good opportunity, to shake off the yoke; the Shouemes and some others, if not conquered by our arms, they were by the apprehensions of them; they had been led to believe that no force could resist us, and had they been convinced that the Typees could keep us at bay, they must have felt satisfied that their united forces were capable of destroying us: a coalition would have been fatal to us—it was my duty to prevent it—and I saw no means of succeeding but by reducing the Typees before they could come to an understanding with the other tribes; and by placing all on the same footing, I hoped to bring about a general peace and secure the future tranquillity of the Island.

Wars are not always just, and are rarely free from excesses—my conscience acquits me of any injustice, and no excesses were committed, but what the Typees had it in their power to stop by ceasing hostilities—the evils they experienced they brought upon themselves, and the blood of their relations and friends must be on their own heads—had no opposition been made none would have been killed—had they wished for peace, it would have been granted; but proud of the honour of being the greatest warriors on the island, they believed themselves invincible, and hoped to insult all others with impunity.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village: but finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition I would not permit any person to fire.—After resting a few minutes I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded—they retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men were wounded, and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them; parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder: lieutenant M'Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large party of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears: the Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were

wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley. It became now necessary to guard against a useless consumption of ammunition, the scouting parties had returned, and some had expended all their cartridges; I exhorted them to be more careful of them, and after having given them a fresh supply, forbid any firing from the main body, unless we should be attacked by great numbers. I now left a party in this place, posted in a house, with the wounded, and another party in ambush behind a wall, and directed Mouina to lead us to the next village; but before marching I sent a messenger to inform the Typees that we should cease hostilities when they no longer made resistance, but so long as stones were thrown I should destroy their villages. No notice was taken of this message. We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, soon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand scite, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with; numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees and all the young plants they could find. We had now arrived at the upper end of the valley, about nine miles from the beach, and at the foot of the water-fall above mentioned; the day was advancing; we had yet much to do, and it was necessary to hasten our return to the fort first taken, where we arrived after being about four hours absent, leaving behind us a scene of ruin and desolation. I had hoped that the Typees had now abandoned all further thoughts of resistance; but on my return to the fort I found the parties left there had been

annoyed the whole time of my absence; but being sheltered from the stones and short of ammunition, they had not fired on the enemy. This fort was situated exactly half-way up the valley; to return by the road we descended the hill would have been impossible, it became therefore necessary to go to the beach, where I was informed that the difficulty of ascending the mountains would not be so great; many were exhausted with fatigue, and began to feel the cravings of hunger, and I directed a halt, that all might rest and refresh themselves. After resting about half an hour I directed the Indians to take care of our wounded: we formed the line of march and proceeded down the valley, and in our route destroyed several other villages, at all of which we had some skirmishing with the enemy. At one of those places, situated at the foot of a steep hill, they rolled enormous stones down, with a view of crushing us to death, but they did us no injury. The number of villages destroyed amounted to ten, and the destruction of trees and plants and the plunder carried off by the Indians is almost incredible. The Typees fought us to the last, and even at first harassed our rear on our return; but parties left in ambush soon put a stop to any further annoyance. We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprize, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and served as a sally port; but to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude and equal strength and ingenuity.

In their fortifications consisted the strength of the Typees: the usual fighting place with the other tribes was on the plain near the beach, and although they had frequently been engaged

with the forces of several tribes combined, they had never before succeeded in compelling them to retire beyond the river, which, it will be remembered, is about one quarter of a mile from the fort.

There are but three entrances into this valley, one on the west which we descended, one on the east, and one from the beach. No force whatever had before dared to attack them on the west, on account of the impossibility of retreating, in case of a repulse, which they calculated on as certain. The passage on the east led from the valley of their friends, and that from the beach was guarded by fortresses deemed impregnable, and justly so against any force which could be brought against them unassisted by artillery. On viewing the strength of this place I could not help felicitating myself on the lucky circumstance which had induced me to attack them by land, for I believed we should have failed in an attempt on this place. I had determined, on first starting, not to return until I had destroyed this fort, and now intended putting my design in execution. To have thrown it down by removing the stones singly would have required more time than we had to spare, and concluding that, by our united efforts, we should be enabled to demolish the whole at once, I directed the Indians and my own men to put their shoulders to the wall and endeavour, by efforts made at the same instant, to throw it down; but it was built with so much solidity that no impression could be made on it; we therefore left it as a monument to future generations of their skill and industry. This fortification appeared of ancient date, and time alone can destroy it. We succeeded in making a small breach in the wall through which we passed on our route to the beach, a route which was familiar to us, but had now become doubly intricate from the number of trees which had since been cut down and placed across the pathway as much to impede our advance as to embarrass us in our retreat—we fancied the same had been practised on the bank of the river.

On my arrival at the beach I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley and wished to

be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring: he inquired if I would still be his friend and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us, and the girls, who had assembled in great numbers dressed out in their best attire welcomed our return with smiles, and notwithstanding our wet and dirty situation (for it had been raining the greater part of the day) convinced us by their looks and gestures that they were disposed to give us the most friendly reception.

Gattanewa met me on the side of the hill as I was ascending: the old man's heart was full, he could not speak; he placed both my hands on his head, rested his forehead on my knees, and after a short pause, raising himself, placed his hands on my breast, exclaimed, Gattanewa! and then on his own said, Apotee, to remind me we had exchanged names.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness—a long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people! the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride, while the instruments of your own fate, shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

I shall not fatigue myself or the reader by a longer account of this expedition; we spent the night with the Happahs, who supplied us most abundantly, and next morning, at daylight, started for Madison's Ville, where we arrived about eight o'clock, after an absence of three nights and two days, during which time we marched upwards of sixty miles, by paths which had never before been trodden but by the natives. Several of my stoutest men were for a long time laid up by sickness occasioned by their excessive

fatigue, and one (corporal Mahan of the marines) died two days after his return.

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, despatched to the Typees informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come on terms of friendship with us. The messenger on his return informed me that the Typees on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them: there was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly; I told them I should expect from them four hundred, which they assured me should be delivered without delay.

Flags were now sent to me again from all the tribes in the island, even the most remote and inconsiderable, with large presents of hogs and fruit, and we had never at any time since we had been on the island experienced such abundance. It was now the source of regret to me that I was not supplied with salt, that we might be enabled to have cured a quantity of pork for our sea stock, which we might easily have done from the large supply on hand.

Our enclosure, although spacious, was not sufficient to contain the hogs we received; I therefore was under the necessity of sending them on board the different ships in as great numbers as could be kept there; still notwithstanding we killed pork on shore for our people every day, the number of hogs increased so fast that it became necessary to turn them out of the enclosure and let them run, which was done after marking them by cutting off the right ear and slitting the left; I however previously informed

the inhabitants of the valley of my intentions, and the mark I had put on them, in order that they might not kill them, which they promised they would not do, but to the contrary, would take care of them, and feed and fatten them against my return. The number that I in this manner marked and turned loose did not fall short of five hundred, my ships were all full, no more could be taken on board, and a sufficient stock was reserved in the enclosure to supply us as long as we should remain here. I did not regret being over stocked, as it enabled me to leave so many in this valley, which was in some measure a compensation for those we had been supplied with by the inhabitants.

Peace now being established throughout the island, and the utmost harmony reigning, not only between us and the Indians, but between the different tribes, they mixed with one another about our village in the most friendly manner, and the different chiefs with the priests came daily to visit me. They were all much delighted that a general peace had been brought about, that they might now all visit the different parts of the island in safety; and many of the oldest men assured me that they had never before been out of the valley in which they were born. They repeatedly expressed their astonishment and admiration that I should have been enabled to effect so much in so short a time, and that I should have been able to extend my influence so far as to give them such complete protection, not only in the valley of Tieuhoy, but among the tribes with which they had been at war from the earliest periods, and had heretofore been considered their natural enemies. I informed them that I should shortly leave them and should return again at the expiration of a year. I exhorted them to remain at peace with one another, and assured them that if they should be at war on my return, I should punish the tribes most in fault. They all gave me the strongest assurances of a disposition to remain on good terms, not only with me and my people, but with one another. The chiefs, the priests and the principal persons of the tribes were very solicitous of forming a relationship with me by an exchange of names with some of my family. Some wished to bear the name of my brother, my son-in-law, my son, my brother-in-law, &c. and when all the male stock were exhausted, they as anxiously solicited the names of the other sex;

and as many bore the names of the females of my family as of the males. The name of my son, however, was more desired than any other, and many old men, whose long gray beards rendered their appearance venerable, were known by the name of Pickineene Apotee: the word pickineene having by some means been introduced among them by the sailors of the ships which have touched there.

CHAPTER XVI.

MADISON'S ISLAND—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS, &c.

HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitment of my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Harmond (which, from the time requisite for pumping it off into small casks, rafting it along side, hoisting it on board, and stowing it below, was very tedious work, and I gave up all expectation of despatching her before I sailed) I now was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts and whatever else they had were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little tie ties as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as mellons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for planting them. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained to them, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury. I directed them not to pull any of the fruit until they had consulted Wilson to know if they were ripe. Among all the seeds that were sown there was none which gave them so much pleasure as the wheat, which they called *maïé*, which is the name they gave the bread-fruit; they would not believe, however, at first that it was from this grain we made our bread (which they also called *maïé*, but sometimes potatoe) until I had ground some of the grain be-

tween two stones, and showed them the flour, which produced from them the most joyous exclamations of *maïé! maïé! maïé!* and all began to clear away spots for sowing the grain, and bringing me leaves and cocoa-nut shells, begging that I would give them some to take home to plant. When we first arrived at this island, we offered them our ship bread, but they would not eat it, declaring it was made of coral rocks, and was no ways to be compared to bread-fruit; but after we had got our oven to work, and issued fresh bread to the crew, they, particularly the women, became extravagantly fond of it, and there was no favour they would not grant, nor any risk they would not run to obtain a small loaf; they would swim off to the ships, about meal times, in large shoals, and wait there for the sailors to throw them pieces of bread, although the harbour was much infested with large and ravenous sharks, and one of the natives was devoured by them soon after our arrival. A string of beads, highly as they were valued, could be purchased for a loaf; and chiefs after walking many miles over mountains to bring us presents of fruit and hogs, would return well satisfied, if I presented them a hot roll from the oven.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence, and as a farther inducement to them to attend their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me; and to the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seeds, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats, and as I had a number of young Gallapagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony of the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by cap-

tain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut and toa trees, (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way: it is in a squatting posture and is not badly executed; his ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small, and, on the whole is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree; they are no more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model; probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as the model of perfection for all the sculptures of the Island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact, every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven, and the whole handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give them a picturesque and elegant appearance; the obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers; their heads were placed toward the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, earrings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country. One of the canoes was more splendid than the others, and was situated nearer the grove. I inquired who the dignified personage might be who was seated in her stern, and was informed that this was the priest who had been killed, not



Drawn by Capt. Porter.

Engraved by W. Strickland.

Taawattaa.

the Priest.



long since by the Happahs. The stench here was intolerable from the number of offerings which had been made, but, attracted by curiosity, I went to examine the canoes more minutely, and found the bodies of two of the Typees, whom we had killed in a bloated state lying in the bottom of that of the priest, and many other human carcasses, with the flesh still on them, lying about the canoe. The other canoes, they informed me, belonged to different warriors who had been killed, or died not long since. I asked them why they had placed their effigies in the canoes, and also why they put the bodies of the dead Typees in that of the priest; they told me (as Wilson interpreted) that they were going to heaven, and that it was impossible to get there without canoes. The canoe of the priest being large, he was unable to manage it himself, nor was it right that he should, he being now a god: they had, therefore, placed in it the bodies of the Happahs and Typees, which had been killed since his death, to paddle him to the place of his destination; but he had not been able yet to start, for the want of a full crew, as it would require ten to paddle her, and as yet they had only procured eight. They told me also that the taboo, laid in consequence of his death, would continue until he had started on his voyage, which he would not be able to do until they had killed two more of their enemies, and by this means complete his crew. I inquired if he took any sea stock with him: they told me he did, and pointing to some red hogs in an enclosure, they informed that they were intended for him, as well as a quantity of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. which would be collected from the trees in the grove. I inquired if he had far to go; they replied, no: and pointing to a small square stone enclosure, informed me that was their heaven, that he was to go there; this place was tabooed, they told me, for every one except their priests.

Gattanewa was present at the time this information was given me by some of the priest's servants or underlings, who had the charge of the place, and resided in houses constructed for them in front of the grove. Some time previous to this I had been tabooed at my request by Gattanewa: this gave me the privilege of visiting and examining all their places of religious worship, and I now took advantage of my right in going into the grove among the gods, accompanied by the attendants on the

place. Wilson could not accompany me there, and I was not enabled to make inquiry on many subjects; but observing that they treated all their gods with little respect, frequently catching them by their large ears, drawing my attention to their wide mouths, their flat noses, and large eyes, and pointing out to me, by signs, all their other deformities. I told Wilson to inform them I thought they treated their gods very disrespectfully—they told me that those were like themselves, mere attendants on their divinity, as they were on the priest; that I had not yet seen their greatest of all gods, that he was in a small house, which they pointed out, situated at the corner of the grove; and on my expressing a desire to see him, after a short consultation among themselves, they brought him out on the branch of the cocoa-nut tree, when I was surprised to find him only a parcel of paper cloth secured to a piece of a spear about four feet long; it in some measure resembled a child in swaddling cloths, and the part intended to represent the head had a number of strips of cloth hanging from it about a foot in length; I could not help laughing at the ridiculous appearance of the god they worshipped, in which they all joined me with a great deal of good humour, some of them dandling and nursing the god, as a child would her doll. They now asked me if I should like to see some of their religious ceremonies, and on my answering in the affirmative, they seated themselves in a ring, and placed the god, with the cocoa-nut branch under him, on the ground; one of them stood in the circle before the god, and as soon as the others began to sing and clap their hands, he fell to dancing with all his might, cutting a number of antic capers, then picking up the god, and whirling it over his shoulders several times, laid it down again, when a pause ensued: they now began another song, when the dancer, with no less violence than before, after whirling the god about, carried it out of the circle and laid it down on the ground: then shifted it from place to place, and afterwards returned it to the cocoa-nut branch within the circle. After a short pause the dancer asked the singers several questions with great earnestness, and on their all answering in the affirmative, he took up the god on the branch and deposited it in the house. I inquired of Wilson the purport of the song, he told me they were singing the praises of their god; but this was all he

could tell me. The inquiries of the dancer were whether this was not the greatest of all gods, whether they were not bound to sacrifice their lives to preserve him, and whether, if they should lose him, there would not be an end of their race. They showed me an abundance of plumes and other ornaments belonging to their divinity, and in front of the house, where he was kept, there was a kind of sedan chair, ornamented with leaves and cloth in the most fanciful manner, which was for the purpose of carrying their god on some ceremony. I endeavoured to ascertain whether they had an idea of a future state, rewards and punishments, and the nature of their heaven. As respects the latter article, they believed it to be an island, somewhere in the sky, abounding with every thing desirable; that those killed in war and carried off by their friends go there, provided they are furnished with a canoe and provisions, but that those who are carried off by the enemy, never reach it unless a sufficient number of the enemy can be obtained to paddle his canoe there, and for this reason they were so anxious to procure a crew for their priest, who was killed and carried off by the Happahs. They have neither rewards nor punishments in this world, and I could not learn that they expected any in the next—their religion, however, is like a play-thing, an amusement to them, and I very much doubt whether they, at any moment, give it a serious thought; their priests and jugglers manage those matters for them; what they tell them they believe, and do not put themselves to the trouble of considering whether it is right or wrong. If the priests tell them they shall have rain within a certain period they believe him, if it does not rain agreeable to his prediction they think no more of it. They deal greatly in charms and incantations; by them they believe they can procure the death of their enemies, and effect the cure of the most dangerous wounds and sickness; the priests are their principal surgeons and physicians; they loose many of their patients, still the people believe them none the less; they are not fond of trouble, and least of all, the trouble of thinking. They are very credulous, and will as readily believe in one religion as another. I have explained to them the nature of the Christian religion, in a manner to suit their ideas; they listened with much attention, appeared pleased with the novelty of it, and agreed that our God

must be greater than theirs. Had a catholic priest been with me at the moment, he might have made converts of every individual in the valley. It is difficult to obtain a correct idea of their religion; I do not believe that one native in a thousand can explain the nature of it; the priests themselves appear much at a loss. Tawattaa attached himself to Mr. Adams, having learnt that he was our priest. Mr. Adams endeavoured to collect from him some notions of his religion, and among other things inquired of him whether, according to their belief, the body was translated to the other world or only the spirit; the priest, after a considerable pause, at length replied, that the flesh and bones went to the earth, but that all within went to the sky: from his manner, however, the question seemed greatly to embarrass him, and it appeared as though a new field was opened to his view.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him to find out, and as may be naturally supposed has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their Gods; to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones, and others, which are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs; but those gods are not held in any estimation, they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

When we were at war with the Typees, the Happahs and Tayeehs made a strict search in the houses of the enemy for the skulls of their ancestors, who had been slain in battle (knowing where they were deposited); many were found, and the possessors seemed rejoiced that they had recovered from the enemy so inestimable a relic. Dr. Hoffman seeing a man with three or four skulls strung round his waist, asked him for them, and they

Typee God



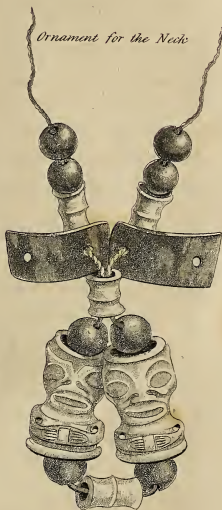
Womens Ear Ornaments



Mens Ear Ornament.



Ornament for the Neck



were given up immediately, although they had belonged to his father, brother, or some near relation. Next day several appeared at the village with skulls to traffic for harpoons. A very old man came to the village as a representative from one of the tribes, and wishing to make me a present, and having nothing else to give me, took from his neck a string of bones cut in the form of their gods, and assured me they were the bones of his grandmother.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth; they were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster like a small village; by the side of this were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, sienes, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed; within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appeared to give their ceremony no attention; he asked me if the place was not very fine; and it was on this occasion that he tabooed me, in order to give me an opportunity of approaching the gods and examining them more closely. The whole ceremony of tabooing me consisted in taking a piece of white cloth from the hole through his ear, and tying it around my hat as a band: I wore this badge for several days, and, simple as it was, every one I passed would call out *taboo*, and avoid touching me. I inquired the cause of this ceremony of Gattanewa, and he told me he was going to catch tortoise for the gods, and that he should have to pray to them several days and nights for success, during which time he should be tabooed and dare not enter a house frequented by women.

White among those people is considered sacred: a white flag is an emblem of peace, and a white flag marks out their tabooed and most sacred places; they have also a method of designating the places which are tabooed by bundles of long sticks about half the size of the wrist, with the bark stripped off and placed

an end; these are planted on all the platforms of stones where women are not permitted to approach, and this practice appears more generally adopted than any other—the sticks used on such occasions are of a very light and white kind of soft wood (used by the natives for producing fire by friction) of the bark of which they make cordage of a handsome and strong quality.

It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements: I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place; this is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone or on matts if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that the women of this great nation disseminated among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to eat with the men, and that they are not allowed to eat pork on any occasion; those people are an exception; men women and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork only during the existence of taboos, but even then they will eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces and not seem to notice them, which they generally do. Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, as was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is; for although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

I gave Gattanewa some hogs of an English breed, and requested him not to kill any until they had become numerous; he told me he would not; that he intended to have a feast for his mother, and that he should not give it until he had an hundred

English hogs when he should kill the whole of them. When a marriage takes place they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony; the union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work; their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, the care of the house and children; the men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect; there are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of matts of a superior workmanship, callabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness, some small chests also hollowed out of a solid piece with covers to them, wooden bowls and stands calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted callabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish hooks formed of the mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

The fish hooks, made of the mother-of-pearl, are intended chiefly for catching bonettas, and are used in trolling, without bait; they consist of two pieces, one of which is nearly as long as the finger. The mother-of-pearl which possesses, naturally, a high and beautiful polish attracts the fish by its glittering appearance, and serves the double purpose of a bait and as a shank for the hook to the lower end of which a piece of bone is secured on the concave side, bending upwards, and inwards towards the shank, and is sharpened at the point, but without any barb; this serves the purpose of a point to the hook, and where this bone is attached to the mother-of-pearl a few hog's bristles are secured across to give it in towing the appearance of a fish; to the hole, where the bone is secured to the mother-of-pearl, the line is made fast, and passes to the upper part of the piece of shell where it is secured, forming a chord to the arch which it presents. When the fish seizes this bait and becomes hooked by the point of bone, this cord, by the strain on the line, so secures him to the hook that he rarely disengages himself; the contrivance is ingenious, and is such as has been adopted by all the South Sea Islanders.

The harpoon is nearly straight, when made either of bone or wood; the ends slope off to points in different directions; on one side is a notch cut in to secure it to a pole by means of a slight lashing; the opposite side has a jog for the end of the pole to rest against; in the middle of the harpoon is a hole for the harpoon line to be rove through: when the fish is struck the staff disengages itself and the harpoon becomes a toggle which perfectly secures the fish: they give the preference, however, to our iron harpoons, which are, in fact, with them, the most valuable form which iron can be put into, as they are much used in striking the sun and devil fish which frequent the coasts and bays of this island, and although this fish is very sluggish and requires little dexterity to take it, there are some who are trained to the business and pride themselves greatly on their skill. The sons and grandsons of chiefs are those who are most expert in the use of the harpoon. In the bow of each canoe is an elevated place for the harpooneer to stand, and when he strikes the fish, he springs with his whole might with the harpoon and drives it up to the socket: this appears to be an awkward and very improper method of using

the iron harpoon, but such was their method of using those made of bone and wood (which required an extraordinary force to drive them into the fish) and when they changed their instruments they continued their old practices. They go out frequently with the young harpooners to exercise them in striking, and they generally make choice of a time when the sea is rough to accustom them to balance themselves in the bow of the canoe, in which consists the chief of their art. The skin of the devil fish is used by them to make heads to their drums; it also, as well as that of the shark, is used for rasps in the working of wood into different forms, which is done by securing slips of it to pieces of wood something in the form of a razor strap.

They shave their heads or rather their barbers shave them with a shark's tooth, shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men and the hair under the arms of both men and women is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, but on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropt close, while some are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined; their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, and with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they sometimes have their head entirely shaved except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot; but this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. and in such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off and

shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone something like a comb with the teeth only on one side; the points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water; this is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood which serves the purpose of a hammer; the operation is extremely painful and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while the operation is performing in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; they begin at the age of eighteen or nineteen and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; they have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy, and some slight lines drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, were tattooed after a different fashion, and I was informed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Fleurien, in his account of the Marquesas, says that the men are in the habit of tying a ligature around the extremity of a certain part of the body, which proves that they are not subject to circumcision. The same is practised, as I before observed, at the Island of Ooahoogah, and it is also the practice here; but notwithstanding this they are all circumcised, not in the manner of Jews, but by having the foreskin slit; and the instrument used for this purpose is a shark's tooth. The operation is performed on children by the priests, and on those occasions they have feasts abundant in proportion to the wealth of the parents. Nor is Mr. Fleurien's opinion, as to the object of those ligatures, more correct; he sup-

poses it to be a refinement of voluptuousness, the only end of which is that of preserving to the part always covered the greater irritability when it ceases to be so. Those ligatures are put on from a refinement in modesty, not in depravity; the uncovered extremity of this member is the only part which they believe they should be ashamed to show, and when this is secured by the aforesaid ligature every other covering may be laid aside without violating decency; it is rarely worn except when they are in every other respect naked, and then even where most private and when occupied in fishing, and the greater part of the time in the water, this covering is carefully kept on, and nothing whatever can induce them at such times to dispense with it. Is this depravity? Is this want of modesty? or is it not rather holding up an example of decency to civilized man, who, with the most unblushing disregard to shame on such occasions, exposes to view a part which the merest savage assiduously conceals?

The shark's tooth is also used by the women to scarify themselves, to show the excess of their grief, particularly on the death of a husband; but like those of other parts of the world, on such occasions, their grief, (if excessive) is not lasting. I have seen a woman, whose wounds were still unhealed: deep wounds inflicted on her neck, breast, and arms for the loss of her husband, who had been devoured by a shark; she presented herself at our village and joined in the general traffic of favours.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log; they are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made: the beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared and slightly grooved the length of the square: the whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day; the cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once, and they are worn about a week before they are washed, after they are washed they are beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus

a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each piece of their clothing consists of square pieces.

In the manufacturing of whales' teeth into ear rings, pearl shells into fish hooks, and, indeed, in the working of all kinds of shells, bone, and ivory, a piece of iron hoop for a saw, and some sand and coral rock are their only implements; the iron hoop is used with sand, without being notched, in the manner that our stone cutters cut their slabs, and the coral serves to give them a polish; the same tools, with the addition of a *tokay*, which has already been described, are employed in the formation of their spears, war-clubs, coffins, cradles, and their various household utensils. Before the introduction of iron sharks' teeth were used for saws, and a kind of stone adze supplied the place of the iron *tokay*, and, indeed the attachment for stone tools is now so great that many prefer them to iron. I have frequently seen them throw aside a hatchet, and make use of a sharp stone to cut down small trees, sharpen stakes, &c.

I inquired of Gattanewa when iron was first introduced on the island; he informed me, that many years after Haii brought them hogs, some people of the same colour as themselves (but not tattooed) having long black hair, came in a vessel with two masts, and anchored in a bay called Anahoo, on the other side of the island, and brought with them some nails, which they exchanged for hogs and fruit. The nails were so highly esteemed and found so useful that the natives flocked from all parts to have holes bored through shells and other hard substances, and gave the proprietors of them a hog each for the use of a nail a few hours.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough, the size of it is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay a great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a

stage erected either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbood* house on the platform of stones in which the coffin is deposited: the former is practised with the corps of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of matt work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation by them, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance. This appendage to their dress, I am informed, is common to all the islands of the groups of Marquesas and Washington; indeed we saw several at Rooahoogah.

Mr. Fluerien in his narrative of the voyage of captain Marchand gives the following description of the fans seen by that navigator while at St. Christiana: "Among their ornaments, we may likewise reckon large fans, formed of the fibres of some plaited bark or coarse grass, which they frequently whiten with lime, and which they make use of to cool themselves; and parasols made of large palm leaves, which they adorn with feathers of different sizes and various colours." (Page 156, vol. i.)

This description is badly calculated to give a correct idea of their neatness, I may say elegance, which is not surpassed by any other work to be found among them. In his description of their stilts, he is very minute and accurate, and equally incorrect in his conjectures as to their use; he supposes them intended for the purpose of fording the streams, which he believes are occasioned by the frequent inundations to which he thinks the island is liable: I can assure Mr. Fleurién that they are used only for amuse-

ment. Can it be supposed, for a moment, that a nation of people who are amphibious, who are one half of their time in the water, who are in the habit of bathing at almost every stream, who are almost destitute of clothing and perfectly naked from the upper part of the thighs downwards, should fall on so ridiculous an expedient for crossing the insignificant rivulets of an island, whose circumference does not exceed twenty leagues, rivulets which the greater part of the year are nearly dry, and at all times barely afford sufficient water for a ship?

They are used, as I before observed, solely for amusement; they enter into their gymnastic exercises, they run with them, and endeavour to trip one another. They are curiously wrought, and as Mr. Fleurien wrote his description of those of the island of St. Christiana, with a pair of stilts before him, and as the description answers exactly to those of Nooaheevah (Madison's Island) I take the liberty of using the words of that elegant writer.

“The care they take to build their houses on stone platforms, which raise them to a certain elevation above the ground, has already indicated that their island must be exposed to inundations; and the use which they make of stilts, confirms this opinion. These stilts, to which the English voyagers appear not to have paid attention, are contrived in a manner which announces that the inundations are not regular, but vary in their height: and want, which is the parent of industry, has suggested to the inhabitants of St. Christiana a method as simple as it is ingenious, by which this help, that is necessary to them for keeping up a communication with each other in the rainy season, may be employed equally as well in the highest waters, as the lowest. For this purpose each stilt is composed of two pieces: the one, of hard wood and of a single piece, may be called the step; the other is a pole of light wood, more or less long according to the stature of the person who is to make use of it. The step is eleven or twelve inches in length, an inch and a half in thickness; and its breadth, which is four inches at the top, is reduced to half an inch at the bottom. The hind part is hollowed out like a gutter or scupper, in order to be applied against the pole, as a check or fish is, in sea terms, applied against a mast; and it

Stilts





“ is fastened to the pole at the height required by that of the waders, by sennit or lashings of cocoa-nut bass: the upper lashing “ passes through an oblong hole, pierced in the thickness of the “ step; and the lower one embraces, with several turns, the thin “ part, and confines it against the pole. The projecting part, “ which I should call the clog, and on which the foot is to rest “ cross wise bends upwards as it branches from the pole: this clog “ is an inch and a half in thickness; and its shape is nearly that of “ the prow of a ship, or of a rostrum, or, if the reader please, that “ of a truncated nautilus. The under part of this sort or shell is “ slightly striated throughout its whole surface, and the striæ “ commence from the two sides in order to join in the lower part “ on the middle, and there form a continued web; its upper surface “ is almost flat for receiving the foot, and it is in like manner ornamented with striæ of no great depth, which form regular series “ of salient angles and of re-entering angles. The clog is supported by the bust of a human figure, in the attitude of a Cariatides, wrought in a grotesque manner, which greatly resembles a support of the Egyptian kind; it has below it a second “ figure of the same kind, but smaller, the head of which is placed below the breasts of the larger one; the hands of the latter are “ placed flat on the stomach, and its body is terminated by a long “ sheath, in order to form the lower and pointed part of the step. “ The arms, as well as the other parts of the body of the two “ figures, are angularly striated, like the upper face of the clog. “ The natives of Santa Christiana make a very dextrous use of “ their stilts, and would, in a race, dispute the palm with our most “ experienced herdsmen in stalking with theirs over the heaths of “ Bordeaux. The pains taken by the former in ornamenting with “ sculpture, those which they had invented, may prove that they “ set on them a great value, for this work executed on a very hard “ wood, with the sort of tools which they employ, must cost them “ much trouble, and require a very considerable portion of time: “ besides they are seen amusing themselves in keeping up the “ habit of walking with stilts; this exercise enters into their games, “ and constitutes a part of their gymnastics.” (Page 178, vol. i. Marchand's voyage.)

CHAPTER XVII.

MADISON'S ISLAND—ANIMALS—INSECTS—FISH—FRUIT—DE-
PARTURE FROM THE ISLAND—ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO.

THE only quadrupeds we found on the island were hogs, rats, cats, and dogs. Cats I did not see, but I was informed they were to be found wild in the woods, where they had retired from the dwellings of the natives. Of dogs I only saw two, and they belonged to Mr. Maury and the people with him; but I was informed there were one or two more on the east side of the island; neither of these animals appeared to be held in any kind of estimation by the natives. The cats appeared familiar to them; and they were much afraid of the dogs, particularly the two large mastiffs belonging to us.

Agreeable to the tradition of Gattanewa, who is, perhaps, the greatest historian among them, cats were first brought to St. Christiana about forty years since by a god called *Hitahita*, and thence some of the breed were brought in canoes to this island. The people in the canoes, which brought the cats, said that *Hitahita* came in a canoe, as large as a small island; they had never seen a vessel of that description before, nor had they ever heard of one. This god they said killed a man, and from that circumstance I am induced to believe that he could have been no other than captain Cook,* who anchored at that island with the *Resolution* in 1773, in the bay which he named after his ship, (but which had before, in 1595, been called by Mendana *La Madre de Dios*) the day after he anchored, one of the natives endeavoured to carry off one of the gang-way stanchions, and was shot in the act. This circumstance is related in the account of captain Cook's voyage, and the time since his being there agreeing so exactly with the

* Cook was at this time bound to Otahita, and it is not improbable that the frequent use of the name of that island, among the crew of his ships, the sound of which approaches so near to *Hitahita*, may be the cause of his having this name.

traditions of the natives, there cannot be a doubt of his having left the cats, although in his journal no mention is made of his having done so.

It seems very extraordinary that the natives of that island possess no traditionary accounts of Mendana's having been there, for there cannot be a doubt as to the bay where he anchored; captain Cook, although he has filched from it the name given by the Spaniards, identifies the place with that visited by Mendana; and even if he had not acknowledged it to be the same, the similarity of their descriptions would put it beyond all doubt. He first says, "on the 6th of April we discovered an island, when we were "in lat. 9° . $20'$. and long. 138° . $14'$. we were about nine leagues "distance from it. We soon discovered another, more extensive "than the former, and presently afterwards a third and a fourth, "these were the Marquesas, discovered in 1595 by Mendana. "After various unsuccessful trials to come to an anchor, we came "at last before Mendana's port, and anchored in thirty-four fathoms water, at the entrance of the bay." After which he gives the following description of the bay where he anchored. "The "port of Madre de Dios, which was named Resolution Bay, is "situated not far from the middle of the west side of St. Christiana, under the highest land in the island. The south point of "the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill. The "north point is not so high, and rises in a more gentle slope. In "the bay are two sandy coves; in each of which is a rivulet of excellent water. For wooding and watering, the northern cove "is most convenient. We saw here the little cascade mentioned "by Quiras, Mendana's pilot; but the village is in the other cove."

I conceive it unnecessary to insert the Spanish description of the bay, it is sufficient to show that captain Cook felt satisfied that this was the bay of *La Madre de Dios*, so named by Mendana, to convince every one that it was the same; it only seems strange that the natives should have no accounts of his having been there, although the period was also marked by the Spaniards with the blood of their countrymen; two centuries, however, are to these islanders almost an eternity, and during the time that has elapsed some circumstance unknown to us may have obliterated their traditions.

The animals of the reptile kind are lizards and centipeds—of the first, from some superstitious notions, the natives are very much afraid, as they are also of their eggs; they are the common small lizard, and perfectly harmless. Of the centipeds, which are considered by us as poisonous, they appear to be nowise afraid, and small children will amuse themselves with them on chips and sticks, but I never saw any of them handle them.

Cockroaches and flies were very numerous, and the latter very troublesome, as well also as a small kind of knat, the bite of which often becomes much inflamed and very sore and painful; they insinuate themselves under the wristbands, inside the collar, behind the ears, under the trowsers, &c. and the pain of their sting can be compared only to splinters on fire thrust into the flesh: but what seems very extraordinary, after being a few weeks on the island they are no longer troublesome. With the cockroaches we were soon infested on board the ship; they were taken on board in the sails, the wood, and in the seamen's clothing; for every night when they came on shore on liberty, their blankets, and frequently their mattresses were brought with them, which were generally well stocked by those animals on their return on board.

We found here the common dunghill fowl, in small numbers; they appear to be esteemed only for the plumage of the cocks; three or four were brought to me as presents by the chiefs of the tribes, but the tail feathers of all had been previously plucked out; hens we saw none either in our valley or that of the Hap-pahs; and although several cocks were seen in the valley of the Typees, no hens were among them. This scarcity of hens seems somewhat unaccountable, and had I not seen some cocks very young, I should be induced to believe, they were brought for traffic from some of the other islands; but it can hardly be supposed that any of those islanders are such adepts in trade as to prevent (with views to their own gain) the bred from getting to Nooaheevah: it seems probable that where there are cocks there are also hens. The hens are, perhaps, disregarded and permitted to run wild, or are killed and eaten, while the cocks only are preserved for the beauty of the plumage.

The island affords a variety of birds, four of which only I had an opportunity of examining. A dove, which is very abun-

dant, with beautiful green plumage like a parrot. A blue kind of paroquet. A bird resembling a lark, and a beautiful white bird with black legs and bill, and web footed, which is seen frequently hovering over and lighting on the trees: this must certainly be an aquatic bird from its being web-footed, yet I never saw it frequent the water, although it generally kept about the trees low down in the valley; nothing can exceed the whiteness and delicacy of the feathers of this bird; its body is not larger than that of a snipe; its wings are long and apparently intended for a great flight; its head is large and rather disproportioned to its size, and its eyes are prominent and black.

Fish were not caught in abundance either by the natives or ourselves; our constant occupations did not admit of our devoting much time to that object, and their mode of fishing might not have succeeded so well as ours. We saw in the bay vast numbers of albacores, or, as they are sometimes called, (and are so called by the natives) cavallas which were in constant pursuit of shoals of small fish not dissimilar in their appearance to the anchovy. Of this small kind of fish, the boys of the ship caught great numbers with a kind of scoop net along side of the frigate. A small red fish, rather longer and thicker than the finger, was frequently brought to me by the natives and was remarkable for its delicacy. Several other kind of fish, some resembling a perch in form and size, and some shaped like the pargée, but with variegated colours, were also brought; but I never at any time saw a large fish which had been taken by them except a devil fish. This last mentioned fish, with sharks and porpoises, frequent the bay: the manner of catching the latter is truly surprising. When a shoal comes in, they get outside of them with their canoes and forming a semi-circle, by splashing with their paddles, hallooing, and jumping over board, so alarm the fish, that they push for shoal water and thence to the beach, where the natives pursue and take them. In this manner whole shoals are caught.

This island, besides the fruit and vegetables already mentioned, produces a fruit somewhat resembling a large bean; while in the pod and when roasted its taste is like that of a chesnut; it grows on a tree of moderate height, but is not abundant.

An apple, in shape and nearly in colour resembling a red pepper—it is aqueous and cooling, but rather insipid, the natives are very fond of it, it contains a hard round stone in the centre, and I could never learn whether it grew on a tree or a vine.

The fruit, formerly mentioned as resembling a walnut, and producing much oil—it appears they were ate by the Spaniards, and by Captain Marchand's crew at St Christiana, and were found to be of an excellent flavour; but although they were much relished, they were found to be a pernicious fruit, occasioning all those who had eaten of them violent retchings or violent cholics, followed by strong purging. It is stated that the natives ate of them without experiencing any of these effects. At Nooaheevah they are never used but for the purpose of ripening bananas, agreeable to the method formerly mentioned (they possessing a heating quality) or are baked and used as candles; they give a brilliant light, but require a person to attend them constantly, as one will not burn more than two minutes.

Pine apples of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cultivation, and the castor-oil bean are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner in the greatest abundance: these two plants were introduced, as Wilson informed me, by an English missionary who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if however, he had, while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship, that he made the island of Nooaheevah and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his god, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him would also send his Son to instruct us.

We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented and we feel satisfied, there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy: you who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants. The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men, are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully persuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary; they are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island: but the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands; but they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, which speak the same language,

with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England.

The natives of Nooaheevah are more beautiful in their proportions than either. I have had those of the three other places on board my ship, and in point of beauty and intelligence of countenance they bear no comparison. The Sandwich Islander, the Otaheitan, and the New Zealander, had long resided among white men; they had fallen into their vices and indulged in the same food; they were no longer in a state of nature; they had, like us, become corrupt, and while the honest guileless face of the Nooaheevan shone with benevolence, good nature, and intelligence, the downcast eye and sullen looks of the others marked their inferiority and degeneracy: guilt, of which, from their intercourse with us, they had become sensible, had already marked their countenances, every emanation of their souls could not be perceived by their features, as by those of the honest naked Nooaheevan. Every thing attracts their attention and their interests; the emanations of their souls are as quick as lightning, but nothing makes on them a lasting impression; they are naturally kind and readily forgive injuries; and every good quality which may be supposed attached to a mind so disposed, they possess. While I am on this subject it may not be improper to take some notice of the traditions of those people, which may lead to some idea of the manner by which these islands became peopled: many conjectures on this subject have been started, some suppose they were inhabited from the west, but the general supposition is that the first inhabitants came from the east, for few are willing to admit that God created the human species (great and distinct as are the varieties) elsewhere than in Paradise. I am willing to believe that this island was not inhabited from the commencement of the world, because its general appearance indicates that many centuries have not elapsed since it was thrown out of the ocean by volcanoes: it is not less irregular in its surface, than the islands composing the group of

Gallapagos, but it is evidently older, more covered with verdure, which has consequently; produced streams of water and rendered it more suitable for the residence of man. The same may be said of all the islands composing the groups of Marquesas and Washington. In touching on this subject, I expect to show, that a considerable degree of confidence should be placed not only in their historical relations, but in their accounts of islands which have yet remained undiscovered by navigators.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one (Po, or night) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. The Friendly Islands are about thirty-five degrees to the westward of the Washington group, and this circumstance may, by some, be considered as an insurmountable obstacle to the navigation from the former to the latter group, on the supposition that the winds in this part of the world always blow from the eastward: if this was the case, and there were no intermediate islands, the difficulty of getting so far to windward in canoes, however perfect they may have been, would be great, and perhaps it would have been altogether impossible to have surmounted them. This, however, is not the case; the winds, sometimes for several days together, blow from the north west, as well as from the south west, and remove all difficulties as to the navigation from the leeward to the windward islands; and this I myself experienced on leaving the islands, for in three days from the time of my departure I made nine degrees of longitude easterly, the winds blowing chiefly from N.N.E. to N.W. therefore a continuation of winds equally favourable would have enabled me in twelve days to have navigated from the Friendly to the Washington Islands: but it is not likely that the N.W. or S.W. winds prevail for so long a period at any one time, nor was it necessary Oataia should have made so short a passage; he had many places where he could stop and recruit

among the Society Islands and the Archipelago situated to windward, as well as many other islands scattered along his track. They speak the same language and, in fact, are of the same nation. On his arrival at one island they could inform him of the existence of another, further to windward: and his adventurous spirit led him on from island to island, until he reached Nooaheevah. Months, nay years, must have appeared to him short while engaged in this pursuit, proud first of the honour of having proceeded farther than any of his countrymen, and secondly (after having discovered this delightful spot) of the glory of founding a new colony: no doubt he visited those of the whole group in succession, but gave the preference to this on account of its size and beauty. His eldest son was named Po or night: oposite this valley where he established himself is the island called by the natives, *Ooaphoo* or, *there is night*; may not this lead us to conjecture that he here fixed his first born. But still it may be objected that in such frail machines as the double canoes of the South Sea Islands it would be impossible to perform so long a navigation as from the Society Islands to Nooaheevah; but from the accounts given us by captain Cook, it appears that the natives of that clustre are remarkable for their skill in navigation; that they are guided in the day by the sun, and in the night by the stars; and when these are not observed they have recourse to the points from whence the winds come upon their vessel; but if at such times the winds and waves should shift, they are quite bewildered and often miss their intended port, and sometimes are heard of no more: but it is not probable they are always lost where there are so many islands to afford them shelter; and indeed it may be supposed that they are capable of keeping a kind of dead reckoning for a few hours, which the first sight of the sun or stars would enable them to correct. Captain Cook made several experiments as to the sailing of their canoes, and found with the breezes which generally blow in that sea, that they would sail close hauled, on an average seven or eight miles an hour, which must be acknowledged is very good sailing; and if this was the case, of which we have no reason to doubt, all difficulties, as to the passage of Oataia from Vavao to Nooaheevah, seem removed; for the canoes of Nooaheevah, although not so perfect as those of some other islands, are capable of keeping the sea for a great length of time.

The cocoa-nut tree, as I before remarked, was said to have been brought from Ootoopoo, an island which is supposed by the natives to be situated somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena.

None of our navigators have yet discovered an island of that name, so situated; but in examining the chart of *Tupia*, that native of the island of *Ulitea* who left there with captain Cook on his first voyage, we find nearly in the place assigned by the natives of *Nooaheevah* to *Ootoopoo* an island called *Ootoo. Po*, which signifies night, black, or dark, may be an addition of our islanders or an omission of *Tupia's*; this chart, although not drawn with the accuracy which could be expected from our hydrographers, was, nevertheless, constructed by sir Joseph Banks under the direction of *Tupia*, and was of great assistance to Cook and other navigators in discovering the islands he has named. He had himself visited upwards of eighty, of which he gave the names, and among others he has named the islands composing the Marquesas group as they are called by the natives, and as this was done on the first voyage of Cook, and as they were not known to Europeans before that period, but by the name of saints which the Spaniards imposed on them, it could not have been from them he derived his knowledge of them, but from some of the navigators of this great nation; for *Tupia*, although the greatest voyager of his nation, does not pretend that he ever was so far to windward. The intercourse between the most distant of those islands does not seem difficult or even rare to the natives, although to us it may seem so extraordinary; but we are apt to forget that those islands are situated in an ocean seldom troubled by tempests, and from its remarkable serenity is denominated the Pacific. Of the existence of *Ootoo* or *Ootoopoo* there cannot be a doubt: *Tupia* received such information from the accounts of other navigators as enabled him to give it a position on his chart near fifty years ago, and the position now ascribed to it by *Gallanewa*, differs little from that of *Tupia*.

Of *Nookuâhe* and *Kappenoa*, which lay four days sail to leeward of Madison's Island, I know not how they obtained their information, but the island of *Pooheka* they say they have seen of a clear day from the heights of Robert's Island, and the smoke

from the fires they say are frequently visible. Four days sailing, agreeable to the rate estimated by captain Cook, would place *Nookuáhe* and *Kapphenooa* about twelve degrees to the west of Madison's Island: nearly in this spot Tupia has placed an island which he calls *O-Heevapatto*. Captain Marchand and captain Ingraham of Boston (before him) both discovered strong appearances of land to leeward of them, in the W.S.W. quarter, in their route from the southern to the northern part of Washington Group, and nearly in the place ascribed by the natives to *Pooheka*: that land exists in that quarter there cannot be a doubt; for two successive days the clouds were arrested in one point of the horizon, and several of the seamen declared they plainly distinguished land. No known navigator has yet traversed that part of the ocean, and except from the information of Tupia and the natives of Nooaheevah, we are ignorant of that part of the world; perhaps a group of equal importance to that of which we now treat, may there exist, and I regret that the object of my cruise would not admit of my deviating so far, as to clear up a point so interesting to geography.

On the 9th December I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea and were calculated for keeping three or four months.

I now found it necessary to stop the liberty I had heretofore given to my people, and directed that every person should remain on board and work late and early to hasten the departure of the ship, but three of my crew determined on having a parting kiss, and to obtain it, swam on shore at night; they were caught on the beach and brought to me. I immediately caused them to be confined in irons, and determined to check any farther disobedience of my orders by the most exemplary punishment. I next morning caused them to be punished severely at the gangway, and set them to work in chains with my prisoners; this severity excited some discontents and murmurings among the crew, but it effectually prevented a recurrence.

Nooaheevah had many charms for a sailor, and had part of my crew felt disposed to remain there, I knew they would not absent themselves until the moment before my departure. This severity had the desired effect; whatever might have been their disposition, none thought proper to absent themselves except a lazy negro, whom I took on board through charity at Tumbes, and who from his insignificance, was not missed until after we had sailed. This affair had, however, like to have ended seriously; my crew did not see the same motives for restraint as myself, they had long been indulged, and they thought it now hard to be deprived of their usual liberty: one kiss now was worth a thousand at any other time; they were restless, discontented, and unhappy. The girls lined the beach from morning until night, and every moment importuned me to take the taboos off the men, and laughingly expressed their grief by dipping their fingers into the sea and touching their eyes, so as to let the salt water trickle down their cheeks. Others would seize a chip, and holding it in the manner of a sharks' tooth, declared they would cut themselves to pieces in despair; some threatened to beat their brains out with a spear of grass, some to drown themselves, and all were determined to inflict on themselves some dreadful punishment if I did not permit their sweethearts to come on shore. The men did not bear it with so much good humour: their situation, they said, was worse than slavery, and one Robert White declared on board the Essex Junior, that the crew of the Essex had come to a resolution not to weigh her anchor, or if they should be compelled to get the ship under way, in three days' time after leaving the port, to hoist their own flag. When this was reported to me it became necessary for me to notice it, and with such a variety of characters as a ship of war's crew is generally composed, in such cases none but energetic measures will answer. I was willing to let them ease their minds by a little grumbling, it was no more than what I expected, but a threat of this kind was carrying matters rather too far. I called all hands to muster on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, and after stating to them the necessity of getting the ship in readiness for sea with all possible despatch, and informing them that was the sole cause of their confinement, which was by no means intended as a punishment to them, as their conduct

had not merited any, but to the contrary, had met my entire approbation. I then represented the serious consequences which would be likely to result should all hands so far forget their duty to the service and their respect to my orders, as to follow the example of those who were now under punishment for going on shore without leave, and all seemed impressed with a sense of the necessity of strict subordination. I now informed them of the report which had been circulated, and assured them that although I gave no credit to it, should such an event take place, I should without hesitation put a match to the magazine and blow them all to eternity; but I added, "perhaps there may be some grounds for the report, let me see who are and who are not disposed to obey my orders; you who are inclined to get the ship under way come on the starboard side, and you who are otherwise disposed, remain where you are;" all hastened to the starboard side. I now called out White, he advanced trembling; I informed them this was the man who had circulated a report so injurious to the character of the crew; indignation was marked on every countenance. An Indian canoe was paddling by the ship; I directed the villain to get into her, and never let me see his face again. All now returned cheerfully to their duty, the prizes Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of lieutenant Gamble of the marines, who, with midshipman Foltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast; and to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period. My orders to him, which were very full, I was under the necessity of destroying at the time of my capture, as well as several parts of my Journal of this period, as it would have been highly improper to have let it fall into the enemy's

hands. Should lieutenant Gamble arrive safe, I shall hope to have it in my power to add them to another edition, and supply the places of the charts and drawings, of which I have been ungenerously deprived by the enemy.

I also gave Mr. King orders to proceed to the United States with the *New Zealander*, and prepared to sail with the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, with a full supply of provisions, leaving an abundance for nine months on board the prizes.

Massachusetts's Bay is one of the finest in the world: it affords safe anchorage, good shelter and landing; convenient watering places, abundance of refreshments, and a welcome and hospitable reception from the natives. It is easy of egress, and not more difficult of access than would be desirable, on account of its defence: light and baffling winds generally make it necessary that large ships should warp into the harbour. It is every where free from danger; may be easily defended; and you may choose your depth of water, from four to thirty fathoms, clean, sandy bottom.

On leaving this place I had no sick on board my ship; my crew had never appeared at any time in better health. I had as yet met with only one case of the scurvy among my men, and this was so extraordinary that I cannot help noticing it. It did not appear until a few days before my departure from the island, and although the man had been employed and slept on shore during the whole of my stay, had the most abundant supply of vegetables and fruit, and had not, during the time, ate one meal of salt provisions, still he was so much afflicted with the disease, that I found it necessary to leave him there with scarcely a hope that he will recover.

This man was about forty years of age, of slender make, and apparently of a lethargic melancholy disposition: he partook of none of the amusements of the rest of the crew, and probably this disposition might have first laid the foundation of a disease which lay lurking in the system, and for the want of a proper stimulus to the mind, at length shot forth with so much vigour.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place, which caused me much sorrow. The *Otaheitan* I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as his gentle disposition, his activity,

and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person on board. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of the troops of ours; he was to all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again: we were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea; Tamaha jumped overboard undiscovered, and was seen no more.

Whether he took with him an oar or small spar to buoy himself up; whether he hoped to reach the shore; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence I cannot pretend to say; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.

Prior to leaving the bay, I delivered to Mr. Downes the following orders; and as it was not absolutely necessary that the ships should remain together, I made the best of my way, regardless of the Essex Junior: but the two ships sailed so near alike, that we rarely lost sight of her for more than a few hours for several days together.

*U. S. frigate Essex. Massachusetts Bay, Madison's Island, 9th
December, 1813.*

SIR,

In case of separation you will proceed with the ship under your command for the island of Mocha, off which place you will cruize until I join you, which will be as soon as possible. If you should take any prizes, it will be well to anchor them there, or at the island of St. Maries, until we meet.

You must endeavour to prevent (by every means in your power) the enemy from gaining intelligence of your being on the coast, as it is my present intention to cruize between Mocha and Valparaíso as long as our provisions will last. Should so long a time elapse without your seeing me, as to justify the belief of my being lost or taken, you will proceed to Valparaíso to renew your

stock of provisions, and if after a reasonable time you gain no intelligence of me, you will please to act agreeable to your own discretion.

While you cruize off Mocha, keep the island bearing about east, distant ten or twelve leagues, and it will be adviseable to look occasionally into the harbour.

With sentiments of respect,

Your obedient servant,

Signed,

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes, commanding
the U. S. armed prize-ship Essex Junior,
Massachusetts's Bay.*

On leaving Madison's Island, I was enabled to pass between Hood's Island and Dominica, and from the prevalence of N. W. winds, I on the 18th found myself in the longitude of 131° west.

I shall not fatigue the reader with an account of the uninteresting passage of a month to the coast of Chili;—the first land we made was the island of Mocha, ran down and anchored at St. Maries, where we filled our water-casks, looked into Conception, where we found only one English vessel, and thence proceeded to cruise off Valparaiso.

The public have been made acquainted with the manner of my capture, by means of my official letters, which, for the perusal of those who have not seen them, are here annexed. In this edition I shall say nothing as to the cause of the change of disposition in the government of Chili towards us, I shall leave that for some future period, when my duties may be less pressing; my only object now is to gratify the curiosity of the public, and whatever imperfections they may discover in them, still I beg them to recollect that it was written by one who has no pretensions whatever to literary talents, he has only attempted to state facts in the plain language of a sailor; and it was not until he had been repeatedly solicited by his friends that he would consent that his Journal should appear before the world.

If the imperfections of this Journal, which no doubt are numerous, should be viewed liberally, the author will have no cause to regret his complying with the public wishes, and should it in

its present state meet a favourable reception, he may be induced, with the assistance of others, to endeavour to dress it in a garb more proper to meet the public eye. Many of the materials are yet unemployed; and dressed with the same taste, the voyage of the Essex should not, I think, yield the palm to those of Anson or Cook.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PORTER, TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Essex Junior, July 3d, 1814, at sea.

SIR,

I have done myself the honour to address you, repeatedly, since I left the Delaware; but have scarcely a hope that one of my letters has reached you; therefore, consider it necessary to give you a brief history of my proceedings since that period.

I sailed from the Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812, and repaired, with all diligence, (agreeably to the instructions of commodore Bainbridge,) to Port Praya, Fernando de Noronho, and Cape Frio; and arrived at each place on the day appointed to meet him. On my passage from Port Praya to Fernando de Noronho, I captured his Britannic majesty's packet Nocton—and after taking out about eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, sent her under command of lieutenant Finch for America. I cruized off Rio de Janeiro, and about Cape Frio, until the 12th January, 1813, hearing frequently of the commodore by vessels from Bahia. I here captured but one schooner with hides and tallow; I sent her into Rio. The Montague, the admiral's ship, being in pursuit of me, my provisions now getting short, and finding it necessary to look out for a supply to enable me to meet the commodore by the first of April, off St. Helena, I proceeded to the island of St. Catherines, (the last place of rendezvous on the coast of Brazil,) as the most likely to supply my wants, and, at the same time, afford me that intelligence necessary to enable me to elude the British ships of war on the coast, and expected there. I here could procure only wood, water, and rum, and a few bags of flour; and hearing of the commodore's action with the Java, the capture of the Hernet by the Montague, and of a considerable augmenta-

tion of the British force on the coast, and of several being in pursuit of me, I found it necessary to get to sea as soon as possible. I now, agreeably to the commodore's plan, stretched to the southward, scouring the coast as far as Rio de la Plata. I heard that Buenos Ayres was in a state of starvation, and could not supply our wants; and that the government of Montevideo was very inimical to us. The commodore's instructions now left it completely discretionary with me what course to pursue, and I determined on following that which had not only met his approbation, but the approbation of the then secretary of the navy. I accordingly shaped my course for the Pacific; and after suffering greatly from short allowance of provisions, and heavy gales off Cape Horn, (for which my ship and men were ill provided) I arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813. I here took in as much jerked beef, and other provisions, as my ship would conveniently stow, and ran down the coast of Chili and Peru; in this track I fell in with a Peruvian corsair, which had on board twenty-four Americans as prisoners, the crews of two whale ships, which she had taken on the coast of Chili. The captain informed me that, as the allies of Great Britain, they would capture all they should meet with, in expectation of a war between Spain and the United States. I consequently threw all his guns and ammunition into the sea, liberated the Americans, wrote a respectful letter to the viceroy, explaining the cause of my proceedings, which I delivered to her captain. I then proceeded for Lima, and recaptured one of the vessels as she was entering the port. From thence I proceeded for the Gallapagos islands, where I cruised from the 17th April, until the 3d October, 1813; during which time I touched only once on the coast of America, which was for the purpose of procuring a supply of fresh water, as none is to be found among those islands, which are perhaps the most barren and desolate of any known.

While among this group, I captured the following British ships, employed chiefly in the spermaceti whale fishery, viz:

LETTERS OF MARQUE.

| | | | | tons. | men. | guns. | pierced for |
|----------------|---|---|---|-------|------|-------|----------------|
| Montezuma, | - | - | - | 270 | 21 | 2 | - |
| Policy, | - | - | - | 175 | 26 | 10 | 18 |
| Georgiana, | - | - | - | 280 | 25 | 6 | 18 |
| Greenwich, | - | - | - | 338 | 25 | 10 | 20 |
| Atlantic, | - | - | - | 355 | 24 | 8 | 20 |
| Rose, | - | - | - | 220 | 21 | 8 | 20 |
| Hector, | - | - | - | 270 | 25 | 11 | 20 |
| Catharine, | - | - | - | 270 | 29 | 8 | 18 |
| Seringapatam, | - | - | - | 357 | 31 | 14 | 26 |
| Charlton, | - | - | - | 274 | 21 | 10 | 18 |
| New Zealander, | - | - | - | 259 | 23 | 8 | 18 |
| Sir A. Hammond | - | - | - | 301 | 31 | 12 | 18 |
| | | | | 3465 | 302 | 107 | |

As some of those ships were captured by boats, and others by prizes, my officers and men had several opportunities of showing their gallantry.

The *Rose* and *Charlton* were given up to the prisoners: the *Hector*, *Catharine*, and *Montezuma*, I sent to *Valparaiso*, where they were laid up: the *Policy*, *Georgiana*, and *New Zealander*, I sent for *America*; the *Greenwich* I kept as a store ship, to contain the stores of my other prizes, necessary for us; and the *Atlantic*, now called the *Essex Junior*, I equipped with twenty guns, and gave command of her to lieutenant *Downes*.

Lieutenant *Downes* had convoyed the prizes to *Valparaiso*, and, on his return, brought me letters, informing me that a squadron under the command of commodore *James Hillyar*, consisting of the frigate *Phœbe* of thirty-six guns, the *Raccoon* and *Cherub* sloops of war, and a store ship of twenty guns, had sailed on the 6th July for this sea.—The *Raccoon* and *Cherub* had been seeking me for some time on the coast of *Brazil*, and on their return from their cruize, joined the squadron sent in search of me to the *Pacific*. My ship, as it may be supposed, after being near a year at sea, required some repairs to put her in a state to meet them, which I determined to do, and bring them to action, if I could

meet them on nearly equal terms. I proceeded, now, in company with the remainder of my prizes, to the island of Nooaheevah, or *Madison's* island, lying in the *Washington* group, discovered by a captain Ingraham of Boston: here I caulked and completely overhauled my ship, made for her a new set of water casks, her old ones being entirely decayed, and took on board from my prizes, provisions and stores for upwards of four months, and sailed for the coast of Chili on the 12th December, 1813. Previous to sailing, I secured the Seringapatam, Greenwich, and Sir Andrew Hammond, under the guns of a battery, which I had erected for their protection; (after taking possession of this fine island for the United States, and establishing the most friendly intercourse with the natives,) I left them under charge of lieutenant Gamble of the marines, with twenty-one men, with orders to repair to Valparaiso after a certain period.

I arrived on the coast of Chili on the 12th January 1814; looked into Concepcion and Valparaiso, found at both places only three English vessels, and learned that the squadron which sailed from Rio de Janeiro for that sea had not been heard of since their departure, and were supposed to be lost in endeavouring to double Cape Horn.

I had completely broken up the British navigation in the Pacific; the vessels which had not been captured by me, were laid up and dare not venture out. I had afforded the most ample protection to our own vessels, which were, on my arrival, very numerous and unprotected.—The valuable whale fishery there, is entirely destroyed, and the actual injury we have done them may be estimated at two and a half millions of dollars, independent of the expenses of the vessels in search of me. They have furnished me amply with sails, cordage, cables, anchors, provisions, medicines, and stores of every description—and the slops on board them have furnished clothing for the seamen. We had, in fact, lived on the enemy since I had been in that sea; every prize having proved a well found store ship for me. I had not yet been under the necessity of drawing bills on the department for any object, and had been enabled to make considerable advances to my officers and crew on account of pay.

For the unexampled time we had kept the sea, my crew had continued remarkably healthy; I had but one case of the scurvy, and had lost only the following men by death, viz:

John S. Cowan, lieutenant,
Robert Miller, surgeon,
Levi Holmes, o. seaman,
Edward Sweeny, do.
Samuel Groce, seaman,
James Spafford, gunner's mate,
Benjamin Geers, }
John Rodgers, } qr. gunners,
Andrew Mahan, corporal of marines,
Lewis Price, private marine.

I had done all the injury that could be done to the British commerce in the Pacific, and still hoped to signalize my cruise by something more splendid before leaving that sea. I thought it not improbable that commodore Hillyar might have kept his arrival secret, and believing that he would seek me at Valparaiso, as the most likely place to find me, I therefore determined to cruise about that place, and should I fail of meeting him, hoped to be compensated by the capture of some merchant ships, said to be expected from England.

The *Phœbe*, agreeably to my expectations, came to seek me at Valparaiso, where I was anchored with the *Essex*, my armed prize the *Essex Junior*, under the command of lieutenant Downes, on the look out off the harbour; but, contrary to the course I thought he would pursue, commodore Hillyar brought with him the *Cherub* sloop of war, mounting twenty-eight guns, eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, eight twenty-four's, and two long nine's on the quarter deck and forecastle, and a complement of a hundred and eighty men. The force of the *Phœbe* is as follows: thirty long eighteen pounders, sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, one howitzer, and six three pounders in the tops, in all fifty-three guns, and a complement of three hundred and twenty men; making a force of eighty-one guns and five hundred men—in addition to which, they took on board the crew of an English letter of marque lying in port. Both ships had picked crews, and were sent into the Pacific in company with the *Racoon* of

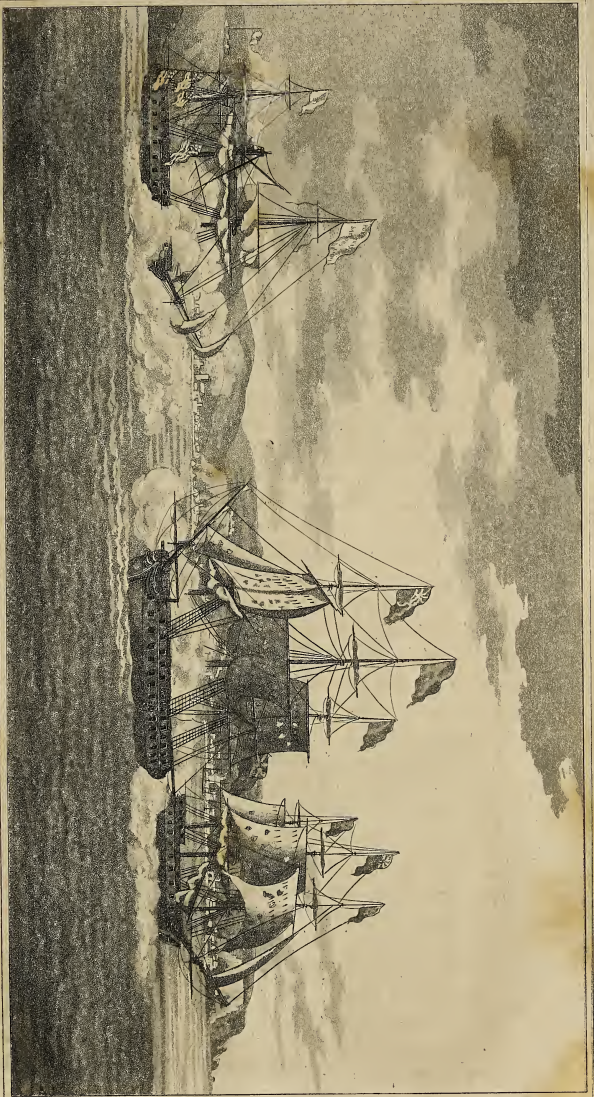
twenty-two guns, and a store ship of twenty guns, for the express purpose of seeking the Essex, and were prepared with flags bearing the motto, "God and country; British sailors' best rights; traitors offend both." This was intended as a reply to my motto, "*Free trade and sailors' rights*," under the erroneous impression that my crew were chiefly Englishmen, or to counteract its effect on their own crews.—The force of the Essex was forty-six guns, forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves, and her crew, which had been much reduced by prizes, amounted only to two hundred and fifty-five men. The Essex Junior, which was intended chiefly as a store ship, mounted twenty guns, ten eighteen pound carronades, and ten short six's, with only sixty men on board. In reply to their motto, I wrote at my mizen—" *God, our Country, and Liberty; tyrants offend them.*"

On getting their provisions on board, they went off the port for the purpose of blockading me, where they cruised for near six weeks; during which time I endeavoured to provoke a challenge, and frequently, but ineffectually, to bring the Phœbe alone to action, first with both my ships, and afterwards with my single ship, with both crews on board. I was several times under way, and ascertained that I had greatly the advantage in point of sailing, and once succeeded in closing within gun shot of the Phœbe, and commenced a fire on her, when she ran down for the Cherub, which was two and a half miles to leeward; this excited some surprise and expressions of indignation, as previous to my getting under way, she hove too off the port, hoisted her motto flag and fired a gun to windward. Commodore Hillyar seemed determined to avoid a contest with me on nearly equal terms, and from his extreme prudence in keeping both his ships ever after constantly within hail of each other, there were no hopes of any advantages to my country from a longer stay in port. I therefore determined to put to sea the first opportunity which should offer; and I was the more strongly induced to do so, as I had gained certain intelligence that the Tagus, rated thirty-eight, and two other frigates, had sailed for that sea in pursuit of me; and I had reason to expect the arrival of the Racoon from the N. W. coast of America, where she had been sent for the purpose of destroying our fur establishment on the Columbia. A rendezvous was ap-

pointed for the Essex Junior, and every arrangement made for sailing, and I intended to let them chase me off, to give the Essex Junior an opportunity of escaping. On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, when I parted my larboard cable and dragged my starboard anchor directly out to sea. Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my top-gallant sails, which were set over single reefed top-sails, and braced up for this purpose: but on rounding the point, a heavy squall struck the ship and carried away her main-top-mast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me, and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor within pistol shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible. The enemy continued to approach, and showing an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored—and the caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled Essex was truly ridiculous, as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit of, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three, P. M. made his attack, the Phœbe placing herself under my stern, and the Cherub on my starboard bow—but the Cherub soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half an hour we so disabled both as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall the acting sailing master, assisted by Mr. Linscott the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times—but the fire of the enemy

was so excessive, that before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several men had been killed and wounded—but my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were nowise discouraged—all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizen, had been shot away—but **FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS** continued to fly at the fore.—Our ensign was replaced by another—and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship. The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack; he now placed himself, with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him without getting under way and becoming the assailant. My top-sail sheets and haliards were all shot away, as well as the jib and fore-top-mast-stay-sail-haliards. The only rope not cut was the flying-jib-haliards; and that being the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous; I had let fall my fore-top-sail and fore-sail, but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us—yet we were enabled, for a short time, to close with the enemy; and although our decks were now strewn with dead, and our cockpit filled with wounded, although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstance of the *Cherub*, from her crippled state, being compelled to haul off. She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with her long guns.—The *Phœbe*, from our disabled state, was enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremendous fire on us, which mowed down my brave companions by the

dozen. Many of my guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them again from those which were disabled, and one gun in particular was three times manned—fifteen men were slain at it in the course of the action! But, strange as it may appear, the captain of it escaped with only a slight wound.—Finding that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing with him, and as the wind, for the moment, seemed to favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run her on shore, land my men and destroy her. Every thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approached the shore within musket shot, and I had no doubt of succeeding, when, in an instant, the wind shifted from the land (as is very common in this port in the latter part of the day) and payed our head down on the Phœbe, where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire. My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet, as her head was toward the enemy, and he to leeward of me, I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment lieutenant commandant Downes came on board to receive my orders, under the impression that I should soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me in the then wretched state of the Essex; and finding (from the enemy's putting his helm up) that my last attempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him, after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her in case of an attack. He took with him several of my wounded, leaving three of his boats crew on board to make room for them. The slaughter on board my ship had now become horrible, the enemy continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows to bring her head round: this succeeded. We again got our broadside to bear, and as the enemy was much crippled and unable to hold his own, I have no doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun shot before he discovered we had anchored, had not the hawser unfortunately parted. My ship had taken fire several times during the action, but alarmingly so forward and aft, at this moment, the flames were bursting up each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving her; our distance from the shore did not ex-



Drawn by Cape Porter

Engraved by W. Wickham

The Victory.

seed three-quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the magazine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder below served to increase the horrors of our situation—our boats were destroyed by the enemy's shot; I, therefore, directed those who could swim to jump overboard, and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it—some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our attention wholly to extinguishing the flames; and when we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the firing was kept up for some minutes, but the crew had by this time become so weakened, that they all declared to me the impossibility of making further resistance, and intreated me to surrender my ship to save the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition must prove ineffectual; almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews. I now sent for the officers of divisions to consult them; but what was my surprise to find only acting lieutenant Stephen Decatur M^cKnight remaining, (who confirmed the report respecting the condition of the guns on the gun-deck—those on the spar deck were not in a better state.) Lieutenant Wilmer, after fighting most gallantly throughout the action, had been knocked overboard by a splinter while getting the sheet anchor from the bows, and was drowned. Acting lieutenant John G. Cowell, had lost a leg; Mr. Edward Barnewall, acting sailing master, had been carried below, after receiving two wounds, one in the breast and one in the face; and acting lieutenant William H. Odenheimer, had been knocked overboard from the quarter an instant before, and did not regain the ship until after the surrender. I was informed that the cock-pit, the steerage, the ward-room and the birth-deck, could contain no more wounded; that the wounded were killed while the surgeons were dressing them, and that, unless something was speedily done to prevent it, the ship would soon sink from the number of shot holes in her bottom. And, on sending for the carpenter, he informed me that all his crew had been killed or wounded, and that he had been once over the side to stop the leaks, when his slings had been shot away, and it was with difficulty he was saved from drowning.

The enemy from the smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of our reaching him with our carronades, and the little apprehension that was excited by our fire, which had now become much slackened, was enabled to take aim at us as at a target; his shot never missed our hull, and my ship was cut up in a manner which was, perhaps, never before witnessed—in fine, I saw no hopes of saving her, and at twenty minutes after six P. M. gave the painful order to strike the colours. Seventy-five men, including officers were all that remained of my whole crew, after the action, capable of doing duty, and many of them severely wounded, some of whom have since died. *The enemy still continued his fire*, and my brave, though unfortunate companions, were still falling about me. I directed an opposite gun to be fired, to show them we intended no further resistance; *but they did not desist; four men were killed at my side, and others in different parts of the ship*. I now believed he intended to show us no quarters, and that it would be as well to die with my flag flying as struck, and was on the point of again hoisting it, when about *ten minutes after hauling the colours down he ceased firing!*

I cannot speak in sufficiently high terms of the conduct of those engaged for such an unparalleled length of time (under such circumstances) with me in the arduous and unequal contest—Let it suffice to say, that more bravery, skill, patriotism, and zeal, were never displayed on any occasion. Every one seemed determined to die in defence of their much loved country's cause, and nothing but views to humanity could ever have reconciled them to the surrender of the ship; they remembered their wounded and helpless shipmates below. To acting lieutenants M'Knight and Odenheimer I feel much indebted for their great exertions and bravery throughout the action, in fighting and encouraging the men at their divisions, for the dextrous management of the long guns, and for their promptness in re-manning their guns as their crews were slaughtered. The conduct of that brave and heroic officer, acting lieutenant John G. Cowel, who lost his leg in the latter part of the action, excited the admiration of every man in the ship, and after being wounded would not consent to be taken below, until loss of blood rendered him insensible. Mr. Edward Barnewall acting sailing master, whose activity and courage were equally

conspicuous, returned on deck after his first wound, and remained after receiving his second until fainting with loss of blood.—Mr. Samuel B. Johnson, who had joined me the day before, and acted as marine officer, conducted himself with great bravery, and exerted himself in assisting at the long guns; the musketry after the first half hour being useless, from our great distance.

Mr. M. W. Bostwick, whom I had appointed acting purser of the Essex Junior, and who was on board my ship, did the duties of aid, in a manner which reflects on him the highest honour, and midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden, as well as acting midshipmen James Terry, James R. Lyman, and Samuel Duzenbury, and master's mate William Pierce, exerted themselves in the performance of their respective duties, and gave an earnest of their value to the service; the three first are too young to recommend for promotion, the latter I beg leave to recommend for confirmation as well as the acting lieutenants, and Messrs. Barnewall, Johnson, and Bostwick.

We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced—the defence of the Essex has not been less honourable to her officers and crew, than the capture of an equal force; and I now consider my situation less unpleasant than that of commodore Hilyar, who, in violation of every principle of honour and generosity, and regardless of the rights of nations, attacked the Essex in her crippled state, within pistol shot of a neutral shore—when for six weeks I had daily offered him fair and honourable combat, on terms greatly to his advantage; the blood of the slain must be on his head, and he has yet to reconcile his conduct to heaven, to his conscience, and to the world.—The annexed extract of a letter from commodore Hillyar, which was written previously to his returning me my sword, will show his opinion of our conduct.

My loss has been dreadfully severe, fifty-eight killed or have since died of their wounds, and among them lieutenant Cowell; thirty-nine were severely wounded, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one are missing—making in all one hundred and fifty-four, killed, wounded, and missing, a list of whose names is annexed.

The professional knowledge of Dr. Richard Hoffman, acting surgeon, and Dr. Alexander Montgomery, acting surgeon's mate, added to their assiduity and the benevolent attentions and assist-

ance of Mr D. P. Adams the chaplain, saved the lives of many of the wounded—those gentlemen have been indefatigable in their attentions to them; the two first I beg leave to recommend for confirmation, and the latter to the notice of the department.

I must in justification of myself observe, that with our six twelve pounders only we fought this action, our carronades being almost useless.

The loss in killed and wounded has been great with the enemy; among the former is the first lieutenant of the *Phœbe*, and of the latter captain Tucker of the *Cherub*, whose wounds are severe. Both the *Essex* and *Phœbe* were in a sinking state, and it was with difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso next morning. The shattered state of the *Essex* will, I believe, prevent her ever reaching England, and I also think it will be out of their power to repair the damages of the *Phœbe*, so as to enable her to double Cape Horn. All the masts and yards of the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* are badly crippled, and their hulls much cut up; the former had eighteen twelve pound shot through her below her water line, some three feet under water. Nothing but the smoothness of the water saved both the *Phœbe* and *Essex*.

I hope, sir, that our conduct may prove satisfactory to our country, and that it will testify it by obtaining our speedy exchange, that we may again have it in our power to prove our zeal.

Commodore Hillyar (I am informed) has thought proper to state to his government that the action only lasted forty-five minutes; should he have done so, the motive may be easily discovered—but the thousands of disinterested witnesses who covered the surrounding hills can testify that we fought his ships near two hours and an half; upwards of fifty broadsides were fired by the enemy, agreeably to their own accounts, and upwards of seventy-five by ours: except the few minutes they were repairing damages, the firing was incessant.

Soon after my capture, I entered into an agreement with commodore Hillyar to disarm my prize the *Essex Junior*, and proceed with the survivors of my officers and crew to the United States, taking with me her officers and crew. He consented to

grant her a passport to secure her from recapture. The ship was small and we knew we had much to suffer, yet we hoped soon to reach our country in safety, that we might again have it in our power to serve it. This arrangement was attended with no additional expense, as she was abundantly supplied with provisions and stores for the voyage.

In justice to commodore Hillyar, I must observe, that (although I can never be reconciled to the manner of his attack on the Essex, or to his conduct before the action,) he has, since our capture, shown the greatest humanity to my wounded, (whom he permitted me to land on condition that the United States should bear their expenses,) and has endeavoured as much as lay in his power, to alleviate the distresses of war, by the most generous and delicate deportment towards myself, my officers, and crew; he gave orders that the property of every person should be respected—his orders, however, were not so strictly attended to as might have been expected; besides being deprived of books, charts, &c. &c. both myself and officers lost many articles of our clothing, some to a considerable amount. I should not have considered this last circumstance of sufficient importance to notice, did it not mark a striking difference between the navy of Great Britain, and that of the United States, highly creditable to the latter.

By the arrival of the Tagus a few days after my capture, I was informed that besides the ships which had arrived in the Pacific in pursuit of me, and those still expected, others were sent to cruize for me in the China seas, off New Zealand, Timor and New Holland, and that another frigate was sent to the river La Plata.

To possess the Essex it has cost the British government near six millions of dollars, and yet, sir, her capture was owing entirely to accident; and if we consider the expedition with which naval contests are now decided, the action is a dishonour to them. Had they brought their ships boldly into action with a force so very superior, and having the choice of position, they should either have captured or destroyed us in one-fourth of the time they were about it.

During the action, our consul general, Mr. Poinsett, called on the governor of Valparaiso, and requested that the batteries

might protect the Essex. This request was refused, but he promised that if she should succeed in fighting her way to the common anchorage, he would send an officer to the British commander, and request him to cease firing, but declined using force under any circumstances; and there is no doubt a perfect understanding existed between them: this conduct, added to the assistance given to the British, and their friendly reception after the action, and the strong bias of the faction which govern Chili in favour of the English, as well as their hostility to the Americans, induced Mr. Poinsett to leave that country. Under such circumstances, I did not conceive it would be proper for me to claim the restoration of my ship, confident that the claim would be made by my government to more effect. Finding some difficulty in the sale of my prizes, I had taken the Hector and Catharine to sea, and burnt them with their cargoes.

I exchanged lieutenant M^cKnight, Mr Adams, and Mr. Lyman, and eleven seamen, for part of the crew of the Sir Andrew Hammond, and sailed from Valparaiso on the 27th April, where the enemy were still patching up their ships to put them in a state for proceeding to Rio de Janeiro, previous to going to England.

Annexed is a list of the remains of my crew to be exchanged, as also a copy of the correspondence between commodore Hillyar and myself on that subject. I also send you a list of the prisoners I have taken during my cruize, amounting to three hundred and forty-three.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*The honourable secretary of the navy
of the U. S. Washington.*

P. S. To give you a correct idea of the state of the Essex at the time of her surrender, I send you the boatswain's and carpenter's report of damages; I also send you a report of the divisions.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COMMODORE HILLYAR TO ME.

Phæbe, April 4th, 1814:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Neither in our conversations nor in the accompanying letter, have I mentioned your sword. Ascribe my remissness in the

first instance to forgetfulness; I consider it only in my servant's possession with my own, until the master may please to call for it; and although I omitted, at the moment of presentation, from my mind being much engrossed in attending to professional duties, to offer its restoration, the hand that received will be most gladly extended to put it in possession of him who wore it so honourably in defending his country's cause.

"Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

(Signed.)

"JAMES HILLYAR.

"*Captain Porter.*"

A return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on board the late United States frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty-five men, David Porter, Esq. commander, in an action fought on the 28th of March, 1814, in the port of Valparaiso, with the British frigate *Phœbe*, of thirty-six guns and three hundred and twenty men, James Hillyar, Esq. commander, and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*, mounting twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men, commanded by T. Tucker, Esq.

Killed in action, and have since died of their wounds.

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| James P. Wilmer, first lieut. | George Hill, ward-room cook. |
| John G. Cowel, acting 3d lieut. | George Wyne, seaman, |
| Henry Kennedy, boatswain's mate. | Joseph Ferrell, ditto, |
| Wm. Smith, do. | Samuel Miller, ditto, |
| Francis Bland, qr. master. | Thomas Johnson, ditto, |
| Rheul Marshall, qr. gunner. | Philip Thomas, ditto, |
| Thomas Baily, boats yeo. | Thomas Nordyke, ditto, |
| John Adams, cooper. | William White, ditto, |
| Wm. Johnston, carp. crew. | Thomas Mitchell, ditto, |
| Henry Vickars, do. | William Lee, ditto, |
| Zach. Mayfield, arm crew. | Peter Allan, ditto, |
| William Christopher, captain fore-castle. | John Alvison, ditto, |
| Nathaniel Jones, captain mast. | John C. Kilian, ditto, |
| Joseph Thomas, captain main-top. | Benjamin Hazen, ditto, |
| John Russel, do. | Peter Johnston, ditto, |
| Francis Green, captain's servant. | Thomas Brannock, ditto, |
| | Thomas Brown, ditto, |
| | Cornelius Thompson, ditto, |
| | John Lings, ditto, |
| | George Douglass, ditto, |

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Frederick Hall, seaman, | John Ripley, ditto, |
| James Anderson, ditto, | James Folger, ditto, |
| George Hallet, ditto, | Daniel F. Casimere, ditto, |
| Thomas Terry, ditto, | William Jennings, ditto, |
| Charles E. Norgran, ditto, | Mark Hill, ditto, |
| John Powell, ditto, | William Lee, ditto, |
| Thomas Davis, ditto, | George Beden, ditto, |
| James Sellers, ditto, | Thomas Russell, ditto, |
| John Clinton, ditto, | Lewis T. Earle, ditto, |
| Robert Brown, ditto, | Henry Buff, ditto, |
| John Jackson, ditto, | William Williams, ditto.—58. |

Severely wounded.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Edward Barnewall, acting master, | William Wood, seaman, |
| Edward Linscott, boatswain, | Francis Trepanny, ditto, |
| Wm. Kingsbury, boatswain, | John Penn, ditto, |
| Essex Junior, | George Williams, ditto, |
| George Rensinger, master at arms, | James Postell, ditto, |
| Bennet Field, armourer, | William Cole, ditto, |
| Otis Gale, armourers crew, | Henry Barker, ditto, |
| Jasper Reed, do. | John Glasseau, ditto, |
| John M'Kinzey, ship carpenter, | James Goldsborough, ditto, |
| Isaac Vallence, capt. steward, | Jacob Lodaway, ditto, |
| Leonard Greed, quarter-gunner, | Peter Anderson, ditto, |
| Enoch M. Miley, ditto, | John Johnson, ditto, |
| Wm. Whitney, captain fore-top, | Peter Ripple, ditto, |
| Thomas Milburn, captain mast, | Thomas Oliver, ditto, |
| Ephraim Baker, captain waist, | George Shields, ditto, |
| Emero Males, seaman, | William Hamilton, ditto, |
| John Stone, ditto, | Thomas Andrews, ditto, |
| John Lazaro, ditto, | Daniel Gardner, ditto, |
| | William Nichols, ditto, |
| | Benjamin Bartley, ditto, |
| | William Deacon, ditto, |
| | Samuel M'Isaacs ditto.—39. |

Slightly wounded.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| D. G. Faragut, midshipman, | John Langley, carpenter, |
| George W. Isaacs, ditto, | John Wible, carpenter's mate, |

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| John Reuss, carpenter's crew, | Shubal Cunningham, seaman, |
| Benjamin Wadden, carpenter's yeo, | Robert Scatterby, ditto, |
| William Boyd, carpenter's crew, | Antonio Sallee, ditto, |
| David Navarro, sail-maker, | William Matthews, ditto, |
| John Francis, captain's coxswain. | George Love, ditto, |
| Levi M'Cabe, quarter-master, | William Concord, ditto, |
| George Stotenberg, captain's after-guard, | Daniel Hide, ditto, |
| William M'Donald, drummer, | James Middleton, ditto, |
| George Brown, captain's servant, | Daniel Smith, ditto. |
| | Joseph Williams, ordinary seaman, |
| | Frederick Hartwell, ditto, |
| | William Burton, ditto, |
| | John Jacks, ditto.—Total—26. |

Missing.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| George Martin, gunner's-mate, | Thomas Carroll, seaman, |
| Adam Rotche, quarter-gunner, | Charles Moore, ditto, |
| John Thompson, quarter-master, | William Holland, ditto, |
| Francis Davis, seaman, | Henry Humphries, ditto, |
| James Chase, ditto, | William Taylor, ditto, |
| Barth. Tuckerman, ditto, | Charles M'Carty ditto, |
| Matthew Lawder, ditto, | James M'Rea, ditto, |
| William Holmes, ditto, | James Mahony, ditto, |
| John Bagnell, ditto, | John Deacon, ditto, |
| Thomas Hobbs, ditto, | Simon Rodgers, ditto, |
| Robert Harrison, ditto, | Elias W. Saddus, ditto, |
| Edward Leford, ditto, | John Owens, boy, |
| Thomas Parsons, ditto, | Wm. Forseyth, ditto, |
| Hugh Gibson, ditto, | George Slousher, marine, |
| James Domas, ditto, | Thomas Ayres, ditto, |
| | George Gable, ditto.—Total 31. |

RECAPITULATION.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------|
| Killed and have since died of their wounds, | - | - | 58 |
| Severely wounded, - - - - - | - | - | 39 |
| Slightly wounded, - - - - - | - | - | 26 |
| Missing, - - - - - | - | - | 31 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| Total, | | | 154 |

After some conversation on the subject, the following correspondence took place:

—
Valparaiso, April 4th, 1814.

SIR,

Taking into consideration the immense distance we are from our respective countries, the uncertainty of the future movements of his Britannic majesty's ships under my command, which precludes the possibility of my making a permanent arrangement, for transporting the officers and crew late of the *Essex* to Europe, and the fast approaching season which renders a passage round Cape Horn in some degree dangerous: I have the honour to propose for your approbation, the following articles, which I hope the government of the United States, as well as that of Great Britain, will deem satisfactory: and to request that, should you conceive them so, you will favour me with the necessary bond for their fulfilment.

1. The *Essex Junior* to be deprived of all her armament, and perfectly neutralized; to be equipped for the voyage solely and wholly at the expense of the American government; and to proceed with proper American officers and crew (of which I wish to be furnished with a list for the purpose of giving the necessary passport) to any port of the United States of America that you may deem most proper.

2. Yourself, the officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, &c. composing your crew, to be exchanged immediately on their arrival in America, for an equal number of British prisoners of similar rank—Yourself and officers to be considered on their parole of honour until your and their exchange shall be effected.

In case of the foregoing articles being accepted, the *Essex Junior* will be expected to prepare immediately for the voyage, and to proceed on it before the expiration of the present month; should any of the wounded at that period be found incapable of removal, from not being sufficiently advanced in their recovery, the most humane attention shall be paid them; and they shall be forwarded home by the first favourable conveyance that may offer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,

Late commander of the United States frigate Essex, Valparaiso.

Valparaiso, April 5th, 1814.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several favours of yesterday's date—

The conditions offered by you for our return to the United States are perfectly satisfactory to me, and I entertain no doubts of their being equally so to my country. I therefore do not hesitate to pledge my honour (the strongest bond I can give) that every article of the arrangement shall on our part be fully complied with. A list of the Essex Junior's crew shall be furnished you as soon as it can be made out, and her disarmament effected with all possible despatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

DAVID PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding his
Britanic majesty's frigate Phæbe,
Valparaiso.*

Commodore Hillyar sent me a paper certifying, that he had exchanged certain individuals therein named, making part of the crew of the Sir Andrew Hammond, for an equal number of the most severely wounded of my crew; this occasioned the following letters:

Valparaiso, 4th April, 1814.

SIR,

I have received a paper signed by you, dated yesterday, stating that you had exchanged certain wounded prisoners, making part of my crew, for the captain and crew of the prize ship Sir Andrew Hammond, which paper I have taken the liberty to return to you, and protest in the strongest terms against such arrangement.

In the first place the wounded and helpless individuals therein named, do not wish such exchange; one died last night, and several others expect to share his fate.

Secondly, should I from any circumstance be separated from them, which would be more likely to be the case than if they remained prisoners, their situation would be more deplorable than it is at present. Thirdly, this arrangement has been made with-

out my consent; and on terms far from offering equal advantages to the United States.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Commodore James Hillyar, commanding

H. B. M. frigate Phæbe.

H. B. M. ship Phæbe, Valparaiso, April 4, 1814.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, protesting against the arrangement I made in the paper you returned, and to express a regret that my wish, which was to alleviate and not increase the afflictions of your wounded officers and crew has failed of being gratified. I am sorry you have thought proper to mention the dead and the dying, as I so fully explained to you this morning, that in the event of the loss of any, other names should be added to the list. I shall now direct captain William Porter to consider himself still a prisoner of war on his parole; but as I have ordered the people to go on board the Essex to work, under the impression that no difficulty would arise, will liberate in exchange for them an equal number of prisoners, as their names, being seamen, shall be found to follow each other on your late ship's books, and give up also two mates or midshipmen, for the two mates which are of the English party. I hope this may prove satisfactory to your government and self.

I am yours, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

Captain D. Porter.

Valparaiso 5th April, 1814.

SIR,

The arrangement which you have suggested respecting the exchange of the seamen of the Sir Andrew Hammond, for an equal number of the seamen of the late United States frigate Essex as they stand on the list furnished you, is perfectly satisfactory. It will be a great satisfaction to the three officers who accompany the Essex, to know that after your object in taking them with you shall be effected, there will be no difficulty in their

proceeding immediately for the United States, I take the liberty therefore to suggest that they might be exchanged here for captain William Porter and his three mates. This will be an accommodation to all parties and reconcile the officers so exchanged to a separation from their friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Commodore James Hilyar, commanding his
majesty's frigate Phæbe.*

A LIST OF PRISONERS LIBERATED ON PAROLE, TO PROCEED TO
THE UNITED STATES IN THE ESSEX JUNIOR.

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| David Porter, captain, | Benjamin Hamilton, quarter- |
| William H. Odenheimer, act- | gunner, |
| ing lieutenant, | Samuel Leach, seaman, |
| Edward Barnewall, acting mas- | George Stolenburg, ditto, |
| ter, | James Midford, ditto, |
| Richard K. Hoffman, acting | Peter B. Vole, ditto, |
| surgeon, | William Robins, ditto, |
| Samuel B. Johnson, acting ma- | John Hollum, ditto, |
| rine officer, | Joseph Johnson, ditto, |
| M. W. Bostwick, acting purser. | William Boyd, ditto, |
| Alexander Montgomery, acting | Charles Duveal, ditto, |
| surgeon's mate, | Daniel Smith, ditto, |
| H. W. Ogsden, midshipman, | James Middleton, ditto, |
| George Isaacs, ditto, | John Cresup, ditto, |
| D. G. Farragut, ditto, | James Galley, ditto; |
| James Terry, acting ditto, | John Downhill, ditto, |
| Samuel Dusenburg, ditto, | John Haden, cook, |
| Wm. Peirce, master's mate, | Robert Stanwood, seaman, |
| Edward Linscott, boatswain, | Daniel Ross, quarter-gunner, |
| George Green, boy, | Nicholas Johnston, seaman, |
| Francis Barrel, ditto, | Robert Scatterly, ditto, |
| George Bartlet, seaman, | Adam Williams, ord. seaman, |
| James Duffey, boy, | Mark Antonio, seaman, |
| James Nickerson, ditto, | Thomas O. Loud, boy, |
| Isaac Bly, seaman, | Nicholas Richter, seaman |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| John White, seaman, | Sylvester Smith, seaman, |
| James Clark, ditto, | George Brown, ditto, |
| George Rex, ditto, | James Redding, ordinary seaman, |
| William Cullers, ditto, | Thomas Coleman, steward, |
| Marshal Gelles, ord. seaman, | John Davis, ordinary seaman, |
| Robert Taylor, ditto, | Matthew Tuckerman, ditto, |
| Mark Scott, seaman, | Severn Denton, seaman, |
| Thomas Edwards, gunner's yeo, | John Johnson, do, |
| John Gallagher, seaman, | Bennet Field, armourer, |
| James Spencer, boy, | George Kensinger, master at |
| Samuel Howard, seaman, | arms, |
| Francis Lemos, ord. seaman, | John Stone, seaman, |
| John Batchelder, seaman, | Francis Trepanny, ditto, |
| Robert Isgrig, ditto, | George Williams, ditto, |
| London Reed, ordinary seaman, | Jacob Lodaway, ditto, |
| John Robinson, ditto, | Thomas Milburn, ditto, |
| Amboy Howland, ditto, | John Penn, ditto, |
| John Harris, ditto, | Henry Barker, ditto, |
| Abraham Jackson, ditto, | William Hamilton, ord. seaman, |
| Gadet Gay, ditto, | Daniel Gardner, ditto, |
| James Ocean, boy, | William Kingsbury, boatswain's |
| Paul Mosure, ordinary seaman, | mate, |
| Peter Amey, seaman, | William Nichols, ordinary sea- |
| John Terry, ditto, | man, |
| Samuel Jones, ordinary seaman, | James Postell, seaman, |
| John Harclay, ditto, | Benjamin Bartley, ordinary sea- |
| Samuel West, quarter-master, | man, |
| Andrew Smith, seaman, | James Goldsborough, seaman, |
| Thomas Ewing, ditto, | William Wood, ditto, |
| Frederick Barnes, ditto, | Peter Anderson, do. |
| Daniel Lombard, ditto, | Peter Ripple, ditto, |
| Anthony Cook, ditto, | John Glasseau, ditto, |
| Barnet Sparling, ditto, | Isaac Valance, quarter-master, |
| Shubael Cunningham, ditto, | George Love, seaman, |
| Gave Robertson, ditto, | Samuel M'Isaacs, boy, |
| Samuel Johnson, ditto, | William Godfrey, seaman, |
| William Foster, ditto, | Jasper Reed, ditto, |
| Jeremiah Bewell, ditto, | Fredeck Hartwell, ord. seaman, |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ephraim Baker, ditto, | William Whitney, seamen, |
| Charles Hayes, quarter-gunner, | Leon Green, quarter-master, |
| Otis Gale, seaman, | William Cole, seaman. |

MARINES.

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| P. G. Small, sergeant, | George Fritz, private, |
| John B. Yarnall, private, | John Andrews, ditto, |
| William Whitney, ditto, | Thomas King, ditto, |
| Henry Ashmore, ditto, | Isaac Stone, ditto, |
| John Fulsner, ditto, | Total, - - - - - 132 |

THE END.



