VOYAGE

ROUNDTHE

WORLD,

In the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV.

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South-Seas.

COMPILED

From Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable GEORGE Lord ANSON, and published under his Direction,

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

Chaplain of his MAJESTY's Ship the Centurion, in that Expedition.

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CHAP. VIII.

From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo: The taking of the Manila galeon, and returning back again.

HE Commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well resitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: His crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the considere he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature: For he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had

but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: But this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better sitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these *Manila* galeons.

This project the Commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever fince his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension, lest he might be thereby fo long retarded as to let the galeons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely fecret; for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connexion of interests between that port and Manila, he had reason to fear, that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately fent to Manila, and measures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands: But being now at fea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manila ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should chuse a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were flout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these sictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: For his own part, he did affure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them fo near, that they should find, his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both. B b b 2 This

This speech of the Commodore's was received by his people with great joy: For no fooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity prefented itself. And now their hopes, which fince their departure from the coast of Menico, had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all perfuaded themselves, that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy: For firmly relying on the assurances of the Commodore, that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too fanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they confidered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so univerfally spread through the whole ship's company, that, the Commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to fea with him for his own provision, and one day enquiring of his Butcher, why, for some time past, he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the Butcher very feriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his Honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the General of the galeons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward; and, on the first of May, they saw part of the Island of Formosa; and, standing thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee Islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they sound that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the South end of Formosa: For this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the mast-head sive small Islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Botel Tobago Xima. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee Islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-sive

leagues too far to the westward: For by their observations, they esteemed the middle of these Islands to be in 21°: 4' North, and to bear from *Botel Tobago Xima* S. S. E. twenty leagues distant, that Island itself being in 21°: 57' North.

After getting a fight of the Bashee Islands, they stood between the S. and S. W for Cape Espiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered that Cape, which about sour o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W, about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several sound hummocks on it; and is exactly represented in the annexed plate. As it was known that there were centinels placed upon this Cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with the land, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered; and, this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galeons, they kept the Cape between the South and the West, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the latitude of 12°: 50', and 13°: 5', the Cape itself lying, by their observations, in 12°: 40' North, and in 4° of East longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the last of May, by the foreign stile, when they arrived off this Cape; and, the month of June, by the same stile, being that in which the Manila ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy criss which was to ballance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed, it should seem that there are sew particulars of a Commander's duty of more importance than this, how much soever it may have been sometimes overlooked or misunder-

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shood: For it will, I suppose, be confessed, that in two ships of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the disproportion of strength, arising from a greater or less dexterity in the use of their great guns and small arms, is what can scarcely be ballanced by any other circumstances whatever. For, as these are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one side should perfectly understand the use of their weapons, and should have the skill to employ them in the most effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy, while the other side should, by their awkward management of them, render them rather terrible to themselves, than mischievous to their antagonists? This seems so plain and natural a conclusion, that a person unacquainted with these affairs would suppose the first care of a Commander to be the training his people to the use of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain distates of common fense. There are many other principles which influence our transactions: And there is one in particular, which, though of a very erroneous complexion, is scarcely ever excluded from our most serious deliberations; I mean custom, or the practice of those who have preceded us. This is usually a power too mighty for reason to grapple with; and is the most terrible to those who oppose it, as it has much of superstition in its nature, and purfues all those who question its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in these later ages of the world, some lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may reasonably be hoped, that the Gentlemen of the Navy, whose particular profession hath of late been considerably improved by a number of new inventions, will of all others be the readiest to give up those practices, which have nothing to plead but prescription, and will not suppose that every branch of their business hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed, it must be owned, that if a dexterity in the use of small arms, for instance, hath been sometimes less attended to on board our ships of

war, than might have been wished for, it hath been rather owing to unskilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence: For the common failors, how strongly soever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick fighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever shewn a great contempt for the formalities practifed in the training of land troops to the use of their arms; but when those who have undertaken to instruct the seamen have contented themfelves with inculcating only what was useful, and that in the fimplest manner, they have constantly found their people sufficiently docile, and the success hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. Anson's ship, where they were only taught the shortest method of loading with cartridges, and were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and where some little reward was given to the most expert, whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful, quick in loading, all of them good marksmen, and some of them most extraordinary ones; so that I doubt not but, in the use of small arms, they were more than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to to the same kind of exercise. But to return:

It was the last of May, N. S. as hath been already said, when the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day began the month in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long boat, and lashed her along side, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the Cape, as not to be discovered: But it hath been since learnt, that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manila, where it was at first disbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) the Merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to sit out a force consist-

ing of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her station: And some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the Commerce and the Governor disagreed, and the enterprize was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the *Centurion* from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the Cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to sisteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they sound themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day encreased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

" May 31, Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galeons very soon; this being the
cleventh of fune their stile."

"June 3, Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galeons."

"June 5, Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June their stile."

" June 11, Begin to grow impatient at not feeing the galeons."

"June 13, The wind having blown fresh easterly for the fortyeight hours past, gives us great expectations of seeing the galeons
foon."

" June 15, Cruifing on and off, and looking out strictly."

"June 19, This being the last day of June, N. S. the galeons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how compleatly the treasure of the galeons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June, O. S. being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty; when, at fun-rife, they discovered a fail from the mast-head, in the S. E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected foon to fee the other. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after feven they were near enough to fee her from the Centurion's deck : at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant fails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort, to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The Commodore was surprized to find, that in all this time the galeon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league diftant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her fore-sail, and brought too under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain slying at the top-gallant mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the consusion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best markstmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered

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his expectation, by the fignal fervices they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a fufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be folely employed in loading it, whilft the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, which were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire fuch guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and instead of firing broad-sides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very fignal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they fee a broadfide preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rife again, and, prefuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns and fire with great briskness, till another broad-fide is ready: But the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, feveral squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galeon from their fight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying to; and, towards one o'clock, the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, the being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the Commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing over-board cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to embarass them in their work, and prevent them from compleating it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol shot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her stern-chace; and, the Centurion getting her sprit-sailvard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within

within piftol-shot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapar, from which they were about feven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half hour, Mr. Anson over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the Commodore, for he feared least the galeon should be burnt, and least he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: But the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the fea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous polition, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galeon's decks lay open to her topmen, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarterdeck, and wounding in particular the General of the galeon himfelf. And though the Centurion, after the first half hour, lost her original fituation, and was close along-fide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their flain and wounded was fo confiderable, that they began to fall into great diforder, especially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarasment was visible from on board the Commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were feen running about with great affiduity, to prevent the defertion of their men from their quarters: But all their endeavours were in

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vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or fix guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galeon's colours being finged off the ensign staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant mast-head, the person, who was employed to do it, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to de-

fift from firing.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by the General Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-fix guns mounted for action, befides twentyeight pidreroes in her gunwale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particulary provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waift, and was defended by half pikes. She had fixty-feven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a Lieutenant and fixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: Of fo little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractifed hands.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: For no sooner had the galeon struck, than one of the Lieutenants coming to Mr. Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this

dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm this people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch way, near the after powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant too, the galeon fell on board the Centurion on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The Commodore made his first Lieutenant, Mr. Saumarez, Captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his Majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners, but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to affist in navigating the galeon. And now the Commodore learnt, from some of these prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Espiritu Santo; so that Mr. Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurien, which ship, by the presence of the

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Commander in Chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtlefs much fafer against all the casualties of winds and feas than the galeon: And the fecuring the prifoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the pos--fession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and disquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method, which was taken to hinder them from rifing, was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as poffible, two hatchways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger, whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatch-way on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; thefe funnels ferved to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them; and, at the fame time, added greatly to the fecurity of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four fwivel guns loaded with musquet-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel with lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, which amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first Lieutenant's cabbin, under a constant guard of fix men; and the General, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabbin with a centinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations,

tions, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cut-lasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his cloaths, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathfome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and an half. All this confidered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded. who died the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed, that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphised by the heat of the hold; for when they were first taken, they were fightly robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in fecuring the treasure and the prisoners, the Commodore, as hath been said, stood for the river of Canton; and, on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape Delangano, which then bore West ten leagues distant; and, the next day, he made the Baskee Islands, and the wind being so far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth Islands, where the passage seemed to be clear; but in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it ripled and soamed, as if it had been full of breakers, which was still more terrible, as it was then night. But the ships got through very safe, (the prize always keep-

ing a head) and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. I must here observe, that though the Baskee Islands are usually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the westward, which, as the channels amongst them are not at all known, makes it adviseable for ships, rather to pass to the northward or fouthward, than through them; and indeed the Commodore proposed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formofa, had it been possible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion steering the proper course for the river of Canton, she, on the 8th of July, discovered the Island of Supata, the westermost of the Lema Islands, being the double peaked rock, particularly delineated in the view of the Islands of Lema, formerly inferted. This Island of Supata they made to be a hundred and thirty-nine leagues distant from Grafton's Island, and to bear from it North 82° 37 West: And, on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese Pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargoe of the galeon were well afcertained, and it was found that she had on board 1, 213,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 02. of virgin filver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of small account, in comparison of the specie. And this being the Commodore's last prize, it hence appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of 400,000 l. independent of the thips and merchandife, which the either burnt or destroyed, and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as 600,000 %. more; fo that the whole loss of the enemy, by our fquadron, did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which, if there be added the great expence of the Court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loss of their men of war, the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with

with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I shall only add, that there were taken on board the galeon feveral draughts and journals, from some of which many of the particulars recited in the 10th chapter of the second book are collected. Among the rest there was found a chart of all the Ocean, between the Philippines and the coast of Mexico, which was what was made use of by the galeon in her own navigation. A copy of this draught, corrected in some places by our own observation, is here annexed, together with the route of the galeon traced thereon from her own journals, and likewise the route of the Centurion, from Acapulco through the same Ocean. This is the chart formerly referred to, in the account of the Manila trade: And to render it still more compleat, the observed variation of the needle is annexed to several parts both of the Spanish and English track; which addition is of the greatest consequence, as no observations of this kind in the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean have vet to my knowledge been published, and as the quantity of the variation fo nearly corresponds to what Dr. Halley predicted from his Theory above fifty years ago. And with this digression I shall end this chapter, leaving the Centurion with her prize, at anchor off Macao, preparing to enter the river of Canton.

CHAP. IX.

Transactions in the river of Canton.

HE Commodore, having taken Pilots on board, proceeded. with his prize for the river of Canton; and, on the 14th of July, came to an anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river: This entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger Island, which is a very fafe road, secured from all winds. But whilft the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the Mandarine, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson informed the officer, that his ship was a ship of war, belonging to the King of Great-Britain; and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to shelter himself against the hurricanes which were then coming on; and that as foon as the monfoon shifted, he should proceed for England. The officer then defired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which he said was to be sent to the Government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the Conturion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, faying, that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of this force, least it should too much alarm the Regency. After he had finished his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he defired to leave two Custom-house officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him, that the Emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports: And it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese Pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes it necessary, more particularly, to describe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow passage, little more than musquet-shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the starboard-side being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embrasures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, seeming to be four or six pounders; the fort on the larboard-side is a large castle, resembling those old buildings which here in England we often find distinguished by that name; it is situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six pounders. These are the defences which secure the river of Canton; and which the Chinese (extremely defective in all military skill) have imagined were sufficient to prevent any enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores; and therefore, though the Pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship, till he had leave from the forts, yet as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the Pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ship ran aground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The Pilot, awed

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by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed the poor Pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen, for when he came on shore, he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anson afterwards, to desire of him some recompence for the chastisement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very significant marks about him; and Mr. Anson, in commissration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to have undergone a dozen bastina-

dings.

Nor was the Pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion; for the Commodore foon after feeing some royal junks pass by him from Becca Tigris towards Canton, he learnt, on enquiry, that the Mandarine commanding the forts was a prisoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton. where it was expected he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass; and the Commodore urging the unreafonableness of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwise, explaining to the Chinese the great superiority his ships would have had over the forts, by the number and fize of their guns, the Chinese seemed to acquiesce in his reasoning, and allowed that their forts could not have stopped him; but they still afferted, that the Mandarine would infallibly fuffer, for not having done, what all his judges were convinced, was impossible. fuch indefensible absurdities are those obliged to submit, who think themselves concerned to support their authority, when the necessary force is wanting. But to return:

On the 16th of July the Commodore sent his second Lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the Viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the Commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to the Viceroy. The Lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the Commodore the next

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day. In the mean time Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the Regency fent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr. Anson's power. And on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the Kings of Great-Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: However, they acknowledged that they had been treated by the Commodore, much better than they believed they should have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's power, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter, than as one commissioned by the State for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important person; to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the estimation and reverence of the Chinese Nation.

In this examination of the Spanish prisoners, though the Chincse had no reason in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumstances which appeared to them so singular, as to deserve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great disproportion of men between the Centurion and the galeon; the other was the humanity, with which the people of the galeon were treated after they were taken. The Mandarines therefore asked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force; and how it happened, since the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the English. To the first of these enquiries the Spaniards replied, that though they had more hands than the Centurion, yet she being intended solely for war had a

great superiority in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a vessel sitted out principally for traffic: And as to the second question, they told the Chinese, that amongst the nations of Europe, it was not customary to put to death those who submitted; though they readily owned, that the Commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unusual courtesy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war with each other. These replies fully satisfied the Chinese, and at the same time wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three Mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for Pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the Viceroy, in answer to the letter fent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the Viceroy defired to be excused from receiving the Commodore's vifit, during the then exceffive hot weather; because the affembling the Mandarines and foldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to fee both the Commodore himself, and the English Captain of the other ship, that was with him. As Mr. Anson knew that an express had been dispatched to the Court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt, but the principal motive for putting off this vifit was, that the Regency at Canton might gain time to receive the Emperor's instructions, about their behaviour on this unusual affair.

When the Mandarines had delivered their message, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships;

but he immediately told them, that he would never fubmit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reasonably deemed to be within the meaning of the Emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only, adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his Master's orders expresly forbad him from paying any acknowledgement for his ships ancho-

ring in any port whatever.

The Mandarines being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they faid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the Commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the Vicerov of Canton apprehended the Emperor, his Master, might be displeased, if he should be informed. that persons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anjon was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards. having, on his first arrival, fent about an hundred of them to Macao, and those who remained, which were near four hundred more. were, on many accounts, a great incumbrance to him. However, to inhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the Mandarines. that to show his readiness to oblige the Viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would fend boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the Mandarines departed; and, on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the Commodore, agreeable to his promife, dismissed them all, and ordered his Purser to send with them eight days provision for their subfistence, during their failing down the river; this being dispatched, the Centurion and her prize came to her moorings, above the fecond bar, where they proposed to continue till the mon-Soon shifted.

Though the ships, in consequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily confumption, yet it was impossible for the Commodore to proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and stores for his use, during the voyage: The procuring this supply was attended with much embarasment; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted; and his linguist, towards the middle of September, had affured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be fent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing being brought, the Commodore sent to Canton to enquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: And he had foon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illusion; that no order had been procured from the Viceroy, to furnish him with his sea-stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness, which had been promised him; nor did it appear, that the Contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected, that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great-Britain might prove a more troublefome matter than had been hitherto imagined; especially too, as the month of September was nearly elapsed, without Mr. Anson's having received any message from the Vicerov of Canton.

And here perhaps it might be expected that some satisfactory account should be given of the motives of the Chinese for this faithless procedure. But as I have already, in a former chapter, made some kind of conjectures about a similar event, I shall not repeat them again in this place, but shall observe, that after all, it may perhaps be impossible for an European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprized of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be afferted, that in artisce, falshood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people;

people; but then the combination of these talents, and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a Foreigner's penetration: So that though it may be safely concluded, that the Chinese had some interest in thus amusing the Commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too severe in ascribing to this Nation a fraudulent and selfish turn of temper, so contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Roman Missionaries, I shall here mention an extraordinary transaction or two, which I hope will be some kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the Commodore lay first at Macao, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, defired leave of him to go on shore every day on a neighbouring Island, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the restoring of his health: The Commodore would have diffuaded him, fuspecting the tricks of the Chincle, but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him. The first day he was put on shore he took his exercife, and returned without receiving any molestation, or even feeing any of the inhabitants; but the fecond day, he was affaulted, foon after his arrival, by a great number of Chinese, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him fo violently with the handles of their hoes, that they foon laid him on the ground incapable of refissance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his fword, the hilt of which was filver, his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, fnuff-box, fleeve-buttons and hat, with feveral other trinkets: In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at some little distance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any affiftance; till at last one of them flew on the fellow who had the fword in his poffeffion, and wresting it out of his hands drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the Chinese, some of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to defift, thinking it more prudent to fub-

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mit to the present violence, than to embroil his Commodore in an inextricable squabble with the Chinese Government, by the death of their subjects; which calmness in this Gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a person of an uncommon spirit, and of a somewhat hasty temper: By this means the Chinese recovered the possession of the sword, which they soon perceived was prohibited to be made use of against them, and carried off their whole booty unmolested. No sooner were they gone, than a Chinese on horseback, very well dressed, and who had the air and appearance of a Gentleman, came down to the shore, and, as far as could be understood by his figns, seemed to censure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiferate the officer, being wonderfully officious to affift in getting him on board the boat: But notwithstanding this behaviour, it was shrewdly suspected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully evinced the justice of those suspicions.

When the boat returned on board, and reported what had paffed to the Commodore, he immediately complained of it to the Mandarine, who attended to fee his ship supplied; but the Mandarine coolly replied, that the boat ought not to have gone on shore, promising, however, that if the thieves could be found out, they should be punished; though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of answering, that he would never give himself any trouble in searching them out. However, a considerable time afterwards, when some Chinese boats were selling provisions to the Centurion, the person who had wrested the sword from the Chinese came with great eagerness to the Commodore, to assure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a provision-boat along-side the ship; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembring his face, orders were immediately given to seize him; and he was accordingly secured on

board the ship, where strange discoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being first apprehended, expressed so much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the spot; the Mandarine too, who attended the ship, had vifibly no small share of concern on the occasion. Indeed he had reason enough to be alarmed, since it was soon evinced, that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the Commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himfelf order him to be shot, the Mandarine immediately put off the magisterial air, with which he had at first pretended to demand him, and begged his release in the most abject manner: And the Commodore appearing inflexible, there came on board, in less than two hours time, five or fix of the neighbouring Mandarines, who all joined in the fame entreaty, and with a view of facilitating their fuit, offered a large fum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilst they were thus folliciting, it was discovered that the Mandarine, who was the most active amongst them, and who seemed to be most interested in the event, was the very Gentleman, who came to the officer, just after the robbery, and who pretended to be so much displeased with the villany of his countrymen. And, on further inquiry it was found, that he was the Mandarine of the Island: and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the Peafeants to commit that infamous action. And it feemed, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were cafually thrown out, that he and his brethren, who were all privy to the transaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the first article of their punishment would be the stripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chaftisement so lucrative to themselves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. Anjon was not displeased to have caught the Chinese in this dilemma; and he entertained himself for some time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with fcorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief should certainly be shot; but

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as he then foresaw that he should be forced to take shelter in their ports a second time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the Magistrates would be of great service to him, he at length permitted himself to be persuaded, and as a savour released his prisoner, but not till the *Mandarine* had collected and returned all that had been stolen from the officer, even to the minutest trifle.

But notwithstanding this instance of the good intelligence between the magistrates and criminals, the strong addiction of the Chinese to lucre often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them of its proper quota of the pillage. For not long after the above-mentioned transaction, (the former Mandarine, attendant on the ship, being, in the mean time, relieved by another) the Commodore loft a top-mast from his stern, which, after the most diligent enquiry, could not be traced: As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely defirous to recover it, and published a considerable reward to any who would bring it him again. There were suspicions from the first of its being stolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likeliest method of getting it back : Accordingly, foon after, the Mandarine told him, that fome of his. the Mandarine's, people, had found the top-mast, desiring the Commodore to fend his boats to fetch it, which being done, the Mandarine's people received the promifed reward; but the Commodore told the Mandarine, that he would make him a present besides for the care he had taken in directing it to be fearched for; and accordingly, Mr. Anson gave a sum of money to his Linguist, to be delivered to the Mandarine; but the Linguist knowing that the people had been paid, and ignorant that a further prefent had been promised, kept the money himself: However, the Mandarine fully confiding in Mr. Anson's word, and suspecting the Linguist, he took occasion, one morning, to admire the fize of the Centurion's masts, and thence, on a pretended sudden recollection, he made a digreffion

digression to the top-mast which had been lost, and asked Mr. Anfon if he had not got it again. Mr. Anson presently perceived the bent of this conversation, and enquired of him if he had not received the money from the Linguist, and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the spot. But this the Mandarine refused, having now somewhat more in view than the sum which had been detained: For the next day the Linguist was seized, and was doubtless mulcted of all he had gotten in the Commodore's fervice, which was supposed to be little less than two thousand dollars; he was besides so severely bastinadoed with the bamboo, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life; and when he was upbraided by the Commodore (to whom he afterwards came begging) with his folly, in rifquing all he had suffered for fifty dollars, (the present intended for the Mandarine) he had no other excuse to make than the strong bias of his Nation to dishonesty, replying, in his broken jargon, Chinese man very great rogue truly, but have fashion, no can belp.

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions and frauds which were practifed on the Commodore and his people, by this interested race. The method of buying all things in China being by weight, the tricks made use of by the Chinese to encrease the weight of the provision they fold to the Centurion, were almost incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ship's use, the greatest part of them presently died: This alarmed the people on board with the apprehensions that they had been killed by poifon; but on examination it appeared, that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to encrease their weight, the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese Butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose; so that a carcass, hung up all night for the water to drain from it, hath loft above a stone of its weight; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought

bought alive, it was found that the Chinese gave them salt to encrease their thirst, and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animal in this inflated state. When the Commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practifed an artifice of another kind; for as the Chinele never object to the eating of any food that dies of itself, they took care, by some secret practices, that great part of his live seastore should die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a fecond profit of the dead carcasses which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of fight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. These instances may ferve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated Nation, which is often recommended to the rest of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The Commodore, towards the end of September, having found out (as has been faid) that those, who had contracted to supply him with fea-provisions and stores, had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not fent to him according to his promife, he faw it would be impossible for him to furmount the embarasment he was under, without going himself to Canton, and visiting the Viceroy; and therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the Mandarine, who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he, the Commodore, intended, on the first of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he should notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and should defire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the Mandarine returned no other answer, than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition: And the boat's crew in particular, which Mr. Anson proposed to take with him, were cloathed in an uniform dress, resembling that of the Watermen on the Thames; they were

in number eighteen and a Coxswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue filk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with filver buttons, and with filver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even afferted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded by the Regency of Canton, and would be infifted on previous to the granting a permission for victualling the ship for her future voyage; the Commodore, who was refolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the fuccess of their unreasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton: And therefore, for the security of his ship. and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first Lieutenant. Mr. Brett, to be Captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the Commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to destroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance, till he received further orders from Mr. Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some fort embarased thereby. It is reasonable to imagine, that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those dues, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims, on which they had already so frequently insisted. However, as they now foresaw that they had no other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the Commodore was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themselves in an hostile measure, which they found would only expose them to the risque of having the whole navigation of their port destroyed, without any certain prospect of gaining their favourite point thereby.

However, though there is reason to imagine that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evafive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. For when the Commodore, on the morning of the first of October, was preparing to fet out for Canton, his Linguist came to him from the Mandarine, who attended his ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of Canton, defiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days: But in the afternoon of the same day, another Linguist came on board, who, with much feeming fright, told Mr. Anson, that the Viceroy had expected him up that day, that the Council was affembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the Viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the Commodore's Linguist to prison chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the Linguist's negligence. This plausible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was fome treachery defigned him, which he could not vet fathom; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet (for reasons best known to themselves) this falshood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese Merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter figned by all the fupercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneafiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully fatisfied about the mistake. To this letter Mr. Anson replied, that he did not believe there had been any mistake; but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his vifiting the Viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him an infult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion came to form his retinue; and as he passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton. His reception at that city, and the most material transactions from hence-forward, till his arrival in Great-Britain, shall be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

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CHAP. X.

Proceedings at the city of Canton, and the return of the Centurion to England.

HEN the Commodore arrived at Canton, he was visited by the principal Chinese Merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude, that the Viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on; they added, that as soon as the Viceroy should be informed that Mr. Anson was at Canton, (which they promised should be done the next morning) they were persuaded a day would be immediately appointed for the visit, which was the principal business that had brought the Commodore thither.

The next day the Merchants returned to Mr. Anson, and told him, that the Viceroy was then fo fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him for some days; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his Court to give them information, as foon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr. Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the day of audience. The Commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices, not to perceive that this was a falfehood; and had he confulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands: But the Chinese Merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they (the supercargoes) were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the Government, and of fuffering in their interest, if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anson at that time to be the most prudential:

prudential: And therefore, least the malice and double dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he resolved to continue pasfive, as long as it should appear that he lost no time, by thus fulpending his own opinion. With this view, he promifed not to take any immediate step himself for getting admittance to the Viceroy, provided the Chinese, with whom he contracted for provisions, would let him fee that his bread was baked, his meat falted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch: But if by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off, (which it was supposed would be in about forty days) the Merchants should not have procured the Viceroy's permission, then the Commodore proposed to apply for it himself. These were the terms Mr. Anson thought proper to offer, to quiet the uneafiness of the supercargoes; and notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chinese agree to them, till the Commodore had confented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last the contract being past, it was some satisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on, and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the Merchants continually entertained Mr. Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to get a licence from the Viceroy, and their frequent disappointments; which to him was now a matter of amusement, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they said. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N. E. monsoon was set in, he then resolved to apply himself to the Viceroy to demand an audience, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the procuring a permission to send his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anson sent one of his officers to the Mandarine, who commanded the F f f 2

guard of the principal gate of the city of *Canton*, with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the *Mandarine*, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in *Chinese*, and promised that the Viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer, it was not necessary for him to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the Commodore himself.

On this occasion Mr. Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to fend with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese, usually employed as Linguists, could be relied on: But he at last prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English Gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This person, who upon this occasion and many others was of fingular fervice to the Commodore, had been left at Canton when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chinese language was a step taken by that Captain, merely from his own persuasion of the great advantages which the East-India Company might one day receive from an English interpreter; and though the utility of this measure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this day imitated: But we imprudently choofe (except in this fingle instance) to carry on the vast transactions of the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken English, which some few of the Chinese have learnt, or by the suspected interpretation of the Linguists of other Nations.

Two days after the fending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr. Anson went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to affist the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings, and the awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting head apace: But he perceived, that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was running along a wooden cornish, which would soon communicate it

to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornish; this was presently attempted, and would have been foon executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that, as there was no Mandarine there to direct what was to be done, the Chinele would make him, the Commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his orders. On this his people defisted; and he sent them to the English factory, to affist in securing the Company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where fo little was done to put a stop to it; for all this time the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they feemed to expect should check its progress: However, at last, a Mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: These made fome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the Merchants warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence; so that its fury encreased upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the Vicercy himself came thither, and the Commodore was fent to, and was entreated to afford his affistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. And now he went thither a fecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, upon this occasion, exerted themselves in such a manner, as in that country was altogether without example: For they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongst which they wrought; so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidst the ruins of houses, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was foon extinguished to the amazement of the Chinese; and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials flight, the feamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries, than some considerable bruises.

The fire, though at last thus luckily extinguished, did great mischief during the time it continued; for it consumed an hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum; and one of the Chinese Merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Success, was supposed, for his own share, to have lost near two hundred thousand pound sterling. It raged indeed with unusual violence, for in many of the warehouses, there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its sury, and produced a column of exceeding white slame, which shot up into the air to such a prodigious height, that the slame itself was plainly seen on board the Centurion, though she was thirty miles distant.

Whilst the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general still possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese Merchants came to Mr. Anson, to desire that he would let each of them have one of his soldiers (for such they stiled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dress) to guard their warehouses and dwelling houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they seared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus surnished to the Chinese behaved greatly to the satisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the resolution of the English at the fire, and their trustiness and punctuality elsewhere, was the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese: And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his affistance; frankly owning to him, that they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves, and that he had saved their city from being totally consumed. And soon after a message came to the Commodore from the Viceroy, appointing the 30th of November

vember for his audience; which sudden resolution of the Viceroy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people at the fire, of which the Viceroy himself had been in some measure an eye-witness.

The fixing this business of the audience, was, on all accounts, a circumstance which Mr. Anson was much pleased with; as he was fatisfied that the Chinese Government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask; for as they well knew the Commodore's sentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not confistent with the refined cunning of the Chinese, to have admitted him to an audience, only to have contested with him. And therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day; and engaged Mr. Flint, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference: Who, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the Commodore's fatisfaction; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no Chinese Linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a Mandarine came to the Commodore, to let him know that the Viceroy was ready to receive him; on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately fet out: And as foon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred foldiers drawn up ready to attend him; these conducted him to the great parade before the Emperor's palace, where the Viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine appearance, being all of them new cloathed for this ceremony: And Mr. Anson and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted

to the great hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy feated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of State, with all his Council of Mandarines attending: Here there was a vacant feat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival: He was ranked the third in order from the Viceroy, there being above him only the Head of the Law, and of the Treasury, who in the Chinese Government take place of all military officers. When the Commodore was feated, he addressed himself to the Viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with, to the infincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to fend, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the Viceroy stopped the interpreter, and bid him affure Mr. Anson, that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. Mr. Anson then proceeded, and told him, that the subjects of the King of Great-Britain trading to China had complained to him, the Commodore, of the vexatious impositions both of the Merchants and inferior Custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to fubmit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the Mandarines, who alone could grant them redress: That it was his, Mr. Anson's, duty, as an officer of the King of Great-Britain, to lay before the Viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the Viceroy would take into confideration, and would give orders, that for the future there should be no just reafon for complaint. Here Mr. Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the Viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him, he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anson then represented to the Viceroy the case of the ship Haslingfield, which, having been dismasted on the coast of China, had

had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the Captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had lost besides, in the consuson, a chest of treasure of four thousand five hundred Tabel, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boat-men. Mr. Anson therefore desired that the Captain might have the assistance of the Government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interposition of the Mandarines. And to this request the Viceroy made answer, that in settling the Emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now the Commodore having dispatched the business with which the officers of the East-India Company had entrusted him. he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the Viceroy, that the proper feason was now set in for returning to Europe, and that he waited only for a licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that as foon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The Viceroy replied to this, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr. Anson had nothing farther to infift on, the Viceroy continued the conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his fignal fervices at the fire, and owning that he had faved the city from being destroyed: And then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his difcourse, by wishing the Commodore a good voyage to Europe. After which, the Commodore, thanking him for his civility and affiftance, took his leave.

As foon as the Commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the

G g g Viceroy

Viceroy himself was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the fame manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was faluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him great disquietude. Indeed he was highly pleased with procuring a licence for the shipping of his stores and provisions; for thereby he was enabled to return to Great-Britain with the first of the monsoon. and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: But this, though a very important point, was not the circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent established on this occasion, by which his Majesty's ships of war are for the suture exempted from

all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In pursuance of the promises of the Viceroy, the provisions were begun to be fent on board the day after the audience; and, four days after, the Commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion: and, on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. And on this occasion I must observe, that the Chinese had taken care to man the two forts, on each side of that paffage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and match-lock musquets. These garrisons affected to shew themselves as much as possible to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr. Anson to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power: For this purpose they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours exposed to view; and on the castle in particular there were laid considerable heaps of large stones; and a foldier of unufual fize, dreffed in very fightly armour, stalkt about on the parapet with a battle-ax in his hand, endeayouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible, though

though some of the observers on board the Centurion shrewdly sufpected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel, it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and confequently upon the point of leaving the Chinese jurisdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chinese affairs, to subjoin a few remarks on the disposition and genius of that extraordinary people. And though it may be supposed, that observations made at Canton only, a place situated in the corner of the Empire, are very impersect materials on which to found any general conclusions, yet as those who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepossessions, and as the transactions of Mr. Anson with the Regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumstances occurred, different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following restlections, many of them drawn from these incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people, is fufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are established amongst them, and which are eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts feems to be the most important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a fecond rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japanese in those manusactures, which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous instances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency feems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius, which constantly attends all servile imitators. This is most conspicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all these, though they can copy the different parts, and can form some resemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at fuch a justness in their fabric, as was Ggg 2 necessary

necessary to produce the desired effect. And if we pass from their manufacturers to artists of a superior class, as painters, statuaries, &c. in these matters they seem to be still more defective, their painters, though very numerous and in great efteem, rarely fucceeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compositions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in these, some part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightness and excellency of the colours, than to the skill of the painter; since it is very unufual to fee the light and shade justly and naturally handled, or to find that ease and grace in the drawing, which are to be met with in the works of European artists. In short, there is a stiffness and minuteness in most of the Chinese productions, which are extremely displeasing: And it may perhaps be afferted with great truth, that these defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongst whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chinese literature, (taking our accounts from the writers, who have endeavoured to represent it in the most favourable light) we shall find, that on this head their obstinacy and absurdity are most wonderful: For though, for many ages, they have been furrounded by nations, to whom the use of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chinese alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themselves of that almost divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of reprefenting words by arbitrary marks; a method, which necessarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwise than partially skilled; whilst all reading, and understanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obscurity and confusion; for the connexion between these marks, and the words they represent, cannot be retained in books, but must be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: And how uncertain this must prove in such a complicated plicated subject, is sufficiently obvious to those who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are transmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the history and inventions of past ages, recorded by these perplexed symbols, must frequently prove unintelligible; and consequently the learning and boasted antiquity of the Nation must, in numerous instances, be extremely problematical.

But we are told by some of the Missionaries, that though the skill of the Chinese in science is indeed much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and justice taught and practifed by them are most exemplary. And from the description given by fome of these good fathers, one should be induced to believe, that the whole Empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only contests were, who should exert the most humanity and beneficence: But our preceding relation of the behaviour of the Magistrates, Merchants and Tradesmen at Canton, sufficiently refutes these jesuitical sictions. And as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in the works of the Missionaries, we shall find them folely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, instead of discussing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another, on reasonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretension of the Chinese to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but folely on the affected evenness of their demeanor, and their constant attention to suppress all symptoms of passion and violence. But it must be considered, that hypocrify and fraud are often not less mischievous to the general interests of mankind, than impetuosity and vehemence of temper: Since these, though usually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude fincerity, benevolence, resolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the Chinese, on which they so much value themselves, and which distinguishes the Nation from all others, is in reality the source of the most exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often observed by those who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robust and violent passions, without augmenting, at the same time, the force of the selfish ones: So that the timidity, dissimulation, and dishonesty of the Chinese, may, in some fort, be owing to the composure, and external decency, so universally prevailing in that

Empire.

Thus much for the general disposition of the people: But I cannot dismiss this subject, without adding a few words about the Chinele Government, that too having been the subject of boundless panegyric. And on this head I must observe, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the administration of their domestic affairs, are sufficiently consuted by their transactions with Mr. Anson: For we have seen that their Magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish, and their tribunals crafty and venal. Nor is the constitution of the Empire, or the general orders of the State less liable to exception: Since that form of Government, which does not in the first place provide for the security of the public against the enterprizes of foreign powers, is certainly a most defective institution: And yet this populous, this rich and extensive country, so pompously celebrated for its refined wisdom and policy, was conquered about an age fince by an handful of Tartars; and even now, by the cowardice of the inhabitants. and the want of proper military regulations, it continues exposed not only to the attempts of any potent State, but to the ravages of every petty Invader. I have already observed, on occasion of the Commodore's disputes with the Chinese, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that Empire: This perhaps may appear an extraordinary position; but to render it unquestionable, there is exhibited in the annexed plate the draught of two of the vessels made use of by the Chinese. The first of these marked (A), is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tuns burthen,

then, and was what the Centurion hove down by; these are most used in the great rivers, though they sometimes serve for small coasting voyages: The other junk marked (B) is about two hundred and eighty tuns burthen, and is of the same form with those in which they trade to Cochinchina, Manila, Batavia and Japan, though fome of their trading vessels are of a much larger size; its head, which is represented at (C) is perfectly flat; and when the vessel is deep laden, the fecond or third plank of this flat furface is ofttimes under water. The masts, fails, and rigging of these vessels are ruder than their built; for their masts are made of trees, no otherwise fashioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each mast has only two shrouds made of twisted rattan, which are often both shifted to the weather-side; and the halvard, when the yard is up, ferves instead of a third shroud. The fails are made of matt, strengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run upon the mast with hoops, as is represented in the figure, and when they are lowered down, they fold upon the deck. These merchantmen carry no cannon; and it appears, from this whole description, that they are utterly incapable of refisting any European armed vessel. Nor is the State provided with thips of confiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect them: For at Canton, where doubtless their principal naval power is stationed, we saw no more than four men of war junks. of about three hundred tuns burthen, being of the make already described, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largest of which did not exceed a four pounder. This may fuffice to give an idea of the defenceless state of the Chinese Empire. But it is time to return to the Commodore, whom I left with his two ships without the Bocca Tigris, and who, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilst the ships lay here, the Merchants of *Macao* sinished their agreement for the galeon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars; this was much short of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no

strangers, prompted them to infift on fo unequal a bargain. Mr. Anfon had learnt enough from the English at Canton to conjecture, that the war betwixt Great-Britain and Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the affistance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great-Britain; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could get to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was refolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: For these reaons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the fum offered for the galeon; and she being delivered to the Merchants the 15th of December 1743, the Centurion, the same day, got under sail, on her return to England. And, on the 3d of January, the came to an anchor at Prince's Island in the Streights of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when she weighed and stood for The Cape of Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, The anchored in Table-bay.

The Cape of Good Hope is fituated in a temperate climate, where the excesses of heat and cold are rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native industry, have stock'd it with prodigious plenty of all fort of fruits and provisions; most of which, either from the equality of the seasons, or the peculiarity of the soil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elsewhere: So that by these, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this settlement is the best provided of any in the known world, for the refreshment of seamen after long voyages. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilized colony, was not disgraced in an imaginary comparison with the vallies of Juan Fernandes, and the lawns of Tinian. Du-

ring his flay he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3d of April 1744, compleated his water and provision, he, on that day, weighed and put to sea; and, the 19th of the same month, they saw the Island of Saint Helena, which however they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and, on the 10th of June, being then in foundings, they spoke with an English ship from Amflerdam bound for Philadelphia, whence they received the first intelligence of a French war; the twelfth they got fight of the Lizard; and the fifteenth, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came fafe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the fignal perils which had fo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprize, might purfue them to the very last, Mr. Anson, learnt on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the Channel, which, by the account of their polition, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rife superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving fuccessful.

FINIS.