

THE
EARTHQUAKE OF
JUAN FERNANDEZ
1835.

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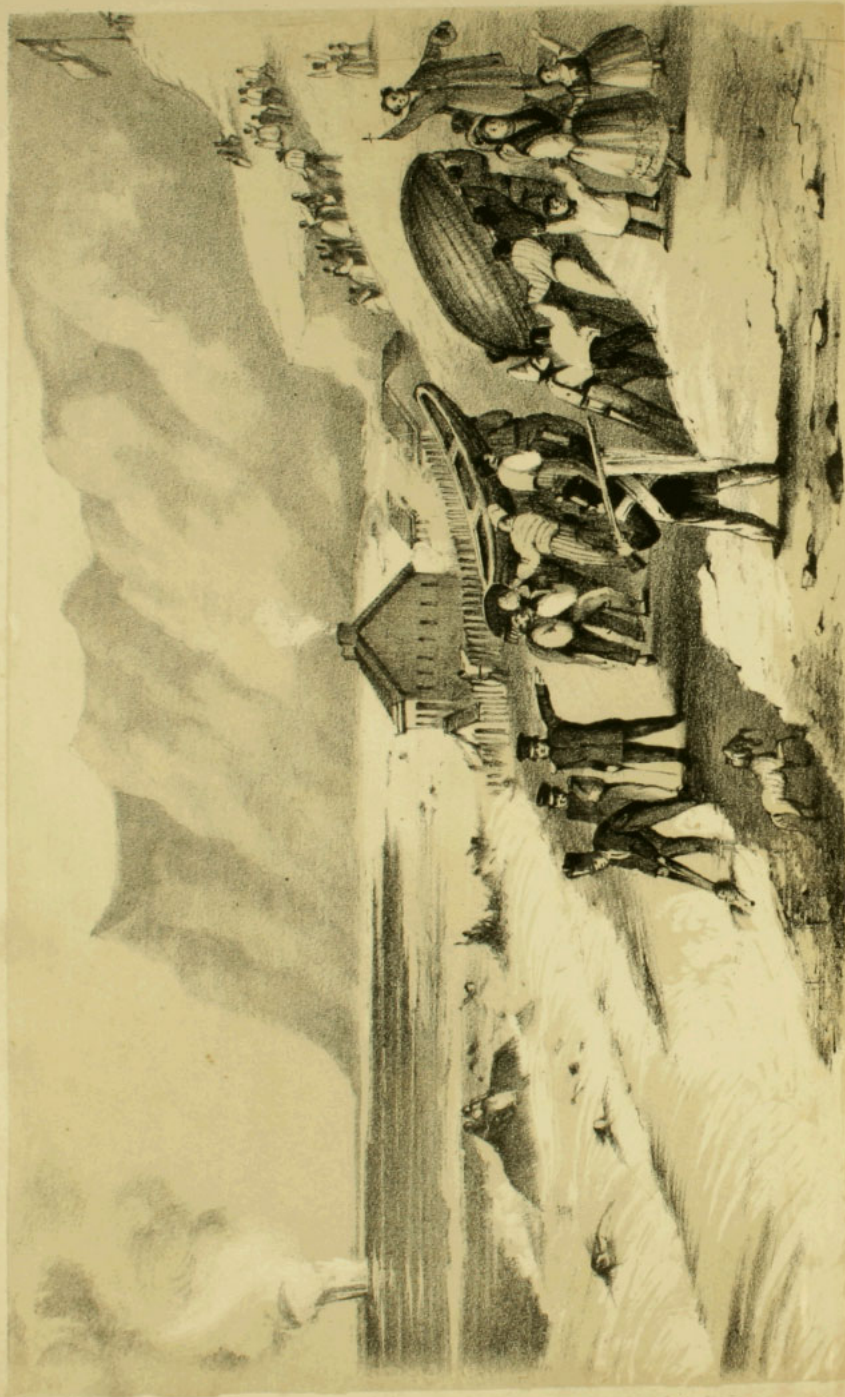
THE
EARTHQUAKE
THAT OCCURRED
ON
THE ISLAND OF
JUAN FERNANDEZ
AND
TALCAHUANA,
IN THE YEAR 1835.

LONGMAN, ORME AND Co., LONDON;

AND

J. & J. THOMSON, MARKET-STREET, MANCHESTER.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.



THE
EARTHQUAKE

OF

JUAN FERNANDEZ,

AS IT OCCURRED IN THE YEAR 1835.

AUTHENTICATED BY THE
RETIRED GOVERNOR OF THAT ISLAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A REFUTATION

OF SEVERAL MISSTATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE "NAUTICAL
MAGAZINE" OF 1837, AND THE PUBLIC PAPERS.

"Strange things—strange things,—
Travellers see great wonders."—*Old Song.*

MANCHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE "ADVERTISER" OFFICE, 78, MARKET-STREET.
1839.

EARTHQUAKE

J. C. A. E. E. R. N. A. Z. D. E. N.

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THIS IS INSCRIBED,
AS A SMALL TOKEN OF ESTEEM,
TO
JOHN FORMBY, ESQ.,
BY HIS
ATTACHED FRIEND AND
RELATIVE,
T. S.

P R E F A C E.

HAVING been repeatedly requested by my friends, since my return to England, to give them some account of the Earthquake which occurred on the Island of Juan Fernandez in the month of February, 1835, I have concluded to adopt the present mode of communicating authentic information of what really took place during my government of the island, as well as of the disasters which were experienced about the same hour on the Continent of Chile. I am induced to take this course, more especially, in consequence of the extraordinary accounts which have been published in this country relative to the total destruction of the island, and the appearance of a new group of islands in the vicinity.

Certainly it is impossible to say what *may* happen in the vicinity of islands known to have originally sprung from volcanic matter, and where extraordinary convulsions have been witnessed ; but I have no knowledge whatever of the occurrence of what these writers have intimated. The earthquake to which I refer, took place during my residence as Political and Military Governor of the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the year 1835, and I am not aware that there has been any similar visitation since that period. I sailed from the island on the 28th of January last, and then learned from the person I had left as Governor of *Masa Fuera*, previous to the insurrection, and who had remained in charge of my establishment on the island, that nothing extraordinary had occurred since my expulsion in September, 1835, except the total destruction of all the edifices, forts, cattle, &c., by the mutineers and crews of vessels touching there for refreshment ; the Chilian Government having, on account of the Peruvian war, withdrawn the garrison, &c. I was an eye-witness of the awful catastrophe of the 20th of February, and, with the exception of those who lost their all, the greatest sufferer from its ravages. The particulars of that event are in an extract from my journal, written at the time, and other documents in my possession.

These statements, I am aware, will fail to convey an adequate idea of the appalling scene I have witnessed ; for I can conceive of nothing more terrible than an earthquake. I trust, however, that the extract, which I subjoin, and the accompanying documents, selected and translated from many others of a similar kind, may be such

as to merit the approbation of my countrymen, as well as give to my friends the information they have solicited, and which I am happy to furnish to the full extent of my ability. The following extracts from the *Nautical Magazine* ought to serve as an apology for my publishing the second portion of my journal, and the concluding documents, which refer to the insurrection:—

“During the earthquake which did so much damage a few months since in South America, the sea rose at Juan Fernandez three different times. It left a mark on the shore which was nearly filled with water; its greatest rise was about forty feet above the general level of the sea; and I was informed that the rise was sixty feet at the western part of the island. The sea was quite smooth when it occurred, the weather calm and clear. *The water did not rush in like a wave, but rose like a rapid flood-tide. As it came on unexpectedly, the dry provisions which were in store (all that were in the island) were entirely destroyed, and several mud huts which were near the beach, were washed away, but there were no shocks felt on any part of the island.*”

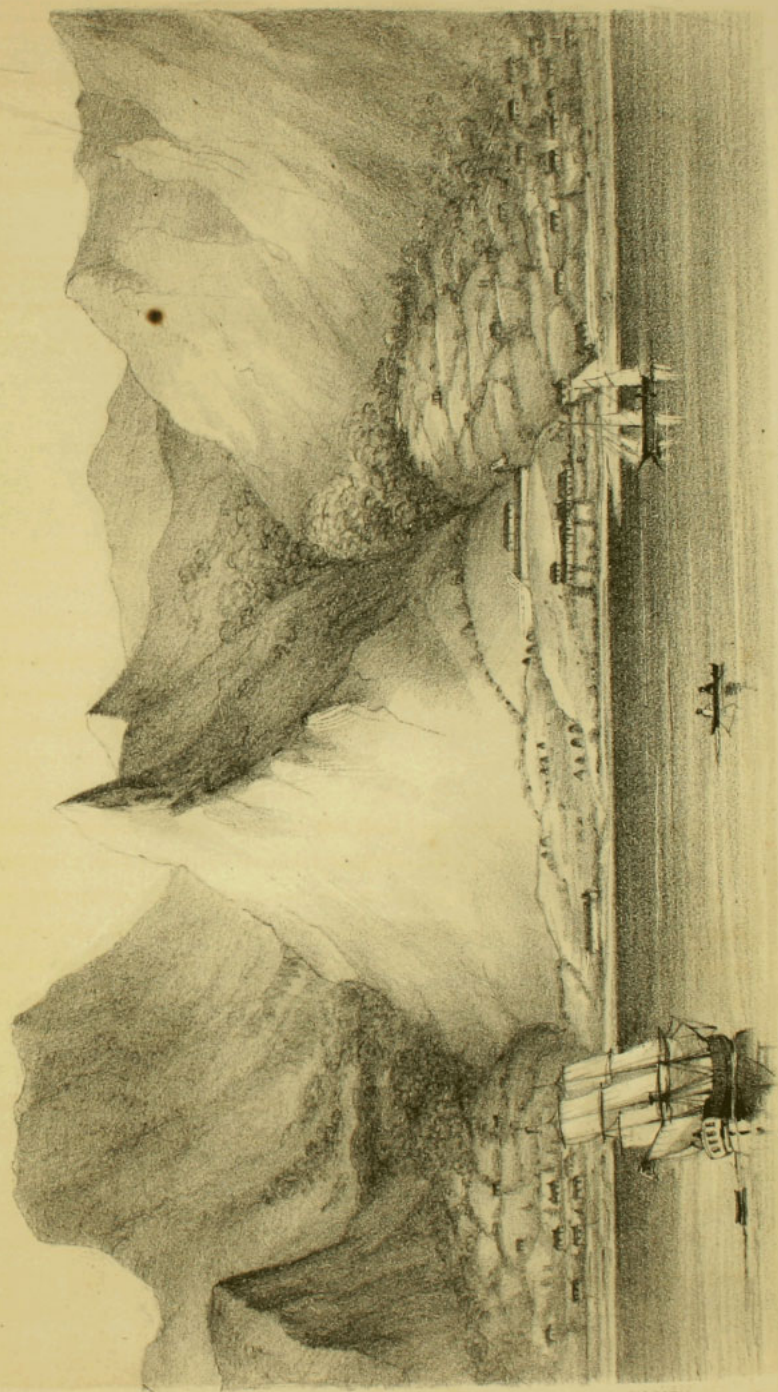
“On the 2nd of August, 1835, the prisoners at Juan Fernandez rose on the troops at the time they were receiving their weekly allowance of provisions, took the arms, and had possession of the fort for two hours. *The soldiers at last rolled, and attacked the prisoners with the carpenters' tools, and any other weapons they could get; retook the fort, and recovered their arms.* There was not a soldier hurt in the fray, although they were fired upon repeatedly, but three prisoners were wounded, who shortly after died. Soon after this affair, *the second in command put the commandant (an Englishman) under an arrest, for inattention to his duty, and which neglect was considered the chief cause of the prisoners rising.* Five days before we arrived here *he was sent to Valparaiso to be tried.* Another commandant, with a fresh detachment of troops, arrived at the same time to relieve those who were on the island, *their time, which is six months, having expired.* Everything appeared to be carried on in good order, and with strict discipline; but the commandant recommended me to be on my guard, as the prisoners had once risen, and might again attempt it, and take possession of my vessel. About two years previous, a number of them had taken possession of a French brig during the night, which had called in for supplies, and made the crew land them near Chiloe.”

I also consider it a duty I owe to myself, relatives, and friends, to refute such parts as are highly injurious to my character, and I consider my native country the most appropriate place, to shew the public in general that the statements are incorrect, especially those that have been so widely circulated in the *Nautical Magazine* of June, 1837.

The translation of a few documents I published in Santiago previous to my departure will, as they have reference to the earthquake and mutiny, shew that “the commandant, an Englishman,” was not “arrested for inattention to his duty,” nor was any neglect on his part “considered the chief cause of the prisoners rising;” and also the conclusion will prove, that, although I left the army at a time the republic was at war, my motives were just and honourable. Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Blanco, did me the honour to receive my power of attorney and other documents, in order to obtain a recompense for my services, should I remain in Europe. I published the farewell token in order to inform my Chilian friends of the motives, &c. of my leaving, and which I have translated; and I am flattered that the Editor of the *Nautical Magazine* will see that my motives for refuting the misstatements of Captain Masters have been well founded.

T. SUTCLIFFE.

Ashton-under-Lyne, August 3rd, 1839.



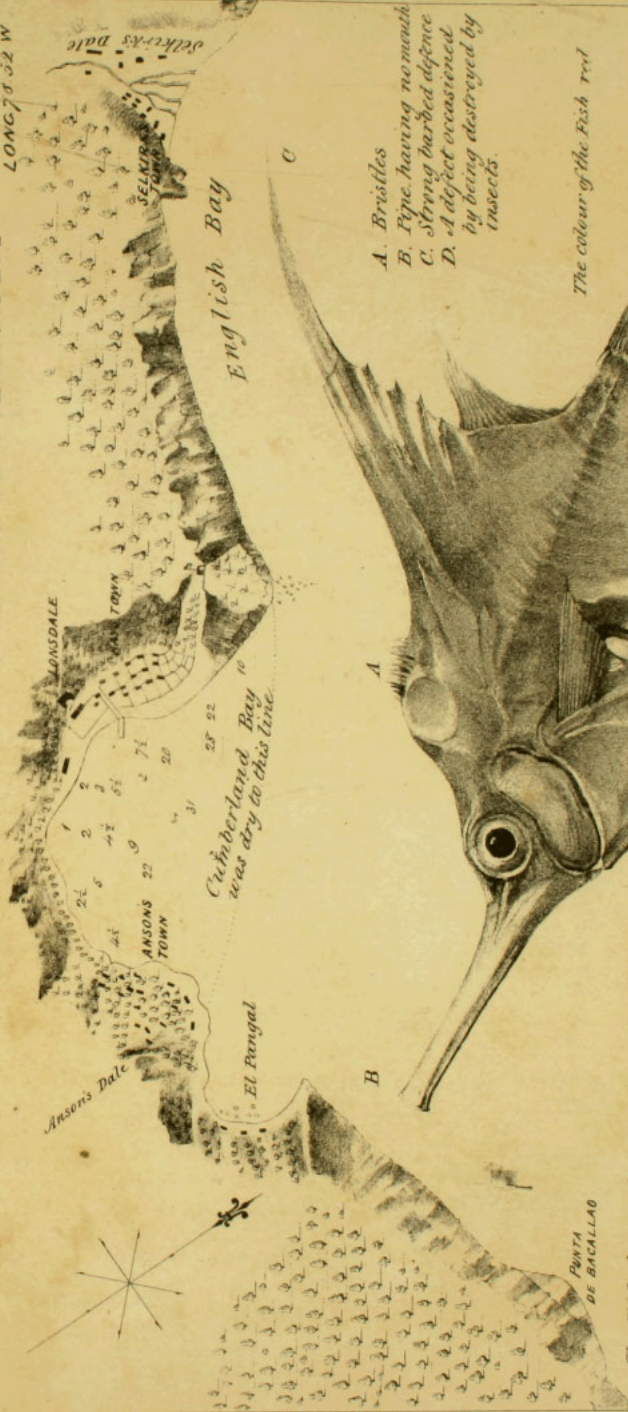
VIEW OF THE ISLAND FROM CUMBERLAND BAY.



VIEW OF THE ERUPTION FROM EL PANGAL.

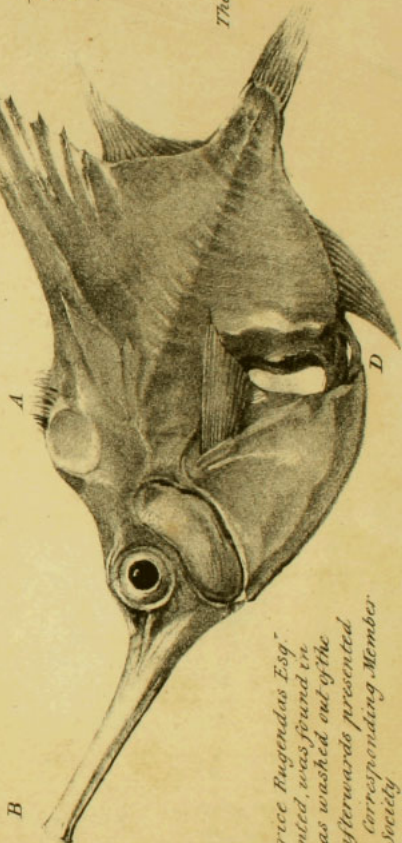
PLAN OF THE NORTH EAST SIDE OF THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDES -

LATT. 33 40 S
LONG. 78 52 W



- A. Bristles
- B. Pine having no mouth
- C. Strong barbed defence
- D. A defect occasioned by insects

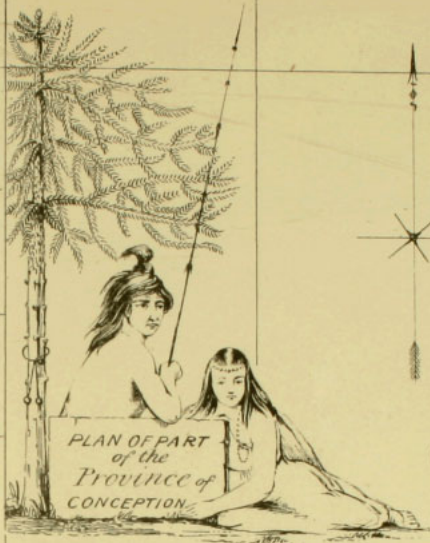
The colour of the Fish red



The Fish drawn by Maurice Bugendas Esq. of the exact size represented, was found in one of the Closets that was washed out of the Government House, and afterwards presented to Alex. Caldebaugh Esq. Corresponding Member of the Royal Zoological Society

Long 73-0-0 W.

Lat 36



E A N

River Itala

DEPARTMENT OF COELEMU

Honda

Panguakue

Quillou

Conuco

Rafael

Roa

Manco

Columio

Tome

P. Loberia
Quiriquina
Berachua

Talcahuana

Penco

Concepcion

DEPARTMENT OF PUCHACAI

Paps
9°
Bio Bio

S. Vicente

S. Pedro

RIVER

BIO BIO

P. Coronel

DEPARTMENT OF LAUTARO

Colcura

T. Physical Lib. Manch.

37

ACCOUNTS RELATIVE TO THE EARTHQUAKE.

EXTRACTED FROM MY JOURNAL OF 1835.

On the evening of the 19th February, I heard a strange rumbling noise, something similar to what happens on the Continent on occasions of earthquake, and inquired whether such had been experienced on the island, but, being answered in the negative, I fancied the noise proceeded from some empty casks hard by, occasioned by a gust of wind passing their bung-holes. This evening I finished one of the new boats and had her launched; also, the new doors were fixed to the store-house. Next morning, about half-past eleven, whilst on the walls of the Castle of Santa Barbara, accompanied by the Commandant and Ensign Molina, giving directions to some men who were building the barracks, I observed the new boats, and two others floating in the boat-house, and the mole, nearly covered with water. The sea never having risen so high since my arrival, it being the time of low tide too, I became alarmed, and descended as quickly as possible, and gave orders for the boats to be immediately secured; whilst so employed, the sea began to retire with velocity, leaving the greatest part of the bay dry. I now ordered the drummer to beat to arms, and the alarm bell to be rung. As soon as the people came to me, I ordered them to shoulder all the boats, and carry them from the beach, placing myself in the rear to animate them. Then the earth began to shake violently,—we heard a most tremendous explosion, and the sea receded in immense rollers. The prisoners became so frightened, that they abandoned two of the boats, having secured the other to a fig tree near the foot of the castle. It is impossible to describe the consternation we all were in,—the people screaming and making dismal cries as they climbed the hills. The soldiers had but barely time to save their arms before the town was literally covered with water, which, on again receding, carried away the houses, trees, and cattle, also several men and women, leaving only the store-house, prison, and church, standing. The roof of my house, and that of the soldiers' barracks, which on account of the former being built on an elevated situation, and both recently repaired, escaped, although the water reached the first story. Happily our provisions were uninjured. The sea advanced and receded four times to the foot of the castle. As soon as it became quiet, or, I should say, less agitated, I launched the boat and picked up the men and women who had kept themselves afloat on some timber, but were severely bruised; two of them were carried out to sea upon the roof of a cottage. I lost nearly every thing I had; but at the risk of my life, saved my writing desk, a box with papers, and two family portraits (Governor Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, and John Kay, Esq., of Bury, Lancashire, inventor of the fly shuttle, &c. &c.) All the ammunition, excepting a few cartridges the soldiers had, was spoiled. As the other two boats had been left dry on shore, and uninjured, I ordered them to be launched, and a quantity of furniture and other articles were picked up, besides what had been washed on shore and left dry.

Shortly after the explosion, I observed a large column, something like a water spout, ascend in a rapid manner out of the sea, which surprised me, there not being a cloud to be seen; it proved to be

smoke, which soon covered the horizon, and eastward point of the bay, called Punta de Bacalao. It is impossible to give an adequate description of what took place, or of my anxious and painful state of mind; it requires both an abler pen, and the observation of one, who had not, as I had, above 500 persons under his charge; of these, 200 had been as great a set of ruffians as God ever permitted to live. But no language could be found adequate to describe the awfully wondrous scene!

What is hardly credible, many of these wretches thought of nothing but plunder, and several nearly paid with their lives for their temerity, having been actually swept away with my store, and from my house, to which they made on the appearance of the sea; but how they escaped drowning, is to me a mystery.

I had to keep the loss of the ammunition a secret, even from the soldiers; except, of course, what they themselves had seen wet in their cartridge boxes. I therefore filled two empty ammunition boxes with sand, and had them covered with hide, and placed under a guard, as if full of powder, which I conceived absolutely necessary, my situation being extremely critical, with so many convicts under my charge. The ground where the town and garden had been, was covered with sand, and the wreck of which had been left behind. The mole and watering place were likewise destroyed. I placed a strong guard in the castle, over what had been saved, and, with the officers and troops, took up my quarters in caves, which the former governors had made for the residence of the prisoners. The convicts remained at large, for their prison had been filled with water, and their cottages swept away. During the night, until about two or three o'clock in the morning, there appeared, at intervals, violent volcanic eruptions, which kept all of us awake, and in constant dread of something happening even more terrible than what we had experienced. These phenomena had been preceded from sunset by heavy flashes of lightning, in the direction where I had seen the smoke before mentioned. The day following I went in the boat with a lead and line to sound where I had observed the smoke, but found no alteration in the bottom, as all the coast near the point of Bacalao is full of fissures, and on shore there are still remains of a crater near the place where the eruption exploded. There was a great quantity of dead fish floating; we picked up a number of fowls, and some dead sheep that had been drowned, and also a variety of articles that had been washed out to sea. Wishing to collect all the information possible, in order to forward to the government an accurate report of what had happened, I ordered the Chaplain, Commissioned Officers, and Sergeants, also the Governor of the prisoners, to collect *me* what information they could, and to communicate the same to me in writing, with their own separate observations, which are as follow:—

The Chaplain's Account.

“Juan Fernandez, Feb. 21st, 1835.

“SEÑOR GOBERNADOR,—At the moment the sea began to retire, I ran to the hills, for which reason

I cannot give an exact account of what happened yesterday; but on my return I found that the sea had destroyed and carried away the greatest part of the houses, leaving only the store-house, on account of your having repaired and strengthened it lately with a brick and mortar foundation. The residence of the prisoners (Galpon) and the chapel also have escaped, no doubt on account of having been repaired, as well as a few cottages, built on an elevated situation. This is all I can relate to V. S. concerning our disaster.

"FRAY JOSE RAMON RAMIREZ, Capellan."

The Commandant's Account.

"Juan Fernandez, Feb. 21st.

"SEÑOR GOBERNADOR.—V. S. has ordered me to give my account of what I observed on the 20th of February. On that day, about half-past eleven in the morning, I observed, for the first time, the sea rise and cover the mole and place of debarkation of this port. Shortly after it retired about two quadras (about 300 yards), and returned and covered the town up to the foot of the hills; and on it returning again, it carried away the greatest part of the houses, gardens, fences, &c., having left only the store-house, which must be owing to your having recently strengthened it with a brick foundation; the Galpon also and church, which had been repaired; besides some cottages, in which the families of my soldiers reside; these on account of their being on an elevation. Of my troops, I can give you no account of their losses until I make an exact inspection of the whole.

"NOBERTO AGUAYO."

The Lieutenant's Account.

"Juan Fernandez, Feb. 21st, 1835.

"SEÑOR CAPITAN.—Whilst on the walls of the Castle of Santa Barbara, about half-past eleven yesterday, I observed the sea rise more than twelve yards from its usual depth, and shortly after it retired with precipitation to the distance of two quadras (300 yards), and returned with velocity, and, in a moment, overwhelmed the town. The store-house, Galpon, and church have escaped; the first because, no doubt, it has so lately been repaired a yard and a half from the ground with bricks and mortar. The soldiers, fishermen, and prisoners escaped to the hills, losing all their effects, &c. From about seven in the evening there appeared at the Punta de Bacalao volcanic eruptions, which only lasted until about two in the morning. This is all I can relate or affirm.

"FRANCISCO MOLINA."

The First Sergeant's Account.

"Island of Juan Fernandez, Feb. 24th, 1835.

"SEÑOR CAPITAN.—On the 20th February, I was in my quarters, and about eleven in the morning I heard the Governor, who was in the castle, call out to beat to arms, saying the sea was rising. I immediately ran to my company, and whilst the sea was retiring to about two quadras distance, it only gave us time to save part of our armament and knapsacks before it returned. We escaped to the Castle of Santa Barbara, where I formed with my company, and from whence I observed the movements of the sea, which covered the town and carried away many houses, fences, trees, &c. &c. The church and Galpon escaped, although the water rose about three yards round it, but it had been recently repaired; also the store-house, which had been fortified 2½ yards from the foundation with bricks and mortar. During the night, I had the advanced guard on the castle walls, and about seven I observed vol-

canic flames arise in the direction of the Punta de Bacalao, but ceased before the day broke. This is all I can relate concerning what has happened.

"PABLO GONZALES."

The Mayoral's (Governor of Prisoners) Account.

"SEÑOR CAPELLAN.—On Friday the 20th February of this present year, at about eleven in the morning, whilst I was in the store-house, I heard some one call out, saying, 'secure the boats,' and on going out I saw it was the Governor, who was seated on the castle wall, that gave the order, on which I went to order the men to the beach to carry the boats up; but we had scarcely got twelve paces when, observing the sea to rise, I ran and called the Governor to secure his equipage, &c., but he ordered us to save the boats. The sea had retired about a quadra, and I saw two anchors, and something like the smoke of a volcano in the figure of a white tower in front of the Punta de Bacalao; and as the sea was retiring I ran to the castle, and when I got there I observed the sea had covered all the town, and on receding carried away the greater part of the houses, plants, fences, &c. The provision store escaped, on account of the Governor having had it repaired with a foundation of brick. The Galpon had also been repaired, as well as the church, and these, as well as some cottages, which were on an elevated situation, remained. This is all I can state as falling under my observation.

"GABRIEL SALDIAS.

"Juan Fernandez, Feb. 24th, 1835."

Felix Baesa's Account (Clerk to the Store-keeper).

"SEÑOR CAPELLAN.—On the morning of the 20th February, about mid-day, I was in the Quebrada del Yunque (a mountain most elevated in the island), cutting some timber for oars, with three companions, on a hill from which we could see the port and town, and was surprised by the moving of a tree that I was leaning against; but believing it to be caused by the wind, which was blowing fresh, I took no more notice; but soon after I felt various shocks of an earthquake, which lasted for a quarter of an hour, and it shook so violently that the trees beat against each other, and large masses of rock came tumbling down, carrying the trees and all before them. Such a scene terrified us, as did also a tremendous explosion which took place. On looking towards the port I saw the plain covered with the sea, and the roofs of houses, and other articles, floating on its surface.

We immediately returned, and found that the sea had destroyed the town, and done a great injury to all of us. This is all I can relate concerning what has happened.

"FELIX BAEZA.

"Juan Fernandez, Feb. 24th, 1835."

I made out my official account to forward to government, stating what fell under my own observation, enclosing, at the same time, duplicates of nine accounts, of which I have here translated five word for word, as they were the best of a number which I had sent to me by persons who had witnessed what happened on the 20th of February.

I cannot refrain from mentioning the following fact:—A favourite pointer bitch, called "Chula," had pupped on the 17th of February, and was in my servant's room when my house was destroyed. I supposed, therefore, she and her four pups had been drowned, but was agreeably surprised to see her scampering towards me with one she had saved, which I took from her. She immediately returned to the sea, from whence she soon came back with

something in her mouth, which proved to be a pigeon, which was dead, but still warm. She laid it near the pup, and again went; but as the sea had retired to some distance, she returned, and threw herself down nearly exhausted, and began to caress her pup, which still lives, and which I called "Friday," as the earthquake took place on that day. (James Whitehead, Esq., who accompanied me to the island, has brought Friday to Liverpool.)

I was occupied more than a week collecting the wreck of the town and other articles that were afloat or left on the beach. I picked up a quantity of books and papers which were strewn about, but they were nearly destroyed, or illegible. I deposited all I saved in the church, and there, also, took up my quarters, for the caves were uncomfortable and wet. The ship *Cyrus*, an American whaler, Capt. Hussey, arrived on the 28th, from whom I got a little powder and other articles; also some tools, of which I was much in want. My having repaired the store in the manner I did, by putting a brick foundation, to a house which had been built of "adobes" (dried mud), and fixing strong doors to it on the evening before the earthquake, was a most fortunate circumstance, to which alone can be attributed that all our provisions were saved, and which otherwise would have been totally lost or destroyed, and we should have been reduced to a miserable condition, until such time that succours might be sent from the Continent. Providence, however, was kind, although we suffered a great deal. Had the earthquake happened during the night, scarcely a soul could have escaped.

On the 18th of March the Chilean brig-of-war, *Achilles*, Capt. Simpson, arrived with three months provisions, and some convicts. She was laden with timber and planks, and had a number of carpenters on board, to take to Talcahuana, which had also been destroyed. So not to detain her, I received the provisions and other articles she had brought, without her coming to an anchor. Capt. Simpson was so kind as to supply me with 1,000 ball cartridges and some flints, and also an ample share of his own private stock of necessities, books, &c. He brought me no correspondence from Government; but he gave me several private letters and some newspapers, from which last, the following is a translation taken of the official account addressed to the Intendente of Concepcion, from the principal seaport of that province:—

"Talcahuana, Feb. 23rd, 1835.

"SEÑOR INTENDENTE,—On the 20th instant, at twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, a.m., we experienced a most tremendous earthquake, which in the space of three minutes threw down all the roofs and the greatest part of the edifices of this town, and the almost continuous shocks which followed augmented progressively the destruction.

"About half-past twelve o'clock, there appeared near the Boca Chica, and near the coast of Tome, an immense rolling wave, which in a majestic but dreadful manner advanced, overwhelmed and destroyed the numerous villages on the coast, overturning the rocks in its passage; and, to consummate the work of destruction, sweeping to their foundations the edifices to the eastward.

"In a few minutes the sea receded about twelve quadras, leaving the vessels in the bay dry, carrying with it the property which formed the fortunes of my townsmen, and of the inhabitants of the province; and it were as if the inhabitants of the centre and the creek (Caleta) were not to be favoured, for there came at half-past one, a mass of water as smooth as a basin of milk, which bathed all that had escaped the fury of the first rollers, and destroyed their habitations. About twenty minutes after the sea retired, the vessels began to run foul of each other, and got their cables entangled in an inconceivable manner.

"About the same time was observed near the Boca Grande de la Quiriquina (an island so called), an immense foaming surge of a prodigious height, which passed by the Island of Rocuan, overwhelming in destruction the villages, drowning at the same time the inhabitants and cattle, up to the Perales.

"The shocking effects of this terrible phenomenon are shown by all the buildings being torn from their foundations, and so mixed, that no one can find or discern his property; in the town from 30 to 40 have fallen victims to this dreadful blow. "*Tan feroz como inesperado.*"

"The particular accounts of what has happened from the movements of the earth and sea are so strange and numerous, that I have abstained from relating them, for fear of being accused of exaggeration. The following one is sufficient:—The lady of Capt. Rogers, on the sea's first retiring, strove to embark with her children, but was so unfortunate as to be thrown by the rolling billow to the distance of six quadras inland, with three of her children, in one of the fragments of the boat; her fourth child, who had held fast to a piece, not the twentieth part of the boat, was picked up near to Lilcuen, by a boat coming to this port, nearly exhausted, but now this fortunate little creature is recovered. Lastly, a huge mass of rock, which it is calculated must weigh 25,000 tons, fell from the mountains of the Quiriquina, on the side of Boca Grande, in the bay of Talcahuana.—*Dios gue, &c.*

"MIGUEL BAYON."

The accounts from Concepcion, Chillan, Los Angeles, Colcura, Puchacay, Codelmu, Rere, Cauquenes, Linares, Peral, and Arauco, cities and towns to the southward of the Maule, in like manner Talca and Nueva Bilbao, were all involved in the like disaster and ruin.

The effects of the sea, except in the last-mentioned place, where two schooners, the *Juana* and *Gertrudes*, were left in the neighbouring woods, high and dry, and others on the beach, were dreadful. The disastrous effects were extended as far as Curico; which, however, suffered but little. The shock was violent in Santiago and Valparaiso, and neighbouring towns, but no damage was suffered in them.

By what I read in the public papers, I had not been the only sufferer. My loss was calculated at more than 3,000 dollars, yet I fared no worse than many of my neighbours on the Continent. But I really felt sorry for my poor fishermen, who, besides losing all they had possessed (including 600 seal skins, which being of the fur kind, were worth three or more dollars each), were in a state of nudity.

I informed government of the state of the prisoners, soliciting clothing, some agricultural implements, and carpenters' tools. Having already bought some, and received a few from the *Achilles*, I began to form a new town, on the very spot where Commodore Anson had his tents pitched, according to an engraving I had in the history of his voyage round the world, which I called Anson's Town; and to the beautiful and romantic valley in which it was situated, I gave the name of Anson's Dale. The captains of several whalers, which touched for wood, water, and vegetables, were much amused by the novelty of being received and entertained in my cave, for the rats had driven me out of the quarters I had taken up in the church. These animals are very numerous and mischievous. I had destroyed great numbers with arsenic, and am sure that myriads must have been swept away and killed by the earthquake.

(Seal of Office.)

"Ministry of the Interior, No. 207,

"Santiago, April 28th, 1835.

"I have received your two official notes of the 26th February and 12th March last, in which you refer to the extraordinary phenomenon that was ob-

served on account of the earthquake, which took place on that island. The President, to whom I have given an account of both, has ordered them to be published, to the end of preserving for the history of this country, the memory of such an extraordinary

event. His Excellency charges me to inform you, that government will attend to the necessities to which the establishment has been reduced, in order to succour you as soon as possible.—God guard you.

“JOAQUIN TOCORNAL.”

EXTRACTS RELATIVE TO THE INSURRECTION.

On the 7th of July, the *Colocolo* came in from Talcahuana, and brought a sergeant and eighteen men of the company of Grenadiers, of the battalion of Valdivia, to replace those she had taken away to the Continent. I received no answers to my official notes addressed to the Governor Intendant, Commandant of the battalion Valdivia, and the Commandant of the battalion Carampangue; but what surprised me still more was, that the purser of the *Colocolo* had not brought any of the articles which I had given him cash to purchase for me; and on my demanding his reasons for having acted in such a manner, knowing that we were in want of the common necessities of life, occasioned by the earthquake and by government only allowing me flour and dried beef as rations, he said that Captain Dias had prohibited his embarking the necessities, although he had at the time already given the order for all I had sent for to be purchased. On requiring of Captain Dias an explanation of such reproachful, not to say inhuman conduct, he replied, his vessel was a man-of-war, and that the purser had acted according to his orders. So not to have words with this person, whose conduct led me to believe that something was in machination to injure me in Concepcion as well as in Santiago, I gave orders to Ugalde to embark and demand his receipts for the cash and rations I had let him have; besides a friend of mine (William Delano, Esq.), who had come passenger in the *Colocolo* and spent the night on shore, informed me that all was not right. He had heard of my having sent for provisions, &c., and that the commandant of the *Colocolo* had not allowed them to be embarked, as well as other circumstances, which made him believe that I had a bad set to deal with. I sat up all night to despatch the vessel, and sent a copious correspondence to government, in which I detailed all the particulars concerning Ugalde's behaviour, and stated my conviction that a combination had been formed against me by Lattapiat and others; and above all, begging that the troops which garrisoned the island should be relieved as soon as possible, for I could not answer for the security of the establishment with such an insubordinate set. I also packed off the two fishermen, with their new contractor, Ugalde, who promised to maintain them until he should return to take charge of the island, &c. I sent my correspondence on board at day-light, with orders for the *Colocolo* to sail. Shortly after she had got under weigh, I heard a noise, and going to the door, saw she was in danger of getting on shore. I immediately ordered my boats to be in readiness, and on observing the vessel to be handled in an unseamanlike manner, I went on board and found Captain Dias at a loss what to do with her, on which I took command, and with the help of my boats and launch I got her from amongst the breakers, and after she was in safety and out of the bay, I gave her up to Captain Dias, and desired him to inform government, on his arrival in Valparaiso, that if they had a vessel of war called the *Colocolo* in their service they were indebted to me for her. He took particular care not to mention a word about this affair; but, conjointly with Ugalde, he spread the most infamous reports against me in

Valparaiso, &c. &c. I felt proud of having had it in my power to render such a service to government, which must have mortified both Ugalde and Captain Dias. I told the latter, as I was leaving the vessel, that I had no doubt but that the next time I should require him to bring me necessities or provisions, he would do it, for now I had a right to occupy his vessel, as I was entitled to salvage.

I sent nearly all my money, one thousand dollars, and documents of importance, away with my friend Delano; and I also confided to his care the official note respecting Ugalde, to prevent its being destroyed. A few days after the *Colocolo* had sailed, I was informed that Captain Saldes had received communications from the Governor Intendant of Concepcion, Don N. Alemparte. I was surprised that this personage should have written to the officer under my command, and not have deigned to answer my official note. I sent for Saldes, who denied having received any correspondence, but upon my pressing him hard upon the subject, he acknowledged having received a letter from the major of his battalion, and went to fetch it for me to read. It was advice of his being promoted to the rank of captain, and he requested I would publish his promotion, which I would not accede to, on account of his commission not having been sent. He seemed displeased at my not conforming to his wishes, and left off coming to dine with me, on which I reprimanded him, and gave him orders to attend daily at table. He came, but seldom eat. I also observed a greater familiarity between him and the priest than had existed before the *Colocolo's* arrival. I prohibited the latter keeping his house open to late hours, and gave orders to my store-keeper, not to let him or the officers have any liquor. I was determined to keep the prisoners whom I had placed on the small island, there, until I should hear from government, notwithstanding that the priest and Saldes often expressed themselves that it was cruel to keep them away from their families, now that the piquet had arrived; but I silenced them at length, by telling them, they had better attend to their own duties, for I was the only person responsible to government, and I well knew what was necessary under existing circumstances.

My gardener, who had fallen from a tree, by which he had broken his arm and shattered his wrist in a shocking manner, would have died for want of surgical assistance, but for the timely arrival of the English whaler, the *Caroline*, Captain Meek, having on board a surgeon, who amputated his arm. From this vessel I got a good supply of necessities; for American whalers, that touch for refreshments, are often very short of what we wanted. They seldom had wine or liquors on board, and were most of them temperance ships; but on shore they did not spare the grog, and all took large quantities of liquor, and what they call mint julep (and termed it medicine). On the 29th of July, a French whaler, the *Dunkerquise*, came for refreshment. She hove to and sent her boats on shore; the chaplain and Saldes requested leave to board her, but being at a considerable distance, I refused. Indeed, I never did allow any person to board vessels, unless at anchor. They both seemed very much mortified, and the chaplain

expressed himself in such terms, that I was under the necessity of ordering him to keep his house. My store-keeper went off to her with refreshments, which I sent in a present to the captain, who was unwell; and I entertained the first officer and surgeon, until gun-fire, in the best manner the place afforded. It blew very hard during the night, and next day, it being hazy, no vessel was in sight. I fired a beacon the ensuing night, and about one in the morning my boat returned with various articles which Duncan had purchased. The captain wrote me a polite note, telling me he had been obliged to hoist my boat in, on account of the weather, and that next day he would come into the harbour and pay me a visit. I was pleased at the safe return of my boat, and also at the supplies received thereby.

About six next morning, Captain Saldes came to request the rations for his soldiers; but on account of Duncan being much fatigued, I told him to wait until ten o'clock. He then said that they had nothing to eat; so I ordered the bread to be taken up into the castle, to be there distributed, as the whaler was close to the bay, and the captain to allow only two or three at a time to come down from the castle, to receive their provisions. About eight o'clock the captain came, with a request in writing to let him have a month's pay for his company. Having always let the soldiers have their pay and rations on the same day, notwithstanding I had not any money belonging to government, I ordered him to make out a pay list for the month of July, and that I would advance the amount. I then went to the mole, to examine the boat, which had returned, and observing a number of the soldiers outside the castle, I ordered them to be called in and kept there whilst the whaler was near, as I intended going on board of her. A short time after I had counted the money (547 dollars four reals), and whilst Saldes was re-counting it, the sergeant of the piquet, José Doeagua, ran into the room, and informed me that the convicts had taken possession of the castle, and at the same moment I heard the report of two muskets. This surprised me exceedingly, having but an hour before given the captain orders to keep the soldiers in the castle, where there was a main-guard of a sergeant, two corporals, and fourteen men; a barrack-guard of a corporal, and four men, besides a corporal placed over five men who were employed building the store-house. I called the captain to account for his neglect, &c.; he informed me that he had given orders to the sergeant on guard, and other excuses, on which I ordered him to assemble all his soldiers, and that those who had bayonets, should fix them on sticks; I told the store-keeper to distribute all the offensive tools he had amongst them; and in the meantime I called the "Mayoral," and ordered him to assemble all the prisoners behind the church; and, abandoning the money, I began with two or three convicts (for I was determined to restore order), with their aid to prepare the arms I had in my house, which were one blunderbuss, two muskets, one rifle, one fowling-piece, two double-barreled pistols, and four pair of horse and pocket pistols, besides three swords, one sabre, one sword-stick, and 2,000 ball cartridges. I selected twelve prisoners, among whom having distributed my arms, I placed the ammunition, and some bread and dried beef in sacks for them to carry with them, and then ordered Duncan to destroy all the boats, excepting one, to prevent the mutineers boarding the whaler. Two sergeants, one corporal, and three soldiers, begged earnestly to be allowed to assist and accompany me, so I gave them fire-arms, and ordered them to gain the height which commanded the castle; and that, as soon as they should observe me, to sally forth from my house, to open their fire upon the mutineers, who were on the castle wall. I also sent for the chaplain, and ordered him to go and demand what were the intentions of the mutineers, thinking that the soldiers had joined the convicts, for all

whom I could see were in uniform; and to let them know, that if they would surrender, and return to their duty, I would pardon them; but, if they did not immediately do so, I had the means, and would storm the castle, and shoot all I caught alive. He went, and shortly returned, saying, that they would not come to terms until they had the command of the island, and something to eat: that hunger had compelled them to take such a desperate step. The priest advised me to embark on board the whaler, stating that the resolution was only against my person, &c. I, to convince his paternidad that I had nought to fear from the prisoners, called him up into my house, and showed him that my person, and every thing belonging to me, was in the hands of the prisoners, and with whom I intended to reduce the rest, even without the aid of the troops. I also mentioned, that I had more confidence in them than in the soldiers; for what had taken place had confirmed my suspicions that I was beset by an infernal crew. I desired him to retire to his house until all was settled. This reverend personage, however, thought fit to avail himself of the opportunity to enter the store, and seize upon a demi-john of liquor, and was making off with it; but on my being apprised of the circumstance, I ordered it to be taken from him. It was really a ludicrous scene, notwithstanding the very serious and critical dilemma pending, to see the priest and Duncan tugging at the demi-john; and but for a chance ball, which hit somewhere about the heel of the priest's shoe, I apprehend the demi-john and its contents would have remained upon the spot.

Whilst I was anxiously pondering who might really be in possession of the castle, two women came down, and from them I obtained the information, that there were only thirty-six prisoners in the castle, and that they were dressed in the soldiers' uniforms; that Juan Lillo Robles was their chief; and that he had gone out with four others to bring more people to the castle; also that the Ensign Riquelme and several soldiers were prisoners in the barrack-room. Captain Saldes now made his appearance, bringing with him about thirty soldiers. He demanded the arms and ammunition I had in my house; to which I replied, "Where are the arms and ammunition I entrusted to you, as well as the castle which was in your care? in whose possession is it now?" He replied that the prisoners had got possession of them; on which I told him that all the arms I had in my house were my own private property, and that with them I should maintain my authority, and in the last extremity defend myself and the few that were with me so long as I lived; and upon his reiterating his demand, I turned round upon the soldiers with an air of determination, and in the most peremptory manner, ordered them instantly to place themselves under the command of a sergeant. I then immediately divided all the offensive tools, and some lances, amongst them, and to a sergeant and a corporal, who had first offered their services, I gave fire-arms, with orders to place the party in the rear of the castle in order to secure the prisoners by cutting off their retreat, in case I should succeed in driving them out of it. I next formed my party, which consisted of Sergeant Doeagua, one corporal, and four soldiers, the mayoral, Cruz Sanchez, and eleven of the prisoners whom I selected from about thirty who offered to accompany me, leaving the rest with Duncan to guard my house and stores during the conflict. As I was starting, the captain came up and begged I would allow him to accompany me in the assault; I told him he might do so, and gave him a pistol which I had just discharged as a signal to the party on the height, who, as had been preconcerted, immediately opened their fire on those in the castle. I sallied out, and ordered my men to keep up the fire as they were advancing, which we were doing quickly; but, whilst re-loading my rifle, some one behind gave me a violent push, and I fell over a log of wood, and my ramrod was instantly snatched from my

hand; I got up as quick as possible, and turning round and cocking a pistol, demanded who had taken my ramrod, and had dared to push me. I received no answer, but I perceived the captain and three of the prisoners running off towards the priest's house. One of them I found was the master blacksmith, the person to whom I had chosen to entrust a basket that held my ammunition and percussion caps. I had no time to lose in observations, &c., so we advanced under the fire of the mutineers, who wounded two of the party, and entered the castle. We killed two, wounded six, and took fourteen prisoners; the rest escaped with their fire-arms to the mountains, on account of the party which I had ordered to the rear of the castle not having arrived soon enough to intercept them, although I had allowed ample time for them to have taken up the appointed position. I found the muskets piled against the castle walls, and many of them had been rendered useless, by having their locks broken. I then hastened to take possession of the height that commanded the castle, and soon after arriving there I observed the captain entering the castle over the wall, close to the flag-staff, where it requires the use of the utmost agility to climb. I ordered a gun to be fired, to recall the soldiers and others who had fled to the mountains. I sent for the chaplain, and ordered him to prepare the prisoners, for I was determined on shooting them all at sunset. I required the captain to account for the castle's falling into the hands of the prisoners, and charged him with having deserted me during the assault. He laid all the blame of the castle's being taken to Sergeant Altamirano, who was in the command of the main-guard; and said that he only ran to the priest's house for his sword, and that afterwards he had fallen in with two of the mutineers; that he had wounded one of them, José Maria Candia, and had left him in the priest's house, with another he had taken. I ordered the sergeant to be sought and put into confinement along with the rest of the guard; as, in like manner, all those who were on duty when the affair took place. I then sent for the men whom Saldes had taken prisoners. One of these stated that the captain had wounded him. I took the declarations of the prisoners myself, in the presence of the officers, of the chaplain, and of the mayoral of the prisoners, who signed for all those who could not sign their names or write, and certified as to the authenticity of the rest of the signatures. I found that all those whom I had taken had been forced into the castle by Lillo Robles; so I ordered them to draw lots, in order that I might make an exemplary punishment by shooting four. Whilst they were on their way to the place of execution, at sunset, I was informed that one of them had his wife with him, on which, to testify my approbation of the conduct of 158 prisoners who were on the island when I arrived, who had not taken part in the insurrection, I gave them leave, as a reward for their good behaviour, to pardon one of the four, hoping sincerely they would select the married man, but they saved another. As soon as the execution was over, I gave the captain strict orders to send me a statement, in writing, of what had taken place before he retired to rest. I also sent my boat, and ordered the others to be repaired, to fetch the people who were in the different bays, as well as all their effects, in order that those who had absconded might not receive any assistance or provisions. And after having regulated and given the necessary orders to the patrols I had formed of the prisoners who had assisted me, to preserve order during the night, I retired to my chamber, and although much fatigued with the day's occurrence, I passed a sleepless night, ruminating on the dangers I had so wonderfully escaped. About eleven o'clock I heard a loud knocking at my door, and on inquiring what was the matter, a soldier came to me who had been sent by the priest for a bottle of liquor.

I asked this man who the priest had in his house. He told me the captain, the alferes, and cadet; on which I sent the priest a reprimand, with orders to dismiss his guests, and an order to them at the same time to retire to their quarters. I sent to the captain for his statement alluded to above, and was answered that he was writing it. At length daylight appeared, and on account of his disobedience of my orders, I came to the determination of arresting him. I sent for Ensign Riquelme and Sergeant Docagua, to put my orders into execution, but the officer refused to obey my summons, and the sergeant sent to inform me that he had orders from his captain not to quit the castle. I had already, from the captain's conduct and the behaviour of the ensign, entertained the belief that they had been abettors of the revolution, for how was it possible that a few unarmed prisoners could surprise and take possession of a castle garrisoned by 68 soldiers, after the captain having received strict orders, too, to keep them in the castle and under arms, shortly before the event took place? The letters which I received shortly before from my friends on the Continent, and the chaplain's earnest entreaties for me to embark in the hour of danger, stating that the mutineers only wanted to seize upon me, and to wreak upon me their vengeance or revenge, &c., confirmed my suspicions of their treachery. On the point of leaving my house to repair to the castle, to arrest Saldes, the ensign came in; and on my demanding the reason he did not obey my summons, he said he had orders to that effect from his captain, who had sent him to me to inform me that he had assumed the military command on account of the occurrences of the 1st, and would only acknowledge me as the political Governor until he should hear from government; so that whatever I wanted with the captain, he said, must be done in an official manner! I inquired of this officer how he and the castle fell into the hands of the convicts, but he only told me he had received orders not to answer my questions. My situation was critical. I informed him that both he and the captain would have heavy charges to answer; that I was confident they had been deceived, and induced to act in such an improper manner by persons who would leave them in the lurch when brought to an account; and on observing the sergeant, who had been on guard the day before, pass by, I inquired by whose orders he had been set at liberty. The ensign informed me that none of the guard were in confinement. I immediately sent an official note to Captain Saldes, requiring him to give an account how the castle, arms, ammunition, Ensign Riquelme, and four soldiers, had fallen into the hands of the convicts. The ensign himself was the bearer, and delivered it to his captain.

In the evening the mayoral came and informed me that a convict had arrived from a distant part of the island, with a message from the mutineers to the captain and priest, saying that they were waiting for their orders to surrender themselves; and that they suffered for want of provisions. I sent for this individual, and inquired how he had met with them. He told me that he had obtained leave from the mayoral to fetch a quantity of dried lobsters from the place he had been to, on a fishing excursion, and on his way back he had been stopped by Lillo Robles and 13 others, who were dressed in soldiers' clothes, and had muskets; that they had deprived him of his lobsters, and sent him to the captain and priest. I asked him why they had applied to those persons, knowing me to be their Governor, and who alone had power to pardon them. He replied that they did not even mention my name until one, called Gutierrez, said he would not surrender, for fear of being shot by the *Gringo*, as he had little dependance on the padre's promise. This made me confident that some understanding must have existed between the captain, chaplain, and prisoners, before the castle

fell into the hands of the latter; but not having yet got hold of any of the eight who had entered and taken possession of the castle, to take their declarations, I could not unravel the mystery. I then desired this convict to return and offer my pardon to all, excepting the two ring leaders, *Lillo* and *Gutiérrez*. This night the wife of one of the soldiers who were on guard when the castle fell into the hands of the convicts, came and informed me that the captain had ordered the soldiers to leave the castle without their arms; and whilst they were going down the hill, the captain having observed me walking towards the mole, recalled them; that this was just before she heard me call to him, and ordered them to be kept in the castle; and that about an hour afterwards the sergeant, *Altamirano*, who was in charge of the guard, formed the whole of them, only leaving one sentry, and marched them down the hill; and then *Lillo Robles* and seven others ran in and took possession of the arms, &c., and made the sentry and Ensign *Riquelme* prisoners; that they then put on soldiers' clothing, and stationed four on the walls; that *Lillo Robles* went out with two others, and returned with about thirty men. This information opened my eyes at once; but what could I do? I rewarded the woman, and bade her keep what she had told me a perfect secret even from her husband, whom I should also protect; in short, that her own safety would be endangered were it to become known that she had even taken notice of such things, or was privy to such facts. I thought it high time to adopt some means of securing my papers, taking duplicates of the most interesting, for which purpose I had to sit up all night. Next morning I gave orders to my store-keeper to ration the troops up to the 16th September, two days over the time I had received provisions for them, and the prisoners up to the 14th; and to demand the receipts from the captain and the mayor for the same in triplicate; and to take an exact account of all the provisions that remained in store, as well as of the tools and other articles I had received from government; and to get receipts for what were in use from the mayor, carpenter, and blacksmith, so as to enable me, at a moment's warning, to give up what I had in charge, or leave the island; for now I plainly saw I had a most villainous set to deal with, and that the captain must be acting according to instructions he might have received from *Ugalde*, or others on the Continent. On the 3rd I was informed that the chaplain and officers were convened, and that their conversation was about my having starved the prisoners, and robbed them of their rations. I therefore went to them, and required them to accompany me to the *depôt* at the dinner hour, in order to investigate whether the convicts had cause to complain for want of provisions, as the padre capellan had told me that they had stated to him it had been the reason of their taking the castle. I also demanded of the captain to give me his written account, in answer to my official note, as well as his reasons for having usurped the military command, and for ordering the soldiers to have no communication with me; to which he replied, he had his instructions, and knew what he was about, adding that until he should hear from government he would only acknowledge me as political Governor. I then told him and the chaplain that I was aware they had been led on to commit themselves by *Ugalde*, or some other person on the Continent, and that government would never sanction or approve such conduct, which was contrary to all military rules and regulations; and that I was sorry I had no means to uphold my authority. We went to the *depôt*, and I ordered the prisoners to inform the chaplain and captain what rations had been delivered to them since my arrival on the island, and to state the motives of the defection of *Lillo Robles* and his accomplices; and leaving them I went out of the yard, and as soon as the priest

and captain had concluded their investigation, I gave the following order:—

"Aug. 3rd, 1835.

"GOBIERNO DE JUAN FERNANDEZ.—The chaplain, Fray Juan Evangelista Lopez, and the commandant of the garrison, Don Nicolas Saldes, will declare, at the foot of this, what have been the results of their investigations of to-day in the *depôt*, in regard to the maintenance of the prisoners since my arrival on this island. *Dios guarde á V.V., &c.*

"THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

"Juan Fernandez, August 3rd, 1835.

"SEÑOR GOBERNADOR, DON TOMAS SUTCLIFFE.—The chaplain who subscribes, has the honour to inform V.S., that on this present day he assisted at the investigation held in the *depôt* of the convicts, during their dinner hour, in company of Captain Don Nicolas Saldes, and, having weighed the rations, found that each individual has received five pounds eight ounces of meal, beans, pepper, and salt, &c.,* daily, since the last remittance of provisions arrived from the Continent; and that, in the time of scarcity, they had received four pounds of the same, according to the weights and measures. This is all I can inform V.S. in obsequiousness of the truth, and in compliance with your order. I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to V.S. my consideration and respect.

"FRAY JUAN EVANGELISTA LOPEZ."

* On account of the quantity of goats and fish, the prisoners had requested a greater quantity of meal, &c., in lieu of dried beef (*charque*.)

"Juan Fernandez, August 3rd, 1835.

"In compliance with the order of V.S. I have here to state, that the prisoners have received five pounds eight ounces of victuals daily; and, in the time of scarcity, four pounds, according to the weights and measures. These rations are composed of meal, beans, fat, salt, pepper, &c.

"NICOLAS SALDES."

I also requested Captain Saldes to give me the receipt for the provisions he had received for himself and soldiers, and he sent me the following:—

"Juan Fernandez, August 4th, 1835.

"I have received from the store-keeper the provisions belonging to my troops, for forty-five days, counted from the first of the present month; also the total that belonged to them before that date, except flour, having received, as requested, two loaves each, daily, in lieu of it; and I myself have received double rations up to the 13th of September, as well as the candles for the barracks and the main-guard.

"NICOLAS SALDES."

"Juan Fernandez, June 16th, 1835.

"Having been informed that you have given orders that no more bread shall be issued to my soldiers, and that they are to receive the flour as it is sent to them from the Continent, I beg that, as it is in your power to grant them bread as hitherto, your notorious bounty and goodness will be pleased to order them the same rations as before, if it be not attended with too great inconvenience. God preserve V. S. many years.

"NICOLAS SALDES."

The foregoing documents and receipts, and the earnest solicitation to have bread in lieu of flour, amply exonerate me from any charges that might have been sent against me to the Continent, or made afterwards, with respect to mal-administration of the

provisions; although, in fact, I have had to maintain thirty or forty ever since the *Achilles* brought the prisoners, as up to this date I had only received rations for 158 individuals, having 200 to maintain. Out of thirty declarations I had already taken of persons who had taken part in the insurrection of the 1st, only one complained of hunger, and he was the man who had charge of my poultry, and, besides his rations, had an extra allowance of two loaves daily, and the range of my kitchen.

Juan Lillo Robles, who headed the party that took possession of the castle, and seemed the most inveterate against me, was a convict, whom I had orders from government to keep in constant confinement; but on account of several of the most respectable inhabitants of Chile having interested themselves solicitously in his behalf, I had not only given him a cottage with a plot of ground to it, and money, but had allowed him his rations, without ever having obliged him to work with the rest of his companions. The others who had aided him, were those who had arrived in the *Colocolo* and *Achilles*, since the earthquake, without rations. As I deemed it the best policy, in the posture of affairs, to make the captain believe that I was ignorant of his treacherous proceedings, I continued sending to him for an answer to my note of the 2nd; and on the 6th he sent me a note in the manner I required, in consequence of which I sent him the following:—

August 6th, 1835.

"GOBIERNO DE JUAN FERNANDEZ.—In your note of to-day's date you say you find yourself perplexed how to answer mine of the 1st. This is the sixth day of the month; the affair in question took place on the first, and I am still ignorant of the names of the persons who were on duty in the Castle of Santa Barbara, &c., and your answer is equivocal in the extreme; but, to prevent my being occupied frivolously, and in order to bring this affair to light, I again hereby order you to act in the manner conformable to military rules and regulations towards the sergeant, corporals, and soldiers, who were at the time on duty, that I may be enabled to forward their declarations to the chief of the army, where exists every means of observing the proper formalities, in order to sentencing cases, and which, under existing circumstances, it is impossible to proceed in here. *Dios guarde á V.*

"THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

To the above I received the following reply:—

"Juan Fernandez, Aug. 7th, 1835.

"SEÑOR GOVERNADOR.—In answer to, and fulfilment of, the order contained in the note of V.S., which I have now had the honour to receive, I have to state that the sergeant, corporals, and soldiers, who were on duty on the 1st of this month, are the individuals whose names are given below; whose declarations I have taken, and which, in my note No. 2, I have sent you. Others, more strictly, such as V.S. requires, it is impossible to realize, on account of the circumstances that actually surround us; and to effect which it would be necessary to put all who were on guard into confinement; and then consequences would follow in no ways agreeable to your person, as well as the whole of us. V.S. well knows that the (Forragidos) outlaws have still their arms, and might have spies amongst us to observe our operations, and seize the opportunity that presented, in order to realize their wicked projects. And who would then be responsible to the nation, and to the supreme government, for having acted in such an injudicious manner, diminishing the strength of the garrison, and giving the banditti scope to make

another attempt, but the commander of the garrison? These, sir, are the reasons which impede me, and which have obliged me to take such steps, and adopt the other measures I have in the actual situation of this establishment. *Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.*

"NICOLAS SALDES."

Sergeant Teodoro Altamirano.

Corporal Manuel Ruiz.

Id. Juan D. Gutierrez.

Soldiers.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Juan Manuel Leiba. | Valentin Carabajal. |
| Francisco Pincheyra. | Remigio Sanchez. |
| José Maria Bega. | Juan de Dios Bastia. |
| Mariano Espinosa. | Cruz Gonzalez. |
| Juan de Dios Toro. | Gregorio Garrido. |
| José Maria Mora. | José Angel Pino. |

To which I returned the following answer:—

"Juan Fernandez, Aug. 7th, 1835.

"GOBIERNO DE JUAN FERNANDEZ.—Your note of yesterday's date has informed me who was the commander of the guard on the 1st of this month, and who will have to answer for abandoning his post. So I now order you, under the severest responsibility, to proceed in the manner prescribed by the military laws, against the sergeant, Teodoro Altamirano, and, with the rest of the guard, proceed, according to the exigency of, and what is rendered expedient by, the actual circumstances, which also exonerate me from making observations or reflections on the contents of your note. *Dios guarde á V.*

"THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

I received information that the priest was persuading the captain to arrest me, and blamed him for not having done so on the 1st, to prevent so much innocent blood having been shed, telling him that it was better that one should suffer than so many. I had gained over one sergeant and several soldiers, and intended to seize the captain and chaplain, but they remained all night in the castle. Next day I sent an order to the captain to send me Sergeant Docagua and 19 soldiers, to guard my house and stores while the runaways were at large. A short time afterwards the captain sent to inform me that something like the hull of a vessel was to be seen from the castle wall. Suspecting it be a stratagem to draw me from my house, I sent a fisherman with my spy-glass to see what it was; and on his returning and informing me that it appeared to be the hull of a vessel or a large boat, I ordered my store-keeper, Duncan, to go off with a whale-boat, and to take water and some provisions with him, in case it might be a wreck. He had scarcely left the bay when my house was surrounded by soldiers, and the Ensign Riquelme, after placing two sentries at the door of my habitation, presented me the following order of arrest, &c.:—

"Juan Fernandez, August 8th, 1835.

"I have considered it my duty to demand of V.S., that all the ammunition that exists in your house belonging to my troops shall be given up to me, in order that I may have the necessary means of defending this place from any other affair such as the last, and not to leave exposed the lives of the inhabitants for want of resources; also, that V.S. will remain under an arrest in your habitation, in order to preserve public tranquillity; for I have been informed that V.S. has exposed me and all my troops to perish, by not informing me of the revolution, which V.S. knew of before it took place, until such time as I have informed the supreme government of what has occurred.—*Dios guarde á V. S. muchos años.*

"NICOLAS SALDES."

On perusing this strange document, I found that some one of the soldiers that had offered his services must have informed the captain of my intention; and desirous to preserve in my own keeping this *order of arrest*, I told the alferex to return to his captain, and tell him he had better not proceed too far, *committing fault after fault*, and that I wished to see him to arrange matters. As soon as this officer left me, I placed the order in my boot, and put another letter on the table where I had thrown down, in his presence, the one he brought, after reading it. He returned in a very few minutes, and told me he must obey the captain's orders; and began to ransack my house. Observing his soldiers to take my arms, I called to him, and taking up the letter, as if reading it, I said, *here is no order for you to take my arms*; your captain only specifies my arrest, and demands the ammunition. He replied, that his captain had given him verbal orders. On which, I broke out into a rage, and told him that both he and his captain would hereafter have to suffer for such wicked and guilty proceedings; saying to him, "Tell your captain, I know how to respect his illegal order." I tore the letter I had in my hand to pieces, and threw it out of the window. The officer believed it to be in reality the order of arrest, and went away with my arms and ammunition, telling me, as he retired, that the captain would come to visit me. Suspecting it might be to deprive me of my papers, I cut off the bottom of a metal flask, which had a cover, and served for a cup to drink out of, and placed the order of arrest, receipts for provisions, and other documents, in it, and left it carelessly among several useless articles I had laying on a table; the remainder of my papers of consequence, I concealed under my bed, and sent for the chaplain, who, as soon as he made his appearance, I ordered to go to the captain and reason with him, and to induce him to return to his duty. The better to keep up the stratagem, and in order to induce the belief that I was ignorant of their villainy, I resolved to make them think that they had driven me to desperation; and accordingly I brought my medicine chest into my room, where the two sentries were posted, and mixed a vomit in a tumbler, and having placed a jar containing a little arsenic on the table, I sat down and wrote a letter to His Excellency the President, in which I stated that the proceedings and conduct of the chaplain and captain had urged and determined me at last to commit suicide. The priest soon returned, and as I had anticipated and made my calculation, informed me that he had done all he could to persuade the captain to return to his duty, but that he remained obstinate, and that there was no remedy. On which, springing from my seat, and exclaiming, as if frantic, "What! no remedy, father?" and on his faltering out, "no," I said (with excitement and a ghastly smile, and lowering my voice from one extreme to the other, in a confidential almost whisper), "Here," and laying hold of the glass, and pointing with my left hand to the jar's label, "here, father, is a remedy for all my sufferings; both you and the captain will one day, after I am dead, have to answer and to suffer for having been the cause." With which I gulped the greatest part of the vomit, before he seized upon the glass, endeavouring to hinder and prevent me swallowing its contents; but disembarassing myself, I emptied it, and said to him, in an expressive and emphatic manner, "You, father, I forgive." It is impossible to describe the priest's confusion, his consternation; he beat his breast, he ran out of the house with the jar in his hand, exclaiming, "the Governor has poisoned himself!" A crowd of soldiers and prisoners soon assembled in front of my dwelling. The captain and officer seeing this, and supposing it a rising in my favour, came down from the castle to disperse them, but on being told by the priest the cause, the captain was observed to smile, and gave orders that no one should approach me;

the murmurs of the soldiers and prisoners, and the clamours of my cook and his wife, however, obliged him to let these last come in to assist me. The moment they entered the room I told them, significantly, *I was feigning*, and delivered to them the afore-mentioned metal flask, with the most important, and also the residue of my papers of consequence in a packet, which they had hardly secreted about their persons when the priest, a corporal, and four soldiers came in, in order to oblige me to take an antidote. I lay stretched on my bed, in full uniform, and acted, in every possible manner, to make them believe I was poisoned, and refused to take any remedy. My cook and his wife played their parts as well as I did. The priest became very earnest in his entreaties to take an antidote, before it was too late. I continued obstinate and silent; but at length broke silence, accusing him of being the principal cause of the captain's behaviour towards me, which he denied, with assurances, in the most earnest manner, that he was my friend, and that if I recovered, everything would be as I might wish, &c. Then, to work upon the priest's mind, and to frighten him and others present, I told him that I should not be the only victim, for I had poisoned several articles. Upon which he ran out of the room like one out of his mind, and returned with my countryman, Duncan, to beg me to declare what articles I had poisoned; but I remained deaf to their entreaties. But as it was now time to take something as an antidote, that the artifice might not be discovered, I began to call for water; the priest told them not to give me any, and approaching me with a tumbler nearly full of salad oil, seeing my eyes shut, said, here is some water; on which I drank off the contents, and called for more water; he repeated the dose, which I in like manner swallowed; he kept inquiring, in the most solicitous manner, what articles were poisoned. I had now no reason to pretend being ill, for the mixing of the oil with the vomit I had taken, gave me such a griping that I kicked down a partition, and overthrew a table which was loaded with crockery and glasses. The priest then ordered me to be seized and laid on the floor; they took off my coat; but he acted altogether in so ridiculous a manner, that I could not refrain from laughing, notwithstanding I was at the moment suffering great pain inwardly. I got a feather, and by tickling my throat, succeeded in discharging the contents of my stomach, which relieved me greatly, and pretended to be a little recovered. The priest again pressed me to inform him what articles were poisoned. I told him it was the sugar under my bed, in a tin case; on which he seized upon it, and gave it to a soldier, with particular orders to throw it into the sea. He then kneeled down and kissed the floor, saying, that he and others had escaped by a miracle, and other monastic exclamations. Had I in reality have taken poison and poisoned the sugar by mixing it with arsenic, there is no manner of doubt the priest, officers, and many more, would soon have followed me to eternity, as it was the only sugar on the island. The trick struck terror into all, and I verily believe saved me from being assassinated. For three days I pretended to be ill; during which time the priest was very attentive. In order to make the chaplain believe I had destroyed the documents relating to the provision store, I tore up a quantity of old useless papers, but sealed up all the official communications and the prisoners' sentences, and other papers belonging to government, selecting all the documents I should want, which I also delivered to my cook to be placed in security. On the 11th, the priest, captain, and ensign, came, and the captain demanded my papers and what belonged to the archives. I protested against the impropriety and illegality of his demand, but he remained obstinate; on which I informed him that his demand being illegal, he might take them by force, but that if he chose, I would deposit them

with the chaplain, who would take charge of them, and place them in the church, until he should receive superior orders regarding their disposal. He agreed to my proposal; on which I requested him to place his seal also on them. I then allowed the chaplain to take them away, and he left me a receipt.

The captain had begun to kill the cattle and sell meat to his soldiers and others; on knowledge of which I sent him a letter, representing that all the animals on the island, except a few, were appertenant to the executors of the late governor, Don José Joaquín Larraín, who had appointed me to act for them; and that as such, and thus empowered, I had abstained from killing the cattle, inquiring how he could account for taking it upon himself to act in such a manner with what ought to be considered a sacred deposit? He received this letter in presence of his two companions, the priest and ensign, and gave orders to Duncan to leave my service, and appointed one of his own soldiers to attend me; on which I sent him a note to say that I was greatly obliged to him for having deprived me of the services of my countryman, at a time when there were fifteen of the vagabonds who had escaped from the castle with arms, in the neighbourhood, and considering my life to be in danger, I demanded to be removed into the castle, protesting against his arbitrary conduct. About nine o'clock at night Duncan returned, with permission to remain, and gave me the following note:—

“August 12th, 1835.

“In this castle there is no commodious or decent apartment, fitting for your person, as all are occupied by the soldiers and prisoners, and the quarters destined for myself and subalterns are full of provisions. You need not be alarmed at any attempt being made against your person, nor have any suspicion with regard to my soldiers, for I am sure that all of them would defend you to the utmost in case of danger.

“NICOLAS SALDES.”

Next morning I had liberty to walk out in front of my house, and two of the four sentinels only remained over me. The captain answered my letter of the eleventh by ordering the priest to take charge of the cattle, and of my store. He furthermore took hold of all my ready cash, which he persuaded the captain to deprive me of, in order, as he said, that I might not have the means to corrupt his soldiers. The accounts that he presented me with, from the persons that had charge of the cattle, were very amusing, especially one from the individual who had charge of my pigs. This rascal gave in an account, in which *twelve sows had not littered for the space of eleven months*. My store-keeper had above six hundred dollars in his possession, according to the balance taken on the last day of July, but now he accounted for no more than about one hundred. In the provision store there was plenty (of what I had saved by economy in distributing fish, and liberating those that chose from public works) to support the establishment for a month; the whole of which the captain transferred to the castle, and distributed in large quantities to the convicts and others. On the 13th of August, the captain gave orders to suspend all work, as also liberty to the convicts to hunt and fish. On the fifteenth, four of the party that were hovering about capitulated, and came in; and two days after the remainder gave themselves up, *Lillo Robles* and *Gutierrez* excepted. On the night of the eighteenth, about twelve o'clock, I heard a strange noise on the outer part of the dwelling, and on cautiously opening the window, to ascertain from whence it proceeded, could distinctly discern several soldiers below in the act of placing a ladder against the wall of the house, whilst a stentorian voice from the castle warned them to be on their guard. The singularity of the proceeding, the lateness of the hour, as also the revolutionary

state of the island, were a combination of incidents of themselves sufficient to induce me to believe that my life was the object of their nocturnal visit; and, under such conviction, I made immediate preparation for defence. My only weapons were comprised of a bayonet and a dagger, that had escaped the scrutiny of the alferéz when previously searching for arms; and thus poorly weaponed, myself and Duncan, we stood ready to meet the unequal contest, resolutely determined to repel the assailants. Thus situated, many moments had not elapsed before all fear of the conceived assault was happily terminated, by the sergeant hailing to say that the barracks in the castle were on fire, and they were only making ready to unhatch the house, in case of its taking fire. The fire in the castle was soon extinguished, and all quiet. On the next day I was informed that five of the soldiers' huts were burnt, that the barracks were unroofed, as also that, during the confusion, some prisoners had attempted taking possession of the arms, &c. The captain sent all his prisoners to Goat Island, so as to be free from such dangerous persons. Feeling disposed to terminate this unpleasant business, in a manner most convenient and amicable, I sent for the captain, and offered to pardon him all my personal sufferings, &c., as well as to use my utmost endeavours to obtain some indulgence from the supreme government, if he would return to his duty, letting him know that I was persuaded he had been led on, from error to error, by the priest, who, I considered, as well as Ugalde, the chief instigators of what had transpired since the 1st of August. He seemed to listen with attention, and requested me to state my wishes in writing, and he would consider how far he could with propriety comply under the existing circumstances. Furthermore, on his retiring, I begged of him to act independently, and on no account to be biassed by the friar, who, I assured him, would, *whatever might be the consequence hereafter*, sneak out of the affair, and leave him alone to suffer. As soon as Saldes had left me, I extracted from Colon, and the recopilation of laws, several passages from the most pointed, in order to convince him of the criticalness of his situation, and how he might extricate himself from the consequences.

“Juan Fernandez, August 25th, 1835.

“CAPTAIN SALDES.—Although you have not thought proper to return an answer to my letter of the 21st, I feel it my duty to lay before you the errors you have committed, perhaps from ignorance of the existence of the following laws, which I here copy for your perusal and instruction:—1. Magistrates, judges, intendents, chiefs of provinces, and all persons of high rank, cannot be arrested without the knowledge and approbation of the supreme government. 2. He that takes the life of a counsellor, justice of the peace, or court officer, or any other of high rank, such as a governor of a province, whilst exercising his authority, shall suffer the pain of death and confiscation of all his property; also he will be held as a traitor; and if he only wounds or imprisons him he will suffer the pain of death, and the confiscation of the half of his property. 3. No magistrate can be accused whilst in commission, except for crimes committed in administering his sentences. The reason of this law is, that on account of their charge they are supposed to have many enemies, and each would be an accuser to impede them from doing their duty: but the injured may lay their case before the supreme government, who will order delinquent judges to be punished. 4. He that hath committed crimes and not yet been tried for them, as well as servants or familiars against their masters, are prohibited by the laws, except in cases of high treason; and *clergymen* have a legal impediment to be accusers. 5. The military judges try all military cases for crimes committed by persons subject to other jurisdiction; such as *conspiring against the security of a fortress, its garrison, incendiaries, robberies, and all other*

excesses committed in barracks, store-houses, or military edifices; and the military judges can on no account whatever refrain from examining the following cases:—When accused of treason against the government or the state, or abandonment of a castle, fortress, or post, that the government hath entrusted to a military officer. In all these cases the accuser must follow up and prove the accusation, for if he does not, he will incur the penalty in which the accused would be sentenced in case the crime to him imputed were clearly proved. A simple individual can pardon the injuries he has personally suffered, and renounce the satisfaction for the damage he may have sustained; but the supreme chief can only grant the remission of the punishment which the delinquent is liable to; for the end of punishment is not an act of vengeance, but to prevent the commission of crimes. It would be absurd to place in the hands of a private individual the power to prevent criminals from being punished. The public would be deprived of the utility of a salutary warning, and the supreme chief of rights inherent to government. The mode to obtain your pardon from government is this:—The injured has to manifest in writing, that he freely pardons the offence as far as personally relates to him, and that he renounces all civil and criminal actions that he may have against the accused, and supplicate His Excellency to pardon him, or diminish the punishment due to his crimes. The situation of both of us is critical: mine for the responsibility to the supreme chief, touching the tranquillity and order of this establishment; and yours for having adopted improper steps tending to its dissolution, in collusion with others, who by no means are your friends. For your better information, I cite several literal sentences from the laws, in which there is no deceit; from whose tenor, for the national honour, as well as that of the battalion to which you belong, I counsel you as a brother to return to your duty, and promise for the general good, to adopt the method indicated in my last letter, as it yet remains in my power, previous to the arrival of the *Aguiles* or *Colocolo*, to pardon you all my personal sufferings; but should you repulse my proposals, I shall ever feel satisfied of having done my utmost towards an amicable settlement.—God guard you.”

“THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.”

I confess, that I had an ardent desire for the captain to return to his duty, in order to be enabled to punish the priest, and get from him a clue to find out who had been the instigators on the Continent, for to me it was clear that all had been devised there, and badly conducted, or seconded on the island. I was now informed that the captain, subaltern, and priest were together in the castle, examining the contents of my letter, and that high words had ensued betwixt the priest and the captain, the former advising him to continue in the command, in lieu of retreating; fearing, perhaps, that the change might materially affect himself, from which results I premise the following letter must have had its origin:—

“Juan Fernandez, Aug. 31, 1835.

“SEÑOR DON TOMAS SUTCLIFFE,—In answer to your very honourable communication of the 29th inst. I beg to state briefly, that it is impossible to allow you to return to the exercise of the functions you formerly possessed, until I hear from the Supreme Government, who shall be informed of what has taken place, and who will dispose of your person in the manner they may consider worthy of justice. Sir, should I accede to the repeated supplications you have made to me, from the 1st of this month to the present date, to the effect, that everything transpired be left in silence (to which intent you have repeatedly proposed it), the results would be a complete inversion of the quietness and tranquillity of this es-

tablishment. Never, sir, can I consent that such an affair should be left in impunity; for should I accede to your petitions and promises, it would admit my criminality. You also say that governors cannot be arrested; but the present critical circumstances permit me to take this step, as most convenient, and no one being here to whom an account can be rendered.

“NICOLAS SALDES.”

I saw by the contents of this letter, that the priest had got the upper hand; as also that he had either dictated, or wrote the copy for Saldes, as likewise the other communications I had previously received, being aware that the latter was very illiterate, and scarcely capable of composing his own letters. The same day that I received this epistle, the store-keeper was ordered to stop the provisions that had hitherto been distributed to me and my servants; and all that were in my private store were transferred to the castle, as well as several barrels of American flour and biscuit, that I had purchased from an American whaler. This day Duncan was taken violently ill, keeping me awake all night with his moans; he suffered great pain, and suspected that the store-keeper had poisoned him; I administered every remedy that could be devised for his relief, and happily succeeded, for on the following morning he appeared considerably better;—he had been addicted to indulge himself with liquor, but now in his moments of pain, he promised to renounce his libidinous practices, and join the *Temperance Society*. According to his own statement, he was a native of Bristol, where he had respectable connexions, and formerly had been captain and owner of a small sealing vessel, but failing in speculations, had been reduced to keep a house of entertainment for mariners in the port of Payta, on the coast of North Peru; he was a navigator, and an excellent carpenter, and I thought myself fortunate in having such a person on the island. The captain had deprived the mayoral, Cruz Sanchez, of a canoe I had given him, and delivered it to a man named Moyano, one of the most worthless fellows on the island, whom I sent for, and ordered him to return it to its original possessor, whereas he retired to lodge a complaint with Saldes. I sent for Sanchez, and gave him a large quantity of garden seeds, and some slops I had purchased, that he might divide them amongst those men that accompanied him to the assault of the castle. The captain had taken possession of the clothing I had purposely bought for my boat's crew. I sent for each of these individuals, and gave them written orders on Saldes for the different articles comprising their dress, which was immediately honoured by the delivery of the aforementioned. Sanchez informed me that the priest had deprived him of the greater part of the seeds I had given him to distribute. My passion here got the better of patience, and I sent a peremptory order to his paternity to return them, which he not only refused to do, but immediately proceeded to the distribution of the lands I had formerly laid out and cultivated, giving to each prisoner a share, under condition of receiving a stipulated part of its produce for their labour, assuring them that their situation would be much bettered on the arrival of Don Marcelo Ugaldé, the new governor, whom he expected daily to arrive, and take possession of the island as proprietor. He had also begun to make rapid advances in killing the cattle I had deposited in his hands, selling the meat to the soldiers and prisoners, and, in fact, carrying on a free and flourishing trade with what he had found in my store, not exempting himself from a free use of all, and everything else within his grasp; and it was quite in vain for me to attempt expostulating with him, for he was, in fact, the absolute governor of the island, Saldes being no more than a tool of his that he wielded as occasion required. The fellow that had received the

canoe made his appearance, and with reiterated epithets, insulted me beyond forbearance, of which the sergeant of the guard seemed to take not the least cognizance, and my patience being quite exhausted, I seized a wine-bottle that fortunately lay within reach, and with vehemence launched it at his head, on which he scampered away to make his complaint to the captain. Shortly after the sergeant made an addition of two more sentries over my person and house, and deprived me of the liberty of walking in front of it. Duncan had now almost recovered from his illness, but appeared quite emaciated from its effects; it had been a severe lesson to him, and a warning for the future. The sub-lieutenant, Riquelme, called upon me and delivered the following letter from Saldes:—

“Juan Fernandez, Sep. 2nd, 1835.

“SEÑOR DON THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.—I am surprised that a person of your class should have made use of such insulting language before Moyano and others present, saying, that I might imprison, but not rob you of your private property; therefore, I expect that you will let me know what money I have stolen: these insults that you publicly make, you will do me the pleasure to prove before the Supreme Government.
NICOLAS SALDES.”

I sent him the following:—

“Juan Fernandez, Sep. 3rd, 1835.

“In answer to your note of yesterday, permit me to inform you, that it is not money alone that comes under the denomination of private property (but of that hereafter); and such as have cost me ready cash come under that article; for example, boats, oars, sails, and cordage, which you have arbitrarily and violently taken possession of, without ever condescending to request them of me, to whom they appertained. The canoe that I gave Sanchez, the rascal Moyano asserts to be yours, and not mine, *undoubtedly from your insinuations*. Furthermore, your detention of my own private stores, from which you have given orders to cease supplying me, and other vexatious injuries, too numerous to mention, with which you continually harass me, all combine to augment my surprise at your proceedings. Place yourself for a moment in my situation: what would be your thoughts at viewing your property destroyed in the malicious manner that mine is? Yet, however devoid you may be of manly feeling, I beg you will desist for the future to merit the language of which you complain, and strive to hold in stricter observance the decorum of a Chilian officer.

“SUTCLIFFE.”

About four o'clock in the afternoon, two boats were observed pulling in for the harbour, which rather alarmed Saldes, for I had induced him to believe that my letters had been forwarded to the Continent, in a vessel that passed the island two days after my imprisonment. He now placed his soldiers under arms, and went himself to reconnoitre the boats that were in sight, which shortly after landed, and proved to belong to the same whaler that left the island on the 1st; the captain conveyed the officers to the castle, whilst the crews, with their oars, sails, and whaling implements, found a receptacle in the guard-house, which plainly denoted that he intended a repetition of some of his mad pranks, to prevent which I hailed the officers as they passed, to place them on their guard against any sinister intentions he might have in embryo, which so enraged him that he ordered my sentinels to be doubled, to prevent all communications; but his precautions were useless, for with the same rapidity with which I conceived the plan to overreach him in this, was the

project carried into execution, and one of the crew was already in possession of a packet of letters, through the medium of my servant Juquin Arrevalo, directed to the captain, requesting him to forward the inclosed official notes for the Chilian government, should he have an opportunity so to do; and at the same time specifying to him the signals he might use to inform me of the port to which he was destined. I also, at daylight the next morning, placed myself at the window of the house, with a packet I had made up during the night (of duplicates), to throw to any of the crew that might come near, meaning thereby to obliterate any suspicion that might be attached to Arrevalo, for which purpose I had wrapped them around with some lead that was in the room, which had formerly been part of an old tea-chest; but the soldiers were too wary, and kept a stricter watch than I could have supposed over both parties, which induced me to retire, happy in having drawn the suspicion from my servant. The ship now came close in, and fired several guns to recall her boats, and about nine the captain allowed them to return. The priest, ensign, and a soldier that spoke English went off also. Shortly after the boats had regained their ship, an English jack was seen flying from the fore-top-gallant mast head, whose appearance disappointed me, although I imparted to Duncan that it was the preconcerted signal the captain made to acknowledge the receipt of my papers, and say that he was bound to Valparaiso, whither he would convey them. The friar returned alone, and on the officer and soldier remaining on board, I suspected that they were going to Valparaiso, although the signal was a negative. The priest, as soon as he landed, gave orders to kill a bullock, and went on board with the meat, and a pig, which he exchanged for brandy, cards, and other articles. The ensign, on landing, came to see me, and inquired if I had written to the captain of the whaler. I replied that I had succeeded in throwing a packet to one of the sailors, and that the captain had acknowledged their receipt by hoisting a flag. I, in my turn, interrogated him to know if he was aware of her destiny, which he replied was for Valparaiso, and which I pretended to credit, endeavouring to make him believe that I was deprived of my documents through miscarriage. Several soldiers and others had made repeated offers of service, and to form some idea of the extent of their fidelity, I delivered them several packets of old useless papers, enveloped and directed to several persons in Valparaiso. I also got Duncan to write me several letters in English, directing them to the captain of the *Aguiltes* or *Colocolo*, and distributed them to those that proffered their services. Only one of them was given to Saldes, who immediately sent for Duncan to translate it. As I had latterly noticed a greater familiarity between the captain and Duncan than was consistent with our actual situation, I thought it advisable to make him my confidant, which I had hitherto refrained from doing on account of his propensity to liquor; but I considered that his late illness would cure him of that vice, and accordingly imparted to him, that if in case I should be assassinated, he, on account of being my countryman, and a witness to all that had occurred since the 1st of August, would have to share my fate, and undoubtedly suffer equally in the tragic scene. I further advised him that the villainous conduct of the captain and priest had not escaped my scrutiny, and verily suspected that the castle had been treacherously delivered up by them to the prisoners; on which he took me by the hand and informed me that my suspicions were well founded; that he knew more than he could with propriety relate, until some vessel should arrive, or a change take place; but that he was and would remain true to me, as a proof of which he mentioned to me that the captain had been endeavouring to seduce him, in order that he might, by these means, obtain possession of some documents

I had, of great importance, and informed him that Ugalde would return in a few days to govern the island, and then they would remit me under an arrest to Chile. On knowledge of this, I was determined to ensnare the captain in his own toils, and made the following agreement with Duncan, for the furtherance of the plans I had conceived under determination of carrying them into execution:—First, that he should inform Saldes that he knew where I had secreted a packet, directed to the Supreme Government; second, that I should quarrel with and drive him out of the house, by which means he might enter the service of the captain; third, that should I be sent to the Continent, for him to stay on the island, to watch the proceedings of the captain, and keep a log of all that occurred; for which I would give him a document to certify, in case of necessity, that he had remained solely on my account, and wherein I would become bound to give him fifty dollars per month until I should return or meet him on the Continent.—On the 5th Duncan informed me that the captain had ordered him to purloin my papers, and take them to him, on which I gave him two packets, directed to government, containing duplicates of all my documents (*except the order of arrest and receipts for provisions*), a copy of the declarations taken from the prisoners, as also an official note, in which I explained every transaction that had taken place up to the whaler's arrival, but *not a word about my knowledge of the captain's having given up the castle*, only stating that he, when required to give an account how it happened, had made me a prisoner. I also mentioned the necessity of a proper person being sent to investigate the affair on the island, where there were a sufficiency of witnesses to prove who was culpable; also, that *I had remitted nearly all my documents by the French whaler*. Duncan took them next morning, Sunday, September the 6th, and delivered them to the captain; both he and the priest devoured the contents of my official note, which operated upon them as I had expected. Duncan returned as if in liquor, and I reprimanded him before the soldiers, but on his entering the house, he told me had assumed that character on purpose to leave the captain; and further informed me of what had transpired in the castle; on which I asked him for his log, or account of the transactions of the 1st, which he delivered me, and I gave him, in return, a document, in which he was allowed double salary, and at the same time certified his having made an agreement to act in my behalf until circumstances might occur to require its manifestation. I then began to have high words with him, which brought the sergeant and soldiers on guard around the door, outside of which I thrust him, and requested the sergeant to take him in charge, in order to conduct him to the guard-house, despatching, at the same time, a note to the captain, informing him of Duncan's improper behaviour, and requesting him to allow me Arrevalo in his room; which was accorded, and on the following morning Joaquin re-entered my service. This faithful fellow informed me that both the captain and priest had given him instructions to act as a spy over me, and inform them of my transactions. What incommoded me most was to see the dilapidation committed by the soldiers and convicts, who destroyed all the palisades and fences I had constructed around my house and garden, as well as what surrounded the orchard, which was an extensive one and well stocked with fruit trees, some of which had been planted by Commodore Anson and the former governors, as well as a number I had brought from the Continent. I had also received a quantity of stones, nuts, and seeds, from England, which I had planted and distributed, for I felt great pleasure and amusement in making the plain near the beach and orchard have the appearance of pleasure grounds. But now these fences, which cost such immense trouble, were wantonly burnt and other-

wise destroyed, whilst the cattle were seen grazing where I had planted cotton, flax, hemp, and vegetables; to add to which, they had maliciously burnt a sloop that I had, at a vast deal of trouble and expense, nearly finished constructing, as also a quantity of timber that had been collected for the express purpose of building a fishing smack. The best stream of water in the bay I had conducted to a watering place, where the pure liquid gushed out of the muzzles of two guns, whose breaches I had got cut off to allow the water to pass through; but as the priest had begun to sub-divide the plan, he, of course, appropriated the best piece of land to his own use, and in order to irrigate it, had destroyed the watering place. I reasoned in vain with the captain, in advising him to put a stop to all these dilapidations and disorders, and furthermore sent the following note to the priest:—

“Juan Fernandez, Sep. 10th, 1835.

“TO THE CHAPLAIN, FRIAR JOHN EVANGELIST LOPEZ.—REVEREND,—Although I am a prisoner, permit me to inquire of your paternity, who has invested you with the civil authority, and from whom you have received the right and power to distribute lands and change the water course? When I was first imprisoned by Saldes, you received my delegated power to take charge of the animals and what belonged to the testamentary of the late Don José Joaquin Larrayn, in order that they, as a sacred deposit, might be taken care of and strictly preserved; but as you have thought proper to slaughter and sell the meat, or exchange it for brandy, cards, &c., I think proper to transfer their care to another person; for as I appointed your paternity, whilst under confinement, I also, under the same circumstances, demand that you return your nomination, with an account of the cattle; and I will make him responsible to the Supreme Government and the executors of the late Don José Joaquin Larrayn, who dares to destroy or injure the property. I am obliged to act in this manner, on account of being surrounded by a set of ungrateful wretches.

“THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.”

Next day the chaplain came to demand why I had sent him such an insulting letter, stating that the captain was now the governor, and had given him a piece of land, which he had begun to cultivate in company with a prisoner; and that the animals of the late Don José Joaquin Larrayn could not be in better hands than in his; and at the same time the captain, who came with him, added, that the padre should retain their possession, until he should hear from the Supreme Government. I also demanded of the captain, who had invested him with the power of paying his soldiers with the money he had taken from my store-keeper, and whether it would not be proper for him to deliver me a receipt for what he had distributed on the 25th; for I considered it a downright robbery. He replied he would send me a receipt, and that he had taken the money to complete the month's pay. I mentioned the affair of Moyano, as also of a soldier of the name of Maray, having insulted me, and inquired if he had punished the latter. He answered that he had received my message, but had not acted as I had desired him, because he thought the soldier's statement was true; and further, that he himself would prove to the Supreme Government that I had robbed the soldiers and prisoners of the greatest part of their rations; and to mend the matter, he sent for the soldier Maray and Duncan, to whom he gave orders to search my house for papers. I told the captain that he was acting very improperly, and would be brought to a serious account hereafter for this conduct; but he only laughed at me and my reflections, and said, he knew what he was about, and had his instructions. Duncan returned from the search, and reported that the papers could not be found; on

which I went and brought a metal flask, whose bottom I had cut off for the express purpose of secreting the documents, and taking off a metal cap that covered the bottom, explained to him the manner and mode that the most important had been concealed on the day of my arrest, adding, that it was useless for him to adopt such indecent measures to obtain what had already been placed in safety on board of the French whaler; and on showing him the copy of a letter that I had *purposely written with a view to deceive him*, addressed to the captain of the whaler, he seemed satisfied; but on the priest mentioning that I had kept a journal, he immediately demanded it. In answer to this he was informed that it had been sent away with the others, but if he chose, he could be favoured with that of his friend Duncan's, from the 1st of August to the 6th of September, if the father chaplain would give me a receipt for it, properly rubricated; then they would be enabled to discern what a precious rascal they had to deal with; which seemed so to exasperate my confidant, that he retaliated, to keep up the farce, in the strongest language, which induced me to drive him out of the house, as well as the soldier Maray. I now wrote a note at the bottom of Duncan's log for the priest to add his receipt, and give me another to keep. I could not but smile at two circumstances

notable in the friar's receipts; first, his styling me *Senor Governor*, after having degraded me on the 11th of last month; and in the next place, dating it from *Santiago*, in lieu of *Juan Fernandez*. I now read them several parts of Duncan's log, assuring them that he was a worthless fellow, and would, *no doubt, ultimately deceive them as he had done me, who, moreover, was his countryman*; but the captain felt confident of his integrity, and forthwith demanded the wages due to Duncan, which, after some seeming reluctance, I ordered to be paid, on his rendering me the account and receipt. The priest having now retired, I mentioned to Saltes that I felt sorry that he was yet in the leading-strings of the chaplain, which made good an old Spanish saying, "that wherever there was mischief, a friar was sure to be the counsellor;" but he returned for answer, that he was under no such influence, having had a quarrel with him latterly, through his repeated interferences, and that he felt himself capable of conducting the establishment without any person's aid or counsel; and what made me suspect they actually were at variance, was the strange and confused manner in which the receipts were worded.

I shall now copy Duncan's log from the 1st of August to the 6th of September.

DUNCAN'S LOG.

August 1st.—At the accustomed hour, about six in the morning, I opened the store of provisions, to serve out the rations to the troops and prisoners, as this was the day they generally received their monthly allowance. I desired my assistant, José Troncoso, to prepare the different species, in order to distribute them, whilst I should be employed in making out the lists. About eight o'clock, I went to settle some accounts with the Governor, but found him occupied counting out money for the captain to pay the troops of the garrison, on which I retired. About half-past eight, I was surprised by the report of two muskets, which seemingly proceeded from the castle. To investigate this, I made all possible speed for the Governor's residence, in front of which I found assembled about sixteen unarmed soldiers, and a number of prisoners, who informed me that the convicts had revolted and taken the castle, with the arms and ammunition, and made prisoners of an officer and several soldiers. My services were immediately proffered to the Governor, who, for the safety of the establishment, as well as that of a French whaler that was in the offing, ordered me to destroy the bottoms of the boats, which was immediately performed, with the exception of one whale-boat, which he ordered afloat. Whilst so employed, several shots were fired at me, but without effect. I now returned, and found the Governor distributing arms and ammunition to some soldiers and prisoners out of his own private armoury; but during the time so occupied some one stole 244 dollars in gold and silver, that had been left on the table at the commencement of the affair. Consecutive to the distribution of arms, the governor sallied out to reconnoitre, which was nearly proving fatal in the warm reception they gave him by repeated shots from the castle, during which the captain appeared to act a cowardly rather than an active part in the business; but the Governor, to animate the men, placed himself at their head, ordering the captain to accompany him, and me to draw off some liquor; whilst performing which, the chaplain came, and uncorking a demi-john, poured half of its contents into another, with which he decamped; but on informa-

tion being given to the Governor of this affair, I had orders to take it from him, which, not without some difficulty, was effected. The Governor having divided his force into two parties, himself heading one, soon entered and took possession of the castle, and at the same time liberated the officer and soldiers that had been made prisoners; in the meantime the captain had absconded to the house of the chaplain. I can prove the truth of these assertions, especially the former, from having seen the Governor on the parapet. Shortly after, the captain was seen to ascend the hill, in doing which, he met a man whom he wounded with his sword, who was afterwards taken; in continuation, he climbed the castle wall, and vociferated, "*Kill him; kill him*," which order was echoed back by the Governor's countermanding it. I heard the whole of this, but could see nothing, having been left in charge of the government house and stores; I had also about thirty convicts and some women under charge. The remainder of these affairs passed out of my sight, which prevents me from saying anything more on the subject; however, about ten o'clock all was quiet, and free from alarm, excepting those fourteen men that had escaped to the mountains, whom, it was imagined, might cause further trouble, as they had marched off well armed and accoutred, taking with them one of the bullocks. All the prisoners were called in with their provisions from the different parts of the island where they had been distributed, in order to prevent the runaways from being succoured by them. The Governor, about half-past ten o'clock, returned from his enterprise, to the satisfaction of all, without more than two lives being lost on the part of the mutineers; but the most astonishing part of the affair is, that so small a number of unarmed men could surprise and take a castle where so many soldiers were on duty. In the afternoon, I heard that fourteen prisoners had been taken, and the Governor, at the hour of sunset, shot three as an example, leaving the rest in close custody in the castle; this being the whole of the day's transaction that came under my knowledge.

Sunday, August 2nd.—These twenty-four hours

strong N.W. winds, with rain at times; the isle perfectly tranquil, but the absconded party still in the bush.

Monday, 3rd.—Moderate and fine; all tranquil. It appears that, yesterday, the priest told the Governor, in the presence of the captain, that the latter had said he should like to see a revolution on the isle, and on the Governor's inquiring his motives, he answered, that it arose from a desire he had that an opportunity might offer for him to show his readiness to assist. "Yes," replied the Governor, "I saw sufficient the day before yesterday to be convinced of the sincerity of your assertions."

Tuesday, 4th.—Moderate weather; the captain and troops in the castle, whilst all seem to disobey the Governor, who turned Troncoso out of the priest's house.

Wednesday, 5th.—Moderate weather; employed taking an account of what remains in store, after separating the rations belonging to the men on the Island of Masafuera (sufficient for three months); affairs in the castle begin to wear a suspicious aspect.

Thursday, 6th.—Moderate weather. I this day gave the governor the following account of what provisions remained in store, after the troops and prisoners had received the rations, up to the 14th and 16th of September:—12½ sacks of fine flour, 7 barrels of North American flour, 30 sacks of coarse flour, 23 sacks of meal, 43 sacks of beans, 22 packages of dried beef, of 250lbs. each, besides a quantity loose, one hoghead and seven barrels of fat, one barrel of butter, seven boxes of soap, three boxes of candles, a large quantity of tobacco; besides three months' provisions for the fishermen of Masafuera, weighed out, and laid apart in sacks.

Friday, 7th.—Moderate weather. The Governor and captain had high words; the troops still in the castle; letters going to and from each party.

Saturday, 8th.—Moderate weather. I was sent with the whale boat, provisioned and watered, to reconnoitre something that had been seen in the offing of the appearance of a wreck; but after having searched the place indicated, and finding nothing, I supposed it to have been the momentary appearance of some huge monster of the deep, which occasioned my immediate return to the island, where, on landing, I found that the captain had made the Governor a prisoner—probably with the intention of screening himself from what might be the results of his allowing the castle to be surprised and taken from him. I strongly suspect that the priest is the chief instigator of these disturbances, or at least his word has great weight with Salades. The Governor was taken very unwell, and, as a favour, I was allowed to remain and attend on him. The soldiers that had served him were withdrawn. During the night the Governor much recovered.

Sunday, 9th.—These last twenty-four hours past fine weather. The Governor still a prisoner, but recovering his health. Delivered four days' provisions to a man, that he might go in quest of the runaways. For the first time, since my residence in the island, I witnessed the exhibition of a regular staked cock-fight, whilst the whole of the officers, with the priest, the soldiery, and convicts promiscuously intermixed, formed the herd of spectators by which it was attended. The chaplain ordered a bullock to be killed, and I received about 12lbs. of its meat.

Monday, 10th.—Moderate and fine. The captain sent the boat to Goat's Island with the prisoners' rations up to the 13th of September. The Governor still a prisoner, but recovered from his late illness. The captain discharged me from the store, and took charge of all the provisions, but gave me no receipt, although he re-weighed everything. All quiet.

Tuesday, 11th.—Fine weather. All quiet. To-day the Governor was allowed to walk in front of his house. The captain ordered the prisoners to

leave off all work. I was to-day taken from attending on the Governor.

Wednesday, 12th.—All quiet. I returned to attend on the Governor.

Thursday, 13th.—Fine weather. All quiet.

Friday, 14th.—Fine weather. The captain delivered a large quantity of provisions to individuals that had already received their rations up to the 13th of September. To-day they were capitulating with the runaways.

Saturday, 15th.—Fine weather. This day four of the runaways surrendered.

Sunday, 16th.—Fine weather. A vessel in sight.

Monday, 17th.—Fine weather. The vessel still in sight.

Tuesday, 18th.—Fine weather. About ten, p.m., the houses in rear of the barracks in the castle caught fire, which was extinguished after consuming four of them, whether by accident or design, I know not; however, the prisoners in the castle had nearly surprised the guard a second time.

Wednesday, 19th.—The boats and people employed bringing material for thatching from French Bay to repair damages. It is evident that the priest is Governor of the island.

Thursday, 20th.—Cloudy weather, with rain. All the tobacco served out to the soldiers and prisoners, by order of the captain.

Friday, 21st.—The same weather as yesterday.

Saturday, 22nd.—These last 24 hours continual rain. All quiet with the exception of the Governor's confinement, which is ill borne by the prisoners.

Sunday, 23rd.—The same weather as yesterday.

Monday, 24th.—More moderate and clear weather.

Tuesday, 25th.—The same weather as yesterday. The captain paid the soldiers with money from the Governor's store; it was evident that both him and the priest were endeavouring to get possession of the Governor's property, without his knowledge or sanction, in which they had in part succeeded, but on discovery the captain gave me receipts for the same, and everything was quiet on that head.

Wednesday, 26th.—Strong northerly gales; a vessel in sight. The captain made me deliver up all the hemp-rope to make fishing lines for the soldiers and prisoners, and I greatly opine that there will, ere long, be a great necessity for these measures, especially if the great waste of provisions be continued much longer, and the vessel should not arrive at its appointed period with a fresh supply to prevent their utter starvation, which must ultimately be the case, owing to the extensive robberies lately committed. They have also stolen from me about 90 fathom of cotton line.

Thursday, 27th.—Weather the same.

Friday, 28th.—No alteration of weather. The priest giving out land to the prisoners, which, as Governor, he certainly has a right to do.

Saturday, 29th.—More moderate. The captain sent the prisoners, who had nearly surprised the castle, to Goat Island; he also gave orders to the store-keeper to deliver no provisions to the Governor from the store. All hands trying who can rob him most, and the insidious priest filling every one's head with report of Ugalde's coming here to be Governor; so by that means any disorder they may commit will never be taken notice of.

Sunday, 30th.—Fine weather.

Monday, 31st.—At about nine o'clock last night I was taken very ill, and in the course of the night was dangerously so, being neither able to sit, stand, walk, or lay down on one side or the other, from a very severe pain in my chest and bowels. At last it was with much difficulty I could breathe, and in this manner I passed the night. At the first onset I endeavoured to take some sweet oil, but could not swallow it. I next tried brandy, and, in fact, took half a bottle of it, and half a tumbler of wine, with the idea

of easing the pain, but all to no effect, and was now fearful of becoming delirious. At length long-wished-for morning came. In the night it struck me that I had been poisoned; and, from not having eat or drank anything but a little wine from the house, I could easily tell by whom it had been given, and, without any hesitation, pronounced it to be the store-keeper. As soon as the Governor arose, I told him that with certainty I had been poisoned, and requested a dose of white vitriol, which he gave me, and after a while it operated, and, in the course of the day, by the Governor's kind attention, I began to recover. Towards evening he gave me ten grains of calomel, a little rhubarb, and cream of tartar: I suffered the most violent pains. At night I took 25 drops of laudanum, which eased me much and laid me to sleep, so that I passed a far better night; but had it not been for the attention paid me by the Governor I must have died.

Tuesday, September 1st.—Weather the same; found myself much recovered, but suffering much pain in respiring; still attended by the Governor.

Wednesday, 2nd.—No difference in the weather; pretty well in health, with the exception of the pain in the chest, which is also decreasing. The boats' crews of the French ship that was here on the 1st of August landed, and slept on shore all night,—the doctor and officers at the castle, and the crews under charge of the soldiers, in pursuance of the captain's orders.

Thursday, 3rd.—Fine weather; the French vessel close in, and firing guns for her boats; at eight a.m. her boats left the shore and one of the Governor's also, with the ensign, the priest, and the soldier Maray; at nine o'clock the boat returned with the friar, leaving the officer and soldier on board; at eleven the priest took off a bullock he had ordered to be killed, as well as a pig, that on board he managed to barter for a barrel of brandy and other species; the priest, or more properly styled, the *governor*, is selling brandy at one dollar per bottle; the Governor succeeded in smuggling his despatches on board the vessel, which I believe is bound to Valparaiso.

Friday, 4th.—Weather the same; observed to-day that they have taken nearly all the things out of the Governor's fish-store, without his or my consent, or even knowledge of the business; they have also taken the padlock to put on the prison door.

Saturday, 5th.—These twenty-four hours fine weather; a letter I had written, directed to the commander of the *Colocolo* or *Aguilles*, on the Governor's account, fell into the captain's hands, but owing to its being written in English he sent for me to translate it for him, which I performed, without letting him know its true import, but substituted something else in lieu thereof, with which he seemed content; the whole of the flour left in store is pretty near expended, and the captain, to supply his troops, has taken the barrels of American flour belonging to the Governor (the results of this will be seen hereafter); yet great must have been the abuse of this article, of which there were ten full bags, and a cask containing two and a half more, being a sufficiency for fifty days' full allowance; a soldier of the name of Maray was here to-day, and used very abusive language towards the Governor; some time after, I heard him in conversation with some other person whom I could not recognise, but greatly suspect that it may be of consequence hereafter in case of requirement; the priest to-day put a man in the guard-house for inebriety.

JOSEPH DUNCAN.
Vista buena, THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.

“JUAN FERNANDEZ, Sep. 11th, 1835.

“REVEREND FATHER CHAPLAIN.—As your reverence has witnessed the conduct of Duncan to-day,

and that you may become better acquainted with the wickedness of mankind, I remit this document to your custody, as well as a translation of what happened on the 1st of August, for which I request your receipt.—God guard your reverence,

“THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.”

“Received from the Senor Governor Don Tomas Sutcliffe, a document belonging to Joseph Duncan.

“FRIAR JOHN EVANGELISTA LOPEZ.

“Santiago, Sep. 11th, 1835.”

My note and the father's receipt authenticated the log or journal, and the separate receipt held the priest responsible in case it should be required. He was a deep, designing scoundrel, yet I was determined to have the upper hand of him; and the Chilean government were certainly much to blame in sending such a chaplain to the island, more so on account of its being the depository of so many profligate and abandoned criminals, who were much rather in want of a sound and pious adviser. On my receiving the appointment of Governor, I requested several good and religious persons to accompany me, but none of these would accept the situation as chaplain, although I made them the most liberal offers; perhaps on account of Juan Fernandez being the place where the reprobate clergy were sent for punishment. No one would receive it or degrade himself by going to that place in the character of chaplain. From which results, government generally gave it to one that had been destined by his superior to purge his conventual disorders; as was the case with Friar John Evangelist; yet it was more remarkable, that on an island where near 500 souls resided, there was no person to be found that could bleed or draw a tooth; and of consequence it followed, that if any were so unfortunate as to be taken ill to the extent of being confined in bed, they seldom or ever (from want of medical assistance) arose from it, proceeding from the dislike of practical gentlemen to reside on the island. Nor was there any person allowed by government that could be made responsible for the distribution of provisions and other articles sent to the island, or act as secretary, although the Governor of Juan Fernandez had to correspond with every department of the Supreme Government, as well as those of the provinces, without ever being allowed the expenses of writing materials; so that the whole of the charge and responsibility rested solely on him, without any other gratification but his net pay and rations of flour and dried beef, and then at the mercy of the commander of the vessel that generally brought the prisoners to the island, for the common necessities of life. It is true that the governors had ways and means to enrich themselves if they chose, and many had done so; but I, on the contrary, can prove having done away with the many abuses hitherto in practice, and from the profits of the store, after having reduced the prices of everything, liquor excepted, to one half of what my predecessors had established, I kept a free table for the chaplain and officers, and distributed bread and salaries to more than the amount of 108 dollars monthly.

To show that I had nothing to fear for maltreatment given to prisoners, no guard was seen near my house since the month of June; and I have often traversed the island accompanied only by the prisoners, from whom, during my government, was never heard a complaint of hunger or bad usage, and my pleasure was unbounded when enabled, on the 1st of August, to quell such a desperate insurrection, got up on purpose by a nefarious set, although abandoned by the garrison, and aided only with the co-operation of the prisoners, and to whom I certainly

was indebted for the safety of my documents and papers, when arrested, *thus trusting my life and reputation in their hands*. The priest and captain had in vain striven to gain proselytes from any party, although they distributed provisions amongst them in the most prodigal manner. Only one of the numerous packets I had delivered them, to try their fidelity, fell into the captain's hands. Duncan informed me daily of what was going on, and one day sent me a copy of the charges they had prepared against me, which were as follow:—Cruel treatment to the prisoners; robbing the troops and prisoners of their rations, which had exasperated the latter so as to drive them to desperation; cowardice, for not assisting the captain to retake the castle; having destroyed all the documents belonging to the provision store; having shot three individuals in cool blood, without allowing them time to prepare themselves, or taken their declarations; my having taken poison to prevent being brought to trial; my having repeatedly implored to be allowed to embark in any foreign vessel, in lieu of returning to Chile; my having striven to prejudice the soldiers against the captain; having monopolised the trade of the island, and charged exorbitant prices for everything sold; having had knowledge of the castle going to be taken, and ordering the troops to leave it unarmed, in order to get the captain and garrison sacrificed; and for offering money to the cadet to obtain his signature to a document, &c. In fact, everything that persons in the situation of the priest and captain could invent, to palliate their conduct, and criminate mine, was dictated by the priest, as had been all the documents I received from Saltes during my confinement. I also was informed that it was not intended to send me to Valparaiso, but to Concepcion, where the intendante was a friend of Saltes, as equally so of the *Colocolo's* commander, and at the same time the military commandant was uncle to the captain, and also chief of the battalion that the troops of the island belonged to; from which circumstances they naturally surmised that I should be shown little indulgence. I laughed at their machinations, and was glad to know their intentions, and took particular care to have my papers concealed and ready to send on board of the *Colocolo* as soon as she should anchor, to be delivered to the mutual care of Mr. Ashton, the gunner, a native of Liverpool, and the boatswain, an old Spaniard, who were both my friends. The *Colocolo* arrived on the 13th of September, and in the afternoon Saltes and the priest went off on board of her, and remained some time after she had anchored. Before they left the vessel, Captain Dias had received a letter from me, which was delivered to him by my cook, Espinoza, and immediately after reading it he showed it to Saltes, explaining its contents, which occasioned the poor fellow's getting punished. However, he managed to deliver the box with the papers to the boatswain, who secreted them away with perfect security. Neither the captain, purser, or any of the officers came near me, nor could I hear from Duncan, for Arrevalo informed me that he had not left the castle since the *Colocolo* came in sight. I now began to fear that our plan had been discovered; or, at least, that they had some suspicion of him being in my interest. Next morning the captain and purser called upon me, and delivered me the correspondence. I inquired of Capt. Dias whether he had received a letter from me; and on his answering in the affirmative, I again requested him to assist me in restoring order. He began making some foolish and ridiculous excuses, saying that the island was in a state of *tranquillity*; and they both retired, directing their way to the castle. I received a number of private letters; also a copious correspondence from government, who had also sent me a quantity of articles I had previously requested, especially clothing for the whole of the prisoners; also the full compliment of provisions for all on the

island, as well as those that had just arrived in the *Colocolo*. I was informed by several of my friends that both Ugalde and Lattapiat had been loud in vociferating against my *bad administration*, but that Ugalde's errand was, as I suspected, all a *humbug*. Also, amongst several newspapers that had been remitted me from England, was one, wherein was published a letter, formerly written by me to a friend in Liverpool. Little did I think, when writing that letter, that I should read it published in an English newspaper, on the eve of obtaining my liberty, by being transported from the *dépôt of Chilian convicts*. I received many letters from Santiago and other parts of Chile, as well as good advice from my friends in England, who had also sent me a large quantity of books, magazines, and garden seeds, and the following letter from my dear mother:—

“Godley Hall, Cheshire, May 14th, 1835.

“DEAR THOMAS,—I was anxiously waiting for a letter from you, when Mr. Crook was so kind as to send me a copy of yours to him; it was handed to me by a particular friend, the Rev. Mr. Massey, of Hyde; it is impossible to describe the agitation I was thrown into at seeing Mr. Crook's name; I supposed you were dead. Mr. Massey read me the letter; I also have read it many times over, and shed tears of gratitude to the Almighty for his providential care of you during the earthquake, &c. I hope you will be able to do your duty in the situation in which he has placed you. I had flattered myself that I might be permitted to see you; but now I have given up all hopes; I am now in my 70th year, and by course of nature cannot stay here long. I have sent you a few magazines and other books, which, if you read with attention, will, I hope, be of essential service.* I sent you two books last year, the *Encyclopedia of Agriculture and Gardening*, and another that was recommended, which I hope you have received. No changes have taken place amongst your relations; I was afflicted with the rheumatism last winter, and I have great cause to be thankful to the Almighty for his goodness in supporting me, and giving me, I trust, an humble resignation to his holy will. I can say mercy and goodness have followed me, and I believe will follow me all the days of my life. Glory be for ever to his holy name. May that God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, shine into your heart, to give you the light of the knowledge of his glory, and to give you grace to cleave to him, is the prayer of your affectionate mother,

“FRANCES DAVENPORT.”

* After having been expelled from the island by the mutineers, I sent all my magazines and religious tracts to Pitcairn's Island, and the following letters from the captain and master of H.M.S. *Imogene*, will show, that they were a most valuable acquisition to those interesting islanders, and it may be hoped that others may be induced, should an opportunity occur, to remember that such presents are not thrown away:—

“H.M.S. *Imogene*. Valparaiso, Jan. 10, 1839.

“Dear Sir,—The books which you were so considerate as to send by Mr. Thompson, of this ship, for the Pitcairn Islanders, were most thankfully received by them; and it is gratifying to find, that so useful a present is duly valued by that highly interesting and well-disposed community.—I remain, truly yours, “H. W. BRUCE,

“Captain H.M.S. *Imogene*.”

“H.M.S. *Imogene*, Jan. 4, 1838.

“My dear sir,—On our arrival at Pitcairn's Island, I delivered the religious books, &c., you were kind enough to send for the use of the islanders.

“I feel great pleasure in stating they were most thankfully received, and will, I doubt not, be most carefully read, as well as being of great service.

“Had you seen the way in which they were read, you would, I know, have felt truly delighted.”

“Excuse haste, and believe me, dear sir, yours very truly, “RICHARD THOMPSON,

“Master, *Imogene*.”

It gave me great pleasure to read my mother's letter, but how could I answer it until I had got through the many troubles that surrounded me, and defeated at the same time the machinations of my detractors. The following letter I received from a worthy friend, and one of the first personages in Chile, Don Manuel Salas, who, during the return of the Spanish government, had been exiled to Juan Fernandez, and had resided some time upon the island:—

"Santiago, September 1st, 1835.

"SEÑOR DON TOMAS SUTCLIFFE, GOBERNADOR POLITICO Y MILITAR JUAN FERNANDEZ. MY ESTIMABLE AND VALUED FRIEND.—I reply with pleasure to your two letters of the 23rd April and 18th June, which have but recently come to hand, and almost on the same day. Although I regret their delay, I feel great pleasure at their contents. I am filled with delight at the idea that that hell, the centre of wretchedness, desperation, and immorality, is about to be converted into a theatre of virtues, of which not even the sound had yet been heard. All may be accomplished by constancy and by rectitude of intention.

"St. Helena is at the present day a garden, formed from an arid and solitary rock, and New South Wales is going to become one of the most brilliant parts of the British empire. If you pause to consider what humanity may be indebted to you, and those who enjoy the benefits, always increasing, of which you may be the immortal author, you will hold firm your benignant resolutions and thoughts, to which consecrate your zeal, your talents, and your time. Friend, great works are meritorious only in proportion to the difficulties by which contrasted, and the smallness of the means of carrying them into effect. You find yourself in this case; but do not be disheartened, nor easily believe in such stumbling-blocks as you indicate to me; the solicitation of Don Marcelo Ugalde ought not for one moment to cause you anxiety, as it is a matter which has not invited the slightest attention. I have inquired about it to the very bottom, and have availed myself of the opportunity to learn the good opinion which the president and the three ministers do entertain of you, and in which I shall endeavour to continue them as far as my influence extends.

"The Island Floriana, which, but a few years since, was nothing but a sandy soil, inhabited by turtle, is now a place where whalers touch, who leave there large sums, utensils, and even people.

"Juan Fernandez offers much greater advantages to a beneficent and active genius. The clays and soils of various colours brought to my memory the minerals of Golconda and Brazil. Nature is systematic: their geographical position places them in a like situation, and renders probable the same effects and equal productions. It would appear madness to those who do not wish to think, but not to those who know that this has been the beginning of all discoveries. For the furtherance of such investigations, you have fortunately three or more men with you ingenious and clever, and some with an idea of arts, who may be made useful if applied and directed with sagacity and vigilance. Some of your predecessors reaped advantages from such *collegiates*; extracting anchors and things which had been lost on the anchoring ground; improving the fisheries, and of curing (salting); besides other expedients of which we are ignorant. One occurs to me which might be of great importance; such is the making of bricks, of which immense quantities are brought from England and the United States, and for which you have all the elements in abundance; these are, the firewood, the clays, and above all, the idle hands.

"Friend,—The celebrated Buren, by having taught in Holland the manner of fishing and curing the herring, has provided occupation for more than two hundred thousand persons; and Don Luis Louison, by the

establishment of the manner of preparing *pescado* (fish corned and dried in the sun), in Valparaiso, furnished to that poor place the entry of more than seventy thousand dollars. What a benefit! How enviable a memory! What examples!

"To prevent this suffering the delay or going out of the direct course, as happened with your favours, I avail myself of the kindness of the ministers, under cover to whom you may send me your commands.

"I enclose the annexed from our mutual friend Campino, to whom you may send your letters through the same channel.

"If you find, among the fish on your coast, one called 'Berrugate,' or 'Tollo,' which has on the middle of the ridge of the back a bone, which is discovered to view, to it is attributed the virtue of curing the tooth-ache. This, however, is not the most beneficial and important; but its bones, of whose admirable effects I have been a witness and an agent, administering the weight of an ounce dissolved in wine, broth, or water, are successful in stopping hæmorrhage, or the effusion of blood, infallibly, whether from the mouth or any other way. Whilst I was in that quarter I used much diligence, but did not succeed in obtaining this admirable specific, which may perhaps be now obtained. You might thus have the satisfaction to alleviate many, and of obliging one who is well aware of its importance.

"I heartily wish you much health, constancy, and patience; and reckon upon the good offices which may be in the power of, your sincere friend and servant,

"MANUEL DE SALAS."

(Seal of Office.)

"Santiago, September, 1, 1835.

"MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.—I have given an account to the president of your official note of last June, No. 250, in which you give a detailed relation of the state in which the establishment is at present, as also of the works you have commenced; and his Excellency feels satisfied with your diligence as a public functionary, and philanthropic views as a promoter of industry, by which means the condition of those unfortunate persons there detained may become alleviated. God preserve you.

"JOAQUIN TOCORNAL."

(Minister of War's letter.)

"Santiago, September 6, 1835.

"MY LABORIOUS FRIEND,—Being always in a hurry, I cannot extend my letter to manifest my satisfaction at your industry and advancement of your insula: this will be the best attestation of the conduct of its worthy Governor, who has so much honoured my fortunate election. Continue, and do not fear your detractors. The actions are what speak perpetually, and not the unjust detractor of the moment. By this vessel you will receive all that has been required, and shortly I will send your commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, that the earthquake of February robbed you of. Now you will receive a good remittance, and amongst them *birds that will be troublesome*—persons of family, on whom you must keep your eyes. I have no more time: continue in good health, and command your affectionate friend that kisses your hand,

"JOSE JAVIER DE BUSTAMANTE."

As soon as I had read these documents I gave them to the chaplain, as also three private letters, in order that he might be convinced that Ugalde had deceived him, and that the government was perfectly satisfied with my conduct. He perused them with visible agitation, and such was the effect produced on his mind by their contents, that the deep, designing villainies that had hitherto sustained him in his treach-

erous character, failed him; and, perhaps, aware of what might be the consequence of a discovery of those crimes he had committed, and with the intention of exculpating himself as much as possible, boldly made me an offer of his future services, adding at the same time, that *Ugalde* was a rogue, for he had sent money by him to a person in Santiago, who had informed him that he could not get it from *Ugalde*. I then showed him a letter from a friend of mine, who had my orders to receive 69 dollars I had lent to *Ugalde* the first day of his arrival here, in which was an obligation to pay three per cent. per month for this sum, until he should be enabled to pay the amount demanded. On which the chaplain said *he was a pretty fellow to come and rent the islands and perform all his promises*. Yet on the friar's repeating his offers of service, I asked him for my private and public papers, copying book, and baston, which he brought to me, and they were by me immediately packed up, with others, and sent on board the *Colocolo*, whilst a box of dried lobsters, remitted to a friend in Valparaiso, served as a veil to screen them from observation, although under the charge of my old friends the gunner and boatswain, who had promised their safe delivery. I now sent for *Salde*, and again offered to pardon him for what I had suffered if he would return to his duty, and further informed him what sort of a character *Ugalde* was; but he remained obstinate, saying *he knew what he was about, and had his INSTRUCTIONS*. The Governor of Valparaiso had sent me 1,500 dollars, on account of the money destined for the island not having arrived in time, and answered my note respecting *Burkett*, by the following:—

“Valparaiso, September 7, 1835.

“SEÑOR DON TOMAS SUTCLIFFE,—I have been satisfactorily informed by your last note of your regulated proceedings with respect to the affair of the fishermen; and I can assure you, that your circumspection and judiciousness never have in the least been doubted by me. I wish you may enjoy good health, and that God may give you much patience. Command your very affectionate friend,

“RAMON CAVAREDA.”*

I sent for the captain of the *Colocolo*, as also his purser, and ordered them to deliver neither the money, stores, or provisions to *Salde*, advising them that there were provisions for a month or six weeks in the castle, and again requested the captain to assist me in re-establishing order; but he paid no attention, and shortly after his leaving me, he gave orders to land the provisions, and everything else he had on board. Messrs. Macfarlane and Green had sent me a copious remittance for my private store that I could not receive, from which the captain landed a box of sugar, contrary to my orders, and sold it to the priest. Government had sent clothing for all the prisoners, and a number of articles I had required for the use of the garrison, which were landed in the greatest hurry and disorder; and as soon as all was disembarked, *I received orders to go on board*. I sent for *Salde*, who refused to appear; and about eight o'clock at night was obliged to leave my habitation and embark. Lieut. *Martinez*, of the *Colocolo*, accompanied me to the mole, and hailed his vessel for a boat. He seemed very inquisitive concerning what had happened, and eager to know how *I could justify myself on the Continent*. I told him that *Salde* had taken an ungenerous part in every act of the affair; and having been led to believe that the French whaler was bound to the coast of Chile, my papers were sent on board of her. *Of these it was plain that I was deprived*; but that my own clear conscience would

be sufficient to enable me to prove my innocence. *Martinez* expressed his doubts, telling me it would be difficult to refute the many charges that were pressed against me. I went off alone, and he returned to *Salde* and the other confederates, who were pleased to think me unprepared to meet the approaching struggle, where life and honour were to be lost or won; but secure in the integrity of my proceedings, I could not but smile in my passage off to think by what miracle I had escaped from the clutches of such an *infernal gang of miscreants*. On my arrival on board of the *Colocolo* I inquired for the captain, and was informed he had gone on shore with the rest of the officers. I requested the midshipman who had charge to send for him, and inform him that the Governor of Juan Fernandez was on board, and wished to see him. He sent a boat. I then inquired what orders he had received in regard to my person; he replied, to receive me on board, and consequently invited me to the cabin, which I declined entering, choosing rather to stay on deck until the captain should come on board. In about two hours the boat returned with a message, to say that he would be very quickly on board. I waited another hour; but finding myself fatigued, I ordered my bed to be made on deck, to lay down. About one o'clock the captain, purser, lieutenant, and three passengers came on board, as also the ensign *Riquelme*, chaplain, *Cruz Sanchez*, and my servants, *Arrevalo* and *Carrasco*, who brought me some papers I had entrusted them with, at the same time two sheep, some poultry, and other articles I had sent for. I demanded of the captain of the *Colocolo* how and in what manner he had received me in his vessel, as also his motives for not coming on board when sent for by me expressly; on which his purser, *Mourou*, advised him to give me no further answer than the following—that *he was commander of his own vessel*; yet, however, the captain replied that he would answer me in the morning, and immediately gave orders for hoisting in the boat and getting under weigh. I protested in vain against his arbitrary proceedings, giving him a note to this effect, to which he returned no answer. The priest made me many and repeated offers of friendship, which induced me to ask him if he still considered me as Governor of the island, and ready to obey me as such; from which, having received a satisfactory answer, I ordered him to fetch me *Duncan's log-book*, and other papers he had received in charge from me, on which errand he departed, and, from a calm that ensued, very quickly returned with the papers, which he delivered me, at the same time requesting that I would return him *his receipt*, which, I informed him, was a document of too much consequence to be parted with, *it being one of the principal instruments that authenticated the journal*. He then begged me to consider him as my friend, endeavouring to exculpate himself. I assured him that he had perhaps unconsciously befriended me by letting me have the documents, and in deceiving *Salde*; but, as he had taken an active part against me since the affair of the 1st of August, I should have to report the whole transaction to government, and in fact had already sent an official note to the ministers, informing them that *I considered the priest as the adviser and instigator of Salde*, from which there was no doubt to be entertained of its going hard with him. He vehemently protested before the captain and officers of the *Colocolo*, as also the several passengers on board, that he had not in any way acted against me, but rather, on the contrary, was my friend, and had ever endeavoured to do all in his power for the protection of my property, and more especially had guarded me from many personal dangers, that came near to threaten my existence, during my confinement. After his leaving the vessel, the captain of the *Colocolo* expressed his dissatisfaction at the scoundrel's duplicity, adding, at the same time, that *he was fully convinced of the priest's being more to blame than Salde*, as the latter

* This personage is now the minister of state in the war department.

part of his conduct proved him to be a complete rogue. At daylight, Saldaes sent me my swords and fire-arms, with the exception of a pistol I had lent him on the 1st of August, also several barrels of dried fish and lobsters, and about 200 quintals of prime sandal-wood; but the captain of the *Colocolo* would not allow me to receive anything but my arms, telling me, at the same time, that his vessel was a man of war, and not a transport. He now got under weigh, and as we were standing out of the harbour, the Cadet Bergara came to request, on the part of the captain and soldiers, that I would inform them what articles were poisoned. Such a question could not but excite my merriment, for it confirmed the idea that they had laboured under the supposition of my having taken such steps to retaliate. I desired him to say to the captain that he need not be afraid or the least alarmed on that score; that there was not to my knowledge any poisoning on the island, nor had there been any since clearing the store of rats; and that the *force of poisoning myself had been acted in order to save my papers, as also to this stratagem I attributed my preservation from the assassin's knife.*"

* Extracts from the records of the trial: charge of Captain Saldaes.

* * * * * I ordered him to be arrested in his house, until I could inform the Supreme Government. A few minutes afterwards, he formed the impious and barbarous resolution (which the greatest criminals would not attempt) to poison himself, in order that he might not appear before his superiors.

Seeing this measure so contrary to religion, and also his refusal of the antidote that was offered to prevent the effects of the draught, I ordered a corporal and four soldiers to enter and secure him, that they might by force administer the remedy that would be efficacious; this was done by making him drink a considerable quantity of oil, which prevented his death, although it did not remove the internal pain that was occasioned by what he had taken (*efectos propia de su esencia*).

Whilst he was in a state of desperation, he revealed to all present that the sugar he had in his house, which was all that was on the island, was poisoned. This, of course, was immediately thrown into the sea. * * * *

We were all horror struck when we found ourselves thus innocently condemned to death.

This proves that he intended to have sacrificed the lives of all who were on the island.

After he had recovered his health on account of the promptitude with which the remedy was administered, he repeatedly called upon me to request permission to embark for his own country, in the first vessel that should touch at the island. * * * * * NICOLAS SALDAES.

Juan Fernandez, September 14th, 1839.

The Padre's account, extracted from the records of his trial.

* I returned with an answer, and found him seated at the door of his house, with two sentinels over him; I there gave him the captain's answer. Then the Governor took a tumbler from the table, and said, "Here, Padre, take this paper and give it to Joseph Duncan, and I will take this to put an end to my trouble." I seized the tumbler, and spilt a part of its contents before he could swallow all. I then ran and gave the paper to Duncan, who, on reading it, said that the Governor had taken a strong dose of poison. We both returned to render assistance, in order to save his life, and found him seated at his table. He requested Duncan to write for him, but, as he dictated in English, I am ignorant of what he said. The chief then wrote a short note to the Senior President of the Republic, in which he stated he had taken such an unhappy resolution, rather than suffer himself to be ill-used by mutinous officers. A few moments afterwards he became desperate, complaining of internal pains, and threw himself upon his bed. Seeing him in this sad state, I told Duncan to give him a glass of oil; but the Governor gave him a blow, and threw the glass from him, and broke it to pieces, telling me that I might retire, for my spiritual help was of no manner of use to a man that had committed suicide. On this I called in four soldiers, and got them to hold him, and oblige him to drink oil, which was done to the extreme of making him swallow the contents of two large bottles; this made him discharge what he had in his stomach.

He afterwards informed me, that two tins full of sugar that were placed under his bed were poisoned, and advised me to throw them into the sea, which was immediately done. * * * * * FRAY JUAN EVANGELISTA LOPEZ.

I told the cadet to deliver the fish and sandal-wood to the captain, as he would be held responsible for it, and everything else that necessity obliged me to leave behind; as also to say to him, from me, that *ere the elapsment of six weeks, we probably might have the pleasure of meeting again.* I communicated to the Mayoral, Cruz Sanchez, and my servants, that all my papers, as well as the archives of the island, were on board, from which consequence nothing could arrest the progress of my justification, or impede their speedy release in remuneration of their good services.* After the boat had left, one of my double-barrelled pistols was missing; and on making inquiry, several persons stated that the cadet had taken it. On the captain telling the helmsman to steer to the southward, I made inquiry as to where he was bound, and received for answer that Talcahuana was his immediate destination. I now handed him another note, to which, as well as the former ones, he returned no answer.

It is necessary to confess that I felt extremely grateful to Providence at having been so fortunate to leave the island with all my documents, which were the instruments that would fully expose the subtle villainy of this band of ungrateful wretches, who had been induced by persons on the Continent to the parts they acted; but all and every attempt they had made to inveigle me into their snares had hitherto proved abortive, for I had so completely perplexed them with schemes, contrivances, and counter projects that I had daily acted in confederacy with my faithful ally, Duncan, that they stood confused, without a clue to extricate themselves from the labyrinth of their crimes, which had insensibly drawn them on to the present precipitous ground, where they found it impossible to remain, and to retreat would not be allowed them. I felt sorry at not having had an opportunity to see Duncan before leaving the island; on the day of my embarkation, not a glimpse of his person nor a sound of his voice was to be seen or heard of; from which I suspected ill health as the cause, but it seems it was occasioned by his being detained in the castle, offering up his accustomed orisons at the shrine of his favourite deity; however, remitting all his faults and love of

* Santiago, August 19, 1836.

Sir,—I am ordered by the Minister of War, Don Diego Portales, to answer your letter of the 16th, by remitting you the copy of one he has forwarded to the Governor of Valparaiso.

Soy S. S. S. Q. S. M. B., MANUEL CAVADA.

[COPY.]

"Cruz Sanchez, José Maria Espinosa, Irene Carrasco, Mariano Rivera, Joaquin Arrevalo, Tadeo Arriagada, Andres Oliva, Alberto Briones y José Maria Perez.

"My Dear Friend,—As these individuals are to be rewarded for their good conduct during the revolution against 'Sutcliffe,' by the council of state, it would be well for you to treat them kindly, and place them separate from the rest, and free from irons, until the resolution of the council of state is forwarded to Valparaiso.—Yours,

"August 19, 1836."

"PORTALES.

I experienced an inward satisfaction on receiving this mark of attention from the minister: the poor prisoners were treated accordingly, and on the 7th of September I received the following copy of their pardon:—

[COPY.]

"COMMANDANCIA GRAL DE ARMAS,—His Excellency the President deemed it necessary to issue, under date of the 7th of this month, the following decree:—

"In consequence of the merit due to the convicts, Cruz Sanchez, José Maria Espinosa, Irene Carrasco, Mariano Rivera, Joaquin Arrevalo, Tadeo Arriagada, Andres Oliva, Alberto Briones, and José Maria Perez, assisting the Governor of Juan Fernandez to suffocate the last revolution that took place in that island, I have, in accord with the council of state, pardoned them the three fourth parts of the time for which they were transported."

Which I transcribe to you for your intelligence and correspondent effects.—God preserve you, &c.

"Sept. 6, 1836.

"DOMINGO FRUTOS.

"To the Governor of Juan Fernandez."

liquor, I was certain he would be faithful to his charge, by keeping an eye to my interests, and inform me of the proceedings of Saldes and Co. The treatment I received from the captain and officers of the *Colocolo* was extremely illiberal and ungentlemanly, who, during the voyage, were continually harassing me by the repetition of fulsome invectives thrown out against foreign officers; but after a passage of three days, we anchored in the afternoon of the 18th of September, the anniversary of the declaration of Chilean independence, on which account the vessel saluted with twenty-one guns. The captain went on shore in the custom-house boat, in order to proceed to Concepcion, the capital of the province, expressly to wait on the Governor Intendant, who was commandant of the battalion to which the troops on the island belonged, as also uncle to Captain Saldes. I had expressly written a letter to forward to him, but the captain, on seeing the direction, refused to take charge of it; but immediately after his departure, I collected the most interesting documents (the steward was highly amused to see me draw them forth from their places of concealment), and proceeded on shore with Lieutenant Martinez, to wait on the Governor, Don Miguel Bayon, who was surprised to see me, and more so, that the custom-house officer had not reported my being on board, and what had taken place on the island. On being sent for, and interrogated, he said that Captain Dias, of the *Colocolo*, had not even mentioned the circumstance to him, for as soon as he boarded the vessel, the captain requested a passage on shore, in order, as he said, to see the intendant, to whom he had something of consequence to communicate. I mentioned my wish to go to the city and wait on him also; on which the custom-house officer, Don N. Lopez, generously offered to accompany me, and furnish me with a horse. I gladly accepted his services, and in an hour arrived in Concepcion, and called upon the intendant, Colonel Don Ramon Bosa. He received me very coolly, and informed me that it would be requisite for my detention in Concepcion until he should hear from government, as it was necessary to send the *Colocolo* to Chiloe and Valdivia, with arms and other articles she had on board; on which I demanded assistance to be enabled to prosecute my journey to Santiago by land. He again repeated that I must remain there, as government had heard of the revolution on the island, and had in consequence taken declarations in Chillan, the headquarters of the Chilean army, from Captain Aguayo, who had commanded the late garrison on the island. This information astounded me, being aware that no vessel had held any communication with the island during my captivity, except the French whaler, and she had not yet come to the coast of Chile, nor intended to do so for some months. An officer who was present informed me that Aguayo had mentioned the circumstance to him, and that he had been required to give his information to General Bulnes respecting my treatment of his soldiers and prisoners, and by what he could learn was no way favourable to me. I then inquired of the intendant what were the charges his nephew had preferred against me, and what excuse he had made for usurping the command, and remitting me as a prisoner to the Continent. He seemed surprised at my mentioning the relationship that was between them; but added that the charges were, for robbing the soldiers and prisoners of their provisions, the ill treatment of others, &c. I laughed at what was related me; and further, told the intendant that, from holding the station of Governor of Juan Fernandez and its adjacent islands, I held myself amenable to no one but the Supreme Government, and was perfectly independent of all other authorities; that my visit to him was on account of hearing that he was unwell, and to request he would order the *Colocolo* to return with me to Valparaiso, or to render me sufficient assistance to revisit the island, for the establish-

ment of its former peace and tranquillity. I allowed him to peruse several documents I had with me. After he had read them, that is, two or three of the most importance, he sat up in his bed, and exclaimed that I had been grossly injured; that the captain of the *Colocolo* was a base wretch, for that only a few minutes before my arrival he had been with him, and corroborated everything that had been stated in the communications he delivered from Saldes. After he had concluded reading the documents he admitted it to be true that he was uncle to Saldes, as well as commandant of the battalion that the company garrisoning the island belonged to, but nevertheless he could not swerve from his duty on any consideration of this nature. He now told his adjutant to order carts to be sent immediately to the port to fetch what the *Colocolo* had for Concepcion, and at the same time sent for Captain Dias, to order him to proceed with me to Valparaiso as soon as the wind would permit. He ordered some refreshments, and offered me a bed, but I preferred returning with my friend, the custom-house officer, who was pleased to see me turn the tables upon my enemies. Colonel Bosa informed me that Saldes had been confined for several months previous to his going to the island, and he had expected that he would have bettered his conduct under me whilst he remained there. On our being informed that the captain of the *Colocolo* could not be found, we naturally conjectured that he had returned to the port; so, on taking leave of the intendant, I made the best of my way for Talcahuana, where I arrived at about twelve o'clock, and proceeded to the house of my friend, Don Manuel Serrano, where a festive party were keeping up the 18th of September: no one was informed of my having been with the intendant until the following morning. At about nine o'clock Captain Dias arrived from the city. He seemed surprised to find me on shore, and told me that I must disembark my equipage, for he had orders to get under weigh and proceed to Chiloe, as the wind was favourable. I now invited him into the room, that Don Manuel Serrano had obliged me with, and on his seeing a table covered with papers, and two persons occupied in copying various documents, he seemed surprised, and more so when I informed him that he had not only transported me to the Continent, but that all the archives of the island were brought over also; and furthermore, that I felt much indebted to him for his kindness in recommending me so strongly to the intendant, in his statement and corroboration of the charges advanced by Saldes against my administration of the establishment, through which means I had obtained an order to be conveyed, as soon as possible, to Valparaiso, and should advise him to disembark what he had to deliver here with brevity, for the carts would soon be down to receive it. He was confounded, and had scarcely a word to say, when Captain Gallo Irrisabel arrived and delivered him an order to conduct the Governor of Juan Fernandez, and two officers, with their servants, to Valparaiso. Captain Dias now inquired how I had communicated with the intendant. I assured him that, from the moment of his first arrival at the island, it had to me appeared plainly evident that he was secretly affianced to act in collision with the villain Saldes, which confederacy the intervention of common reason would naturally incite me to use every endeavour to crush and expose, as I had latterly done, to the Governor Intendant, fully delineating the measures adopted by himself and Saldes, to deceive him and calumniate me. On which he, in the greatest hurry imaginable, procured a horse, and set out again for the city; during which time, I triplicated the whole of my documents and got them certified by the Governor of Talcahuana, and sent one set by the post, directed to myself in Santiago, with two official notes for government, informing them of what had taken place; the others I left in charge of the captain of the port, Don P. Delano,

and took the originals with me. I remained two days in Talcahuana on account of the wind blowing from the northward, the captain having agreed to fire a gun to advise me of its change, but a friend assured me that it would be necessary to keep an eye on the vessel, as Dias had intentions to leave me behind; to prevent which, as soon as I perceived him getting under weigh, I hired a whale boat to take me on board, and arrived alongside as she was under sail; and on inquiring of the captain his motives for deceiving me in getting under weigh without firing a gun as preconcerted, he made some crippled excuse, and the subject was dropped. I received great attention from Don Manuel Serrano (with whom I resided); also from Don Bertran Matieu, a French gentleman; from Captain Rodgers; Don N. Rios, the custom-house officer; Don N. Lopez; and the Governor, Don Miguel Bayon. We were two days on our passage down to Valparaiso, during which time Captain Dias and his officers behaved in a far different manner than when they brought me from the island. Immediately on disembarking in Valparaiso, I waited on the Governor, Don Ramon Cavareda,

who was surprised to see me, and on informing him of all that had transpired, and inquiring what vessel had arrived from the island since the 1st, he told me that none had arrived. I felt more surprised now than ever, and mentioned what had been rumoured in Concepcion. The captain of the *Colocolo* arrived during my stay, and received a very severe reprimand from the Governor for his having acted in such a disgraceful manner. I sent a note to the Minister of War stating what had taken place; and that I was on the eve of proceeding to Santiago, to make my statement in person of every particular. I reached the capital next day, and called upon his Excellency the President. The meeting was rather cool; and on the next day had another, of a nature more frigid than the former, with the Minister of the Interior, Don Joaquin Tocornal; the Minister of War, Don Diego Portales; and Don Victorino Garrido, who was also present. My friend Don Joseph Javier de Bustamantes, unfortunately for me, had renounced the ministry of war a few days previous to my arrival in Santiago; so I had many unforeseen difficulties to surmount.

CONCLUSION.

The following documents had been published in Chile previous to my leaving for Europe, and may serve as a conclusion, for I have already exceeded what I had at first intended to publish; but the good sense of my readers will let them see that although I have curtailed my narrative as much as possible, I thought it imprudent to end abruptly:—

MY FAREWELL.

Being about to retire from Chile, I am impelled by sentiments of gratitude, that will ever accompany me, to adopt this mode of bidding farewell to those worthy Chileans who have favoured me with their friendship and esteem, during a residence of sixteen years in this country, as well as a tribute to them of my most sincere and grateful thanks for the many favours I have received, and offer my services, should they consider me of any utility; for I will, in any part I may reside, feel the greatest pleasure in having an opportunity whereby I may return their kindness, with unequivocal proofs of the unalterable profession of my esteem.

In order to satisfy the desires of many who have professed an interest in my concerns, and are desirous to learn what are the motives that have compelled me to retire from the military service of this republic, I published on the 14th of last month the documents in circulation, and to which I have now added others, where may be seen, without the necessity of commentators, a chain of misfortunes and vexations that have not only obliged me to retire from the army, but from a country in which it would have been my greatest happiness to have passed the rest of my days.

THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.

Santiago, January 10th, 1839.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MANIFEST.

The criminal process concerning the occurrences that took place on the island of Juan Fernandez having come to a conclusion, I will now fulfil my promise of the 2nd of last November, by manifesting documents to refute the calumnies of those persons who have interested themselves in order to stain my character and reputation, which will prove that my detractors have forged imputations, in different parts of the republic, to effect my ruin, previous to the disgraceful disorders (from the 1st of August to the 15th of September) having taken place. They have accom-

plished their ends so as to see me *accused and tried*; but their pleasure has been only momentary.

The mariner, George Burkett, has presented three memorials to government; only one (No. 8) came to my hands. The documents that accompany it discover who have been the persons that were interested in this scandalous affair. They thought that they had found matter to complete my ruin and stain my reputation, but my timely arrival on the Continent has frustrated their malicious intentions. I well knew, as early as March, that Lieut.-Colonel Lattapiat had sworn vengeance against me, and in his letter he has threatened me for having informed government, in my notes, of acts in which my honour had been compromised.

The private declarations of Captain Don Norberto Aguayo, that were taken at the head quarters of the army of the south, *carry the date of the 14th of Sept.*, the same day on which the mutineers embarked me in the port of Juan Fernandez, and the official note of their ringleader, which was remitted with my person to the Supreme Government, is of the same date, and nearly of the same tenor. On my arrival at the city of Concepcion, on the 19th of September, I was informed that Aguayo had answered to questions that had been put to him respecting my conduct, and that there were rumours of a revolution having taken place on the island. This intelligence did not fail to surprise me, for the *Colocolo* was the very first vessel that had arrived from the island since the affair of the 1st of August. *Who can have been my accuser?* An official order has been manifested to Captain Aguayo, for him to give his depositions with respect to my conduct towards the garrison and convicts who were on the island. This is sufficient proof that *there was a strong feeling against me*, which has been consolidated by government having obliged me to answer to such illegal charges; but having a clear conscience, and feeling satisfied that I had fulfilled the duties of my charge with honour, *I depreciated the machinations of my detractors, protested against the illegality of the order, and then I willingly offered to*

answer the judge fiscal, so that the Supreme Government would see the *falsity* of my calumniator. In the trial I have refuted the accusations of Aguayo, and I will here manifest that the charge of having deprived him and his soldiers of their rations is *false and malicious*.

In the month of June, Don Marcelo Ugalde came in the *Colocolo*, with a passport from the Supreme Government. He gave me three letters of introduction, and, although I was only slightly acquainted with the writers, I made him my guest; but his conduct did not tally with the recommendations that were given to a person whose *ostensible* business was only to visit the island, with the object of *examining* its soil, productions, and to take an account of the cattle, &c., in order that he might *rent* the island and *purchase* the stock, &c. &c., and be their governor.

The commander of the *Colocolo*, Lieutenant Don Manuel Dias, on leaving for Talcahuana, informed me that he had been obliged to go *secretly* for Ugalde to his creditors in Valparaiso before they would permit him to embark. This was useful advice, although tardy; for he had already borrowed four ounces of gold from me; and his subsequent conduct placed me under the necessity of turning him out of my house, and remit my reasons to government. He remained on the island until the 11th of July, styling himself the *new governor*, and striving to impress upon the minds of the inhabitants that he was *wealthy*, had *great influence* with the *Supreme Government*, and that he would *rent* the islands, and return in the month of August to take possession and *govern* them; besides other fooleries. On which I gave orders to the officers of the garrison to be on their guard, for I saw that Ugalde was nothing more than an agent of my detractor: his conduct and the occurrence that took place shortly afterwards, have confirmed my suspicions. In the month of June I knew that something was getting up against me on the Continent, and the Minister of War counselled me *not to fear my detractors*. After my arrival in this capital I have discovered that Lieutenant Col. Lattapiat, Ugalde, and others, have had several meetings, *previous to his leaving for the island*, in the house of a person who has *informed me of their proceedings*. So the public may judge whether the visit of Ugalde to the island has been *prejudicial or not to the establishment*.

The antipathy and ill feeling that *certain personages* have manifested towards me is notorious. I am not ignorant of the machinations of my enemies, but their intrigues have merited my *disdain*. He that serves with honour, stands not in need of protection, nor ought he to fear his vile detractors. I have many good friends in Chile, but have not required their protection or assistance. Although I have been transported from Juan Fernandez with a long catalogue of charges, my conscience and the documents that a Divine Providence permitted me to preserve from the scrutinizing search of the mutineers, have vindicated my injured honour. What would have been my fate if I had not been enabled to refute the many calumnies that had been forged to procure my ruin?

I have served more than twenty years in the cause of the American independence, and of which, more than thirteen in the army of this republic, where I have fulfilled with honour every duty that has been confided to my charge, without ever mixing in the political dissensions. • • THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.

Santiago, May 21, 1836.

I have omitted publishing the documents that are cited in the *manifest*, with the exception of a few extracts from the defence, and the two following extracts from the public papers, for they are numerous, and, in this small work, might be fastidious. The memorials, in which I have claimed a remuneration for the losses I have sustained on the island, will,

with the decrees of government, plainly show that I had little to expect from an administration that had not only manifested their eagerness to depopulate the islands, but who have notoriously protected and rewarded the very persons who have been the promoters and actors of all the disgraceful scenes that have taken place on Juan Fernandez.* The minister of war, Don J. Xavier de Bustamantes, let me know in the month of April that several members of the government wished to break up the establishment, and the following extract of the ministerial *Gazette El Araucano* will shew that his information was well founded:—

“INTERIOR.

“We know that government intends to remove the establishment (el presidio) of Juan Fernandez to the continent of the republic, where the convicts will have to be occupied in the public works, where they are so much wanted, and for which there are actually a competent number of carts nearly ready, and made of iron, in order to transport them to and fro.

“We have considered this measure under different aspects, all of the greatest importance, and find it the most opportune and regulated to the public, to the particular, and to the moral good that by every means ought to be introduced and preserved in this country.

“Our readers are aware of the immense expense that the subsistence of the ‘presidio’ of Juan Fernandez is to the treasury, the freight of the convicts, their maintenance in that depot, that of a competent garrison, and of the Governor under whose command is the island, have consumed always a great quantity of dollars in the year (*han consumido en todos tiempos grandes cantidades de pesos en el año*), without any other benefit than that of having a number of malefactors separated from us for a certain period, that for the most part become more hardened in that establishment (*enpeoraban de costumbres en aquella residencia*); and return amongst us to commit more depredations; and perhaps to receive the punishment of death. * * * * *

“The separation of the island, the quality of its inhabitants, their want of occupation, and, in many cases, the bad disposition and irregular conduct of the governors, have caused different insurrections; that, at the same time, have caused damage in the parts where the mutineers have arrived, and have

• The chaplain, Padre Lopez, was not tried, as ordained, by a general court martial, but he went through the farce of a “*consejo*,” where *Major Toledo*, one of my judges, and who had taken a decided interest against me, was the president, and where neither myself nor my witnesses, Joseph Duncan, Rojas, &c., were cited to appear against him; and on *Salas* retracting his former declarations, wherein he, as well as *Ensign Riquelme*, had accused the padre of being their adviser, &c. &c., he was FOUND INNOCENT and SET at LIBERTY, and claimed an indemnification from me to the amount of 500 dollars, for his losses.

Salas, in place of being transported, as a convict, to Juan Fernandez for ten years, according to his sentence (to expiate his crimes on the spot he had committed them), was allowed to reside in Copiapo, and received a civil appointment from the Governor.

Ensign Riquelme was not even censured for the part he took, but was, shortly after the trial, promoted to be a captain.

Lieutenant Dias, of the *Colocolo*, also escaped censure, and was promoted to be a commander in the Chilean navy.

El *Señor Don Marcelo Ugalde* was rewarded with a commission in the army, and received the grades of lieutenant of infantry, lieutenant of cavalry, and “*ayudante mayor*” of the “*battalion Colchagua*,” in less than twelve months after the padre’s trial.

Lastly, as if to try my patience. I was ordered to serve under a general who had remitted the charges of *Aguayo* (in order to effect my ruin), and who had no less a personage than *Lattapiat* to be his *chief aide-de-camp*.

These are only a part of my motives: I have others still more powerful, should what I have already related be insufficient to justify my having requested my retirement, &c.

obliged the government to spend extraordinary sums; and have made the punishment of being transported to that 'presidio' lose the greatest part of its importance, because the convicts have been practically shewn the possibility of escaping, and laughing at the punishment they were condemned to suffer for their crimes. * * * We therefore believe that government, on putting this into execution, has meditated seriously upon the means of preserving the important possession of the island; and which truly never could be worse taken care of than in having it occupied as a 'presidio.'—*El Araucano*.

The foregoing was published long before my trial, as well as the following extract from *El Philopolita*, No. 14, of the 4th of November, 1835:—

"PRESIDIOS.

"We have heard that the island of Juan Fernandez is to be again depopulated, and that the motives of this measure are the constant insurrections of the convicts, the demoralization of the garrison, and the enormous expenses of the establishment. These reasons are, in our opinion, of sufficient force to stimulate the government to project a new organisation of 'presidios.' * * * It is necessary to seek the means that will conciliate the ends of justice—a punishment that will terrify some, and impede the criminal acts of others; and what is more adequate than that of 'deportacion?' * * * With this object has Russia and England formed their establishments in Siberia and New Holland, and have gained incalculable advantages, and where effects have risen above the hopes of their wise founders.

"We here might adopt the same plan on a smaller

scale and in proportion, and by this method populate the islands of Juan Fernandez, Santa Maria, La Mocha, and others to the southward, that are capable to contain small colonies, and in which it is now necessary that the Chilean flag should be displayed, at least as a sign of dominion, in order that they may be no longer at the mercy of the first who might choose to occupy them. It is said by those who object against this measure, that on account of not being capable of maintaining one *presidio*, how would it be possible to form three or four? But these proposed are of a distinct nature, and in which the criminals would be continually obliged to work, in order to maintain themselves, where they would have no occasion to commit crimes, and where the married men would reside with their wives and families, and form villages. On their arrival they might have a portion of land given to them, and for the first year only be provided with provisions, some animals, and instruments of agriculture. Although this indulgence or assistance might appear at first expensive, it would be much less than what has been spent yearly in the *presidio*, and when once they have become proprietors and heads of families, there are well-founded motives to make us hope that they might be converted into honest people, as well as what has occurred amongst the Russian and English convicts."—*El Philopolita*.

By what I have here extracted it may be seen that all were not of the same opinion in Chile as *El Araucano*, nor were many aware of the premeditated expedition of General Freyre, which at last has been proved to be the principal cause of the interest that had been displayed towards withdrawing the garrison and convicts from the island.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE TRIALS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DEFENCE.

The insurrection of the 1st of August, in the island of Juan Fernandez, was doubtless commenced at the instigation of Captain Saldes.

It is generally admitted and declared, that the moment it became known that the conspirators had taken the castle, a number of soldiers and some convicts presented themselves to the Governor as volunteers, and were armed and provided with ammunition by Governor Sutcliffe, who gave every order necessary for the assault. He also gave orders that the launches and boats lying in the bay should be destroyed, to prevent the escape of the convicts, which might have been easily effected, on account of a French whaler being near.

One of the witnesses, Joseph Duncan, whose testimony is most worthy of belief, on account of his not being connected with the mutineers (*por su ninguna dependencia para con los amotinados*), gives a circumstantial account of all that happened.

Can it be said that covetousness has been the cause of the excesses with which the Governor has been accused? No; this never can be alleged against my client, who, with the greatest generosity, has distributed more rations to the prisoners than they could claim as their due—augmenting their messes twice a week with fish—paying salaries out of his own purse, to the amount of more than one hundred dollars monthly, that he might more easily preserve order and regularity—lending his boats to the fishermen, and allowing the product to be applied for the benefit of the unfortunates—and lastly, having to sustain a greater number of individuals than government had sent rations to maintain. All these things have been proved.

Bergara, in conjunction with Saldes, has pretended to insinuate, that the governor made a present to Saldes of the sandal-wood that he was not permitted to embark in the *Colocolo*, when he left the island. This same sandal-wood was sold in an improper manner to the captain of the *Lady Wrangle*, by Captain Saldes. Now, what motives could have induced my client to make a present of this nature to his personal enemy, who had meditated his ruin by promoting the insurrection in the island; who had abused his person, placing him in confinement; and lastly, had sent him to the Continent with a notable detriment of his personal property, which he was obliged to abandon, because he was not permitted to collect or carry it with him?

The accusation of Captain Agunayo, in the private declarations that were taken, greatly surprises me, and forces the conviction upon my mind, that those imputations were anticipated, and had been got up (*fraguado*) in order to ruin the Governor.

Who could have given orders to take depositions concerning the conduct of my client before the revolution in the island of Juan Fernandez, which took place on the 1st of August, had been made known? Nor could that affair have given motive for such proceedings, because the Supreme Government had no information before the 14th September, the period at which these depositions were taken; for the *Colocolo* was the first vessel that brought the news of the revolution in Juan Fernandez; and by the correspondence of Captain Saldes, remitted by the same vessel, it is proved that she had not left that port before the 14th of September.

This sufficiently proves that accusations were premeditated against my client, without any consideration of the affair that has occasioned this court martial.

A document so illegal as the deposition of Aguayo, ought not to be presented or credited; first, because it is not preceded by any accusation that ought to serve as a foundation of such proceedings; and, secondly, because there exists no superior order to take such depositions, without which it is improper, and ought not to be introduced in the process.

I ought not to take up more time, senores, in refuting the points of accusation made by Capt. Aguayo in his illegal declaration; which, amongst other nullifying points that have been stated, wants *ratification*, an indispensable requisite, without which the depositions cannot be legalised.

I shall now refer to the exposition made by my client, and to the documents he has produced in his depositions, which, I am fully satisfied, are sufficient to justify him from the false charges which have been got up in order to bring him to trial.

Captain Don Norberto Aguayo's receipts for provisions, pay, &c., issued to him and soldiers, which were as follow:—

"Juan Fernandez, Dec. 17th, 1834."

"Received from the Governor of these islands, seventy-five rolls of tobacco, for the individuals under my command.

"(Signed) "NORBERTO AGUAYO."

"Juan Fernandez, March 29th, 1839."

"Received from the Governor of these islands, a quarterly distribution of pay, viz., for October, November, and December.

"(Signed) "NORBERTO AGUAYO."

From the 24th Nov. to the end of March, is four months and five days, or 125 days. Here are receipts for an excess of 23 days, signed by Captain Aguayo, who had two loaves per diem for his men, besides fish at the rate of 4lbs. each per week. I next required him to give an account of what provisions he had received extra on his own account, besides double rations I had allowed him, on which my store-keeper produced the following account:—

"Juan Fernandez, March 29th, 1835.

"STORE-HOUSE ACCOUNT.

"Received one hundred and forty-eight days rations for my troops, since the 24th of November, 1834..... 148 days.

"(Signed) "NORBERTO AGUAYO."

"Received double rations for myself one hundred and twenty-five days..... 125 days.

"(Signed) "NORBERTO AGUAYO."

"Received extras in beef, flour, meal, fat, &c., three hundred and fifty-one pounds 351 lbs.

"(Signed) "NORBERTO AGUAYO."

"JOSE TRONCOSO, Guarda Almazem.

"FELIX BAESA, do. do.

"V. B. THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

The laws ordain that unjust calumniators be severely punished; and as Don Norberto Aguayo ought to be considered such, on account of his false and malicious relation, I hope that "Los Senores del consejo," in obedience to justice, and the offended honour of my client, will proceed against this individual according to law.

The charge of my client's poisoning himself has only served to render those persons fit objects of ridicule, who were so easily gulled.

The object of this farce, represented by my client, was simply to preserve the documents, by which he would be enabled to justify his conduct to the world at large, as well as to the Chilean nation, to which he voluntarily belongs.

Who can suppose it possible for any man to attempt to destroy himself, that had committed no crimes whereby he would be condemned, and whose quiet

conscience insured him a speedy triumph over his false calumniators.

The public and private conduct of my client needs no other advocate to justify it than the public fame; but in our case a more circumstantial detail is indispensably necessary.

On his arrival in this country, he voluntarily adopted our cause, without any other object than that of lending his honourable services and sacrifices to the Chileans, whom he has since viewed as his fellow-citizens. After having been admitted into the army, he fulfilled his duties in the most exemplary manner, and by his conduct has gained the esteem and particular distinction of his chiefs, which is manifested by these certificates which I now present.

Admitted lately to be the governor of Juan Fernandez, he has had no other interest than that of assisting the unfortunate and alleviating their distress; to carry out this humane and generous resolution, he willingly consented to abandon the society of his friends, without even making any remark on his having to receive inferior pay.

On his arrival in the island, he gave full scope to his laborious and enterprising mind, by commencing considerable undertakings, ameliorating the condition of the soldiers and convicts, elevating their morals, cultivating their manners, and improving the state of the colony. Of these statements you have abundant evidence in the document I now present to your notice.

The works that they refer to have been erected by my client with his own tools and implements, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable obstacles that were occasioned by the scarcity of all kinds of artisans.

And ought all these sacrifices, that have been made without any other object, or particular end, than the satisfaction of having exerted himself to the utmost to do good, to be unappreciated?

I ought to conclude by reproducing the protest, made by my client in his depositions, respecting the illegality of being obliged to answer such accusations; and more so, on account of the want of necessary depositions, in order to substantiate the process.

JOSE MANUEL MULET.

"EXMO SENOR.—Thomas Sutcliffe, &c. &c., appears before your Excellency, and states,—That during the earthquake of the 20th of February, 1835, it was notorious to all the inhabitants of the island of Juan Fernandez, and the documents, Nos. 200, 210, and 215, remitted to the Ministers of State, prove, that during that terrible and unforeseen catastrophe, I, at the risk of my life, saved all the provisions, armament, boats, &c., belonging to government; whilst all my personal property, amounting to more than 3,000 dollars, without enumerating a number of other articles, were swept into the sea; which I present, so that your Excellency may be informed of the extent of my losses, and, in consideration thereof, remunerate them, so that I may be enabled to cover my losses, and return to my native country.

"Portanto, &c. "THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

DECRETE.

"Santiago, May 9th, 1836.

"The petitioner must prove, in the courts of justice, the action he believes himself to have against the treasury, or particular persons, for the losses stated in this memorial.—Rubric of his Excellency, "CAVAREDA."

"EXMO SENOR.—Thomas Sutcliffe, &c. &c.—In the court martial that was held at Valparaiso respecting the revolution of Juan Fernandez, no notice has been taken of the severe losses I have sustained in the fulfilment of my duty by the disorderly conduct of the mutineers, Don Nicholas

Salades, and Chaplain Friar Juan Evangelista Lopez. During the trial of this religious man, though his principal accuser, I was not even cited; nor the two witnesses Joseph Duncan, and Pedro Juan Rojo, my store-keeper, who were compelled to deliver up the articles of my personal property, stated in the documents, No. 3 to 6, against my wish, and during the time I was a prisoner. On account of this informality, the chaplain has been set at liberty, and considered an innocent man.

"Upon my arrival on the Continent, I gave notice, in my note of the 20th Sept., of the scandalous conduct of the commander of the *Colocolo*, Don Manuel Dias, who, forgetting his duty, rendered assistance to the chief of the mutineers, receiving me as a prisoner on board of his vessel—conducting me to the Continent, and obliging me to abandon all my personal property, although Salades sent part of it alongside the vessel. I have made him responsible for 80 cwt. of dry fish, valued at 8 dollars per cwt. which the document No. 1 in the said note in the records of the court martial, pages 62 and 63, prove; also 2 cwt. of sandal-wood, valued at 6 dollars per cwt. but since sold at the low price of 3 dollars to the captain of the American brig, *Lady Wrangle*, which is also proved by his two certificates, that are archived in pages 47 and 48, jointly with the manifest, from the Custom House at Valparaiso, which gives an account of the 2 cwt. of sandal-wood, and other articles of my property that had been sold to Captain Paty.

"With what I have here stated, and without enumerating many articles of value, my losses amount to 2458 dollars 5½ reals, which I present to government, in order that your Excellency may deign to take them into consideration, and lessen the losses I have sustained on account of the disorders which have taken place upon the island; and on consideration that the authors of such diabolical intrigues, as well as my detractors, have been made a laughing stock by the sentences of the "consejo de guerra y corte marcial," where I have been vindicated in the most satisfactory manner from all the charges that had been invented at the head quarters of the army in Chillan and Juan Fernandez, and now archived in the records of my trial, which are of the same date, and nearly of the same tenor. 'Por tanto.' I beg and supplicate your Excellency to minorate my losses, so that I may be able to cover my credit, and return to my native country. *Es gracia, &c. Exmo Señor,*

"THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

DECREE.

"Santiago, May 9th, 1836.

"The petitioner must prove, in the courts of justice, the action he believes himself to have against the treasury, or particular persons, for losses stated in this memorial. Rubric of his Excellency,

"RAMON CAVAREDA."

"EXMO SEÑOR.—Thomas Sutcliffe, &c. &c.—In answer to the two decrees of the 9th of May, 1836, to my memorial, in which I have requested the Supreme Government to diminish the losses I have sustained in the fulfilment of my duty, during my government of the island of Juan Fernandez, I beg leave to state that I do not intend to enter into a suit, nor commence any proceedings with the ('Fisco') treasury's tribunal, nor even against the authors of the

Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Blanco Encalada, under whose orders I served as first aid-de-camp during the campaign of 1837 in Peru, did me the honour to accept the charge of my documents, as well as power of attorney, in order to receive a compensation from government for my services in the army of the republic, which was decreed in December last. And with respect to the losses I have sustained in Juan Fernandez, I have a full assurance that I may some day be compensated, and verify the assertion of the late minister of war, Don J. Xavier de Bustamantes, that "Los pueblos no seran siempre ingratos."

Ashton-under-Lyne, August 3, 1839.

THOMAS SUTCLIFFE.

revolution of the 1st August, that took place in that establishment, because these do not possess wherewith to pay me; nor have the señores, judges of the trial of the principal criminals, made any remarks respecting their robberies and disorders, nor in the manner in which I ought to be indemnified. It is notorious, and in the archives of the trial there is more than sufficient proof, that the revolution had been premeditated; and that in this scandalous affair, at the risk of my life, with the help of the convicts, who voluntarily ran the risk of losing theirs, by accompanying me to the assault, I retook the castle of Santa Barbara, &c. &c., that had been vilely given up by the garrison to a set of villains who had lately been transported from the Continent; and after having restored order on that island, I was deprived of the command, and suffered, whilst a prisoner, for the term of six weeks, injuries and vexations. I have been transported by the commander of the mutineers to the Continent, and obliged to abandon my personal property, to the amount of more than 4000 dollars, of which there is proof to the amount of 2458 dollars, in the archives of the court martial. I have been judged in a "consejo de guerra" and a "corte marcial," not only for the occurrences on the island, but on charges that have been invented (*fraguados*) and remitted from the head quarters of the army of the south, on account of private declarations, taken from Captain Don Norberto Aguayo, that are also in the archives of the trial, and of the same date, and almost the same tenor, of those that were remitted to government with my person from Juan Fernandez, which proves that, with anticipation, they had been framing imputations on the Continent to affect my ruin, without having had any intelligence of the disorders which had taken place on the island. I can cite many other particulars, but I believe it is sufficient only to state, that I have been completely vindicated from all the charges that the diabolical malice of my detractors had invented to accomplish their malignant intentions.

"The decisions of the 'consejo de guerra y corte marcial' declare that I have fulfilled the duties of my charge, as governor of that island, with PURITY and UTILITY. 'Con pureza y utilidad.'

"In the accounts presented to your Excellency, I have clearly stated the powerful motives that have obliged me to solicit my retirement from the military service, during the present war, in the memorial in which your Excellency has thought proper to allow me to retire with my permanent rank, &c.

"If this exposition merits the consideration of the Supreme Government, I hope that your Excellency will deign to allow me, at least, what will be sufficient to cover the losses I have sustained in consequence of my expulsion from Juan Fernandez, and cover the expenses of a voyage to my native country. For which I beg and supplicate your Excellency to accede to this my petition, &c. &c.

"THOMAS SUTCLIFFE."

DECREE.

"Santiago, August 7th, 1838.

"Act according to what has been resolved by the decrees of the 9th of May, of this present year, in the two memorials of the same nature that were then presented to government.—Rubric of his Excellency,

"CAVAREDA."