

THE SEQUEL to
Bulkeley and Cummins's
VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEAS

or the

Adventures of Capt. Cheap, the Hon. Mr. Byron, Lieut. Hamilton, Alexander Campbell and others, late of his Majesty's ship the /Wager/, which was wrecked on a desolate island in Lat. 47. S. Long. 81. 40. W. in the South Seas, anno 1741.

containing

A faithful narrative of the unparalleled sufferings of these gentlemen, after being left on the said island by the rest of the officers and crew, who went off in the longboat. Their deplorable condition, desperate enterprises, and prodigious distresses, till they fell into the hands of the Indians, who carried them into New Spain, where they remained prisoners of war, till sent back to Europe, on the terms of the cartel, in 1746.

The whole interspersed with descriptions of the countries in which the various scenes of their adventures lay; the manners, etc. of the American Indians and Spaniards, and their treatment of the author and his companions.

by ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
Late midshipman of the /Wager/.

LONDON:

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(Price one shilling and sixpence.)

[DEDICATION]

To the Honourable John Bing, Esq;
Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Sir,

As I have had the honour of serving under you in his Majesty's ship the /Augusta/, in 1738, and the year following; and as I am well assured that no one will more impartially read, or is more capable of forming a right judgment of the ensuing pages, so I know not to whom they could have been more properly inscribed.

You will not, Sir, expect a seaman to say fine things in a dedication. Besides, such things as I might be inclinable to say of you, though unquestionably true, would so much resemble the flattery usual on these

occasions, as not only would ill-become a maritime pen, but, I dare say, be no way acceptable to your Honour.

All I have to say in behalf of the following sheets, is, that they are void of art, malice, or misrepresentation. The facts related in them are undeniable, dressed in the plain unsophisticated language of an honest tar, whose principal view in publishing them, is to clear his character from a very gross calumny. Most of the hardships I suffered in following the fortune of Captain Cheap, were the consequence of my voluntary attachment to that gentleman, and the distresses I underwent with him, and for him, are such as perhaps have never been equalled. In reward for this the Captain has approved himself the greatest enemy I have in the world. On my return to my native country, after such a voyage as God grant no other man may ever make, I hoped that my services and sufferings would have sufficiently pleaded my cause, and at last have turned out to my advantage. But instead of this, I now find myself destitute of employment, and without the least prospect of being provided for in the service of my King and Country. Whether or not I have merited from either so hard a fate, I leave to your Honour's judgment, on the perusal of the ensuing narrative; in opposition to which I should rejoice at your being thoroughly acquainted with the very worst that my enemies can prove against me; for as your penetration cannot be imposed on by gross untruths, and palpable misrepresentations, and as they have nothing else to bring against me, so, in proportion to the weakness of such evidence, the more strongly must the innocence appear of

Your Honour's most humble,
And most obedient servant,

Alexander Campbell.

Portsmouth
Nov. 1, 1746.

THE INTRODUCTION

Having been cruelly aspersed by those who, of all persons in the world, ought to have spoken, if not /kindly/, at least /fairly/ of me, I thought it necessary to publish the ensuing narrative, in order to justify my conduct, and make it appear to the World, that I have not been generously treated. This is a piece of justice which I owe to myself, and which any other man in the like circumstances would be willing to pay.

I shall not say much of my services to Captain Cheap, in order to aggravate his ungenerous returns. Had I never done, or endeavoured to do him the least service, yet he ought not to have aspersed my character, nor to have charged me with a crime which I would be the last man in his Majesty's Navy to commit. The Captain was a witness all my sufferings, and was it not cruel in him to prevent my receiving any recompense? Had

I even been the aggressor in any misunderstanding with him, yet it ought to have been beneath him to pursue with so much malice, and take so severe a revenge on his fellow-sufferer and faithful servant, for such I voluntarily became to him in his greatest distress. But I was not the aggressor; nor did I ever imagine he would have proved my enemy, who was never his, but the very reverse.

Happening to come home a little before me, he takes the opportunity of reporting that I was gone into the Spanish service. And what more could he have done to render me odious among my brother-sailors, and hinder me from being again employed, and getting my bread as formerly in the service of my King and Country? This groundless charge has been propagated with so much success, and (unfortunately for me) has been so generally believed at the Admiralty Office, and by some gentleman in the Navy, who might else have done me service, that I am looked on as a traitor, or traitorously inclined, and am therefore ejected out of his Majesty's service, and indeed out of all other service, unless I will actually go over to the enemy, as it has been falsely said I have done. But rather than do this, I will submit to beg my bread, or, starving, die a reproach to ungrateful and cruel men.

That the public may truly be informed of my innocence, I have printed this account of the voyage I was so unfortunately engaged in. When the *Wager* was shipwrecked on the desolate island in the South Seas, mentioned in the title, the crew thought themselves no longer obliged to obey their Captain; and when they found that he would not give up his command, they took arms and freed themselves from it by confining him. But when all, except the very few whom anon I shall have occasion to mention, despised and left the Captain, I remained steadily attached to him, even in his greatest extremity; and on this account was myself despised, and without regret abandoned to an almost hopeless fate.

Indeed while I was necessary to him the Captain expressed great kindness for me, and made me large promises; but after following his desperate fortune for three years, his ungenerous usage of me, forced me to quit his company, and embark for Europe in a Spanish ship, rather than go home with him in a French one. This however gave him the opportunity of arriving in England, a few weeks before me: and an opportunity for doing me a prejudice which the Captain industriously improved; very generously and honestly reporting that I had entered into the Spanish service; though I do not believe he himself suspected it. As to my not being come home when he arrived, that was no proof, nor even ground for suspicion that I was voluntarily absent. He could not know whether I was still alive, or whether detained by sickness, imprisonment in old Spain, or by contrary winds, or twenty other means which a generous man would have supposed, rather than judge so uncharitably.

But if I live to be again employed in the Royal Navy, I hope that opportunities may occur for convincing my countrymen (by all the services one in my station can perform) that my zeal for, and fidelity to my King and Country, ever have been, and ever will be incapable of being moved either by temptations or dangers. I desire no greater happiness in this world, than to make it publicly appear, that there is not a Briton this day alive, who has a greater regard for his own and

his Country's honour, than I have ever preserved. To one proof of this Captain Cheap himself is no stranger. Namely, that I might have had, in New Spain, as well as at Madrid, the command of a Spanish man-of-war given me, if I would have quitted the King of Great Britain's service.

If the reader should think that anything in this narrative borders in any degree upon the marvellous, let it be tried by a collation with the accounts of other voyagers; and then it will appear that never any traveller more avoided exaggeration than I have done. I have designed this tract as a plain simple relation of facts, intended chiefly to place my own actions in a just light. If here and there I have introduced descriptions of the countries, etc. which I had the misfortune to see, it is only in complaisance to the custom of journalists. However I have been scrupulously careful not to insert one word of untruth: for falsities of any kind would be highly absurd in a work designed to rescue the author's character from the imputation of /unfaithfulness/.

A. C.

BOOK I

A succinct narrative of Commodore Anson's voyage to the South Seas, from his setting out in the year 1740, to the loss of the ship /Wager/.

When our unhappy ship was lost, there was not one journal saved out of her; therefore I shall not pretend to give a more circumstantial account of the voyage, than merely what occurs to my memory. But what I relate I perfectly remember, and will stake my reputation on the truth of every circumstance.

Sept. 18th, the fleet consisting of eight sail, store-ships included, sailed from St. Helen's [Isle of Wight, opposite Portsmouth, Ed.].
October 28th. anchored in the bay of Madeira. I was then on board the /Tryal/, Capt. Murray. Here we wooded and watered, and took in wines for the use of the fleet. In Nov. the Hon. Capt. Murray's command was transferred to the /Wager/, and I was removed with him. Here Commodore Anson received information of a squadron of ten sail of Spanish men-of-war, under Admiral Pizarro cruising to the westward. On the 28th crossed the Equinoctial [equator, Ed.]; and, December 19th anchored at the isle of Santa Catarina [on the coast of Brazil, Ed.], in Lat. 28. S.
January 18th sailed for the river of San Julian, on the coast of Patagonia. The 22nd, lost sight of the /Pearl/, Capt. Kidd. February 17th, the /Pearl/ rejoined us. During her absence she had been chased by five men-of-war, of Pizarro's fleet; but throwing her boat, fresh water, and a great quantity of stores overboard, she was thereby greatly lightened, and outran the enemy. Meantime Capt. Kidd died, and Capt. Murray succeeding him in the /Pearl/, Capt. Cheap was appointed Commander of the /Wager/.

On the 28th, sailed from San Julian /*/, and March 7th, passed the

straits of Le Maire. April 19th, lost sight of the Commodore. This was a great misfortune to us, we being at that time in a very bad condition, having lost our mizzen-mast some days before. Here I must observe, in behalf of our lieutenant, Mr. Beans, who had the watch that night, and has had some reflections cast on him, for losing sight of the Commodore, that I had the watch with him that night, and was most of the time on the foretop-sail-yard, in order to take in the foretop-sail; and I could not see the Commodore. But the lieutenant did often call to know if I could see Mr. Anson's lights. The 23rd, I narrowly escaped drowning. Going up the fore-shrouds, I was knocked down by a man falling from the futtock-shrouds; but I lighting between the sheet anchor-stock and the shrouds, was preserved, though the other man was drowned.

* For, what particularly regards the fleet from this time to our separation from the Commodore, I refer the reader to the accounts published by the gentlemen of the other ships, whose journals were not lost.

We now understood that the fleet was to rendezvous at the Island of N. S. del Socorro, in Lat. 45 S. May 14th, the straps of the fore-jeer blocks unfortunately broke, and the fore-yard came down about our ears: the same day also we saw land. Hereupon the Captain ordered me to get up the fore-yard as soon as possible; but most of the people being sick, this could not be done very speedily, and now a constant series of misfortunes began to fall on us. First, our Captain had the mishap to fall down the after-ladder, as he was coming forward to see us get the fore-yard up, and dislocated his shoulder. This accident was the more unfortunate, as it happened at a juncture, when his care and skill, and authority were most wanted. Probably, had he not been thus disabled from discharging the duties of his post, the ship had not been lost; for not a man in her ever doubted his abilities, both as a commander and a sailor. Besides, his authority, had he been capable of stirring about and exerting himself, would have kept every one to the duty of his station, which might have gone a great way towards preserving the ship.

May 14th, between four and five o'clock in the morning, the vessel struck. I was then in my berth shifting myself; and on feeling the shock, I ran up and asked the master what was the matter. He answered, /Nothing, it was only a great sea under the counter/. He had no sooner spoken these words, than she struck again, with a more dreadful shock than before. All in the ship were now alarmed, and running forward to get hands to wear the ship, I saw breakers to the leeward; whereupon I ran aft again, and told what I had seen, upon which we hauled the wind again. The Captain ordered to let go the anchor, but the bite of the cable being over the cat-head, we could not clear the anchor till it was too late; for in the meantime the ship struck so hard that she broke the tiller, and an anchor of 48 hundred, belonging to the /Centurion/, and which lay in the main hatchway, went through her bottom. Hereupon, we were obliged to haul up our mainsail, and bear away for the land, steering the vessel by the braces and sheets. But we were unable to make the shore, and the ship had immediately been lost outright, had not Providence conducted us between two rocks, where the ship stuck fast, unable either to proceed or sink. I now went to the Captain, who was in a miserable condition, on account of his dislocated shoulder; and asked him if he would go ashore, for I was afraid she would part very soon.

His answer was, /Go and save all the sick, and don't mind me/. He also gave orders for hoisting the boats out as soon as possible; and thereupon we all were immediately employed in getting things necessary for our preservation. The yawl went on shore first, and carried as many people as could get into her. Then the barge and cutter went with as many as /would/ yet go ashore.

I observed that this very day, the spirit of discord and dissension had entered the people. When I required some of them to return with me in the yawl, to fetch such things from the ship as were necessary for every man, (seeing there was nothing to be got on this desolate island, for such we then guessed, and soon found it to be), they plainly answered, that they would not go. However, some of the petty officers went with me, and we informed the Captain that if he pleased to go ashore, the yawl was ready to carry him. But he would not for a good while consent to go, saying, /Carry everybody else first, and afterwards I will go/. I then informed him that everyone that would go was already on shore, whereupon the Captain raised himself in his bed, but not being able to move along, we helped him into the boat, and carried him ashore. There was on the island two or three huts built by the Indians, who frequently land on it, and stay several days. One of these was fixed on for the Captain; and happy for him it was, that any habitation could be had: for in his condition he had certainly lost his life without such a shelter, as many of the people afterwards did.

As soon as the Captain got into this hut, he ordered me to take the yawl, and see if the men on board would come ashore. Accordingly I went, but found them all in such confusion as cannot be imagined by any who were not eye-witnesses of it. Some were singing psalms, others fighting, others swearing, and some lay drunk on the deck. Seeing them in this strange disorder, I spoke not a word to anybody, but observing some casks of ball and powder on the quarterdeck, I began to put them into the boat; whereupon two of the men came to me, crying out, /Damn ye! You shall not have them, for the ship is lost and it is ours/. A third came with a bayonet, swearing he would kill me; adding these words, /Damn you! You have carried a straight arm all the voyage, and you shall suffer for it/. And with that he threw the bayonet at me, but missed his mark, and I immediately got into the yawl, and returned to the shore.

About the middle of the ensuing night, when the tide and wind together made a great sea, and the ship was violently working, the people on board began to be afraid, expecting every moment that she would part. At last they pointed one of the guns (a four pounder, that lay on the quarterdeck) towards the Captain's hut, and had like to have hit it, which if they had, it must infallibly have been beat to pieces, and might have proved fatal to those within. The Captain not liking that they should send cannonballs on messages to him, ordered me and three others of the petty officers to fetch the people from on board. But it was now impossible for us to get on board, by reason of the mast that lay alongside, and a great sea; so we went back and informed the Captain of these impediments, /I cannot help it/, replied he, /but should be very glad if they were all safe on shore/. So these people were left some time longer on board, to continue their outrageous disorders. Some of them broke open the lazaretto, where the wine was stowed, scuttled

the pipes, made themselves drunk, and several tumbled into the water that was in the ship, and were drowned, which was more owing to the liquor within than without. Others broke open the chests and cabins, and loaded themselves with plunder, which, however, they were soon forced to relinquish.

Next day the Captain again ordered the boat to go and try to bring the people from on board; but when the petty officers called for hands to row the boat off to the ship, the men refused, declaring plainly /that they would not go, for the ship was lost, and everyone was at liberty to shift for himself/. Hereupon I being always willing to obey my Captain, attempted to persuade the men, by dint of /dry blows/, to go into the boat. But though the /strongest arguments of this nature/, that I could use, were in some measure effectual, yet they served to exasperate the men against me to that degree, that I was in danger of my life. But this I never suspected, till the lieutenant, Mr. Beans, informed me, that the gunner's mate, and one of the boatswain's mates were plotting to murder me; upon which I took proper precautions for my own security. Meantime the Captain was taking all possible care to prevent mutiny, ordering the officers to disarm the seamen as they came ashore; and a bell tent was erected, in which the arms and ammunition were deposited. But this proved of very little service; for the men went on board in the night, and again furnished themselves with both, so that in a short time they were all in a capacity of bidding their officers defiance. Thus the ship being in effect entirely lost, we were involved in a state of anarchy and confusion, which lasted till part of the people went off in the longboat, and which added not a little to the hardships we endured on this island.

BOOK II

The proceedings of the officers and crew from the loss of the ship, to the departure of the longboat from Wager Island.

On the seventh day after the ship was lost, we began to want provisions; but the weather being so bad that we could not work on the wreck, most of us went alongshore, and gathered shellfish, of which we found a good quantity.

As soon as the weather would permit, the Captain ordered the boat to the wreck, and several casks of flour with some wine were brought off. All this time the Captain expressed the greatest concern for the safety of the people, and caused a store-tent to be made for securing the provisions: but to little purpose, for some of the men robbed it every night. Hereupon the Captain ordered the petty officers to stand centry [sentry, Ed.] at this tent, each four hours at a time, which was a great hardship upon us, who were only four, and the weather rainy for several weeks without intermission.

The ship's company by this time were formed into bodies, and lodged in

tents. The Captain with some of his officers occupied the hut aforementioned. The warrant officers were in another, and the master with some of the petty officers in a third.

Going one day aboard the ship, we saw three canoes full of Indians making towards us. We made signals to them with our hats, and thereupon they came near us without further hesitation. They had with them their captain, or cacique, as they called him. I went with them on-shore to our Captain, who treated them with great civility; upon which, the next day they brought us three sheep, and a large quantity of very fine mussels. So just a sense of gratitude had these poor ignorant people, without any other instruction than what Nature gave them. /A good example to many well-educated Christians!/
/

These Indians are of a very dark swarthy complexion, of a middling stature; but extremely courteous in their behaviour. Their clothing is but thin, though the climate is very cold. They only wear a clout [piece of cloth, Ed.] about their middle, and something like a blanket which they wear about their shoulders, having a hole to put their head through, and this they call a punch [poncho, Ed.].

The time advancing, the Captain grew uneasy at our stay here, and would have had the people attempt to go to the rendezvous (which we were now told was to be at the island of Juan Fernandez) in order to join the Commodore. But such animosities were now among the people, both officers and sailors, that it was absolutely uncertain what might be the consequence. Many were continually exclaiming against the Captain, and threatening the petty officers that stood by him. As for their reasons for behaving in this manner, I could never rightly comprehend them. In truth, it must be owned that my attachment to the Captain was zealous, even to bigotry. -- At last all the people of one tent deserted us, and rambled whither they pleased. It was said that they had a design to blow up the Captain in his tent; but this report was not generally believed, nor did anything of that sort ever happen.

By the Captain's orders we were everyday working on the wreck, except when the weather would not permit us to go on board; and I am sure if it had not been for the Captain, many would have perished before they would have given themselves this /necessary/ trouble, though the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their friends and companions depended on it.

June 6th, Mr. Cozens, my brother-midshipman, was confined by the Captain, whom he, being drunk, had used with such indecent language as the latter could hardly be expected to receive without punishing. Nevertheless in the evening of the same day the Captain ordered him to be released. Soon after this, Mr. Cozens quarrelled with the surgeon, whose intimacy with, and regard for the Captain was thought to be the chief cause of the midshipman's anger. They went to blows, but the surgeon got the better, and tying the hands of his antagonist behind him, left him to be released by the next that came that way. At last this unhappy gentleman going to the store-tent, where the purser was serving the provisions, a quarrel ensued, and the latter took out a pistol to shoot Mr. Cozens, but was prevented by the cooper, who struck

the pistol aside. The Captain hearing the pistol go off, and at the time the purser crying out /Captain Cheap! Here is Cozens come to kill us/; he thought that Cozens had fired the pistol; and thereupon taking up another, he discharged it at Cozens, and mortally wounded him in the head. The unfortunate midshipman languished several days after, and then died. He was when sober, one of the best-natured men I ever knew. Messrs. Cummins and Bulkeley have brought a heavy charge of cruelty against Captain Cheap, giving us to understand that he would not allow the surgeon to dress Mr. Cozens's wound. This may be true for ought that I can positively say to the contrary, but such a thing was never intimated to me, except by their journal. To which I refer the reader for many occurrences relating to one voyage before these two gentlemen and their associates left us on this desolate island.

About the end of June, the carpenter begun to alter the longboat, intending to make her eleven or twelve foot longer by the keel; but this work was extremely protracted by the disturbances among the people. For in short our animosities and dissensions grew every day worse and worse. Some of the officers being weary of acting under the Captain's command, and having the majority of the people on their side, formed the design of going through the Straits of Magellan for the coast of Brazil, insisting upon it that this was the only probable step towards their returning in safety to England. These projectors drew up a writing, setting forth their reasons for attempting to go that way, rather than to the Commodore; and after it was signed by themselves and their party, they laid it before the Captain (whose consent to this project they had in vain solicited) desiring him also to sign it. But this he refused, telling them. "Their scheme was inconsistent with reason; and that it was also against his honour ever to turn his back on the enemy." On this all the men declared /they would not go to the northward, and that in case the Captain should persist in his refusal to sign the paper, he ought to have his command taken from him/.

And now all the people came armed with their chiefs to the Captain's tent, telling him he /should no longer command them/, and used him somewhat rudely. Some days after, the Captain, seeing that the carpenter would not finish the boat, sent for him, and some of the officers, telling them he would go where they pleased. Hereupon the boat was finished, and shortly after launched; and everything was now made ready for our quitting this island. But still they distrusted the Captain, (who in truth, did not sincerely intend to go with them) and therefore they determined to imprison him; which they did in a violent manner, tying his hands behind him with a rope, and leading him out of his tent in his shirt, (for he was in bed when they took him) they confined him in another tent, in which he remained till the boat went off. His guard consisted of six men and one officer.

All this time I never spoke of these things in public, thinking it somewhat dangerous, as I was looked upon as one of the Captain's friends. However, after he was confined, I went to speak with him, but the officer of the guard would not suffer me to speak to him by myself, nor would he let me into the tent until I was searched. When I had admission to the Captain, I told him that I was willing to take my chance with him, as I understood he chose to remain on the island after

the boat was gone off; which offer the Captain gladly accepted. However as our new masters only proposed to leave the /yawl/ with us, which was not large enough to carry us off, I went and desired them to leave the barge, which they refused, unless the ten men that were in her would stay with us. But I could only prevail on three of them.

October 16th, by our account (for there was two days difference between the Captain's account and that kept by Bulkeley and Cummins and their party) the longboat put to sea, and the barge with her, in which I also set out as though I would have gone with them. Thus was Captain Cheap left on this desolate island, in a miserable condition, /*/ with only a few friends with him, (whose names the reader will see anon) with no other vessel than a little yawl with her broadside out; and all the fire-arms he had were very much out of order.

* For a particular account of the Captain's unwillingness to go in the boat to the southward, and the people's reasons for not forcing him along with them, and carrying him to England as a prisoner for murdering Cozens, see Bulkeley and Cummins's narrative.

On the 17th, being now out at sea, I had an opportunity of speaking to the people that were with me in the barge, and represented to them what a shame it was to leave their Captain in such a situation; and added "That if they did get home, which they could not reasonably hope to do the way they were going, they would be hanged for mutiny. But if, on the other hand, we should go back to the Captain, and with him to the northward, we had a much better chance."

My discourse wrought upon most of them and they consented to go back; but at the same time objected to our want of provisions, and /observed that it would be dangerous to ask those in the boat for any, lest they should take the barge from us/. However, as soon as we came to an anchor, and went on board the boat, it luckily happened that Mr. Bulkeley, the gunner, whom we now looked on as Captain, ordered me to return with the barge to Wager Island as we called it, and to bring off a tent belonging to Captain Pemberton of the Marines, which he said he should want to make sails for the boat. Hereupon, determining to let them see no more of the barge, I observed to the Hon. Mr. Byron, midshipman, and brother to the Lord Byron, that now was the time if he had a mind to go back to the Captain. This he immediately resolved to do, but was afraid our new chiefs would suspect our intention, and stop our voyage. But they did not, and we happily got safe to Wager Island that night, where the Captain gladly received us.

Besides, Mr. Byron and myself, eight others went back with us in the barge, viz, William Harvey, David Buckley, William Ross, Richard Noble, Peter Plastow, Joseph Clinch, Rowland Crusset, and John Bosman.

When I went on shore, I asked the Captain what he would have done with the barge; for the wind blew very hard, and as she had no grappling but the ship's bell, I was afraid it would not ride her. And in case she should be stove, we should then be in a most miserable state. However, we were forced to venture her, having no remedy in our power.

This night the Hon. Mr. Byron and I supped with Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton lieutenant of Marines, and the surgeon; and having much to talk upon, we went home to our tent very late. The next morning, it blowing so very hard that we could not go out to sea to get shellfish, the Captain gave us some flour, and two pieces of his pork, and the day following, it being moderate weather, we asked the Captain leave to go over to the other side of the lagoon, which we called Long Island; and to travel to the longboat, which we knew would be still waiting there, upon other accounts, besides the expected return of the barge. As our business with the longboat was to ask for our share of provisions, the Captain readily consented to our going over. Accordingly we set out, and after travelling all day through woods and marshes, we came to the vessel in the evening. We found most of the people employed in getting shellfish, and among the rest, the new commanders Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Beans; one of them asked me, in a surly manner, where the barge was. Which I told them; and at the same time desired a share of the provisions for us who chose to stay with the Captain, and also the few things I had in the boat. /No, damn you/, it was replied, /you shall have nothing except you bring the barge/. Mr. Byron went on board, and spoke to the people, but could not prevail on them to give us anything. On the contrary, they told us, "that if we did not return the next day with the barge, they would arm the cutter and send her for it." However, they knew better things; for if the cutter had come, we should have endeavoured to have taken her from them. In short, not being able to obtain anything from this obstinate crew, we went back and told the Captain of our ill success. To which he replied, "Gentlemen, there is no help for it; but the little provisions and clothes they have left me shall be equally shared among us." He gave me three shirts and two white waistcoats, and to the others in proportion.

BOOK III

The adventures and distresses of Captain David Cheap, the Hon. John Byron and Alexander Campbell midshipmen, and others, from the time when the boat left them on the desolate island, by them named Wager Island, to their departure from thence in the barge, with their sufferings by sea among the Indians, till their arrival at Chile in New Spain.

Being then abandoned by the longboat, and having but a small stock of provisions to trust to for our future subsistence, our prospect was now dismal enough. For indeed we had nothing but Providence without the appearance of any human means for our deliverance to depend on.

Soon after the departure of the boat, I and some others went over to Long Island to gather shellfish; but coming home at night, it blew so hard at north, that we could not weather the point of rocks to get into Cheap's Bay, as we called it, but were obliged to bear away up the lagoon; where we found seven of our men who had been set ashore there for some misdemeanours, and whom the people in the boat had left to

starve; however we brought them to Capt. Cheap.

We are now twenty souls in this island, viz. Capt. Cheap; Lieut. Hamilton of Marines; William Harvey, quartermaster; Walter Elliot, surgeon; the Hon. John Byron, midshipman; Alexander Campbell, ditto; Ross, ditto; Noble, ditto; Peter Plastow, Captain's steward; David Bulkeley, second gunner; John Bosman, seaman; Dennis O'Lare, ditto; Ridwood, boatswain's yeoman; Crosslet, corporal of Marines; Hales, Hereford, Smith, Clinch, Demond, and Cresswick, all mariners. Our two vessels, viz. the barge and yawl, we hauled up to high-water mark, both greatly wanting to be repaired. /Necessity has no law/, says the old proverb, and this we now experienced; for we all became workmen and carpenters. Nor was Captain Cheap himself (who from the loss of the ship all this time had hardly ever stirred out of his hut) an idle spectator of our labours. He now became very brisk, went about everywhere to get wood and water, made fires, and proved an excellent cook. I had the honour to sup with him one night, when we had a slaw cake of his making, the best I ever ate on the island. This the reader will doubtless think a strange sort of food. It was nothing but water and flour, made into a batter, and mixed with a small seaweed (i.e. the slaw) which grows on the submarine rocks, and the whole is fried with pork-slush. This poor stuff even the Captain was forced to content himself with!

All the month of November the weather was so very bad that we could seldom get any shellfish, on which lay our chief dependence for subsistence. When the Captain's provisions were gone, we had nothing but slaw fried with tallow candles, which we found alongshore, whither they were driven from the wreck; and hereupon we became so weak, as hardly to be able to walk.

At length two Indian canoes came, but they brought nothing with them except a few dogs, some of which we killed and ate. The weather being so bad increased our misfortune, because the Indians could neither catch seal nor dive for mussels, which is all they have to live on. Next day they went away, and we saw no more of them for upwards of a month afterwards.

Meantime we lived in the utmost necessity. Our chief dependence was upon the sea fowl, of which we shot now and then a few, going out in the yawl for this purpose.

Soon after the Indians left us, three of our company could not resist the temptation of breaking open the Captain's store-tent, in which he had saved some flour, fearing it would be more wanted when we should put out to sea, and might not be able to reach the shore to get shellfish, as we now sometimes could, though but in small quantities. Some of this flour was taken by the three men who broke open the tent; their names were Peter Plastow, John Ridwood, and Rowland Cresswick. They were discovered by a little of the flour leaving white marks in their tent. The Captain ordered them to be confined in another hut, till they would confess, which they soon did; but in the night Plastow made his escape and hid himself in the woods. The next day Ridwood and Cresswick were tied to a tree, severely whipped, and ordered to Long Island; but Cresswick escaping, Ridwood alone was sent thither in the barge, and

left by himself on that island, where in a short time he miserably perished.

December the third being a fine day, with a southerly wind, the Captain ordered me off to the wreck, to see if I could find anything; and I had the good fortune to take up three casks of very fine beef. When I returned ashore with this welcome cargo, Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, the Hon. Mr. Byron, and the surgeon were standing on the beach; and the Captain said, "Gentlemen, remember this day is the third of December, that you may be able to swear to it, if you should be called for. By my instructions we are to be paid as long as we can take anything from the wreck." -- However, I did not find it so, being paid only to the time when the ship was cast away.

As soon as we had got the meat ashore, the Captain ordered me to divide it equally to every man; which I did; and as I had always the honour to mess with Mr. Byron, so he and I took up our meat together, which, if I remember right, came to fifty-three pieces of beef, so that we lived very well during the remainder of the time we stayed on the island, and began to grow strong again with this good English provision.

One method of cooking, and the manner in which we ate our beef was this. We fried the fat with slaw, and other seaweed, and this composition served us for bread to our meat. There grows upon this island a sort of wild purslane [type of herb, Ed.], which we boiled, and this for some time served us for cabbage to our beef; but as it had a very bad effect upon us, purging us to a most desperate degree, we were obliged to leave it off, though this herb was our only resource in bad weather, when we could get no shellfish.

At length the people began to grow impatient for their departure from this island, but the weather continuing still so very bad that it would have been downright madness to put to sea, (unless we could have done it in a good ship) the Captain therefore persuaded them to stay from time to time till it should settle; and at last, on the fifteenth of December in the morning, the people came to me, and desired me to go to the Captain, and to let him know that it was a very fine day, and the wind fair for running over the bay. Accordingly we went to the Captain, and reported to him what they said. Hereupon he took me up to the top of a hill, called by us Mount Misery, and through a perspective [telescope, Ed.] showed me that the sea was very rough in the horizon. -- While the Captain and I were here, he said to me, "Campbell, I am very much obliged to you for your good behaviour to me, and your zeal for his Majesty's service; and depend upon it, if it please God to send us home, as I hope he will, I will do all that lies in my power for your preferment." [promotion, Ed.] -- But, to my great misfortune, he has acted quite a contrary part, having done all that lay in his power to /prevent/ my preferment.

When we returned from Mount Misery, the people asked the Captain if they should launch the boat; to which he replied, "With all my heart, if you will, but you'll find a great sea without." This was about nine o'clock in the forenoon. We immediately launched both boats, got everything we had into them, and then put to sea. The Captain, with the Honourable Mr. Byron, and the surgeon, were in the barge, with eight men to row; Mr.

Hamilton and myself were in the yawl, and we had six men to row.

We had not sailed above an hour and a half, when it began to blow hard, and the wind shifted more to the westward, so that we were obliged to bear away right before it. The seas were now so rough, that we every instant expected to go to the bottom; to avoid which, as far as lay in our power, we flung overboard almost everything we had, even the beef which we had taken from the wreck, notwithstanding we knew not where to get a bit more to save us from perishing through hunger, the most miserable of all deaths. But this we did to avoid an immediate death, though of a less shocking nature; trusting to God for our future preservation. Our situation was the more desperate, as we were running (we knew not whither) on a lee-shore in two open boats with a terrible gale of wind, a great sea, and night coming on. Mr. Hamilton and I were obliged to set our backs against the stern of the vessel, to keep the seas out of her; though we did not think anything less than a miracle could preserve us from destruction.

We did not all this time see the barge, the sea running so high; in short, it is impossible to conceive how a boat could live in such weather. But it pleased God, as we advanced on the lee-shore, looking every moment when we should strike against the rocks, and while every man was preparing for another world as well as he could, we saw an opening in the rock, which we stood for, and found an inlet through the mountains, but so narrow that we could hardly row with our oars. The minute we entered this inlet, we found ourselves in a perfect calm, and were therefore obliged to row. Soon after, through the Providence of the Almighty, the barge came to the same place. None but those who have been in the like circumstances can conceive our joy on so happy a meeting, after such dreadful dangers past. But alas! this is only a shadow or type [anticipation, Ed.] of what we are yet to experience.

There are many inlets through the mountains we are now among, but we dared not venture through, not having any compass; and besides these vast mountains being so high, and surrounding us on all sides, we could not so much as see the sun to steer by.

We had not proceeded far up the above-mentioned inlet, before we landed, and went in search of a place proper for making a fire, but could hardly find one, the rocks being so high and perpendicular. At last, with a great deal of trouble, we found a hollow place where we lay all night. We had for our bedding only hard rocks, and those who did not like a bed of this soil, were forced to take up with a watery one. The Heavens were our canopy, and the only covering we had. When on Wager Island our case was bad enough, but it is now much worse. There we found, or made huts, which we lived in, secure from the rigour of the weather; but here we have no other house than the wide world. The weather was so terribly cold, and it froze so hard, that by morning several of us were almost dead. We were up early, and the Captain, seeing the weather appeared somewhat more favourable, ordered every man to the boats, in order to put to sea again; but though the storm was much abated, we found such a great sea, that we could hardly pull out; and when we did get out to sea, we found the wind contrary; so that all this day we plied with the oars.

Though there was a very great sea in the evening, we rowed for the shore among some small islands, in order to shelter ourselves; but here we found but very indifferent accommodations, the islands being low, and the ground all swamp. It still raining very hard, the Captain ordered the barge's mainsail on shore to make a tent of, but this was of very little service to us. The people sheltered themselves under a great tree, and making a good fire, dried one side while the other was wetting. For eatables this place produced us a seaweed, which we called sea-tangle; it grows only on the sunken rocks, and some of it is very large.

The next day being still rainy, the people were all employed in looking for food, except two Marines who were lying in their wigwam. The Captain ordering me to see after them, I accordingly went, and found them lying in the wet, and almost dead with cold. However I was obliged to beat them out to seek for subsistence for themselves.

At this time the Captain, Mr. Hamilton, the Hon. Mr. Byron, Mr. Elliot the surgeon, and myself messed together, and we were all employed in providing victuals and other necessaries for ourselves. Mr. Hamilton and I fetched wood from the other side of the island, which cost us no little trouble; and Mr. Byron was employed in cutting it. The surgeon shot a wild goose, and the Captain made a fire and cooked it.

Our stay here lasted three days, the weather being all the while so bad that we could not put to sea. The bay here we called Swamp Bay, because all the islands about it were mere swamp. When we left this place, we steered away northward to the other side of the bay; and as we were rowing over it, we discovered an opening between the high land and a point of low land, which we conjectured was an island. Being always willing to keep from the coast as far as we could, we steered for this opening; and when we came there we found a very fine bay, down which we rowed all this day till we came to the end of it, when to our sorrow we found ourselves obliged to come all the way back.

We lay the next night in a little cove, very convenient for the boats, but not for us; for here we could procure nothing to eat, and victuals was what we now wanted most. In this cove there is a redwood somewhat like ironwood, which burnt very well though green. We called this place Redwood Cove.

Next day we put to sea, and about nine o'clock were favoured with a fine gale at south-west, as near as we could guess, our courses being north-east or near it. The land ahead was very high, and there was an opening between it and the mountains, which we steered for. The Captain ordered me to go ahead with the yawl, to see if there was any passage between the above high land and the continent; I did so, and found an island which we called the Duke of Montrose's Island. Here we all went ashore, and made a fire upon a stony beach, in order to dress [prepare, Ed.] supper. This is the sixth or seventh day since we left Wager Island, and the Captain had expended all the flour which he had saved for his sea-store. We had a tolerably good night, clear weather, /1/ and could see a great way. As there was a large bay to the north of us, and very low land, so we were in hopes that the worst of our

voyage was over; for we had then come forty leagues to the northward from Wager Island. We flattered ourselves that the island in the offing might be the island of N. S. del Socorro, in Lat. 45, but it proved otherwise to our great sorrow and disappointment.

1. But our lodging was hard, being forced to lie all night on the beach, to which the Captain gave the name of Stone Beach.

Next morning we left Montrose Island, it being a pretty good day, and the weather calm, though we had a great sea from the south-westward. We rowed to the bottom of the bay above-mentioned, hoping to find some inlet, but could not; so were obliged to return and work along the shore to the westward. But the wind springing up at north, and being offshore in smooth water, we then sailed alongshore until we came to a headland nine or ten leagues from Montrose Island. Endeavouring to double this headland, we discovered a great bay opening to the northward, but the night being so nigh, and the wind contrary, we were obliged to put back into a cove just by the headland.

This day as we were sailing alongshore, Mr. Hamilton shot a shag, which gave rise to great animosities among us. We were not to eat anything but what was equally shared among us who ate together, viz. the Captain, Mr. Byron, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Hamilton, and myself. But this night Mr. Hamilton and I being by ourselves, we dressed the shag which he had killed, and ate it for supper, not thinking such a trifle would have given umbrage to any. But the next morning by break of day we saw the barge under way, going to sea without saying anything to us. However as we were ready (for we lay in our boat all night, there being no place onshore to lie on) we got up our anchor, and went after them.

This day the wind being contrary, we rowed till night, and then could find no harbour to put into; so we put into a sandy bay, in which we were forced to lie till morning upon our oars. It was a terrible night, the wind and rain were both violent; and besides, (which made our case the more deplorable) we were in great want of provisions. However we got a few shellfish, and a small quantity of tangle [coarse seaweed, Ed.].

Next day, being (by our account) Christmas Day, 1741, we weighed anchor in the morning, and the weather being calm, we rowed over this bay to a headland about eight or nine leagues to the westward of us. At noon we feasted ourselves with some tangle and Adam's Wine, in which we drank the King's health. In the evening we arrived at the headland, and as we were going in, the Captain called to me to go and look for a place to anchor the boat at, which I did immediately. Near the shore I found a fine sandy bay, which I steered for, thinking it would be a very good place to land at, but I found the contrary; for an unexpected breaker drove the yawl ashore. We all got out and thought to launch her, but the next sea filled her full, and drove her upon the beach. Being unable to launch her in this condition, we took everything out of her, and then happily got her afloat, and thanks be to God for it; for if we could not have launched her, we must have staid there, the barge all this while never coming near us, but went to another bay more to the northward.

Meantime we in the yawl were in a most miserable condition, having

nothing to eat or drink, and all our rags of clothes quite wet; and when we went to the barge, thinking they would offer us a dry shirt, or a pair of stockings, we found ourselves woefully mistaken. We asked them for a little fresh water, knowing very well that they had some, but they told us they had none. We then desired the Captain to let us go up to see if we could find any place where we could make a fire to dry ourselves by. We had his leave, but having a point of land to go round, and the wind blowing very hard, we were forced to go back to the barge and lie (trembling with cold and hunger) in the bay all night.

Next day both our boats weighed anchor, but the weather being so bad that we could not get out to sea, we rowed down the bay, in hopes of finding something to eat; but not succeeding, we returned to the place where we lay the night before, and there going ashore, found some shellfish and tangle.

Next morning we weighed to go round the cape, which was the last we could see, and which likewise proved the worst. Sailing alongshore, we doubled one of the headlands, but the wind blowing extremely hard, obliged us to put back for the bay, in which we lay the preceding night; but the night came upon us before we could reach the bay, and forced us to lie all night on our oars. Next day the weather continuing very bad, we were laid up; and all hands were employed in looking for provisions, of which we found but very little here. The seaweeds called by us slaw and tangle, were all the victuals we could get.

As we were some time detained here by the bad weather, and being forced up to the head of the bay in search of provisions, we met with fine lagoons, found plenty of mussels, and killed some seal, so that we had now a sea-stock sufficient to last us while we tried to double the cape in order to proceed to the northward. This cape is called by the Spaniards Cape Tres Montes; for it consists of three headlands of equal height. When we came to the first of these headlands, we found the wind right against us; whereupon we took down our masts, and rowed till we passed the second. But now the wind and tide running strong, made a sea worse than the Race of Portland; and night coming on, and finding no harbour to put into, we were forced back to our former bay.

Next day the weather continuing so bad as to prevent our going to sea, all hands went ashore to get provision, except two men left in each boat to take care of them.

This day we killed a young seal, dressed it for dinner, and surely no lamb was ever to be compared with it. After dinner Mr. Hamilton and I went out with our guns, to see if we could shoot anything. He went one way, and I another; and as I came back I saw the boats riding at a grappling; but the wind shifting in an instant, from the northward to the southward, made a great sea tumble into the bay in which the boats rode, and began to break without the boats, and the third breaker that came filled the yawl full and sunk her. The two men in her were Marines; one of them was drowned; but the other I saved by hauling him out of the sea.

The loss of the yawl was a great misfortune to us who belonged to her

(being seven in number) all our clothes, arms, etc. being lost with her. As the barge was not capable of carrying both us and her own company, being in all seventeen men, it was determined to leave four of the Marines on this desolate place. This was a melancholy thing, but necessity compelled us to it. And as we were obliged to leave some behind us, the marines were fixed on, as not being of any service on board. What made the case of these poor men the more deplorable, was the place being destitute of seal, shellfish, or anything they could possibly live upon. The Captain left them arms, ammunition, a frying pan, and several other necessaries.

This dismal affair concluded, the rest of us went with the barge to try the aforesaid cape again; and when we departed, the four poor wretches stood on the beach, gave us three cheers, and cried /God bless the King!/ Our hearts melted with compassion for them, but there was no helping their misfortune. Their names were Smith, Hobbs, [p.30 does not mention him. It could be Hales, Ed.] Hertford, and Corporal Crosslet.

When we got to the cape, we found ourselves the third time disappointed there; the wind being always from the north to the west, with such a terrible great sea, that it was impossible for any open boat to get round. So we were obliged to return to Marine's Bay, as we called it on account of the four men left there.

All that night we were obliged to lie on our oars, for it was so dark that we dared not attempt to go ashore, especially in the rough state the sea was in, which would greatly have hazarded the loss of the barge also, and then we must all have infallibly perished.

It is now six weeks since we left Wager Island, during which our chief subsistence has been drawn from under the stones at low water; and we have been every day obliged to remove from place to place to gather shellfish. The loss of the yawl was the more unfortunate to us who belonged to her, as therein we lost all the poor clothes we had, except what we happened at that time to have on our backs. All the clothes I had now left, were an old shirt, one pair of cloth breeches, one waistcoat, and an old hat, but neither shoe nor stocking.

On the twenty-ninth of January, some of the people declared against making a fresh trial to go round the cape, and insisted on returning to Wager Island; others were for leaving the barge, and attempting to travel overland, which was the maddest thought imaginable, it being impossible to travel in this wretched part of the American continent. For on the coast side it is all wood and swamp, so that if a man should happen to fall, he would be in great danger of drowning.

At last all agreed to go back to Wager Island, though we had now lost all hopes of ever re-visiting our native country, all we expected being to die at Wager Island, looking on that place, which we had been so much used to, as a kind of home.

Before we set out we killed some seal for our voyage. As we came by the place where we left the four Marines, we resolved to go and bring them off. For we considered that if the boat sunk, we then should be free

from the miserable life we had, and die all together. But alas! all we could find of them, or belonging to them, was one musket and their ammunition; and we doubted not but that they had before now perished by some means or other. Here it was that I ate the liver of a seal which we killed as she was going to whelp; but it threw me into a fever, which occasioned all my skin to come off from head to foot.

Putting to sea from Marine's Bay, we rowed away for the headland that we left on Christmas Day; but it being calm all the day, it was night before we could get into the cove; and then we were obliged to lie all night upon our oars, keeping the boat's head out to the sea, for it both rained and blew very hard.

Next day we set out for Montrose Island, but as soon as we opened the headland that lay to the westward of us, the vessel almost overset, and filled so fast with water, that we were forced to return to the headland, and put into the cove, which as I have before observed, we called Stone Cove. There we lay weather-bound for two days, after which we again set out for Montrose Island; but could not yet fetch it, and were obliged to put into another harbour. While we lay in this harbour, I went on shore, and being very weak, my foot slipped so that I fell from one rock to another, then into the water, and was almost drowned, being stunned with the fall from the rocks.

Having lain here one day, we again put to sea, rowing to windward, with the wind at north, in order to get to Montrose Island. All this while we had nothing to eat but seal, which was almost rotten, and we could get no slaw, so that we were in very great distress. It pleased God that the next night brought us to Montrose Island, which was one of the best we could find in this part of the world, though it produced nothing to eat, except a berry which tasted like a gooseberry; but it was black, and grew on a bush like a thorn.

Here we stayed some time, the weather being exceedingly bad, and we had far to go without any harbour in the way. And even when we did put to sea, the wind blew so hard, that we were forced to put back to the same island we came from. Next day we again put to sea, with wind and rain pretty moderate. But we had not been long out, before it began to blow hard, and was so thick that we could not see whither we were steering, till we heard the breakers on the shore, and in a little time could see them white all around us. We were then obliged to haul aft the sheet, and stand off the shore, which we happily, and I might also say miraculously cleared. For who could imagine that any boat could carry so much sail in such a storm?

At last it pleased God that we got safe into Redwood Cove; but being straitened [put into difficulties, Ed.] for want of provisions, were obliged to put to sea the next day, though the weather was still exceedingly bad. We were all day pulling from this cove to the next island, at which we arrived before night, and every one went out to gather shellfish.

At this time Mr. Byron, Mr. Hamilton, and I ate together, and when we came on shore I went with the former to gather [shell]fish, but Mr.

Hamilton being sick, stayed at home to make a half wigwam. This sort of wigwam (or Indian house) consists of three arches about a yard and a half high, and two yards wide, covered with bushes, or whatever can be got for thatch. We made a fire at the door-place, or broadside, but it proved of no use, for the smoke would not suffer us to tarry in the wigwam; so we called this place Smoke Cove.

Here it was that I was obliged to eat my shoes; they were of sealskin, and were at this time a very great dainty. We found here an Indian canoe by herself, which we thought would be very serviceable to us, as a fishing-vessel, when we got to Wager Island. She was easily launched and hauled up, so that we could save the barge by laying her by while we used the canoe. We put two hands into her, and towed her astern of the barge.

When we set out from Smoke Cove, the weather was fair with little wind, which obliged us to row all the way; and it pleased God we got safe into Cheap's Bay the same day, about five or six o'clock in the afternoon. We were all in a starved condition, having eaten nothing for three days but tangle and other seaweeds. After landing we moored the barge with her grappling to the sea, and stern fast to the land. Going up to the huts which we left two months before, we found one of them nailed up, and were obliged to break open the door to get in. It appeared that the Indians had been there, by the things that were in the hut, particularly a quantity of iron and other materials which we knew they had taken from the wreck of our unfortunate ship. As the Indians hereabouts know nothing of iron, and set no value on it, we conjectured that those who had been here traded with the Spaniards.

We found some seal among the bushes, which the Indians had thrown away; for it was so rotten, that none but men in our condition could have borne the smell of it; we parted it equally among us, ate it all up, and gave thanks to Almighty God for his providential care of us hitherto.

We stayed here fifteen days before any of the Indians came to the island. Meantime we endured the greatest hardships imaginable, the weather being so bad, that we could neither get shellfish nor seaweed. In the interim some differences happened between the Captain, Mr. Byron, Lieutenant Hamilton, and myself. There had been some misunderstanding among us ever since Christmas Day, this being the twelfth of February by our account. On this day Mr. Hamilton walking along the shore, discovered several pieces of beef washing in the sea; and brought some of them home to Mr. Byron and myself, his mess-mates. Hereupon I went with Mr. Byron, and we took up several pieces more. The same night we asked the Captain for his frying pan to melt down the fat, in order to preserve it for frying of slaw or anything else. When we carried it home, with one half of the fat we had found, the Captain would not receive the fat.

Soon after this affair some Indians came with two canoes, and in one of them was a native of the island of Chiloe, who could speak a little Spanish. The surgeon could speak it likewise, and he asked the Indian if he would carry us to Chiloe in the barge, telling him that he should have her for his trouble, with all that was in her, as soon as we came

there. The Indian consenting, we immediately fell to providing for the voyage; and were soon ready, for God knows we had neither victuals nor clothing to trouble ourselves with.

March 6, 1741-2, we all, except one Marine, embarked in the barge with the Indian for our pilot. This Marine, when we were going on board, came upon the beach, and stole a greatcoat belonging to one of the men; which done he hid himself in the woods, so that we could not find him, nor had we ever any account of him afterwards.

And now high words arose between the Captain and Mr. Hamilton, concerning the fat beef he had found some days before; and the difference arose to such a pitch, that the Captain threatened to leave the lieutenant on the island. After this they did not speak to each other for a long time.

The first night of this our new voyage, we lay at an island which we called Sheep Island, from three sheep which the Indians formerly brought from it, and presented to the Captain. Next day the wind came to the south, and we ran to the westward of Montrose Island. This night we lay on our oars, for we could not find a harbour for the boat. All this while we were in great want of provisions. On the morrow we went to the bottom of a great bay, where we found our Indian's hut and his wife and two children. Here we stayed two or three days, and then set out with our guide, his wife, children, and another Indian, a young fellow, who was either his servant, or partner in the canoe. He carried us to the mouth of a river which we were to go up, but this was found impossible, the stream was so rapid. In this river we were pulling and hauling from eight o'clock in the morning till six in the afternoon. When we came out we were almost dead with fatigue and want of sustenance; and John Bosman, seaman, one of the strongest men in the boat, died this evening, being the third day since we left the Indian's hut, and in the interim had nothing to eat but a little boiled tangle.

This evening we had for supper some wild purslane, boiled with small mussels. As I was lying by the fire, I heard the people say that it would be well done to go off and leave the Captain behind for his cruelty. For this day as we lay in the river, and were all faint for want of food, he took out, before us all, a great piece of boiled seal with tangle, and he and the surgeon ate it, without offering a bit to any one of us, though he knew that poor Bosman perished merely for want of something to eat.

The next day I acquainted Captain Cheap with the murmurs among the people, and that Mr. Hamilton also heard what they said, at least he might have heard them if he was not asleep, being as near to them as I was. Upon this the Captain called Mr. Hamilton aside and taxed him with conspiring to take the command from him. This day the Indian with his wife and children, went out in their canoe to get some seal, for we had nothing to eat; but at the same time he left us the Indian his partner, to carry us to a place where we might get some shellfish. As soon as we got thither, everyone went alongshore, except Mr. Elliot the surgeon, who was very ill. The men got back to the boat before the officers, and Mr. Elliot desired them to go off a little, and try if they could shoot

him a gull. Hereupon they all, being six in number, got into the barge, taking the young Indian with them for their guide; and we never saw them again, nor could we conceive whither it was that they thought proper to convey themselves.

I leave the reader to imagine what a condition we five poor souls were now in! The country was all rocks and woods, a mere desert, affording us no better house or habitation than the shade of a tree. Nor had we one morsel of victuals; no arms, nor ammunition, nor fire, nor clothing, except the few wretched rags on our backs. For my own part, indeed, I lost very little by the departure of the barge, all that I had to lose being already gone into the yawl.

In this miserable state we were, comforting one another in the best manner we could, when we saw a boat at a great distance, going over to the eastern shore. We first made signals to her with our hats, then tied a handkerchief to a long stick, and waved it in the air till they saw us, and made for the place where we were; but not being able to make the land anywhere near us, on account of the great sea which then ran on the beach, they put ashore about two miles to the westward of us. Upon this the Captain and Mr. Byron went to see what they were, and found them to be the Indian and his wife who had left us some days before, to go in search of provisions for us. These poor honest creatures were terribly afraid that we would kill them, as they suspected that the men who had run away with the barge, had served [treated, Ed.], or would serve the young Indian they carried off with them. They made grievous lamentations for their partner, and it was with great difficulty that we quieted them by assurances that no harm would happen to him. At length they were prevailed with to haul their canoe overland; and put her into a bay on the other side of the island; from whence the Captain and Mr. Byron went with them by sea to another point of the island, whither the other three of us whom the barge had left viz. Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Elliot, and myself, went also, and stayed fifteen days, the Indian expecting to be joined there by some other Indians.

Meantime our Indian and his wife entirely maintained us, though upon very short allowance. The woman being an excellent diver, went every day at low water, and dived for sea-eggs [sea urchins, Ed.]. On these we subsisted during the aforesaid fifteen days, but being narrowly stinted [restricted, Ed.] as to the number of our eggs, we were all the while at death's door, for want of food.

The surgeon's illness increasing, he sent for me, and told me that all he had he would leave to me; but having neither pen nor ink, his will was not strong enough to secure to me anything but his watch, and even this I was afterwards forced to give away, when a prisoner among the Spaniards.

At last the expected Indians came, and brought a little seal with them; and, two days after, they sent two canoes with young men in them to catch seal and sea-fowl. These canoes only stayed away one night, and returned laden with seal and above three hundred sea-fowls; so we now lived very well, till all was eaten up; for it is their way never to lay in fresh provisions till their last supply is all gone. But we dared not

find the least fault with their conduct, they looking upon themselves as our masters, and we finding ourselves obliged to submit to them in all things.

All the meat these Indians have is seal, shellfish, and sometimes whitefish, and sea-fowl. They have short nets, with which eight or ten of them at a time go a-fishing. They stand almost up to their shoulders in the water, with their nets extended, two men to a net; in one hand they have a short baton, with which, as the fish jump, they knock them down, and then with the other hand receive them into the net. Moreover they have dogs which they train to go into the water, and therein bark till they scare the fish into the nets. They have also darts made of seal's bones, with which they often strike the fish. Their way of catching seal is comical enough. They go in their canoes alongshore, and when they find that the creatures are ashore, they go up into the hills, and then come down behind the seals, (which are commonly very numerous in these parts) and with a long club knock the animals on their head. They do not care to come before the seal, and attack him face to face, for these creatures are very bold, and will fight desperately. But it is easy to avoid them; for having no legs they cannot readily wheel round to defend themselves in flank and rear; but they can turn about with great agility in the water. When the Indians have killed the seal, they cut him up in great pieces, which they carry about with them in their canoes. Another method of theirs to catch this animal is as follows. They have a round net made of sealskin, which they fasten to a hoop, and this net draws in the mouth with a very long rope made also of seal-skin, and one end of the rope is fastened onshore. With this hoop an Indian goes into the water till he comes to the place where the seal lies, and holds the hoop up before him; at the same time another man who is ashore, frightens the animal, so that he jumps into the net, driving it forward till the rope is pulled straight, and then, as the other end is fastened ashore, the mouth of the net closes upon the prisoner.

In some parts they have sea-fowl in great plenty, particularly shags. They have also wild geese, and a sort of geese which cannot fly, but will run upon the water as fast as the others can fly; we called them race-horses. Others call them penguins, but they are not the right penguins. Their down is very fine, and the Indians spin and make a sort of blanket of it. Of these blankets I have seen very fine ones among the Spaniards. The Indian art of fowling is whimsical enough.

At night when the fowls go onshore to roost, the fowlers light up the bark of a tree, which when dry burns like a torch; and going alongshore with this light (which dazzles the eyes of the fowl) in one hand, and a stick in the other, they knock the fowl down and catch them.

There are many different nations or tribes of these Indians. One sort are called Patagonians, another Coucouc [Caucus?, Ed.]; and among these last we mostly lived. Our guide was of another tribe called Chonos. The Coucouc are very barbarous, yet not ill-natured. They are also nasty [filthy, Ed.] and lousy; the lice they eat, and, I fancy, think them a great dainty. For I have observed when an Indian has been gone from home, his favourite wife (for they have several) has searched the children's heads, and saved the vermin in a mussel-shell, for a present

to her husband on his return.

Their seal and fowls they always roast, or rather barbecue. The meat is fastened on a stick, one end of which they put into the ground before the fire, and keep it turning till done. Their method of basting their roast meat is extremely curious. They give lumps of fat to the young children, which they chew, and as it melts in their mouths, spit it out on the meat.

In their commerce with the women, these Indians in some respects act very monstrously; having no scruples as to proximity of blood, the men taking their own sisters and daughters for wives. As I was one day conversing with an Indian who had two wives, the one old, and the other very young, he made me understand, by signs, that the latter was his daughter by the former. This I could hardly believe till our guide afterwards confirmed what the other said.

Their religion I could never understand: indeed all the appearances of any that I could discern among them, was only this. They were often taken with strange fits of madness, at which time the men assemble in the largest wigwams, and the first thing they do is to cook up a great deal of provisions. Some are employed in roasting, others in cutting the meat into pieces proper for the spit; then some fall to singing, others whistle, others cry, and now and then give terrible shrieks, which almost frightened us before we were used to them. Some of them would frequently fall into fits like convulsions, and taking fire-brands in their hands, would go about burning and scorching the rest; while others would paint all the company, strangers and all, if any happened to be among them. And thus they served me twice, nor did I dare offer to hinder them. It is impossible to express the passion or enthusiasm these poor wretches are in when these ranting fits of devotion are on them. After the men, the women take their turn, and act much in the same manner: I have seen an old woman fourteen or fifteen days together in this shocking condition. The songs they sing on these, and indeed on all other occasions, are very melancholy; at least they seemed so to me, the noise they make being rather like crying than singing. These religious fits only take them when they have got in a large stock of provisions, and they generally continue in them for a week together.

These Indians are of a middling stature, very strong, healthy, and robust: all the while I was among them I did not see one of them sick. There is something very odd in their manner of interring their dead. They place the corpse in the same posture in which the infant is said to lie in the womb: it is bound and held in this manner by the bark of a large tree. At Marine's Bay we saw some of these corpses in a cove, in which a scaffold was erected about six foot high, and made of forked poles fixed in the ground, with bars laid across. There were some corpses upon this scaffold, and some underneath it.

The language of these Indians sounds like the Arabic, every word they speak coming gutturally from the throat. Their canoes are made of planks sewed together with what we call a supple-jack [a pliant liana, Ed.]. They split the jack in two, scrape it very well, and let it dry, after which it is strong, and will last a long time. Some of these canoes are

very large, having five planks, (whereas the common ones have but three) one for the sail, and two on each side. The men's clothing is much the same as described when speaking of the Indians who first came to us at Wager Island. The women wear only a piece of cloth about their middle. All the arms the Indians use are lances or darts, with which they very dexterously strike whatever they aim at, as fish, seal, etc.

In the middle of March we again embarked with the Indians, who did not put any two of us together in the same canoe; but the wind being contrary, they soon landed again, at a small distance from the place they set out from, their canoes not being able to keep the sea. Here Mr. Elliot, surgeon of his Majesty's ship the /Wager/, departed this miserable life.

After two days we again put to sea, and went over a bay to the mouth of a river, into which the Indians rowed, and proceeded up it for three days together. This river runs into a great many branches, and is in some places very rapid. We could get nothing to eat during these three days, except a sort of burdock [a European plant with large leaves, Ed.], which the Indians seemed very fond of: they called it pangué ["gunnera scabra", a large-leaved Chilean plant, Ed.]. I was extremely glad when we got to the head of the river, for my masters made me work very hard, for which at that time I was not in a proper condition. At first I was obliged to row, but seeing that I wanted strength, they set me to heave the water out of the canoe, which she made in such great quantities, that I could hardly keep her dry. -- When we landed at the river-head, they hauled the canoes up into the woods, purposing to draw them further overland in the morning. When the morning came, my master, Cepey, (for that was his name) gave me a pair of oars to carry, but they being too heavy, I was forced to leave them in the way till he brought them off himself.

It is impossible to express the hardships we endured at this juncture; and as difficult to determine which of the two we wanted most, food or raiment. We were indeed miserable objects. Our bodies were languid, emaciated, and equally preyed on by hunger within, and the most odious of vermin without.

On the day after our arrival in this new country, we were obliged to walk about eight miles through a wood, without shoe or stocking, and in the worst road that ever man travelled. Our march all the way was upon (or rather we waded through) a mere puddle, in which we often sunk above knee-deep. And this wretched way was moreover full of stumps of trees hidden under the water, which cut our feet and legs in terrible manner.

The next day the Indians got their canoes over the island, and put them into a very fine lagoon. In the afternoon we all embarked, rowed over the lagoon, and entered a river, which though pretty long, we soon ran through, and then found ourselves out at sea. Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and myself were now together in one large canoe, but Mr. Hamilton liked his patron so well that he would not leave him, and so went in another canoe. Our guide, or new master, made Mr. Byron and myself pull at the oar, and though we were so weak as to be hardly able to stand, much less to work, yet we were forced to buckle to, whether able or not. Indeed we

laboured the more willingly, as we were glad to do anything towards our own preservation. Though, as I have said, our canoe was large, yet there was nobody in her to row but the Indian, his partner, us two, and the Indian's wife who steered. She was now our mistress, but not a very good one; for when she divided the victuals, she gave us but a small share, though we had a great share of the work. Thus we lived from the middle of March to the beginning of June 1742.

Meantime we came by little and little to the northward, always hoping to get away to the Spaniards, being naked, and starved to such a degree, that neither tongue nor pen can possibly express our misery.

In this our pilgrimage, one day we happened to meet with some other Indians, with whom we had a great deal of conversation. By them we understood that there had been a ship on the coast, and by their description of her, and particularly her red flag, we guessed her to be English, and so it proved; for when we came to Chiloe, we were there told that the /Anne Pink/ had come to an anchor on the coast, and had taken an Indian and his wife on board, They who gave us this intelligence were Spaniards taken prisoners by Mr. Anson, who put them onboard the /Anne Pink/, but they soon found means to make their escape in her longboat.

Some time before we got to Chiloe, our master being to separate from the rest of the Indians, he desired Mr. Hamilton to come into our canoe, and go with us to Chiloe; but the latter having fallen out with Mr. Cepey, he did not care to go with him. Indeed Cepey was the most inhuman fellow I ever knew among the Indians. Though he made Mr. Byron and I work like slaves, he would not give us a morsel of victuals, except when possessed of more than he himself could eat.

The rest of the Indians leaving us, carried Mr. Hamilton with them, and it was three months before we saw him again. However one little canoe stayed with us, the master of which had once been my patron, and was very kind to me. And as my present master used me ill, I now resolved to go the rest of the voyage with my former master; but Captain Cheap seeming to be displeas'd at my intention, I remained in the same canoe with him till we came to an island about thirty leagues south-east of Chiloe; at which we waited two days for a fair wind, and then proceeded, with the wind nigh south. But it blew so hard as to cause a great sea, which rolling into the canoe, kept us continually lading [bailing, Ed.]. The sail was likewise so very bad, that we every moment expected to go to the bottom. But it pleas'd God to deliver us from this, as he had done from every preceding danger; and the next day we arriv'd safe at Chiloe, an island in Lat. 43. inhabited both by Indians and Spaniards.

The day after we arriv'd, a great snow fell, and the cold almost kill'd us; especially the Captain, who had for some time been exceedingly ill. The same day our master (after he had hidden all the things he brought from the wreck of the /Wager/, for fear of the Spaniards) carried us to the house of an Indian of his acquaintance, who liv'd with the Spaniards; but it being night before we got thither, the people were all asleep. Hereupon our patron, in order to show his bravery, made me load a fowling-piece of Mr. Byron's, and he fir'd it off. On the report of

the gun, the Indians, who are but little acquainted with fire-arms, got out of their hut, and ran into the woods, frightened out of their senses; but soon after one of them got upon a hill adjoining to the place where we were, and from thence calling to us, asked if we were Christians; to which our patron replied in the affirmative, and told who himself was. Then they came to us, and that night we had a fine supper of dried fish, broth, and potatoes.

Supper over, they carried us away to another village, where our patron (who was a cacique or captain over the people hereabouts, and consequently a man of great authority) woke one of the inhabitants, and made him open the door of his hut. Here the Indians, compassionating [taking pity on, Ed.] the Captain's illness, took great care of him, made him a bed of sheepskins, and laid him before the fire; for it was now (in June) the middle of winter here, and excessively cold. The frost was very severe, and it went the harder with us, as we were very thinly clothed. Captain Cheap was indeed extremely fortunate in meeting with so much kindness from these Indians; for had they not taken so much care of him as they did, he could not have lived two days after his arrival among them. He was really in a most deplorable condition. His legs were nothing but skin and bone; and yet the skin was puffed out from the bone, till they appeared to be of a monstrous large size. Nevertheless by the care of these Indians, under God, he escaped that death which now so terribly threatened him, after having surmounted such and so many eminent perils.

Whether it were that the Chiloean Indians took us for Spaniards, and therefore out of policy were the more induced to use us so kindly, or whether their behaviour was the pure effect of their natural humanity, I cannot at all determine; but however the case might be, gratitude demands that I speak a little more particularly of their kindness to us, especially on the first night of our arrival among them. -- That night they had no provisions in the house, except a little barley-meal, of which a cake was immediately baked. As we had not for a long time tasted any sort of bread, we thought this cake the best we had ever eaten in our lives. However though it was night, the Indians went out for a sheep, of which they made broth, and we had eggs and potatoes with our meat. Next morning came several of their women, each with a plate of victuals; some brought mutton, others hens and chickens. In the afternoon as many of the men got together as a hut would hold, and brought with them great jars of liquor made of barley-meal, and by them called chicha; and over this we all made merry. Afterwards came the women, each with an earthen pot full of dressed victuals. In short they made us as welcome, and showed us as much civility as possible in their circumstances. However they could give us no clothes, the poor creatures having very few for themselves.

As soon as we came among them, they sent to inform the Spanish Corregidor of us, and it was not long before we were sent for. When the Indians came to carry us to the place where some Spaniards by appointment waited to receive us, I was in the woods, endeavouring to rid myself of some of the numerous herd of cattle I had grazing on my commons. It was night by the time we got to the Spaniards. The Indians took us into a hut, in which we were received by a civil officer, who

with a strong guard of soldiers was to carry us to the town where the Corregidor lived, which they called the city of Castro. However they did not take us thither directly, but for the present confined us to a hovel, a building with a roof but no walls, in which we were strictly guarded by the soldiers, whom we found nothing like so humane and good-natured as the Indians.

All the people of the island now came to see us, though they did not care to venture too near us, being discreetly apprehensive of our vermin. Meantime our friendly Indians continued very kind to us, and gave us victuals as before; but the Spaniards had no compassion on us: we were even forced to lie on the cold ground for want of some kind of bedding.

Among others a Jesuit came to see us. He brought in his pocket a bottle of brandy, and gave us a dram. Perceiving that I had a watch, the same Mr. Elliot left me, he asked to see it; and then he desired me to change with him for an old one which he had in his pocket, or to sell him mine. We understood the Father's meaning, and knowing the great power which those of his order have in Popish countries, and that it might be dangerous to disoblige him; therefore, and because it was Captain Cheap's desire, I made the Father a present of my watch. He was not ungrateful; for soon after his departure, he sent me a piece of coarse cloth, to make me two shirts; also two pair of thread stockings without feet, and one pair of shoes, which proved too little for me. He also sent me a sort of blanket, or Indian punch [poncho, Ed.], with a hole in the middle to put my head through, as the Indians do.

Soon after we were sent for to Castro. The Spaniards carried us away in the evening, because we should not see their city; at which when we arrived, they used all the ceremony of a garrison, hailing the canoe, and requiring us to stop till they had acquainted the commanding officer. This done they admitted us, under a strong guard of soldiers with forked sticks in their hands. During all this ceremony I doubted not but that there was a garrison, with fortifications, etc. But as we went up the hill which lies between this supposed fortification and the town itself, I could see no such thing. In the town we were brought before an old gentleman whom they called the Corregidor; and who was dressed in a cloak, a very old tie-wig, and a spado [Spanish "espada", a sword, Ed]. He received us in great pomp, conducted us to the Jesuit's College, and presented us to the Principal, saying, /Father, pray see if these men are Christians, or not/. Then he took his leave of us, and the Fathers conducted us to a room in which were two beds, one for the Captain, and the other for Mr. Byron and myself. Then they had us to a very good supper. Everything was clean and decent, and we had a glass of good wine.

When we went to bed, we found each a clean shirt, a clean sheet, and a good bed, which made this the most agreeable night I ever knew. Next morning I burned my old rags, lest they should breed a pestilence in the place. Here we stayed and experienced the same good usage for above a week, till the Governor, who lived at the north end of the island, at the port of Chacao sent his son, with a guard to conduct us to that place.

When we left Castro, our guard used the same ceremony as at our arrival there. They carried us out in the night to a farmhouse, in which we lay till next morning, when we got horses, and rode across the country to a bay in which they had canoes ready for us to embark. All this time we were strictly guarded by the soldiers. After three days we arrived at a little bay near the town of Chacao, from whence a soldier was sent to the Governor, to acquaint him with our arrival there. Hereupon the Governor sent them orders not to come in till it was dark; and we were accordingly brought into the town in the night. As we marched up to the Governor's, we passed by a line of men armed with matchlocks, the only fire-arms they have in this country, and their matches were lighted. The Governor received us in all his glory, sitting at the head of a great table, covered with red baize. We also sat down at this table, and the Governor conversed with us by his linguist, who was an Englishman, born at Falmouth.

The Governor examined the Indian that brought us, and made him go with his canoes and some soldiers to Wager Island, to work upon the wreck of our ship, and to bring off Mr. Hamilton from among the Indians with whom we had left him. And, accordingly, Mr. Hamilton was brought hither.

The Indian language is what everybody here speaks more than the Spanish; but it is quite different from that of the Indians with whom we had so many adventures after we left Wager Island. The language of the Chiloean Indians seemed to us very fine and soft; and the Spaniards who understand it esteem it as such.

This island lies in the South Seas, in Lat. 43. 15, and is the most southern settlement the Spaniards have in this part of the world. Shelvocke, in his voyage to these seas, tells us, that this island is as good and as plentifully stored with the necessaries of life as the Isle of Wight. But what he says is far from being true, and I may venture to assert that the Spaniards here are more miserable than any other European colony in America. The climate is extremely bad, and most of the inhabitants eat nothing but fish, and even this for the most part only of the shell-kind. Their bread is chiefly potatoes, of which they have a very good sort, and in such plenty that they feed their hogs with them. The swine here are small, but their flesh is very sweet, and makes excellent hams. Some wheat is raised in this island, but not much /2/. Their most plentiful grain is barley, of which, as I before observed, they make their chicha. They likewise eat barley-meal with chicha and with water. They are but thinly stocked with cows and sheep, and what they have are very lean, through want of good pasture, the country being overrun with great woods. In these their horses, which are also lean and small, chiefly subsist.

2. They sow but little wheat, because of their continual rains, which rot the seed.

The Spaniards and Indians here live much alike; their houses are straw huts, without chimneys, though not without fire, which they make in the middle of the house, and thereby smoke themselves sufficiently. Even the Governor's house has no chimney.

Their clothing is also very poor, none but persons of rank wearing shirts; for they only are able to buy linen, when the annual Lima ship arrives. All their trade is in hams, pork-slush, [pork fat, Ed.] and deals, [lumber, Ed.] of which they have a great many. Coarse baize is brought hither from Lima: they call it the country cloth, because it is made in Peru. From Paraguay they have a herb called the Herb of Paraguay on account of its growing there and nowhere else. Of this they make tea, both for the morning and afternoon; and it is much drunk all over Chile and Peru.

At Chacao is a very good harbour, but it is dangerous coming into it, because the tides run strong; and also in the middle of its mouth lies a sunken rock, which ought equally to be guarded against both in coming in and going out. The town consists only of a few straw huts, scattered here and there; and it is as thinly inhabited as built, except when the Lima ship arrives, and then the country people flock all to this town. Here is a little earthen fort, encircled by a ditch, and the ditch by a sort of palisade. It mounts thirteen guns, four to the land, and nine to the sea. The garrison consists of a captain of foot, (which post the Governor himself fills) a town-major, a lieutenant, an ensign, and eighty private men. As for arms, they have only matchlocks, as I have already observed. At the island of Calbuco, which lies N. E. from hence, at the distance of two leagues, there is another captain-governor, who is called the Captain of Calbuco.

When the Governor of Chiloe sent the canoes to the wreck of the *Wager*, we were in hopes that they would find the barge, and bring her here. The Governor promised Captain Cheap that he should have the barge restored to him, with all that was in her. But when his people did actually bring the barge with them, he kept her concealed at another island, thinking we could never know that he had it in his power to keep his word. But he was mistaken; for soon after we left the island we heard that the barge was brought thither, with two of the men in her, the other four having perished through want, after they left us.

About the middle of December the annual Lima ship arrived at this island. Her coming made me reflect on the unfortunate step taken by the gunner and carpenter of our ship, and their party. Had they, instead of going to the southward in the longboat, gone altogether with the Captain to the northward, we might have made ourselves masters of the island of Chiloe, and the Lima ship into the bargain. But their obstinacy deprived both themselves and us of this opportunity of making our fortunes, and doing considerable service to our country at the same time. Instead of which, the few of the unfortunate officers and crew of the *Wager*, who survived the hardships they underwent in this ill-fated voyage, have brought nothing home with them but the melancholy tale of their prodigious sufferings; a sad relation of the lives lost merely in the search of preservation, not of riches.

The Lima ship is a fine vessel, of above two hundred tons burthen, but carries neither great guns nor muskets. This, that we saw, had only six white men on board, viz. the Master, Mate, Boatswain, and his mate, and the Chaplain and his Clerk; all the others were Indians and Negroes.

January 2, 1742-3, we embarked on board of this ship, and four days after we anchored in the port of Valparaiso, in Lat. 33. S. in the kingdom of Chile. Here the master of the ship sent his boat ashore, to acquaint the Governor that he had four English prisoners aboard; and soon after we were ordered ashore :-- And now we thought ourselves once more in the land of the living.

BOOK IV

The Adventures of Alexander Campbell, from his arrival in Chile, to his return to Europe on board a Spanish man-of-war, and his happy arrival at Portsmouth, in 1746.

When we first appeared on the beach, nobody came near us, except the children to gaze, for to be sure they never saw such a ragged sight in their lives before. But when it was publicly known that we were English, we had all the town about us. After having been carried before the Governor, Don Andres de Arabal, who was blind, we were, by his order, confined in a very disagreeable hole, so dark that we could not see each other. The soldiers told us that it was the place wherein they kept their whores: so that we were now got into the House of Correction.

We had not been long in this prison, before the Captain and Mr. Hamilton were sent for to Santiago, by the President Don Joseph Manso, who lived there. Mr. Byron and I were continued in the House of Correction, till the Captain got to Santiago, where he prevailed on Don Joseph to send for us; and Jan. 24, we were introduced to the President. He told us he was glad to see us so happily delivered out of so many dangers. Then he desired us to go to the place where the Captain was, and to rest ourselves. We found the Captain at the house of an English gentleman, who also invited us, and gave us very hospitable entertainment. Nay, he treated us all as if we had been his own brothers; and during the whole two years that we remained here, we wanted for nothing that he could any way procure.

On the day after our arrival, the President sent his Secretary to invite the Honourable Mr. Byron and myself to dinner. We found Admiral Pizarro and several of his officers there. They had come from Buenos Aires by land, in order to proceed to Lima; for they could not get their ships of war round Cape Horn.

As we were at this time without money, and also wanted clothes, one of the Spanish officers offered us money upon our bill payable by the English Consul at Lisbon. Hereupon we drew a joint bill on the Lord Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy, directed for the Consul at Lisbon. When the Captain received the money, which was 600 dollars, he gave Mr. Hamilton and Byron their share, but to me he gave only eighty dollars out of the six hundred. This gave rise to some words between the Captain and me. I thought it very hard, as I had signed the bill equally with the rest, and was at the same time as naked and necessitous as they, that I should not receive my whole share, which was 150 dollars, and

which sum my brother-midshipman Mr. Byron had. The Captain's obstinate refusal to give me the rest was the opening of that breach, which was very much widened by another affair of much the same nature, viz.

When we had been in this country near twelve months, one Mr. William Lindsey, who had formerly been in the South Sea Company's service at Buenos Aires, hearing that four English prisoners were at such a place, he wrote to inform us, that if we wanted money, he had some in a merchant's hands at Santiago, which we might have upon sending him our bill. This money the Captain received, and divided between himself, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton. But when I asked him for my share, he gave me to understand that I should not have a farthing; in vain did I represent to him the necessity I was in, and that Mr. Lindsey's intention was to serve us all, and not anyone in preference to another. In vain were my complaints: my worthy Captain, for whom I had expressed so much zeal, was inexorable. -- I appeal to the impartial reader whether this was either just or generous usage; especially as Mr. Lindsey had written alike to us all, intending the favour as much to any one as to the other three. -- Surely none but Captain Cheap would have acted thus! But he ought to have treated me otherwise, had it been but merely out of compassion to a man in such necessitous circumstances as I was in, not having clothes to cover me from the cold. But how much greater was the obligation upon him, who has himself owned [admitted, Ed.] that he was indebted to me for the preservation of his life, more than once or twice? -- In short, I thought myself so ill used, that I left the house wherein I resided, and took my abode in another.

As the reader will doubtless expect that I should give some account of Chile, I have drawn up the following remarks.

This country is perhaps the finest in the world. It has five very good seaports. The southernmost is Valdivia, a garrisoned town, in Lat. 40. S. It is on the frontiers, between the Spaniards and a nation of warlike Indians, who inhabit another exceedingly fine tract of land. These Indians are continually at war with the Spaniards, to whom they never give quarter. They have fine horses, and I have been told that they are shod with silver. However it is certain that they have the richest silver mines in America. Some years ago they suddenly fell upon three Spanish towns in one night, and massacred all the inhabitants. These towns were the finest the Spaniards had in those parts. They are called Osorno, Imperial, and Villarrica, i. e. the rich village. -- In short these Indians are a brave people, and fight in good order; and therefore the Spaniards don't much care to disturb them.

Concepcion is the next seaport of the five, but this I never saw; however I have had an account of the Indians who inhabit the country on that side, and which may be depended on. In December they have a grand meeting with the Spaniards at Concepcion, to which the Governor goes in person; and with him the Indians renew or confirm the amity between the two nations; or, if they do not agree on the articles, declare war. When they make peace they cut off the head of a lamb; and when it is to be war, they carry off the lamb with them. They do not write, but keep all their accounts by knots on a string, which they tell over; and in this manner they will compose a tolerably good history. I have already

described the Indian garment called a poncho. Of these the Indians I now speak of, make a very fine sort, which the Spaniards wear when they ride abroad.

Valparaiso is the principal seaport of Chile. Yet it has but a little town, and most of the inhabitants are seamen's wives, and people that get their living by the shipping, of which above 26 sail come here annually, which is no small number, the nature of the trade from Old Spain hither considered. The town has two forts; one in very good order, regularly built, has twenty pieces of brass cannon, and two of iron. The other fort they call the /Old Castle/; it lies under a great hill, on the right-hand as the ships come into the harbour. -- Coquimbo, and Copiapo, are the two last of the aforesaid five seaports. Their trade, which is chiefly to Lima, is but small, and consists mostly of wheat-flour, jerked beef, fruits, gold in bars, and the Herb of Paraguay. In return they bring from Lima, sugar, and coarse cloth for their Indians and Negroes. They have likewise some trade with Buenos Aires, whither they send wine, fruits, and dollars; and bring back all sorts of linen cloths, broadcloths, velvets, silks, stockings, in short, all sorts of wearing apparel. But this is a contraband trade. -- They trade also with Peru for mules, which they carry away in great numbers.

Without dispute the climate in Chile is as fine as any in the world. The winter is very moderate; yet near the town of Santiago is a mountain always covered with snow, but the town itself is neither very cold in winter, nor too hot in summer, though in Lat. 33. S. The soil of the country in general is extremely fertile; the husbandmen [working farmers, Ed.] do no more than open the ground, and sow the wheat, and, without manure, it commonly gives a hundredfold. Their fruit-trees bear when only two years old. The pasture is very good, the cattle fat, and the meat as fine as any in the world, and beef and mutton are here very cheap. A good cow sells for three dollars, and a sheep for four reals, which is not quite two shillings sterling. The Chileans have very fine horses for all uses; I have seen some of them pace as fast as other horses can gallop. The country-people are strong and healthy, but very lazy; what makes them the more so is the goodness of the country, which furnishes them with all the necessaries of life, and many of its superfluities, and all this without requiring much labour from the people. They are good horsemen, and are almost continually on horseback, not choosing to go but from one house to another without riding; and though they have nothing to do with the horse, yet they must have him all the day at the door ready saddled.

The earth here produces all sorts of metals, viz. gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, and quicksilver [mercury, Ed.]; but as the inhabitants know not how to work the last sort, they lie uncultivated; neither do they make much of the lead mines. It is observed by the Spaniards, that never any worker in these mines died rich; for when they have got a good sum beforehand, they go no more to the mines till all is spent. The gold mines are very rich, but the workers don't rightly understand them, and therefore they are of much smaller advantage to the country than they might be. They make the most of their copper, with which they supply all Peru, and also send a great deal to Europe. The French who come into these seas, are more fond of this copper than anything, not only on

account of its cheapness, but for the sake of the gold they get out of it.

The inhabitants of Chile are Spaniards and Indians, besides the Negroes, slaves to the former. The Spaniards are very proud, and dress extremely gay [showy, Ed.]; particularly the women, who spend a great deal of money upon their persons and houses. They are a good sort of people, and very courteous to strangers. Their women are also fond of gentlemen from other countries, and of other nations. The dress of the fair sex here is widely different from that of the Spanish women in Europe. They wear no stays, only a little jacket, with large white sleeves to it. Their petticoats are not close all round like the European petticoat; they are very short, one part doubles over the other, and they tie it as low as men button the waistband of their breeches. They wear no hoop, for the smaller they are below, the more in fashion. Their shoes have no heels, and are all cut in figures [geometrical designs, Ed.]. Their hair they dress in a very fine taste, and wearing no caps, it looks extremely handsome.

The Indians here are little better than slaves to the Spaniards, as well as the Negroes. The Corregidor, or Governor of the province, makes them work all the year, and pays them as he pleases.

The chief diversions of the Spaniards here, are wild-bull-feasting, and a sort of cricket. In the bull-feast there is nothing that I thought diverting, except the dexterity of the horsemen, and of the horses, which are trained up to the exercise. When they go to catch the bull, they have a very strong rope made of twisted bull's leather. The horseman has one end of this rope fastened to his saddle; the other end has a running noose. When the horseman and the bull approach to meet each other (for the latter seldom fails to give his antagonist the meeting) the man very dextrously tosses the noose end of the rope at the bull's head, and catches him by the neck or horns, though at the distance of eight, ten, or a dozen yards. The horse feeling the rope (the other end of which is fastened to his saddle) pulled straight, immediately attempts to gallop off. The bull follows in great wrath, but in vain, being unable either to overtake the horse or to get from him; and the fury of the beast on this account furnishes most of the sport.

Among the fruits which this country produces are apples, pears, peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, lemons, oranges and vines, which bear great quantities of grapes, of which they make pretty good wine.

The principal town of this province is Santiago, of which I have already spoken. It is situated in a fine valley, is regularly built, and the houses good though low, having but one floor. They build thus, on account of the earthquakes that happen here almost every week. There are several rivers about this town, which are plentifully stocked with fish, particularly exceedingly fine trout.-- In short, if I spoke lavishly when I called this one of the finest countries in the world, yet I must insist upon it, that it only wants industrious inhabitants to make it such.

When we had been here eighteen months, we heard of the cartel [agreement for exchange of prisoners, Ed.] that was agreed on between England and Spain, and the Governor told us we might return to Europe in the first

ship that should sail for Old Spain. About six months after this, a French ship came to Valparaiso, and from thence was to return to Europe. On board this ship Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Byron /1/ embarked; but the misunderstanding between me and the Captain, as already related, and since which we had not conversed together, induced me not to go home in the same ship with a man who had used me so ill; but rather to embark in a Spanish man-of-war then lying at Buenos Aires. Admiral Pizarro readily granted me a passage, saying, /you and the other gentlemen shall be welcome/; and added at the same time, that /he should be at home before the French ship/.

1. Since their return Captain Cheap has had the command of a man-of-war of 40 guns given him; and Mr. Byron that of a 20-gun ship.

On the 20th of Jan. /2/ 1744-5, I set out from Santiago for Buenos Aires, in company with four of Admiral Pizarro's officers. We rode about 30 miles the first day, but the sun was so hot that not being able to travel in the middle of the day, we were obliged to make it out in the night. The 21st we arrived at the foot of a mountain, said to be the highest in the known world. The next day we began to ascend this vast mountain, and were obliged to travel all day, the roads being so dangerous that we dared not stir in the night. They are winding like a staircase, and at the same time extremely narrow. In some places the mules have but seven inches breadth of ground to set their feet on. They are moreover prodigiously high and perpendicular. At the bottom runs a great river full of rocks, so that whoever has the misfortune to fall down from the road, must infallibly be dashed to pieces; but the mules are so used to these roads, that they travel full as safe as a man on foot can do. Indeed when they are loaded with cumbersome goods they are in greater danger, and too many of them fall down these fatal precipices. I saw one of them fall, and before the poor creature came to the bottom, both he and his burden, which was merchants' goods, were dashed into a thousand pieces.

2. And the French ship did not sail till the 22nd of February following.

We were five days before we got to the top of this great mountain. Indeed we were delayed by being obliged to go with the carriers, who move but slowly. On all this mountain hardly the least green thing appears to cheer the sight of the weary traveller. It is all little else than bare rock. When we came to the top, we found the air so excessively cold, though in the midst of summer, as to starve or freeze two of the carriers to death. At the same time I found myself as if I had been seasick, and vomited very much. This I conjecture might be owing to the height of the hill, and the air being rarified so much more than that which I had been used to breathe in the lower world.

Though it was very troublesome to ascend this mountain, it was still worse to go down it; which we also were five days in doing. It was matter of astonishment to me, that one single mule, out of all we had, escaped tumbling down. Indeed the carriers did lose 20 of them, some in going up, others in descending the mountain; some broke their legs, others dislocated their shoulders, and others perished through hunger. At Mendoza, a little town on the east side of the mountain, we stayed

three days to get fresh mussels.

From Mendoza to Buenos Aires is 400 leagues, and all the way is so desert, that in above 100 leagues not one house is to be seen. In this road there are many dangers to encounter. The wild Indians, who are always at war with the Spaniards, to whom they give no quarter, are here in great multitudes. There are likewise a great many tigers, who frequently fall upon travellers and devour them. Nay people are sometimes killed by them in the very streets of Mendoza and Buenos Aires. Here is also a creature which the Spaniards call a lion, but it is more like a cat, but large, and exceedingly ravenous, and for fear of them no man dares travel by himself.

The officers that travelled with me rode upon mules as I did; but Admiral Pizarro himself, with the rest of his officers, went in wagons, which are very large, and drawn by oxen. These poor animals, as well as the mules, often perish on this road for want of water, a want which is rendered still the more unsupportable by the hot weather, nor can the traveller find a single tree under which to rest himself, or take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. Thus he finds the country for above 200 leagues together, nor is a drop of water to be had at above one place in all that way.

The Indians inhabiting the country through which this undelightful road runs, are a very warlike people. Their arms are lances and slings, in the use of which they are exceedingly dextrous. Their stature is large; complexion swarthy, and their agility in the exercises of war admirable. They live on these vast plains in tribes, or parties, each party having a chief captain, or commander. When any of these captains invites another to join in an expedition against the Spaniards, the inviter dares not fly, let what will happen, for if he does, the other cuts off his head directly.-- These uncivilized people are never at peace either with the Spaniards, or amongst themselves, or other Indians in their neighbourhood. They have fine horses, are very good horsemen, and ride somewhat like our European Hussars. Their saddles are as small as those used for racehorses in England; and their stirrup is only a bit of wood with a hole in it, big enough to let in the rider's great toe. Their bridles are made of hair, with a wooden bit. Fixed habitations they have none, but keep roving about from place to place, like the wild Arabs, so that the Spaniards can seldom find them. Their food is for the most part horseflesh, though they have plenty of black cattle, wild deer, and sheep of a kind peculiar to that country. They have also a great many ostriches, which they kill for the sake of their feathers to wear when going to battle.

These Indians often visit the Spanish frontiers, and carry off both people and cattle. The men they kill, but keep the women and children for slaves. However, some Indians in these parts are at peace with the Spaniards, and trade with them for cloths, in exchange for which they give the Spaniards tiger skins, etc. I have seen them kill these creatures in the following manner. In his left hand the Indian holds a baton about nine inches long, round the middle of which is a basket like our cudgel-baskets, which is a guard for the hand. In his right hand he holds a knife, and thus prepared he seeks the tiger, and either attacks

him, or awaits the creature's coming, according as it happens. When the beast makes at the man, the latter runs the baton into the tiger's mouth, which gags him so that he cannot shut his jaws; at the same instant the knife is run into his belly, then he falls to the ground, and is easily dispatched. But if the Indian misses his aim, and does not strike the baton into the tiger's mouth at the first moment of the onset, the beast generally has the advantage, and, as it frequently happens, the man falls a prey to his adversary.

We saw great numbers of black cattle, horses, and mules, running wild on the plains, and every man has them for catching. Many people at Buenos Aires make it their business to go out all the summer to kill cattle only for their skins.

In this journey we were obliged to carry our provisions with us, (exclusive of beef, of which we could get enough anywhere) and water to drink. We arrived at Buenos Aires on the tenth of March, after an unpleasant journey of seven weeks. But in three or four days after our arrival, an advice-boat [a swift vessel employed in conveying despatches, Ed.] from Ferrol came with orders for Admiral Pizarro not to sail from this town till the month of October, that he might arrive in Spain in the January following. This was to prevent his falling in with the English fleet, which the Spaniards knew would cruise in those seas all the summer. For Pizarro's fleet was so badly manned, and so very rich, that it was not thought safe to run the risk of a summer-passage home.

Here I met with three of our ship's company, who had been left ashore /3/ by the people of the longboat, a little to the southward of Buenos Aires. The account they gave of their misfortune was as follows, viz.

3. See an account of these three men and their companions, in Bulkeley and Cummins's narrative.

" That at some time after Bulkeley and Cummins, with the rest of the people, who sailed from Wager Island in the longboat and cutter, had left that place, they were obliged to send some of the people ashore to get fresh water. Some of these returned on board, but before all could return, the boat was driven out to sea, and eight poor miserable men who were left ashore never saw her afterwards. To avoid perishing through want of the necessaries of life, on this desert coast, they attempted to find the way to Buenos Aires, but were not able to travel, the country being marshy to such a degree as rendered it impassable. Hereupon they built a hut, and lived there upwards of a year, subsisting by the following means. The country abounding with wild dogs, they took some puppies, and brought them up to catch deer, of which there is plenty on this coast, and on the venison they lived well; till one fatal day, as they were divided, four in a party, seeking provisions, when one party came home, they found their hut plundered; and all their things gone. For they had arms and other conveniences left them when the boat went away. This disaster greatly surprised them, thinking the other four had robbed them, and were gone to seek themselves another

dwelling-place. But, to their greater surprise as well as terror, they soon found their mistake; for as they were going about their hut, they found their four comrades lying on the ground, with their throats cut from ear to ear. I leave the reader to imagine how dismally the other four passed the night, expecting the dreadful moment when they should be served in the same manner. Next morning their eyes were saluted with the unwelcome sight of a great many Indians on horseback, coming towards their hut. Hereupon, not daring to flee, they advanced to meet the savages, and fell on their knees imploring mercy; but the barbarians, little regarding their humble submission, were just going to slaughter them, when an old man, one of their captains, prevented them. After a long consultation among themselves, the Indians made their prisoners mount behind four of them, and so carried them off.

" These Indians sold them for slaves to other Indians, with whom they remained till a captain that was at peace with the Spaniards, of which nation he took these four men to be, went to the Governor of Buenos Aires, and agreed for a reward for bringing them off. The Governor promised him fifteen dollars for each; but when he returned, the Indians would on no terms let him have a Mulatto, who was one of the four, insisting upon his being an Indian, and therefore they would keep him. His name was John Duck, born in London. The other three were Isaac Morris, Samuel Cooper, and John Andrews. The names of their four companions who were massacred, were Guy Broadwater, Benjamin Smith, John Allen, and Joseph Clinch. "

This account Morris, Cooper, and Andrews gave, and desired me to publish as soon as I came to England. They came with me from Buenos Aires to Spain, where I left them, waiting for a discharge from the cartel. They told me that the Indians have a great many Spanish women among them, whom they have taken captive; that they had each of them a Spanish woman given him as wife, and that some of them left children behind them.-- I shall now say something of my own concerns during my six months residence at Buenos Aires, where, as has been mentioned, I was obliged to wait till the time came at which Admiral Pizarro was to set sail.

On the day of my arrival at this town, I waited on the Governor, Don Domingo Rosas; who invited me to dine at his house, which I did. I little thought that I should now be confined, after having been at liberty in Chile above two years on my parole, and had always behaved as became a prisoner at large; but after dinner, as I was coming away, to my great surprise I found that I was confined in the fort, and not to go out of the gate. Accordingly I remained in the fort six and thirty days, at the end of which I was let out by the Admiral's procurement, and then I had the whole town for my prison. But some time after, upon a groundless report that a squadron of English men-of-war were coming into the River Plate, I was again confined in the fort, and remained there twenty-two days more; but the rumour being blown over, I was again enlarged [released, Ed.].

Gratitude will not let me omit to mention the kindness of the Governor

of the Portuguese settlement adjoining to Buenos Aires. Hearing of me while in that town, he wrote me a letter in English, acquainting me that he would supply me with money, if I had occasion [need, Ed.]; and at the same time sent me a present of English butter and a box of sweetmeats [sweet foods, Ed.]. This gentleman was Governor of Santa Catalina when Commodore Anson was there: his name Don Joseph Silva de Paz.

The town of Buenos Aires is pretty large, and in it are a great many merchants; but how they live I can't imagine; for all their trade is confined to the neighbouring Portuguese colony, and even this is contraband, and carried on only in the night. I was told that there goes every year from Buenos Aires to the above colony, above five millions of dollars and upwards of thirty thousand cow-hides.

Here runs the famous River of Plate, which is said to be the largest in the world. At Buenos Aires [it] is fifteen leagues wide, and [at] its mouth, from Cape St. Mary's to Cape St. Antonio's, it is eighty leagues over, and all fresh water. There are but three settlements on it, Buenos Aires is the largest; the second is the Portuguese colony, on the north side of the river, opposite to Buenos Aires; Montevideo is the third, on the north side also, and forty leagues to the eastward of the Portuguese. Here is a harbour for ships of small burden; however one of the Spanish men-of-war lay here: she was indeed obliged to unship her rudder for want of water, of which there is not above seventeen foot at the highest tides; but there is a great deal of mud, into which she sank, and lay there two years, with her guns, etc. in her, and received no damage.-- Here the Spaniards have begun to build a fine fortification, which they say will be the best and strongest in America, and which will entirely command the river; on which they are very apprehensive of the English making a settlement.

A little below Montevideo there is another fine harbour, called Maldonado, with more water; the mouth is narrow, but within there is room for 200 sail of ships. It is one of the safest in the world, and wants for no accommodations that nature can furnish. On the south side there is also another very fine harbour, besides Buenos Aires: the Spaniards call it the Ensenada de Barragon.

Buenos Aires can indeed boast a healthy climate, but it is very subject to sudden thunder and lightning, with terrible squalls of wind and rain, which generally do much damage. Here all garden seeds brought from Europe grow wild in two years after they are sown; nor does any tree whatever grow to a large size. At a small distance from Montevideo, is a hill enriched with gold mines, and some diamonds, which the Portuguese from Rio Grande, come to gather in the River Negro, or the Black River, which empties itself into the River of Plate, a little above Montevideo.

In August 1745, I received orders from the Governor of Buenos Aires to go to Montevideo, to embark for Europe. The Governor of the latter place treated me in a much handsomer manner than the Governor of Buenos Aires. He invited me to dinner on the day of my arrival there, appointed me a room, and told me I might go where I would on my parole. The same day, in the evening, I had a general visit from the officers of the garrison, who behaved to me with great politeness. Next day I had another visit

from the officers of the man-of-war that lay in the harbour, among whom were two Irish captains, one Scotch captain, and one English lieutenant, all belonging to Pizarro's fleet.

Montevideo is a newly settled town, has but few inhabitants, and little trade. Now and then a register-ship [vessel authorized to trade with the Spanish-American colonies?, Ed.] puts in, and here she gets a pilot to conduct her to Buenos Aires. The garrison consists of two companies of foot, and one of dragoons, all regular troops from Old Spain, but in all they do not amount to above a hundred men. On the point going to the harbour is the fort, which mounts fifteen pieces of cannon. The citadel which they are building here, and which will command both sea, and land, and the river, is foursquare; at each corner is a bastion, mounting sixteen guns, so that the citadel mounts in all sixty-four pieces of cannon. Some other forts are also begun, which when finished will make the place very strong; but while I was there a stop was put to the work, probably for want of money, or some particular materials. The town is finely situated, in a pleasant country, abounding in all the necessaries of life. They might make a vast deal [quantity, Ed.] of wine, if they would cultivate their vines, the few they have planted yielding very plentifully.

I stayed here from the middle of August till the thirteenth of October, when I embarked on board the Spanish man-of-war above-mentioned, in order to return to Europe. On board this ship I found sixteen English prisoners, who had been taken two years before, in the River of Plate. They belonged to the /Philip/, Captain Penkethman[?], whom the Spanish merchants treacherously and barbarously murdered. They went on board to trade, but found an opportunity to kill the captain, with eight or nine of his people, and then made themselves master of the vessel.

October the 17th, N. S.[?] being got out of sight of land, about nine o'clock at night, as I was going to bed, something fell down upon the quarter-deck, which, as the ship was in a very bad condition, I imagined was one of her masts or yards carried away, of which I had all along been apprehensive. But the noise being repeated, and growing louder, I got up to see what was the matter; but as I was going up the after-ladder, I was saluted with a blow on the head which knocked me down. Presently after I saw a soldier drop down dead. All the ship's company were now in an uproar, crying out, /a Mutiny ! a Mutiny ! /Hereupon I went to my berth, and sat down, waiting the issue. At last seeing several officers and men wounded, while others were killed outright, I enquired the cause of so much bloodshed, and was informed that twelve Indians from the plains of Buenos Aires, whom the Spaniards had taken prisoners and were carrying to Spain for galley-slaves, had risen upon the captors, and seemed as if resolved to be cut to pieces rather than be carried into slavery. Hearing this, I went on the fore-castle, where I found the Irish and Scots captains, with most of the Spanish officers, all in confusion; for by this time the twelve Indians had made themselves masters of the quarterdeck, and not a Spaniard dared attack them. Fearing they would set fire to the ship, which they might easily have done, all the nettings on the quarterdeck being full of hay for the cattle which were on board, I therefore proposed to go on the quarterdeck, and attack them sword in hand. I was bravely seconded by

one of the Irish officers, who though an old man, had as much courage as the youngest aboard. Followed by a few others, we attacked both gangways at once, pressed the Indians hard, and killed their cacique or captain, and one other. Their captain (whom they called a king, and whose name was Gallidana [Morris gives the name as Orellana, Ed.]) was a very brave fellow; during the whole action, he continually encouraged his men, by putting his hand to his mouth, and making the noise they call the war-whoop; and crying out, /We are brave Indians, but the Spaniards are poltroons/ [cowards, Ed.], or words to that effect. As long as he spoke, his men stood their ground, though attacked two ways at once; but when he fell, and as soon as his voice ceased, they all got on the rails of the quarterdeck, and jumped overboard; crying out, /though you have killed our king, you shan't have the pleasure of killing us/.

The enemy having thus fled the field, the Spaniards began to look after their dead and wounded. They found eleven men slain outright, among whom were the master of the ship and two mates. Thirty-eight were wounded, five of whom died of their wounds. A Jesuit also had his arm broken, and was otherwise very much hurt. All this havoc did twelve Indians (armed with nothing but knives, and some of the double-head shot, flung in the middle, with which they knocked down the Spaniards) make among 444 men that were aboard, among whom were thirty-two commissioned officers, most of them formerly belonging to other ships of Pizarro's squadron, which had been lost.

After this unlucky affair, nothing occurred to us but what is common at sea, till we arrived on the coast of Portugal; when the appearance of some ships put the Spaniards into a great fright, and they immediately confined me and the other prisoners. They were under arms three days and three nights, and it is certain they had good reason for their fears. For in the first place the ship was very rich, having upwards of five millions of dollars on board, though not all registered. Secondly, she was in great want of hands, and those that were on board were very weak and sickly.

January 20th 1745-6, we arrived at the port of Corcubion, near Cape Finisterre; where I waited twenty days while the ship went round. Coming to Ferrol, I was ordered to Madrid, where, on the day after my arrival, I was introduced to one of the Ministry, who after asking me some questions, ordered me to a room till further notice. Two days after I was called for again, and he enquired of me the particulars of Mr. Anson's voyage; to which I answered in general, that I was only a petty officer in the fleet, and that all my business was to do as I was ordered by my superiors. When they made me offers of entering into their service, I plainly refused, telling them I would rather be a common sailor in the service of my own King, than an officer under another. When I begged to be set at liberty, and to go home by the way of Portugal, the Minister said he would acquaint His Majesty with my demand, and that I should soon have an answer. Next day I waited on the same Minister, and he ordered me to go to the Secretary at War's Office, where I should have a passport to Lisbon. I went directly and got the passport, with fifteen dollars for my travelling charges; and then I would have set out immediately, but the weather being bad, was obliged to stay at Madrid five days longer; and when I did set out, I found it

almost impossible to travel, the heavy rains had so spoiled the roads; but the most disagreeable circumstance, was the lightness of my purse, which rendered my journey very uncomfortable indeed. At last it pleased God that I got safe to Lisbon, where I no sooner arrived, than I waited on the English consul, who told me that the /Edinburgh/, Commodore Coats was going from thence to England. Hereupon I waited on the Commodore, and desired my passage home, which he readily granted. After staying at Lisbon only three days, I embarked for England, and in six more arrived at Plymouth; thus happily surmounting, through the mercy of the Almighty, a long and unfortunate voyage of five years and eight months.

From Plymouth I went to Portsmouth in the same ship, and proceeded directly to London, where I arrived in the beginning of May, 1746; and informed the Lords of the Admiralty of my arrival, by a petition to their Lordships. Speaking at the same time with Mr. Corbet, Secretary to the Admiralty, I found, to my great surprise, that their Lordships had been told by Captain Cheap, that I was in the Spanish service! That this was a false aspersion, the public will hardly require any other proof than the reading [of] the foregoing narrative. If I had been in the Spanish service, how could I have acquired a passport /4/ from a Minister of Spain; and how could I likewise arrive here in England so soon after the Captain? Upon the whole, I hope that what I have here written will be sufficient to satisfy the public of my innocence, and clear me of what is so wrongfully laid to my charge.

Alexander Campbell

4. This passport I sent enclosed in a letter to Mr. Secretary Corbet.

/F I N I S/