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1887



A
NARRATIVE
OF
VOYAGES
AND
COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES,

BY
RICHARD J. CLEVELAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HITHERTO, in my enterprises, a spirit of adventure united with that of acquisition, had been the motive of action; but henceforth the latter was to act alone.

The voyage in the *Lelia Byrd*, under the exclusive direction of Mr. Shaler, proved a very unfortunate one. Owing to some informality in the protest, we failed to recover any thing from the underwriters. The attempt made under the direction of Mr. Hudson to retrieve our affairs, by a return to the coast of California with that part of the cargo which remained unsold, in a little vessel which had been built at the island, and had been taken in exchange for the *Lelia Byrd*, was unsuccessful. The large amount credited to

the missionaries of California, on their simple notes, was a total loss. Only four of the twenty priests of the various missions scattered along the coast, to whom we had given credit, were sufficiently honest to redeem their notes. The amount which we had placed in charge of our friend Rouissillon, to be accounted for by him on his arrival in the United States, was also lost by the unfortunate death of that gentleman at Mexico. These combined losses had made such an inroad on our fortunes as to make renewed exertions necessary to retrieve them. Nor were the domestic obligations, which I had recently contracted, less influential in stimulating to great efforts and great self-denial, for the attainment of an object which had become incalculably more desirable and important to me in consequence.

The common and every-day voyages to Europe, India, and China, which presented the prospect of only moderate profit, but with entire safety, were less in harmony with my inclination and habits, than those of a more enterprising character, which promised greater advantage, though with increased risk. The war succeeding the short peace of Amiens, had again closed the ports of the Spanish colonies to any commerce in their own ships ; and they must, therefore, again rely exclusively on foreign flags for the requisite supply of European manufactures. A voyage to the coasts of Chili and Peru, then presenting greater prospects of profit, in proportion to the risk, than any other, Mr. Shaler and myself again united our fortunes in such an adventure under my direction. In June, 1806, we purchased at New York, the *Aspasia*, a Baltimore clipper-built schooner of a hundred and seventy tons, which had been recently coppered to the wales. This

vessel was fitted with every thing requisite for the voyage, not omitting a suitable armament. This last circumstance excited the suspicion of some of the worthy fraternity of Friends, that our destination was to Africa for slaves ; but they were quieted on my assurance that I had no such intention, and, moreover, that they did not hold this cruel traffic in greater horror and detestation than I did.

As the late master of the *Aspasia* could have no motive to deceive me, I relied on his assurance, that the spars were perfectly sound and in good condition ; nor did our sad experience to the contrary induce the belief of any want of good faith on his part. A cargo, such as experience had taught us was best suited to the wants of the people for whom it was destined, was purchased at New York, and, with the vessel, was owned equally by Mr. Shaler and myself, absorbing about the whole amount of the fortunes of each, a portion only of which was covered by insurance, at a very high premium. Our ship's company was one third more than the usual complement for this vessel, making altogether sixteen persons.

Being all ready for sea on the morning of the 10th of August, 1806, and having a fine breeze from the westward, the pilot, true to his engagement, came on board and conducted us outside of Sandy Hook. He then left us, to board a vessel bound in. The wind was very light, and the ocean so smooth, presenting truly "the unruffled surface of a summer's sea," that it was late in the afternoon before we lost sight of the highlands of Neversink.

A succession of light winds and calm weather, not unusual at this season of the year, rendered the first

part of our passage very tedious ; and it was not until the 10th of September, that we took the trade winds, being then in latitude 20° north, and longitude 27° west of Greenwich. But it seemed as if the long calm had been only a prelude to a gale in a parallel where it was entirely unexpected. During the day, our sails were double-reefed, the wind so far to the eastward as to bring the sea very much on the beam, causing much water to be shipped. Presuming on the swift sailing of the vessel, we had steered a course further to the westward in this latitude, than would have been considered prudent in vessels of the ordinary rate of sailing ; hence it was particularly desirable that no spar should be carried away, and that no other accident should happen, which might cause the risk of falling to leeward of Cape St. Roque.

At sunset, as there was no diminution of the gale, and the sea had increased, our sail was reduced, by taking off the bonnets from the foresail and gib, and taking a third reef in the mainsail. Under this reduced sail we were making ten knots an hour. At this rate we continued going until the middle watch had half expired, when, immediately after the helm was relieved, a tremendous crash was heard, and at the same moment the foremast was seen to be falling over to leeward. Its weight, together with the topmast-yards, sails, and rigging attached to it was too heavy to be supported by the bowsprit, and that broke off near the stem. The vessel, no longer mindful of her helm, came up into the wind. The scene now, for a few moments, was one of dismay. The darkness of the night, the roaring sea, the howling wind, the quick and sharp rolling of the vessel, unchecked by any sail, the hard thumping

against the vessel of the spars which had fallen alongside, and which threatened mischief, and the difficulty of coming at the rigging, which held the spars, in order to cut it away, all combined to make our situation one of great perplexity. At each roll of the vessel to windward, the stay, which from the head of the mainmast was attached to that of the foremast, raising it out of the water, and causing a strain which threatened the loss of the mainmast, made it requisite to cut away that stay as soon as possible. This could be done only at the mainmast head ; but to get there was a very difficult task, owing to the shrouds being greatly slackened by one roll, and brought up with a sudden jerk on the opposite. At the first attempt, the man had ascended about half way, when he was thrown off by one of those sudden jerks, but fortunately was saved from destruction by falling into the mainsail, which, having been lowered part way down, made a cradle for his reception, and prevented his receiving any harm. A second attempt was more successful ; the man gained the mast-head and cut away the stay ; but, by this time, the mainmast had become so badly sprung, that I was apprehensive it would fall before he could get down.

As soon as this was accomplished, the attention of every one was given to cutting away such of the rigging as kept the wreck of spars alongside. This being done, and the precaution taken of attaching a strong line to the spars, the greater drift of the vessel soon brought them to windward, and they served to keep the vessel's head to the sea. Daylight unveiled to us no new misfortune ; but, on examining the stump of the foremast, an old defect was discovered, which had

been hidden from our sight by the wedges of the mast, and which was the cause of our misfortune.

Before noon of the following day, the gale had very considerably abated, and with great industry we not only saved the sails and rigging, but erected a jury mast and got a sail upon it before night. It was now, however, a matter of much difficulty to determine on the most eligible course to pursue. The sail we were able to spread was so greatly reduced as to make our progress on a wind very slow ; this difficulty might at any moment be increased by the fall of the mainmast, which was so very badly sprung, that, with our best efforts at fishing it, and also of relieving it of the weight of the topmast and yards, we were in constant apprehension of losing it. In such a predicament, it would be impossible to work off of a lee shore. To proceed to any one of the West India Islands, would have been a task of easy accomplishment, as it would have been sailing before the wind all the way ; but this course would have been ruinous to our voyage. With the wind as it then was, two points free, we could make five knots an hour ; hence I considered it practicable to weather Cape St. Roque, and, this once accomplished, the prospect would be fair of reaching Rio Janeiro, where the repairs required could be easily and expeditiously made, and the original plan of the voyage be prosecuted. I therefore determined on making the attempt and shaped our course for this purpose.

Owing to the prevalence of light winds and calms, which succeeded the gale that had been so disastrous to us, we did not cross the Equator until the 6th of October, twenty-five days from that of the disaster ; and in eighteen days afterwards, the 24th of October, we ar-

rived at Rio Janeiro, having been forty-three days navigating in so crippled a state, that a gale of ordinary violence or duration would greatly have increased our embarrassments, if it did not prevent our gaining the desired port.

The policy of the Portuguese government, like that of Spain, prohibited strangers from entering a port of their colonies, excepting only on the evidence of such palpable necessity as would make the refusal an act of gross inhumanity. There could exist no doubt in the minds of the official visitors, that ours was a case in point, and one demanding the utmost extent of their indulgence. Nearly two hours were expended in the requisite examinations and investigations of the damages incurred, in order to estimate the time required to repair them, so as to graduate the number of days, which should be permitted us to remain in port. The *procès verbal*, or report, being accomplished and submitted to the proper authorities, they were pleased to grant us forty-five days.

An attempt was now made by the government linguist to compel the employment of mechanics of his appointment; but the very earnestness, with which he pressed this, and his assurance that I should be permitted to employ no others, awakened my suspicions of sinister and base motives on his part, and induced a reference to higher authority, from which I learned, that no such regulation existed, and that I was at liberty to employ any that I chose.

It was impossible to procure such masts here as were suitable for a schooner of the size of our vessel, and I therefore decided to rig her as a brig; for which purpose both our old masts would answer. Giving, then, to

the carpenter the requisite directions for the length of the masts, spars, &c., and to the sail-maker for the sails to be made from those of the schooner, and employing the crew in preparing the rigging, there existed no doubt of accomplishing our object and of being ready to leave the port even before the expiration of the time to which we were limited.

Whilst the *Aspasia* was undergoing these various repairs and changes, I had received information, which made it very desirable to alter the voyage. The great length of time, during which an entire suspension of business had been caused at the river of Plate by the hostile fleet and army of England, had prevented the transmission to the Havana of those supplies of jerked beef, which long habit had made indispensable. It was obvious, therefore, that no occasion had ever been presented, which held out such flattering inducements for the undertaking of such a voyage. The profits were a certainty, that might be nearly estimated at the outset. The risk from capture at sea appeared to be trifling, and the time necessary for its accomplishment would not be more than half that required for prosecuting the original plan. But the obstacles to be overcome were very great, and, at first sight, seemed to render the attempt irrational and hopeless. The utter impossibility of obtaining permission from government to sell our cargo, the difficulty and great risk of attempting to do it without such permission, the small amount in value, which our vessel would carry in jerked beef, and the improbability of being able to procure a suitable ship to take the remainder, all seemed to render the execution of the plan, however desirable, one of insurmountable difficulty. In the prosecution of an object,

however, where there was a certainty of reward in proportion to obstacles to be overcome, the stimulus was powerful to look on every side for their removal, and, in so doing, I was aided by one of the most respectable and influential merchants of the city.

In the old and decayed colonial governments of Portugal and Spain, where those who administered them seemed to consider themselves placed rather to make their own fortunes than to benefit the state or the people, and where the conduct of the subalterns in office was influenced by the example of their superiors, an intelligent merchant generally possessed the power, if not of suspending the rigor of the commercial laws, at least of producing a blindness to their infraction, which rendered them nugatory. To such a merchant it was my good fortune to be introduced, — one, before all others of the city, who possessed the requisite energy, enterprise, influence, and ability for the prosecution of the plan in contemplation. He perceived, that a negotiation was practicable, which would be mutually advantageous. The great profit he would make on my cargo, taken at ten per cent advance on the invoice, at which I offered it, would enable him to defray all the expenses of getting it on shore, and those attendant on the delivery of the *Aspasia's* cargo of beef, at sea ; both of which operations were to be at his risk, and would leave him a handsome sum as compensation. An additional inducement, also, was that of receiving, in part payment, a fine coppered ship of three hundred and sixty tons burden, then in port, and ready to be expedited without delay. This ship was to be provided with a Portuguese master and crew, to be navigated under the Portuguese flag, and was to proceed to the Island of St. Catha-

rine, where a cargo of beef would be delivered on board as soon as it could be transported there from the Rio Grande.

According to agreement the necessary measures were taken for unlading the *Aspasia*, and so judiciously, that in two nights the whole cargo was landed without accident or any attempt at molestation from the sentries or the officers of the customs. It was not possible, however, to conceal or to prevent observation on the sudden and apparently miraculous manner, in which our vessel had become elevated on the water, and which was marked along her whole length by the grass and foulness common to wood, which has been for so long a time submerged in sea-water. This evidence of our nightly labor was scraped off and a coat of tar and blacking put on immediately, of which no other notice was taken than an occasional joke from the native boatmen on the suddenness, with which our vessel had risen on the water, without any apparent cause.

Although we used all our powers to induce the sparmaker to exert his utmost energies in our behalf, he was unable to complete the spars, tops, and caps, in less than three weeks after our arrival. However, as the other parts of the equipment were finished, we succeeded in preparing the vessel for sea a week within the time to which we were limited. When all was thus ready, we weighed anchor, and made several tacks to and fro in the bay, to try her rate of sailing and manner of working as a brig, and had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the change. The next day, having ascertained, that the vessel with the beef was ready to go outside, and transfer it to the *Aspasia*, both vessels proceeded to sea, together, on the 1st of De-

cember. To Mr. Rodgers, the first mate of the *Aspasia*, I had given her in charge, with directions, when laden, to proceed to the Havana, there dispose of the cargo, and, with the proceeds of it, to lade the vessel with such produce of the island as he should judge best adapted to the New York market, whither he was to make the best of his way with it.

The *Aspasia* being despatched, there was nothing to prevent me from giving my undivided attention to expediting the *Telémaco*, the ship I had bought; but acting by means of others, I perceived to be dull work, and particularly so with the Portuguese. There was, however, no other resource than patience; and it was very evident, that large drafts would be required upon whatever stock I might possess of this virtue. The young man, who had been appointed to command the ship, was docile and amiable, but entirely destitute of that principle of enterprise, which is an acknowledged peculiarity of the American character; so that, as almost every thing depended on his exertions for getting away the ship, it was nearly the end of December before this desirable object was accomplished.

Our passage to St. Catharine's was performed in a few days, and with much ease. The predicament, however, of making one of a ship's company, not an individual of which, excepting my servant, was acquainted with any other than the Portuguese language, of which I was ignorant, was not without its embarrassment.

Entering by the passage at the north end of the island, it is necessary to pass over a long distance of flats, on which there are only from seven to eight feet of water, before arriving at the harbour in front of the town, in doing which we scraped the bottom several times, and

hence had evidence, that it would be injudicious to cause the ship to draw more water in going out, and that we should be compelled to lade the greater part of the cargo in the roadstead, at the north end of the island.

Directions having been sent to Rio Grande, at the time of making my contract for the beef to be sent to St. Catharine's, a brig, with nearly two hundred tons, reached there a few days after our arrival. This being taken on board, and occupying the place of the ballast, which had been thrown out, made the ship draw a few inches more water than on entering ; and this trifling increase caused embarrassment, and the loss of a kedge-anchor, in returning over the flats. Having anchored in the roadstead, near the main side, from which was a beautiful run of water emptying into the sea, we waited there nearly a month before receiving the remainder of the cargo. In the mean time, the men were engaged in filling the water-casks, and in cutting a plentiful supply of wood.

The town of St. Catharine's is eligibly situated on a gentle slope, at the southwest side of the island ; and its harbour is secure against the influence of every wind. The appearance of the town, from the shipping in the harbour, is very prepossessing ; but a closer inspection tends, in some degree, to remove the favorable impressions thus made. The houses are of very ordinary construction, generally of one story ; and their furniture is of the rudest manufacture, and limited to articles of indispensable necessity. Hence, the inhabitants, being unacquainted with luxuries, or unambitious of possessing them, are very generally in the enjoyment of ease and independence. Indeed, when a Creole Portuguese possesses enough to keep him from

starving, he will no longer labor, but riots in those slothful indulgences, which, from education, or rather example, and the effect of climate, he considers supreme happiness.

To the richest individual of the place I had a letter of introduction ; but it did not procure for me any of those little attentions, which may be made without any expense, and which are so gratifying in a strange land. By the accidental circumstance of being near his house, during a passing shower, I took the liberty of going in, to avoid getting wet, and was treated with all desirable civility. This man's fortune is estimated at twenty thousand dollars ; an amount, which, compared with that of the rest of the community, gives him the same false estimate of himself, induced by the sycophancy of his fellow-citizens, which, from a like cause, is but too often seen in better educated and more intelligent communities.

The Governor, though acknowledged to be a worthy man, is decidedly opposed to the levelling system, which is a peculiarity of the times ; and when its influence is observed in an individual, by any deficiency of respect to himself, he does not allow it to pass unnoticed. Of this he gave an instance one day, when one of the seamen of the *Telémaco*, being on shore on liberty, passed near to him without raising his hat. He was instantly arrested ; and, although he urged, in extenuation, his ignorance of its being the Governor, he was, nevertheless, put in the stocks for an hour. With such summary punishment for a breach of good manners, it may be presumed, that the people are orderly ; that riots, street brawls, and drunken frolics are un-

known here. Indeed, the inhabitants have no fancy for them ; and the foreign sailors, who are occasionally here, soon discover, that a sober demeanor is the only one allowable.

In consequence of the limited native commerce of St. Catharine's, and the small number of foreign ships which visit it, there are no inducements to the inhabitants to prepare such supplies of live stock, vegetables, and fruits, as are desirable for vessels touching there ; and hence, in procuring ours, we were indebted to the kindness of some individuals, who permitted encroachments to be made on their family stock. Having accomplished our lading, after waiting for the last part of the cargo until my patience was nearly exhausted, we immediately weighed anchor, and sailed for the Havana, on the 15th of February, 1806.

After having abandoned the original plan of going to the west coast of America, and decided on the one I was now prosecuting, I had written by two opportunities, from Rio Janeiro, to my friends in Boston, requesting to have insurance effected, if it were practicable. But these were precarious times for neutrals, when the two great belligerents agreed in nothing else than in plundering them ; and I was aware of the uncertainty, whether, by some new order in council, on one side, or some retaliatory decree on the other, approximating to an interdiction of all neutral commerce, insurance could be effected at any rate. On the presumption, however, that such neutral commerce would be unmolested, as did not, even in a remote degree, prejudice the interests of the belligerents, (and of this description the voyage I was now pursuing certainly was,) I felt that I had little else to guard against than

the sea risk, and therefore was free from anxiety on the subject of insurance.

A few degrees south of the equator we fell in with a British frigate, by which we were subjected to a rigid scrutiny ; the result of which was a conviction of the neutrality of the property, the legality of the voyage, and consequently, that there existed no motive for detention. By the captain and officers of this ship I was treated with much civility, and, on parting, they wished me a safe arrival at Havana. A similar investigation, with a like result, by a British sloop-of-war, from which we were boarded a few days afterwards, tended to encourage me in the belief that I had nothing to apprehend from British vessels of war. These evidences, that my voyage was not considered opposed to any order or regulation which should justify its interruption, and by those too, whose eye to discover a flaw possessed the quickness of the eagle, and whose appetite for prey was as voracious as that of the shark, confirmed my opinion, that the sea risk was all I had to apprehend. With these impressions, I perceived no other obstacle to prevent my reaching Havana, where I was sure of reaping an immense profit on my adventure. In the contemplation of such flattering prospects, my imagination often dwelt on the joy of a happy return to my family, with a fortune that would supersede the necessity of ever leaving it again. These pleasing anticipations, however, were soon destined to pass away into the regions of airy castles.

Early on a fine morning, when about a hundred and fifty miles to windward of the Island of Martinique, we descried a number of vessels to the westward, which, on approaching, were perceived to be a fleet of English

vessels of war. Being nearest the Ramillies of seventy-four guns, we were boarded from that ship, and on ascertaining that the fleet was commanded by Admiral Cochrane, my heart sank within me. All my confidence, resulting from the ordeal to which we had been so recently subjected, combined with my entire conviction of the innocence and legitimacy of the voyage, were insufficient to banish the apprehension of being sent in for adjudication.

The boarding officer from the Ramillies was a young man of good appearance, but totally deficient in every attribute of the gentleman excepting his garb. His behaviour to the captain of the *Telémaco*, and to myself, while on board our own ship, was marked by all that insolence, arrogance, and impudence, which are the acknowledged peculiarities of a coward, when conscious of being free from danger. As the captain of the *Telémaco* did not speak English, I accompanied this brutal officer on board the Ramillies, with the ship's papers. My reception and treatment by the venerable and respectable commander of this ship, formed a perfect contrast with that of the boarding officer. He was evidently one of the old school, urbane, mild, gentlemanly, and with manners and deportment as much at variance with those of his subalterns, as were the courtiers of the times of the *Louises*, with the *sans-culottes* of our day. After a thorough examination of our papers, in which he was assisted by two of his officers, no cause was perceived by them to justify the detention of the ship; consequently, the papers were returned to me by the commander, who wished me a good voyage, and caused me to be put on board the *Telémaco* again.

On the presumption that a captain in the fleet would not act in this independent manner without the sanction of the commander-in-chief, I began to doubt whether time had not effected a change in the character of the Admiral, whether the high station to which he had arrived might not have elevated his mind above the buccaniering propensities for which he was famed ; whether even he might not occasionally feel something allied to remorse, at the amount of distress which he must be conscious that he had caused, and hence had determined to plunder no more. This delusion unfortunately was but of momentary duration. The Admiral, in this instance, gave evidence that time and exalted station had no ameliorating effect on his piratical propensities. We had scarcely filled away our sails, when, his ship having approached, and the information having been conveyed to him by signal, of whence we came, and whither we were bound, without deigning to see us, or our papers, he ordered our ship to be taken possession of, and to be conducted to Tortola. Accordingly, a boat, with the requisite number of men, came on board from the Cerberus frigate, and took possession of our ship ; and returning, took our ship's company, including myself, on board the frigate, leaving the master of the *Telémaco*, alone of our number, on board that ship.

CHAPTER II.

Admiral Cochrane. — His Notoriety. — Officers of the Cerberus. — Theme of Conversation. — Arrival at Tortola. — Dougan, the Prize Agent. — His Threat to the Judge. — Vice-Admiralty Court. — Condemnation. — Cause therefor. — Proposal from the Agent. — Proceed to St. Thomas. — Wrecked. — Arrive in the Boat. — Effect on the Owners. — Fail in my Object. — Return. — Embark again for St. Thomas. — Hence to New York. — Arrival. — Interview with a Friend. — Extent of my Misfortune. — Arrive at Home.

THE experience of a few years, with only a moderate degree of observation, will suffice to convince us, that with man, as with animals, there are peculiarities and propensities in families, and in characters which are known to the world, by which they may justly be designated as of a good or a bad breed. As an instance among distinguished men, no contemporary of those great British naval commanders, the Howes, who had observed their course, but would decide that they belonged to the former class ; and that they were incapable of other than noble, honorable, and chivalrous acts. On the contrary, there are none who are familiar with the names and course of the Cochranes, but must have identified them with the latter class. They have invariably exhibited a thievish propensity ; for the gratification of which, and for a long course of years, they have set at defiance the laws of God and man. In the indulgence of this propensity Admiral Cochrane stands

preëminent. The multitude of defenceless merchant vessels, which he took and sent in for adjudication, in the early part of the war, incident to the French Revolution, and while in command of the *Thetis* frigate, on the Halifax station, will long be remembered ; and although he must have been aware, that not one in fifty of them could be confiscated, yet as he would be exonerated from expense, he seemed not only to have a total disregard of the ruin he was causing innocent men, but actually to riot in the exercise of power which produced that ruin. During the long war which succeeded, and in which he was promoted, his highest ambition seems to have been that of enriching himself by the plunder of defenceless merchant vessels. The attack on New Orleans was projected by him ; and the watchword of “ Booty and Beauty,” is sufficiently expressive of the character of the enterprise. This abortive attempt was the last great buccaniering expedition in which the Admiral was engaged.

The unenviable course of Lord Cochrane, nephew of the Admiral, who has figured at the head of the Chilian navy, and its consequences, are of general notoriety ; and I mention him, because, being both designated as admirals, and equally eager for plunder, they are often confounded ; and because, being a relative, it serves to confirm the correctness of the theory of breeds.

There is scarcely an object offered to the contemplation of an honorable mind more disgusting than a sordid desire of accumulating riches, in one whose profession is arms ; and when that desire is indulged at the expense of innocent and unoffending individuals, there is no term too opprobrious to apply to it. There exists

such an incompatibility in the two pursuits, that whenever they are united in the same person, that person may truly be termed a poltroon.

Those only of our countrymen, who were engaged in commerce thirty years ago, can, from experience, form a just estimate of the atrocious conduct of the British government toward neutrals, and of the hopelessness of any cause, however fair, which was subjected to the decision of any of its West India Vice-Admiralty Courts ; and especially that of Tortola, the most infamous mockery of justice, and apology for sanctioning plunder, with which the world has ever been disgraced. Even before such a tribunal, however, with such entire absence of all cause for confiscation as my case presented, a hope of escape might have been indulged, had I been sent in by some poor friendless lieutenant ; but with an admiral for my opponent confiscation was certain.

During the several days I passed on board the Cerberus, before arriving, I was treated with much civility by the captain and officers of that ship. The ward-room officers were all young men of gentlemanly manners and deportment. The all absorbing theme of conversation while I was with them, was their prizes ; what they had shared from one ; what they expected to share from another ; not omitting an estimate of the pittance each might derive from my property. That the minds of pirates and thieves should be so exclusively engaged in the discussion of the amount and division of their booty, is easily comprehended ; but, to perceive the same thing in men professing to be gentlemen, possibly Christians, men wearing the livery of one of the most powerful monarchs of the earth, warriors by pro-

fession, was a circumstance equally incomprehensible and disgusting.

The *Cerberus* and the *Telémaco* came to anchor at the same time in the harbour of Tortola, on the 22d of April, 1807. The agent for prizes, a Mr. Dougan, came on board, and to him were delivered the ship's papers. He then very civilly accompanied me on shore to aid me in procuring lodgings. This being accomplished, I returned on board, at the expiration of about two hours, to take my baggage on shore ; and to my surprise found, that during that short interval, Dougan had been on board, had broken open my writing-desk, and had abstracted from it all my private letters and papers. This wanton outrage was entirely unnecessary, as he might have had the key by asking for it ; but it served to open my eyes to a character whose conduct, throughout the business, proved him to be a worthy coadjutor of Admiral Cochrane.

From a merchant of the place, who happened to be present when the Judge and Dougan were examining the papers together, I learned that the Judge could not then perceive any cause for confiscating the property. The voyage, he admitted, as appeared by the documents, was begun at New York for American account. The proceeds, at Rio Janeiro, of the investment, was sufficient to purchase the property under adjudication. It was shipped at a neutral port, on board a neutral ship, for neutral account, and consisted of no article contraband of war. On what plea, then, could it be condemned ? was a question, that required much ingenuity to solve, — the more especially, as Dougan was then heard to say to the Judge, on his expressing a doubt, that if this prize escaped condemnation none

others should be sent to Tortola, but he would advise their being sent into one of the other Islands for trial. Whether this threat had any influence in the final decision is known only to themselves, but that it was so intended is obvious.

There was no choice of a person to act as counsel for the defendant, for there was at Tortola but one individual for that office, who served on all prize cases, and whose sympathy was enlisted entirely on the side of the plunderers. Under such discouraging circumstances, and entertaining no doubt of what would be the result, I should instantly have abandoned the property and wasted neither time nor money in attempting to defend a case already prejudged; but my duty to the underwriters, if the property had been insured, and the propriety of securing an appeal, forbade this course, and induced me to wait the tardy process of the court. The farce of trial was of becoming duration, and was conducted with the same forms and solemnity, as if the objects had been to elicit truth and to administer justice.

As the case of the *Telémaco* was perfectly plain, involving no intricate point whatever, it was impossible that the Judge should have perceived, in thirty days, any more cause of confiscation than was discoverable on the first examination of the papers; hence it is probable, that his mind was made up soon after the threat of Dougan, and that the trial was neither more nor less than a shield to cover an act of villany. The ship and cargo were condemned, as good and lawful prize to Admiral Cochrane, on two grounds,—the one being that of pursuing a voyage in time of war, which is not permitted in time of peace; the other, “the inadmissibility of a continuity of voyages.”

It is but doing justice to the honorable feelings of a young naval commander, who had recently arrived on this station, and who was yet uninitiated in the atrocious practices peculiar to it, to mention, that, when informed by a friend of mine of the decision of the court, and the reasons for it, he indignantly, and perhaps imprudently, termed it no other than licensed piracy. Those of my fellow-citizens, of more recent times, who, by the ameliorating influence of their commercial relations with England, have imbibed the most lofty, and, I doubt not, just ideas of the honor, good faith, and integrity of British merchants, may find it difficult to credit the fact, that, only thirty years ago, the government of which they are subjects could sanction such atrocities as those I have detailed ; or that a British Admiral existed, who would condescend to use such base, cruel, and wicked means for the augmentation of his private fortune. But the thousands of my fellow-citizens, who were ruined at this period by being stripped of their property, on equally frivolous pretexts, will corroborate the accuracy of my statement.

The *Telémaco* and cargo being condemned, it was no easy matter for the prize agent to dispose of them, excepting at a very great sacrifice. The ship possessed an intrinsic value at Tortola, which the cargo did not. To have unloaded, with a view of transporting it in other vessels to the Havana, where only a sale was to be found for it, would be incurring a great expense and labor, of doubtful remuneration. Hence, there was an evident necessity of selling the ship and cargo together, and it would be impossible to effect this, with the fact before the eyes of the purchaser, that the property had just been confiscated for being bound to the only place

where it could be disposed of. The prize agent was extremely embarrassed with the peculiarity of this case, aware that, without the intervention of a neutral, nothing could be made of it. In this extremity, he made a proposal to me to take it at about half its original cost, and, as an inducement, would engage to provide protection against detention by British cruisers on its way to Havana. What effrontery ! What impudence ! What villany ! To rob me of my property on pretext of inadmissibility of voyage, and then propose a passport for the more safe prosecution of the same voyage, for pursuing which the property was confiscated !

That the atrocity of this case may be viewed in all its bearings at once, I will make some repetitions, even at the risk of being considered tedious. Of the perfect neutrality of this property, there was not suggested nor did there exist in the mind of any one a doubt. The cargo consisted of no article contraband of war, and was not destined to a blockaded port. We had been subjected to a rigid scrutiny by three different British ships of war, and neither of them saw any reason for detaining us. Without the formality of looking at our papers, or even of seeing an individual belonging to the ship, Admiral Cochrane ordered her to be taken possession of and to be conducted to Tortola for adjudication. At Tortola the ship and cargo were condemned as good and lawful prize. The cargo being of a description that embarrassed the prize agent to know what to do with it, he proposed, as an inducement for me to buy it in, to provide a passport, which should secure it against British capture on the way to its original destination. Had this event, and others resembling it,

with which the times were fertile, occurred in the Dark Ages, when might and right were synonymous, they would have been in keeping with the state of the human mind at that time ; but, in the nineteenth century, the age of enlightened benevolence and high moral sense, that any pressure of war should be sufficient to induce a Christian government to encourage or sanction such robberies, will be matter of amazement and regret to those, who have since come upon the active stage of life, and who learn from the reminiscences of their seniors, that such were the actual facts.

Although the proposal, before mentioned, came from so suspicious a source, and might be designed to plunge me into deeper ruin, yet it was so tempting, holding out the prospect, even with the curtailment of one half the capital, of retrieving my fortune, that, however much the chance was against my being able to raise the requisite sum, I determined to spare no efforts for the attainment of so desirable an object.

To have made the attempt at Tortola, would have been useless. The merchants of that place had become so much inured to scenes of ruin and misery, as to view the victims of their freebooters with feelings of contempt, rather than sympathy. My only hope, therefore, was to go to St. Thomas, and there endeavour, by hypothecating the vessel and cargo, by bills on the United States, or by dividing the adventure into shares, to raise the requisite sum to ransom the property. Accordingly, a droger being then about to sail for that place, I took passage in her, and left Tortola late in the afternoon.

The breeze, during the night, was very moderate, and the vessel was making such slow progress, that the

master calculated on arriving off the port not before daylight. There must, however, have been great ignorance of the danger, or very careless steering, or perhaps both ; as, between one and two o'clock in the morning, we had run on to a ledge of rocks. Being waked by the hard striking of the vessel, my first impression was, that we were alongside some ship in the harbour ; but a second and third concussion, and a great bustle on deck, satisfied me, that we were in danger. I then immediately jumped out of my berth, and found the water above my ancles, on the cabin floor. Taking my clothes in my hand, I ran on deck, and hastily put them on. By this time the vessel had so settled and heeled over, as to bring the water nearly to the coamings of the hatches, on the lee side of the deck ; and it was very evident, that both vessel and cargo would be a total loss. The vessel was about twenty tons burden, and was laden with coffee in bulk. As my little trunk floated towards the companion-way, it was seized by one of the men, and put into the boat.

Not more than half an hour had elapsed from the time the vessel struck, before she had filled. The crew, consisting of four persons and myself, embarked in the boat, and left the wreck, from which nothing could be saved. Arriving at the landing just as the day began to break, I was obliged to wait the moving of the people, before I could find any one to conduct me to the inn.

In the mean time, the owners of the vessel and cargo had heard a rumor of their loss, and had come to the landing to ascertain the particulars. These were given by the master and men then present ; and, having heard the dismal recital, which closed by the information, that

the loss was total, they broke out in exclamations, showing the depth of their distress. The vessel was owned by a Dane ; the cargo by a Frenchman. It was to each his all, and the fruit of many years' hard toil ; and it was uninsured. The expression of the effects of the disaster, on each, was truly characteristic. The Dane evidently felt his loss deeply. He was sad, melancholy, silent, excepting now and then an exclamation of " My God ! what a misfortune ! what a pity ! " The Frenchman, feeling all the horrors of being reduced to beggary from comparative independence, gave full vent to those feelings, in a most undignified manner. He cried, groaned, wrung his hands, threw his hat on the ground, and stamped upon it, exclaiming, every instant, " O mon Dieu ! mon Dieu ! quel malheur ! " and acting like a perfect maniac. The sympathy of the good people, who had collected in considerable numbers, was evinced in their attempts to soothe him ; but any consolation, offered at this moment, was unheeded and useless.

Being incapable of assuaging the grief, or of rendering any service to these unfortunate people, I left them as soon as I could procure a negro to take my trunk, and show me the way to the inn. When there, my first object was to procure dry clothes. Mine were all wet, those in my trunk as well as those I had on ; and no other resource was presented me, than that of wrapping myself in a borrowed cloak, and waiting in my room until some of them were dried. This was accomplished in due time ; and then, being greatly refreshed by a good breakfast, I walked out to see the town, and to find the merchants to whom I had letters. I had a long interview with each. They were very civil

and friendly, and were not deficient in expressions of sympathy for my misfortunes, nor of denunciations for what they termed the villany of the Vice-Admiralty Court, in encouraging and sanctioning such acts of piracy. But they declined advancing me any thing to redeem my property, in either of the several modes I proposed to them, probably for the very good reason, that, as the property on its way to Havana would be secure against British capture, there would exist no other than the sea risk, and, therefore, they could avail themselves of the entire advantage of the operation.

Having ascertained, that a vessel would sail from hence for New York in about a fortnight, it was very desirable, that I should not lose the opportunity of going in her, seeing that now all hope of re-purchasing my ship was annihilated. Accordingly I returned to Tortola the fourth day after leaving it, and immediately set about making the necessary arrangements for taking a final leave of this abominable place. Dougan expressed regret, that I had not succeeded in raising the means to enable me to accept his proposal ; but, with the passport, there was no doubt some neutral from St. Thomas would be forthcoming, who would readily make the purchase.

Having settled my accounts, and secured my appeal papers, I left Tortola on the 25th of July, more than a month from the date of my arrival. During that month, scarce a day passed, in which I was not subjected to some angry altercation, some unnecessary provocation, some feverish excitement, from my opponents ; or some trouble and anxiety from complaints and uneasiness of the officers and crew of our ship ; and this, under the scorching influence of a vertical

sun. But I had the happiness to escape the fever, which this combination of causes was so well calculated to produce, and to retain my health. As I left the harbour, on my way to St. Thomas, I passed near the *Telémaco*, which lay there by virtue of the right of the strong over the weak. The distinction between this act of piracy, and those of a like character by the ancient buccaniers, must be perceived to consist alone in the circumstance, that the former is sanctioned by kindred banditti, termed a Vice-Admiralty Court ; and the latter were too honest and magnanimous to practise such hypocrisy. The annals of the times, however, were fertile in the detail of such atrocious invasions of the rights of neutrals ; the one party justifying its thefts, by the thefts and burnings of the other.

To have practised the self-denial incident to leaving my family for so long a time ; to have succeeded in reaching Rio Janeiro, after being dismasted, and suffering all the toils and anxieties incident thereto ; to have surmounted, happily, the numerous obstacles and risks attendant on the peculiarity of the transactions in port ; to have accomplished the business of lading and despatching the vessels, in defiance of great obstacles, and to perceive the fortune almost within my grasp, which would secure to me ease and independence for the remainder of my life ; and then, by the irresistible means of brute force, to see the whole swept off, in so atrocious and cruel a manner, and myself and family thereby reduced, in a moment, from affluence to poverty, must be admitted to be a calamity of no ordinary magnitude. It required, indeed, the exercise of great fortitude and patience, and naturally led to the perception of the acknowledged truth, that mankind expe-

rience a greater amount of misery from the evil passions and wickedness of their fellow-men, than from all the effects of hurricanes, lightning, earthquakes, and the warring of the elements combined.

Fortunately, I possessed an elasticity of mind, which adapted itself to circumstances. I was accustomed to contend with difficulties, and disciplined by a long course of losses and disappointments ; and, when suffering under them, I habitually looked round for the means to remedy them. I was soon enabled, therefore, to throw off much of the weight of this misfortune. Some mitigation of its effect was produced, by cherishing the hope, that insurance on the property might have been effected, and that the *Aspasia* might have accomplished her voyage successfully. Although no more could be expected from the Appeal, than the sum for which the property had been sacrificed ; and this sum would, necessarily, be much reduced by lawyers' fees and merchants' commissions, before reaching my hands ; yet even this served to buoy up my spirits, under their excessive pressure.

Arriving again at St. Thomas, I found the ship destined for New York, nearly ready for sea. Although a stranger in the place, there were none of the usual attractions for beguiling the tedious hours of one in my unfortunate circumstances ; and the necessity for an additional day's delay increased my impatience.

At length, on the 8th of June, we took our departure from St. Thomas, and, on the 30th of the same month, arrived at New York, after a passage as pleasant as there was reason to expect at this season of the year. We had several invalids on board, which obliged us to pass four days in quarantine at Staten Island.

This, under different auspices, would have been a pleasure, and even as it was, the arrival from sea, the enchanting picture from the terrace of the quarantine house, the supply of the various refreshments of the season, the daily papers, which came regularly to us, and, more than all, letters from my family announcing that all were well, combined to lessen the tedium of my detention.

On being relieved from quarantine, on the 4th of July the master of the *Telémaco* and myself went to the city, arriving there amid the din of arms and all the noise and bustle of the celebration of the national jubilee. At this moment the public mind was greatly excited at the outrage committed on the Chesapeake frigate, by the British squadron then within the waters of the United States, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that war was the inevitable consequence.

Having been informed, that an intimate friend and relation from Boston was in town, who I knew would be able to give me the requisite information as to the state of my affairs, I lost no time in seeking him ; but it was hastening only to be the earlier acquainted with disasters, even greater than I had imagined. On meeting him, I perceived a shadow cast over that benevolent countenance, which had hitherto always beamed with smiles and joy when meeting me after an absence, which augured but too clearly, that my worst anticipations were about being confirmed. He told me, that, in consequence of the promulgation of some new orders in council about the time my letters arrived, desiring insurance to be made, the officers became so alarmed that it could not be effected at a less premium than thirty-three and one third per cent, which my friends would not consent to give ; hence no insurance had

been made on the property, and the loss was for account of Mr. Shaler and myself. Nor was this all ; he was pained to say, that the *Aspasia* and cargo were, also, a total loss. The melancholy detail was, that she had arrived safe at Havana and sold the cargo at fifteen dollars per quintal, and, with the proceeds, about thirty thousand dollars, had laden with coffee and sugar, bound to New York ; that when off Cape Hatteras a gale was encountered, in which the vessel was thrown on her beam ends and half filled with water, which ruined the cargo. The master, Rogers, had been swept away and lost, and she finally reached Norfolk in a most distressed state, where the amount of all that was saved was little more than sufficient to pay the wages of the men. To crown the whole, the agent at New York had not been informed of this shipment, and consequently no insurance had been effected. I could not imagine any addition to these misfortunes, because I had nothing more at risk ; yet I perceived, that there was something to be yet unfolded. To this overwhelming detail was yet to be added another item, which would fill my cup to overflowing, — the failure of a friend and relation, on whose paper I was an endorser and had become responsible for the sum of six thousand dollars. The aggregate of these losses, estimating the value of the *Telémaco's* cargo at the same rate the *Aspasia's* was sold, and the ship at what was paid for her, and independent of all profit on an investment of the funds at Havana for New York, would amount to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

All doubts relative to the entire prostration of my fortune were now solved ; all hope of there being some remnant left me was annihilated, and the world was to

be begun anew, under the pressure of increased responsibilities. But the reflection, that no part of this property was on credit, that I had not involved others in my losses, was eminently consolatory. And the pleasing contemplation of meeting my family again, after this first and long absence from them, and before having experienced any thing of the inconvenience and embarrassments resulting from such misfortune, combined to check their naturally depressing effects on my spirits.

The weight of our misfortunes bore not less heavily on the Portuguese Captain than on myself, although his was only the loss of time ; but his course in life had hitherto been one of uninterrupted smoothness. This was the first serious misfortune he had experienced, and it so afflicted him, that continued encouragement was required to enable him to support it with becoming propriety. Fortunately for him he was not destined to wait long for a passage for Lisbon. An opportunity presented itself immediately, by which I procured him a passage, defrayed the expense of it and bade him adieu, most probably for ever.

As there was no further cause for detaining me in New York, I bent my course homeward and arrived there on the 8th of July, 1807, — a period that will never be obliterated from my memory, — when the joy of embracing my family once more in health was in bitter conflict with the distress resulting from the consciousness of the years of separation, that were inevitable in the renewed efforts requisite for their maintenance.

Those, who have found sufficient interest in the preceding pages to be induced to follow me in my subsequent enterprises, will find abundant evidence, that my

forebodings were fully realized in the repeated, long, and painful separations from those, whom it was no less my duty than it would have been my happiness to watch over and protect. Compelled to navigate for the support of my family, and deprived in consequence of superintending the education of my children, worn with anxiety, and sick at heart by hope deferred, it will be seen, that I was for many years an exile from all that rendered life dear and desirable, — and this as a consequence of the robbery of my hard-earned fortune by Admiral Cochrane. If his enjoyment of this property, so wickedly obtained, bears any proportion to the years of suffering caused the proprietor by its loss, it affords the strongest presumptive evidence of a perversion of mind, which must meet its correction hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

English Aggressions. — Embargo. — Voyage to Africa. — To Halifax and to Europe. — Arrive in the Clyde. — Proceed to London. — Project a Voyage to the Isle of France. — Defeated. — Illness at Exeter. — Recover. — Go to Holland. — Load a Ship for New York. — Take Charge of Despatches for the United States. — Arrival at Baltimore.

THE long-continued course of spoliation by British cruisers, on the defenceless commerce of the United States, had, at length, roused the indignation of the people to such a degree, that they viewed war as a less evil than its longer endurance; when the insult to the national flag, in the attack on the frigate *Chesapeake*, seemed to render such an event inevitable. The embargo, which was the immediate consequence, was viewed as a measure of prudence and sound policy. Those of our merchants who were about engaging in foreign voyages, abandoned their plans; those who had supplies of foreign merchandise in store, were making calculations on an advanced price; and those who had property abroad were using their utmost exertions to get it home. To aid in promoting the views of the latter class, special permissions were granted by our government, for vessels to proceed in ballast, in various directions. The peculiar state of the times having prevented my engaging in any enterprise, on my own account, I accepted the proposal of some merchants of

Salem, to go in pursuit of a vessel of theirs to the coast of Africa. The latest accounts from this vessel were, that after having succeeded in collecting a rich cargo, the captain had died, and that the mate continued on the coast, to dispose of some portion of the outward cargo, which yet remained unsold.

Accordingly, the brig *Star* being prepared for the purpose, and provided with the requisite permission from government, I sailed from Boston for the coast of Africa, in the month of April, 1808. Our accommodations being spacious and airy, and the voyage to be performed in the summer months, I was induced, no less for our mutual gratification, than for the promotion of his health, to invite my father-in-law, the venerable ex-collector of the port of Salem, to accompany me.

Our passage out was pleasant and expeditious, arriving off the river of Senegal on the twenty-seventh day after leaving Boston. The wind, which had blown strong the day before our arrival, had not subsided when off the town ; and the surf beat so heavily on the beach as to prevent any communication. We stood off and on all day, as near the shore as was prudent, in the hope that some canoe would succeed in making way through the surf, and come off to us ; but, at each attempt they made, and we saw them make several, their canoes were upset. At length, we perceived them to be leaving the beach, apparently abandoning the design. As I had no expectation of finding the vessel at this place, and hoped only to obtain information of her, I did not consider this object sufficient to justify the loss of another day, and consequently, at dark, bore away to the southward.

Arriving at the Island of Goree the following day,

we there ascertained that the vessel of which we were in pursuit was to leeward, most probably at the Isles de Los. Having remained twenty-four hours at Goree and obtained a supply of water and refreshments, we sailed for the Isles de Los, where we arrived without accident. But the vessel sought was not there, having left some weeks previous for Sierra Leone. When on the point of sailing for Sierra Leone, an arrival directly from thence, reported the vessel in question to have sailed the day before my informant for Goree. As the information appeared to be such as could be relied on, it was obvious that a return to Goree was the most judicious course. In conformity with this decision, we put to sea, after having passed forty-eight hours at the Isles de Los; and on arriving at Goree found ourselves in advance of the vessel. The second day, however, after our arrival, she came in and anchored near us.

On going on board, and presenting to the master the letter from the owners, desiring him to deliver to me his cargo, and to take my instructions where to go to lade with a cargo of salt for the United States, he directly complied, and began the requisite preparation for shifting the cargo from one vessel to the other. The cargo, which consisted of ivory, wax, gold dust, and hides, was of great value, and would well justify the additional expense incurred to insure its safety.

While engaged in trans-shipping the cargo into my vessel, an English brig-of-war arrived; the captain of which, on ascertaining the object of my voyage, and probably suspecting that I possessed information relative to the critical state of affairs between England and the United States of which he was ignorant, concluded

to take charge of my vessel, in the belief that such information might soon arrive as would make her a lawful prize. With this view, he put a midshipman on board, with directions not to put any obstacle in the way of our shifting the cargo from one vessel to the other, or taking on board that portion of the cargo, yet on shore, which had been prepared against the return of the vessel. When these labors were accomplished, our water-casks filled, and every thing made ready for sea, there had been no arrival ; consequently, no information by which the captain could be governed in detaining us. I then wrote him a note, informing him, that I was ready for sea, and, as there existed no cause to justify our detention, I hoped he would withdraw the officer he had put on board, and allow me to proceed ; otherwise, I should feel it to be my duty to abandon the property, and take passage in a vessel then about sailing for England, to obtain redress. A few hours after the receipt of my letter, he sent me a verbal message that I might proceed, and at the same time took away the midshipman. No other obstacle occurring to prevent our departure, we sailed on our return ; our associate left at the same time for the river Gambia to lade with salt for home.

Goree is an island of very small extent, and in itself is destitute of all resources, but its formation makes it easily defensible against any force which the neighbouring nations are capable of bringing to attack it. Its contiguity to the continent renders it a favorable place for the establishment of European trading factories, of which there are several. To these factories the negroes of the continent are in the habit of bringing the produce of the country, consisting of wax, ivory, gold

dust, hides, &c., which they barter for European manufactures and trinkets. Whilst the island was in possession of the French, from whom it had been taken, not many years since, the traffic in slaves was pursued to a great extent. The annihilation of this traffic, on the English becoming masters of the island, caused great discontent among the neighbouring chiefs, who were thereby cut off from the principal source of their revenue, and hence were greatly dissatisfied with the change.

I had an opportunity of seeing, at a merchant's house, three of those princes, who had come to the island in the hope, either by persuasion or threats, to do away the prohibition, or to induce a connivance at it; or to dispose of slaves, to be delivered at one of their own ports. They were all fine looking men, not less than six feet high, and well proportioned. Their costume was in barbaric style, tawdry and showy; and they were decorated with bracelets and other ornaments of gold, peculiar to a savage people. Their side-arms were also much ornamented, and were probably very costly. When conversing with the merchant, on the subject which so much interested them, and with whom in by-gone years they had done an extensive business, they were very earnest and animated. Their unvarying theme was the interdiction of trading in slaves, which, they alleged, on the score of humanity, should be done away with, as, otherwise, their only mode of proceeding with prisoners of war, would be to put them to death, which they seemed to have no hesitation in saying would be the consequence. They were aware that the authorities charged with the government of the island, had no power to alter the existing state of things, much less the

merchant, with whom they were conversing ; but, as they had made similar observations to the Commandant of the place, they may have entertained the hope, that some representation might be made to the superior government, which would induce it to relax the severity of the law against the traffic in slaves. The threat of destroying the prisoners taken in war, unless they could be sold as slaves, is an argument which has been used by the advocates of the slave-trade, both white and black, throughout the whole extent of the slave coast. But the abettors of this most infamous traffic are as well aware as their opponents, that the wars of Africa are, for the most part, waged for the purpose of obtaining prisoners to be sold to the slave-dealers ; and that when these are prevented pursuing their traffic, the principal cause of those wars, which have been productive of so great an amount of misery, and which have depopulated vast regions of country, will cease.

Having sailed from Goree immediately on being released from the detention caused by his Majesty's brig, we proceeded with a fine wind and delightful weather for the United States. The passage proved uncommonly pleasant and rapid, and our invalid, no longer such, had derived all the benefit from the voyage which had been anticipated. During the passage the winds were so steady as to supersede the necessity of reefing a topsail, or even taking in a top-gallant sail ; and we arrived at Salem on the 7th of July, 1808, having been absent only ninety-two days, and having accomplished the object of the voyage to the entire satisfaction of all interested in it.

I had been flattering myself, that by the time I should return from Africa, something of a decisive character

would have taken place in relation to our affairs with Great Britain ; either a cessation of the violation of the rights of neutrals, and the consequent raising the embargo, or the only honorable alternative, war. I perceived, however, on landing, that neither of these events had occurred. The total suspension of all business at the wharves, and the gloomy countenances of those who were unaccustomed to idleness, were but too convincing, that affairs had not changed for the better during my absence. The ordinary bustle of business, and its cheerfulness, had given place to a paralyzing inactivity, and a sombre foreboding, that a calamity, perhaps greater than that intended to be averted, might result from persisting in measures, which were producing such distress and dissatisfaction in the maritime part of the community.

Satisfied that neither of the alternatives, war or a cessation of the embargo, was likely soon to occur, and possessing neither means to justify, nor disposition to submit to inactivity, I determined to proceed to England ; and, without any definite object, to place myself in the current of business, and take my chance for a favorable result.

With this view, being provided, by a kind friend, with a credit on London, and accompanied by two companions, whose object was similar to mine, I took passage about the middle of August, 1808, for Halifax. Owing to adverse winds, our passage was tedious ; and we failed to reach there in time for the Falmouth packet. More than a fortnight elapsed before there was another opportunity for Europe ; and, during this period, we had abundant leisure for becoming acquainted with the localities of the place and its inhabitants. Any

description of the former would be superfluous ; and I will only remark of the latter, generally, that every opportunity, which I had of conversing with intelligent people, led to the conclusion, that the rancorous hatred of the partisan loyalists existed, in full vigor, in their descendants, undiminished by the lapse of time, or the usually ameliorating influence of commercial intercourse. The existing state of the political relations of the two countries may have operated to produce a manifestation of hostile feeling, which would probably have been suppressed in less exciting times. But it was no place for a citizen of the United States to pass his time in agreeably.

An opportunity presenting itself by a brig bound for Scotland, we left Halifax on the 10th of September, and arrived at Lochrairie, in the Clyde, on the 4th of October, having made our passage in safety, although the daily inebriation of the captain and mate caused us to fear a different result. Indeed, we had abundant reason to exult in our good fortune in arriving at the time we did ; as, only a few days afterwards, occurred the equinoctial gale, which was uncommonly severe, causing such a number of shipwrecks, and such loss of lives, on the coasts of England and France, as had not occurred in any gale for a long period. We took the easy and independent conveyance of a post chaise for London, a distance of about four hundred miles ; and, leaving Lochrairie on the day of our arrival, were conveyed to our destination in four days, with a degree of comfort and celerity, such as probably could not be experienced at the time in any other country in the world.

Throughout the whole distance, our way lay through rich tracts of highly cultivated lands, interrupted, at in-

tervals, by neat villages, and churches of venerable aspect. Occasionally, as we had a bird's-eye view from some hill, the divisions, formed by the neatly trimmed hedges, the luxuriant fertility of the inclosures, an occasional clump of trees, and the rich verdure, as far as the eye could reach, gave to the whole the appearance of an immense and beautiful garden. There was nothing remarkable in the villages through which we passed, excepting in one, where I noticed an advertisement over the door of a house, stating, that it was the business of the occupant to show strangers the house, in which Sir Isaac Newton was born. Of the large towns in our route were Dumfries, Carlisle, Penrith, Newark, &c. The latter contains a fine Gothic Cathedral; a door of which being open, we entered, for a few minutes, while our horses were changing, and heard a beautiful chant by some young performers, accompanied by a fine organ.

Arriving at London, my first object was to ascertain the result of the appeal in the case of the *Telémaco*. It appeared, that the agent of the captors had proposed to compromise, by returning one fourth the amount of the proceeds, on condition of relinquishing the prosecution of the appeal. This proposition, after a consultation with that eminent jurist, Dr. Lawrence, was acceded to, by his advice; and I accordingly received between three and four thousand dollars, for a property which cost forty-seven thousand five hundred dollars. The three fourths, or twelve thousand dollars, therefore, of my property, divided among the fleet, would give to the Admiral a sum so very small, as would hardly induce him, one would think, to violate the eighth commandment.

The abundance of French wines, which had been brought, in prizes, into Plymouth, and their consequent cheapness, convinced me of the advantage which would result from a cargo of them taken to the Isle of France. While in doubt how I could accomplish this object, I accidentally met a friend, who had just arrived in a fine ship, for which he had no fixed destination. This was very *à propos*. On making known to him my views, and offering to take, on my account, one third of the adventure, with the charge of the enterprise, he readily agreed to it, provided that a clearance for that destination could be obtained from the custom-house at London. Satisfactory information having been received on this point, the cargo was immediately purchased. When the ship was nearly ready to proceed to Plymouth, to take it on board, some new excise regulation was established, which would prevent our obtaining the requisite clearance ; and, as insurance could not be effected without this document, we were compelled, very reluctantly, to give up the plan. This disappointment was much mitigated by such an advance in the value of the wine, that, on a re-sale, the profit on my third part was more than sufficient to defray all my expenses in Europe, including upwards of one hundred pounds sterling for board, medical attendance, &c. in a pleurisy, with which I was seized at Exeter, when on my way to Plymouth. This was the first violent illness I had ever experienced ; and, for several days, the physician had such doubts of my recovery, that he considered it necessary to apprise my friends in London of my dangerous situation. To their kindness, in sending a skilful and efficient person to take care of me, I consider myself indebted for my recovery.

About the middle of March I had recovered so far as to be able to go to London by easy stages, and found myself much benefited by the journey. But between two and three months were required to recruit my strength sufficiently to attend again to business. At the end of this period, having so far recovered as to be ready for new adventures, and perceiving that great profit would be derived by taking a cargo from Holland to the United States, I determined on making an effort to accomplish it. But to get to Holland, at this time, was not an easy matter. The rigorous measures, which the continental powers, under the control of Napoleon, were compelled to adopt for the interdiction of all intercourse with England, prevented any chance of success in attempting it in the regular and ordinary way; and the danger was great in trying to elude the vigilance of the harpies, who were everywhere on the watch; but the object seemed to be worth some risk. With these impressions, and accompanied by the friend, who was associated with me in the purchase of the wine at Plymouth, we contracted with the skipper of a Dutch fishing-smack to land us on the coast of Holland. The weather was very fine, and the sea so smooth, that there was no impediment from the surf, to landing anywhere along the coast. Having approached the shore, and watched for some time, without hearing any noise, or seeing any patrol, we landed about eleven o'clock in the evening, having been instructed by the skipper what course to take for the Brille. Each carrying a little bundle, we made our way slowly and cautiously, in the direction advised, over the uneven sand hills, without road or path, and in constant apprehension of being challenged by the patrol, until we ar-

rived so near the Brille, as to hear the clock strike two, and the watchmen announce the hour. We then concealed ourselves in a hollow of the sand, and waited the approach of day.

As the dawn began to break we were startled by a trampling sound approaching us ; whether it was a patrol or not, it was necessary to start up to avoid being trodden on. Our relief was great on discovering that it was only a boy driving some cows to pasture. The boy was greatly alarmed at the sight of two men emerging from the hollow of the sand bank, at such an hour, but we soon quieted him and obtained from him very useful directions for finding the tavern. We were received particularly well, both by the landlord and his wife, who were opposed to measures so ruinous to their business, and, consequently, were very ready to aid strangers in any way. They provided for us a most excellent breakfast, the relish for which can be best imagined by those, who have had a similar preparation. When we had finished our repast, we repaired to the *treckschuyt*, or canal boat, to which we had been directed by the landlord, and which was about leaving for the capital. We went on board, among the mass of passengers, and were conducted without molestation to Amsterdam. We immediately perceived, that the difference in the relative prices of the exports of Holland, there, and in the United States, was great in proportion to the embarrassments, which had existed in that commerce ; and as the British had given notice, that a blockade would commence on the 1st of July, this difference would necessarily be increased. The inducement, therefore, to get a cargo out before that time was very great ; and, for this purpose, unusual exer-

tions were made for us by an influential mercantile house, which were crowned with success. A ship was chartered, loaded, and despatched for New York before the blockade commenced. She arrived there in safety, and our anticipations were fully realized in the result of the adventure.

Having, as I expected, met my friend Shaler at Amsterdam, I was induced to give up taking passage in the ship I had chartered, in order to execute a plan, upon which we had agreed, and which promised an immense result; but this we were afterward unfortunately compelled to abandon, in consequence of the combined obstacles, in addition to the blockade, of the invasion of the Scheldt by a formidable force under Lord Chatham, and of a general embargo in Holland. This seemed to close all prospect of egress for me, excepting by land, and led me to regret not having availed myself of the fine opportunity I had possessed for returning home in the ship I had despatched for New York. Fortunately for me, at this period, our minister to France, General Armstrong, was on a visit to Holland, and, being desirous of sending despatches to the United States, obtained the release of the ship *Montezuma* of Baltimore, from the effect of the embargo; and she was immediately despatched for that city. In this ship I took passage as bearer of his Excellency's despatches. The ship being in ballast, there existed no cause of molestation from British cruisers; from one of which, a frigate, we were boarded soon after leaving the port. Aware, that an embargo existed in Holland, the boarding officer desired to be informed, why we were released from its effects? The Captain replied, "By special permission of government, granted at the request of

the American Minister, to take despatches to the United States, and," pointing to me, "there, Sir, is the bearer of his Excellency's despatches." He then desired me to accompany the Captain of the *Montezuma*, on board the frigate, and take with me the despatches. This I declined. He then proposed sending the despatches by the Captain. This I refused to do; on which he threatened to use compulsion. During this altercation the frigate had neared us, when the officer hailed and informed the Captain, that there was a bearer of despatches on board. "Bring him and his despatches on board," was the order. The officer replied, "He says he will neither surrender his despatches nor leave his ship, except by compulsion." "Then let him stay and be damned," was the characteristic reply. The ship's papers having undergone the ordinary scrutiny, and being found to be in order, we were permitted to proceed on our voyage.

The passage was long and boisterous, and I had suffered greatly from the effects of a bilious fever, consequent, probably, on too early an exposure to the damp atmosphere of Holland, after my severe pleurisy in England. We arrived at Baltimore on the 3d of November, and, as I was too feeble to proceed to Washington with the despatches, I delivered them to the collector of the customs to forward. After staying a day or two at Baltimore to recruit, I proceeded, by easy stages, to my long desired home, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, and arrived there on the 12th, greatly emaciated and in feeble health.

CHAPTER IV.

Necessity for seeking a milder Climate. — Sail for Naples. — Arrival there. — Confiscation. — Rome visited. — Ship Margaret. — Refused a Passage in her. — Disappointment. — Her Loss. — Buy the Nancy Ann. — Sail with a License. — Boarded by an English Brig of War. — Wrath of the Captain. — Arrive at Lisbon. — Sell my Wine there. — Embargo. — Raised on the Retreat of Massena. — Sail for England. — Arrive at Plymouth. — Narrow Escape from Shipwreck. — Standgate Creek. — Arrive at London. — Termination of my Charge.

FIFTEEN months had elapsed, between my leaving Boston for Halifax, and my arrival at Baltimore. During that time, although my efforts in business had been impeded by sickness, I had, nevertheless, cause to be satisfied with the progress I had made towards retrieving my affairs. But my constitution had received a shock, which it would require time and care to recover ; nor was it deemed prudent, that I should risk the effect of our rigorous climate, during the ensuing winter, but seek a more genial one in the south. As my finances were at too low an ebb to do this without combining some business, that would offer a prospect of, at least, defraying my expenses, it was desirable to adopt some plan, which would unite the two objects.

A departure from the rigor of the continental system was beginning to be manifested. The King of Naples had opened his ports to neutral commerce, and with such appearance of good faith, that insurance on

adventures there could be effected at a reasonable premium. A voyage to Naples was therefore decided on ; and, for this purpose, in company with a friend, I purchased the clipper-built schooner *Maria*, of one hundred and seventy tons, and took on board a valuable cargo of various kinds of merchandise, belonging to merchants of Boston, on condition of receiving half the profits in lieu of freight.

On the 3d of December, 1809, only one month from the day of my arrival at Baltimore, I again left my family and sailed from Boston, in the *Maria*, for Naples. We arrived there in safety, after a very pleasant passage, and, as usual in the Mediterranean ports, were immediately subjected to quarantine. The information I received from the merchant, to whom I had letters, was very gratifying and satisfactory. It appeared from this, that there was no article, of which our cargo was composed, that would not yield a profit of an hundred per cent, and some much more. The prospect, therefore, of making a brilliant voyage was very great, notwithstanding our numerous competitors ; for there had now arrived, within a period of thirty days, between thirty and forty vessels from the United States, allured, like ourselves, by the flattering prospect presented on first opening the port, which had been so long closed to neutrals.

While feeling ourselves in perfect security, and making those calculations on a great result, which the direct and well-founded information we had received warranted, and when only about two thirds of our term of quarantine had expired, we had notice of there being rumors in the city, that all the neutral property in port would be confiscated. These rumors were soon after

followed by the seizure and sale of the cargoes of those vessels, whose term of quarantine had expired. Captures, confiscations, and burnings at sea, had all been experienced, by my countrymen, by the order of Napoleon, or of some of his satellites. But to invite neutrals into port, with the assurance of protection, and then strip them of all their property, is a refinement in villany, in meanness, in baseness, in treachery, worthy only of the barbarous ages, and of which the civilized world affords no parallel. There could exist no doubt, that my vessel and cargo were destined to share the fate of those mentioned, at the expiration of the quarantine, yet they neither unbent the sails, unhung the rudder, nor took any other precaution to prevent an escape, than to place a gun-boat at the mouth of the harbour. As we lay in the outer tier of vessels, in a very favorable situation for going out, I should not have hesitated making the attempt but from the conviction, that, in case of failure, the insurance would be vitiated. The chance was as four to one in getting clear, yet, from the consideration above mentioned, I, with reluctance, gave it up.

The government was so pressed for money, in order, as was generally supposed, to defray the expenses of a projected expedition to Calabria, that, in several instances, they did not wait for the regular expiration of the quarantine, but, contrary to all former example or precedent, made the pressure of circumstances an excuse for disregarding a law, the violation of which would be death to an individual. They took out the cargoes, and, without even any semblance of the formality of trial, sold them, together with the vessel, in the most hurried manner, and for prompt payment. In this un-

ceremonious manner my vessel and cargo were taken from me, and not even a receipt given for them.

The difference to the sufferer, between this mode of proceeding and that of a British West India Vice-Admiralty Court, is as greatly in favor of the first, as candor is preferable to cunning ; as a bold thief to a treacherous one. In the first case, there is no prostitution of common sense and common honesty, in seeking for a cause of confiscation, when already determined on, and, consequently, no expenditure of time or money requisite, to secure the recovery of the insurance. In the second, there is a hypocritical pretence of seeking for justice, by the observance of the formality of trial, where, in nine instances out of ten, the case is prejudged, and where the unfortunate sufferer is stripped of his last farthing, by the insatiable cupidity of the rogues and harpies attached to the Vice-Admiralty Court, but to which he is compelled to submit, or incur the risk of losing the insurance.

In this abominable transaction, there is no doubt the great mover was Napoleon, whose mandate Murat had not the moral courage to disobey, preferring the dishonor and infamy of such treachery, such violation of good faith, to the momentary resentment of the Emperor. There were, at Naples, a great number of people, who were desirous of possessing many articles of the various cargoes, but who were deterred from purchasing, at the government sales, from conscientious scruples, being convinced that "the receiver is as guilty as the thief."

Having now no other care of property, than to provide for my personal expenses, and finding no immediate opportunity for the United States, I employed my

time in visiting the numerous objects of interest within a few miles circuit of this ancient city ; Pompeii, Herculaneum, Caserta, Baiæ, Puzzuoli, Averno, Vesuvius, &c. I then went to Rome, where I passed several weeks, and had an opportunity of seeing all the great objects of attraction, which have been celebrated for so many centuries, contained within the walls of the Eternal city ; and also of visiting Tivoli, Frascati, &c. All of which places and objects have been so repeatedly and well described, by professed authors and literary men of both hemispheres, that any extended account here would be superfluous.

On my return to Naples I found, that some arrangement with the government had been made by Captain Fairfield, of the ship *Margaret* of Salem, by which that vessel would be permitted to proceed to the United States as a cartel ; and I was rejoiced at the prospect of so fine and ready an opportunity of returning home. Having charge of a valuable investment of Italian manufactures, I proposed to Captain Fairfield to pay him an unusually high freight for them ; but from the apprehension, that their quantity would prejudice the sale of his own investment more than would be balanced by any amount of freight that I could afford to pay, he positively declined. My disappointment was very great ; for, if I missed this opportunity, there was no certainty of any other for a long period ; yet, having taken charge of the property in question, it would have been a breach of trust to go without it. Those, who remember the melancholy fate of that ship, will perceive the providential escape that I experienced. She was upset at sea. A part of the men and passengers were saved in the boat, after great suffering ; a part

perished on the wreck ; and a few were rescued from it when near expiring.

That I might not be entirely destitute of a resource for getting away, I had taken the precaution to write to London for a British license, to lade a vessel here for that place. This had arrived a few days after my failure of success with Captain Fairfield ; and, being provided with the requisite credit to enable me to use the license to advantage, I purchased the brig *Nancy Ann* (one of the condemned American vessels), and loaded her with a cargo of wine, raw silk, liquorice, rags, &c. for London. The men, whom I employed in navigating this vessel, were just so many saved from the sufferings caused by the loss of the *Margaret*. No obstacle having been put in the way of the lading and departure of the *Nancy Ann*, we sailed not many days after the *Margaret*. Our passage down the Mediterranean was very smooth and pleasant. Nothing occurred to vary its monotony until we approached the straits of Gibraltar, when early, on a very fine morning, we observed a vessel to the eastward, under a crowd of sail, apparently in chase of us ; the wind being very light from the eastward. When the hull became visible, we perceived that a gun was occasionally fired ; but we kept on our course until the afternoon, when she had so neared us, that her shot fell within a cable's length astern. We then rounded to. A boat was immediately sent to take me and my papers on board the brig of war ; for such was the vessel which had been chasing us so long. When the mighty man saw the documents, by authority of which I was screened from English aggression, and which emanated from the same source as his own commission ; and, consequently, that he could not molest

us, he cursed and swore at a tremendous rate, at our having, as he said, so unnecessarily led him so far out of his way. The Americans, he observed, gave them more trouble than all other neutrals combined ; and for that which we had now given him, he swore he would send us in to Gibraltar. Some hasty order was then given, preparatory to the execution of that threat. But when the first ebullition of passion had passed, and this probably occurred the sooner for my making no reply, a moment's reflection convinced him, that, by so doing, he would incur the risk of some expense to himself, without a chance of making us a prize. He therefore, very reluctantly, dismissed us to pursue our course, while he proceeded in an opposite direction.

When off the rock of Lisbon, having the wind ahead, and a pilot being near at hand, I concluded to enter the Tagus, and soon came to anchor near to Belem Castle. This was an important epoch in the annals of Lisbon. The French army, under Massena, were advancing with a confidence, inspired by the acknowledged talents and invariable success of their commander. The combined English and Portuguese army had, deservedly, no less confidence in the skill and intrepidity of their commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose line of defence, at Torres Vedras, could be forced only at the imminent risk of destruction to the invading army. While the opposing armies remained in hostile array, the inhabitants of Lisbon were engaged in preparing their most valuable effects, in order to put them on board the British ships of war at a moment's notice ; and that no means of saving their property might be neglected, an embargo was laid on all vessels in port. Affairs remained in this critical

state about ten days ; when information was received, that Massena declined hazarding an assault ; had abandoned his plan, and had begun his retreat. The embargo, in consequence, was immediately raised ; and tranquillity and peace were restored to the inhabitants. In the mean time, the Commissary of the army had applied to purchase the wine, composing a part of my cargo ; and it was disposed of to him very advantageously. Having passed a fortnight at Lisbon, I took advantage of a convoy bound to England, of about a dozen sail, protected by a frigate. Arriving safely in the channel, I parted with them in sight of the Eddystone, and went into Plymouth, while they pursued their course to the eastward. The winter was one of uncommon severity ; and the frequent violent gales were very destructive to the shipping. We had been anchored scarcely twenty-four hours in Plymouth roads, before experiencing a gale, which nearly proved fatal to ship and crew. We lost two anchors ; and but for the adroit management of a skilful pilot, who had remained on board, and conducted us to an inner harbour, the voyage would have ended disastrously.

I had hoped, that, as respected myself, the voyage would terminate here, and that I should be relieved from further winter navigation in the channel. Not so ; it was necessary, that the vessel should proceed to London ; before which, we should be obliged to pass some days in quarantine at Standgate Creek. It appeared, that neither our having been so long at Lisbon, and having ventilated the ship, by discharging the bulk of the cargo, nor our remaining any length of time at Plymouth, would tend to diminish a day of the number prescribed for vessels from the Mediterranean. We hastened, there-

fore, to arrive there, and succeeded without the occurrence of any mishap. In this truly dreary place, in cold winter weather, and without a fire in the cabin, I was compelled to pass ten days of more tardy progress than I ever experienced before. The day of our release from this detestable place was one of jubilee to all on board. The vessel and cargo were delivered to the agent at London, where I remained through the winter.

CHAPTER V.

Buy a Vessel and Cargo. — Sail for Copenhagen. — Wrecked on Jutland. — Save the Cargo. — Honest Character of the People. — Arrive at Copenhagen. — Send an Agent to take Charge of the Cargo — French Privateer at Elsineur. — Go to Riga and back. — Import a Cargo from London. — Seized at Copenhagen. — Released too Late. — Frozen Up. — Proceed to Hamburgh. — Bombardment. — Capitulation. — General Hogendorf. — His Civility. — Proceed to Paris. — To Nantz. — To Bordeaux. — Embark in a Clipper. — Pass through an English Fleet of Merchantmen. — Their Dismay. — Often chased, particularly on our own Coast. — Great Superiority of Sailing. — Arrive at New York.

WHILE waiting without employment at London, in the hope that some event would occur in which I might exert my energies, a little vessel laden with wine, arrived from Naples, to the address of my friend. This I could obtain, on terms which were within my compass ; and knowing the demand for such kind of wine in Denmark, I purchased the vessel and cargo for that destination. The safety of the voyage depended on our entering direct from Naples without having stopped at any intermediate port ; hence the necessity of engaging the same master to proceed in her, and of avoiding any delay in the Thames. Having succeeded in engaging the master and crew, who came from Naples in the vessel, to proceed in her to Denmark, and erased from the log-book the notice of her having touched in England, I embarked as supercargo from Naples. Being

all ready, about the middle of August, 1811, we put to sea, taking a good departure from Orfordness Lights on Thursday night. The wind was from the westward and blew a strong breeze during the night and following day. On Friday and Saturday the wind continued favorable. Towards night the wind and sea increased, with very dark weather and occasional squalls. As the captain supposed himself to be fifty or sixty miles from the nearest land, and as the darkness at this season lasted only seven hours, I went to bed with entire confidence in our safety, and in the belief that we should not get sight of the land before eight or ten o'clock, next morning. But the event showed that our calculations were so erroneous as to be accounted for only by a strong current. At dawn, on Sunday morning, I was roused from my slumbers by the hard thumping of the vessel, and the roaring of the breakers in which we were enveloped. The water was passing down the companion-way in torrents ; and watching an opportunity, I succeeded in getting on deck, though not without a complete drenching. The vessel lay broadside to the sea, which broke high over her ; she, however, having heeled in shore, afforded us some shelter. She soon bilged, and having become water-logged, lay comparatively quiet ; and as the tide soon fell so as to leave her dry, we all landed on the beach of Jutland, in safety.

No sooner was it daylight, than the inhabitants came to us in great numbers ; and as it was obvious that saving the cargo depended on the best improvement of the time, before the return of the tide, as many were engaged as could work to any advantage, under the direction of men appointed by authority to act on such

emergencies. The tide had not ebbed more than a foot at the time the vessel struck, so that the opportunity of saving the cargo was very favorable. The day was fine, and enabled us to dry our clothes. In this process, although our various wardrobes were extended over the beach, and might easily have been purloined, and although there were many persons about us, apparently in very indigent circumstances, we lost nothing. The operation of discharging the cargo being so systematized, that the labor of each one was applied to the greatest advantage, they had so nearly accomplished the unlading, before the tide again flowed into the vessel, as to secure the safety of the entire cargo. It was not until the fourth day after being wrecked, that I could obtain a passport to proceed to Copenhagen; as the magistrate examined each individual separately relative to the origin and object of the voyage, and with great care, and thus became acquainted with our being last from England. A seizure of the whole property was the consequence. Having obtained my passport, a fatiguing journey of three days and nights, over a rough road, brought me to the Danish capital.

As soon as the authorities at Copenhagen were made acquainted with the circumstances of the case, an order was given for the release of the property, and an agent from the house of Ryberg & Co. was despatched to take charge of it. One fourth of the cargo being awarded as salvage, the other three were sold on the strand, at a great profit, and the vessel was sold for the benefit of the underwriters. This disaster, which, at the moment, caused me great pain and disappointment, proved to be a circumstance of great good for-

tune ; for, had we proceeded on our course, without interruption, we should have gone directly into the hands of a French privateer, then lying at Elsinour, ready to pounce upon every defenceless neutral that came in her way. At that period, condemnation was sure to succeed a French capture, on the slightest pretext. There would, consequently, have been no chance of escape for a vessel directly from England.

As soon as my affairs in Jutland were brought to a close, the proceeds were anticipated and invested in an adventure to Riga, to procure a cargo, then much wanted at Copenhagen. I was secured against the Danish privateers, then swarming in the Baltic, by a license from the King. This voyage was completed satisfactorily by a safe return, in November, 1811, and with a small profit. During the ensuing winter, I remained at Copenhagen, and engaged in shipping several cargoes of grain to England from Holstein ; and in importations thence, under licenses from the two governments, from which some benefit was derived.

The succeeding summer was one of surpassing interest and excitement. Information had reached us of the declaration of war, by the government of the United States against Great Britain. A circumstance, foreboding events of the most thrilling character ; some of which soon followed that information ; such as the surrender of Detroit to the enemy, and the triumph over the boasted invincibility of British ships of war, in the capture of the frigate *Guerriere* by the *Constitution*. But what bearing was this new state of things to have on my prospects ? And what advantage could be made of them to further my views ? were questions of no easy solution. A barrier seemed to be placed to my

return home, in any other than the expensive way of proceeding to France. Nothing short of the prospect of bettering my fortune, would justify prolonging my stay in Europe ; and this prospect was so good, if certain obstacles could be overcome, that I determined on making the attempt.

The protracted and accumulated restrictions on all neutral commerce, and the interdiction of all intercourse between England and France, had caused such an accumulation of every description of merchandise, in the store-houses of the former, as to reduce their prices greatly below the ordinary standard. The same causes had operated, in an inverse ratio, in France. Hence, the difference in the relative prices of many articles of merchandise in the two countries, was so enormous as to be almost incredible. It was obvious, then, that the introduction of a cargo into France from England was an object worthy of great efforts ; one which would justify the incurring of great risks, and would require the aid of influential men in office. To elude the rigor of the continental system was an achievement of no ordinary magnitude, and could only be done by means of licenses, and in so circuitous a manner, as to escape the vigilance of the French Douaniers.

After great difficulty and delay, and a most laudable perseverance, our agent at Paris succeeded in obtaining a license for the introduction of a cargo from Copenhagen into Hamburgh via Kiel, to be accompanied with certificates, that the articles composing it were the product of Danish industry and commerce. This first and great difficulty overcome, the next measure was much easier ; to obtain from the Danish government a license for the introduction into Copenhagen, of a cargo

from England. This was granted, on condition of excepting all articles unaccompanied with properly authenticated certificates of neutral origin. As there existed no apprehension of any embarrassment from the English government, the requisite measures were taken to have shipped at London, such a cargo as was in greatest demand, at its place of destination.

This adventure arrived safely at Copenhagen, in June, and we could immediately have obtained a very great advance on its cost ; but the prospect was so much greater at Hamburgh, the place of its destination, that the maxim of the “bird in the hand,” &c. did not seem applicable to this case. While engaged in unloading the cargo, preparatory to its being re-laden in the Danish coasters destined for Kiel, we were arrested in our progress, and confounded by one of those difficulties, which could not be foreseen or imagined. It arose from the circumstance of my associate in the adventure having been a British subject. He was one of the proscribed Irish, and was among those engaged in the battle of Vinegar Hill. Since that period, he had been engaged in the mercantile business on the continent, and during the two last years had resided at Copenhagen. Some malicious or envious person denounced him to the government as an English subject ; and declared, moreover, that the property he represented was English. In consequence of this, the property was seized, and an investigation instituted, which was prolonged in a manner worthy of the tribunals of Spain.

There was a fatality attending this adventure which was very remarkable. Its possession could be no object to the government, nor had we any serious apprehension of its eventual confiscation ; yet, there seemed

to be an unaccountable disposition to procrastinate. The government, hitherto, had paid great deference to the representations of our worthy *Chargé d’Affaires*, and, in attempting to procure the release of this property, he exerted himself with as much zeal and earnestness as if it had been his own, but ineffectually. Even a proposal for its release, on giving bonds, was refused. Month after month passed away, and we saw the season rapidly approaching, which would stop the intercourse, by water, between Copenhagen and Kiel, without the power of doing any thing. At length, it was discovered, that the property had been unjustifiably kept from its owners, and consequently it was restored to them. But, unfortunately, the time had gone by when such decision would have been most important to us, for it was now the middle of October. Nevertheless, if the winter did not set in this year earlier than it did the last, we might succeed in transporting our cargo to Kiel.

No exertions were spared for the accomplishment of this desirable object, but we were destined to meet with continued disappointments. One of the coasting vessels had part of a cargo on board to be discharged before lading ours ; another had some little repairs to make, and no one was procurable, that would engage in the business, with the spirit that the case so imperiously demanded. The consequence was as we had dreaded ; the cold weather commenced six weeks earlier than it had done the last year. By the time the vessels had completed their lading, they were fast enclosed in the ice, and so remained during the winter. Still, though this was a disappointment, as it would greatly retard the realization of our expectations, yet there existed no

cause then to apprehend any depreciation in the value of the property in the ensuing spring.

Before Napoleon had experienced any check in his victorious career, a mercantile adventure, predicated on the maintenance of his supremacy, would have been considered a safe one ; but Napoleon's power proved itself weakness when contending with the elements. The severe weather, which had been so prejudicial to my operations, continuing to increase as the winter advanced, will long be remembered, by its terribly disastrous effects on the French army in Russia. The destruction of this army was a deathblow to the continental system, and, of course, to all my fair prospects founded on its continuance.

The spring of 1813 opened with an emancipation of Europe from the tyranny of Napoleon: His Russian campaign had been so terribly disastrous, that even the fertility of his great mind was unequal to providing other remedy than such as deferred his prostration a few months. The prospect of the ordinary channels of commerce being once more opened, produced its natural effect on all merchandise at Hamburgh ; prices were nominal ; there was no sale for any thing ; everybody was anxiously waiting the *denouement* of the grand drama. Under such circumstances, it is almost needless to say, that all my hopes from the adventure, with which I had been so long occupied, were destroyed. This adventure, had it reached Hamburgh in time, would have yielded a profit of several hundred per cent, and secured to me independence ; but, when it did arrive there, its value was reduced below the original cost, and finally wound up with very considerable loss.

To bring my affairs to a close, with the least possible

sacrifice, necessarily consumed a considerable portion of the summer. During this period, the city exhibited on a small scale, and for many days in succession, the turmoil, activity, and excitement, incident to being besieged. The French were attempting to regain possession of it, by a bombardment from the opposite bank of the river, and by repeated efforts, in the nights, to transport a body of troops across. Their means of annoyance by shells, however, were very feeble, and in their attempts to cross the river they were invariably foiled. The city was defended by its own militia, who fought bravely, and like men, who feel that every thing is at stake, which is worth defending. These were supported by a well-disciplined body of Danish regular troops, and by a small number of Russians ; the whole commanded by a Russian General. In this state of affairs, none were exempted from bearing arms, not even strangers, as was evinced in my own person ; for, being led by curiosity to a point where I heard much firing, I was arrested by a patrol, on the look-out for stragglers, and marched into an enclosure where were many others in the same predicament. To all of us muskets and ammunition were furnished, and here we were kept inactive throughout the day, as a *corps de reserve*. Towards sunset, on a cessation of the attack, we were all released, to our great joy, as we had had nothing to eat all day. While the citizens of Hamburgh were rejoicing at the success of their arms thus far, and encouraged to persevere in foiling the continual attacks of the opposing forces, in order to save themselves from the dreaded domination of the French, they were all suddenly confounded and dismayed by an order from the King of Denmark for the withdrawal of

his troops ; an order, understood to be in consequence of the failure of some negotiation of Count Bernstorff with the British Cabinet.

As the principal means of resistance was thus withdrawn, and the remainder were incompetent to justify a longer defence, the authorities determined on capitulating while they were yet in a position to secure advantageous terms. Accordingly, the Russian General with his troops, withdrew towards the north ; the capitulation was consummated, and the French became once more masters of Hamburgh. After a few days when the garrison was quartered, the police regulated, and the quiet of military despotism reigned within the city, a procession was formed, composed of the soldiers, and headed by Marshal Davoust and his staff, in their splendid habiliments, which proceeded to the little St. Michael's church, to aid in the performance of a *Te Deum*, in gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for giving that success to their arms, which had placed in their power an unoffending people, whose property they intended to plunder by heavy taxation, and whose sons they intended to enslave, by making them conscripts. "*O tempora ! O mores !*" Only a few weeks after gaining possession of the city, the French, in their turn, were besieged by the Russians, Cossacks, and Swedes, and this was the state of affairs when I left the city.

Having at length brought my business to a close at Hamburgh, and perceiving no course that I could pursue for retrieving my fortune in Europe, in which there was not great risk, I determined to proceed forthwith to the United States, and there endeavour to obtain the command of a letter of marque for a voyage to China .

or the Pacific. As the best course for getting most expeditiously to the United States, was evidently via France, I applied to the French commander of the city, General Hogendorff, for a passport. The General, I found, spoke English perfectly well. He was very civil and affable, and desired his secretary not to delay providing me with the passport I asked. He observed to me, that I should run a great risk of being taken and robbed by the Cossacks, who, he said, were very numerous in the vicinity. On the fall of the fortunes of Napoleon, this officer retired to the interior of Brazil, where he passed several years in obscurity, engaged in the humble occupation of collecting and preserving insects, until his death, which occurred there only a few years since. One of the regular government couriers, who have the privilege of taking any person with them, being about to start for Paris, I obtained a seat with him. The car for our conveyance was a most uncouth vehicle; it had two wheels only, and being fixed on the axletree, had no spring; consequently, the jarring in many places, over rough roads, was excessive; but the advantage, night and day, of never having to wait longer for horses, than the time requisite for changing them, was great; although it gave us no other chance to sleep or eat, than while on our way. We fortunately escaped the Cossacks, and arrived at Brussels in safety; but, so excessively fatigued, that I was glad to rest a day or two there, and to depend on the Diligence for conveying me the remainder of the journey.

Arriving at Paris in October, I learned that a fast-sailing ship would leave Nantes for the United States, in about three weeks. After passing a fortnight at

Paris, I took the Diligence for Nantes, to examine the ship in question. She was a beautiful vessel, and was represented to be a very swift sailer ; but, it was obvious, that the chance of escape for such a vessel, under equal circumstances, would be less than that of a Baltimore clipper, and I therefore delayed engaging a passage until I should hear from Bordeaux, in answer to my inquiries on the subject. This information was soon received, and was such as determined me to proceed there. I arrived there just in time to secure a passage in a vessel, which might have served Mr. Cooper for his description of the Water Witch ; for she was like that portrait in every point. Her commander, Captain Isaacs, was a most experienced and accomplished seaman, and admirably qualified for such a command. With such a combination, I felt no less confidence in making our passage safely, than I should have done in a time of profound peace.

At dawn, on the second morning after leaving the Cordovan, we found ourselves in the midst of a fleet of merchant vessels, which were steering to the south. The confusion which such a suspicious and unwelcome apparition caused among them was very great, and to us, very amusing. Some of those astern, lay by, unwilling to approach us ; others let run their mainsail, or brailed up their spankers, and wore round on the opposite tack ; those that were ahead crowded all sail, to increase the distance from us, and spread out, that there might be more chance of escape for some. They were evidently English vessels, though they showed no colors, and their convoy, if they had any, was not in sight. If we had been prepared with the requisite number of men, we could have taken and conveyed to

Bordeaux, almost any number of them ; but, neither the strength of our ship's company, the instructions to our commander, or the object of the voyage, would justify our making captures ; hence, we did not deviate from our course, but proceeded on to the westward, leaving our frightened neighbours astonished at finding themselves unmolested.

During the passage, we were chased a number of times ; and once, at early dawn, on our own coast, we perceived a frigate almost within gun-shot of us. With a fine, brisk breeze, she crowded all sail in chase of us ; but we had soon convincing evidence of our great superiority in sailing, as, before noon, although persisting in the pursuit, her hull was not visible from our deck. The next day, the 1st of January, 1814, we arrived safely at New York.

Four years had now elapsed since my departure from Boston, in the schooner *Maria* for Naples, and during that period, it will have been seen, that no efforts were spared, no deficiency of perseverance evinced, and no opportunity allowed to pass unembraced, which presented the prospect of bettering my fortune. What I attempted, and with what unfortunate results, are detailed in the few preceding pages.

I was once again landed on my native shore, in good health, and with an empty purse ; but buoyed above the immediate pressure of such accumulated disappointments, by indulging the pleasing anticipation of, at least, a short repose in the bosom of my family.

CHAPTER VI.

Invited to take Charge of a Voyage to Teneriffe and Batavia. — Sail from Salem in Ship Exeter. — Dismasted. — Repair the Damages. — Arrive at Teneriffe. — Bad Roadstead of Orotava. — Quarantine. — Mr. Little. — His Hospitality and Benevolence. — Sail from Orotava. — Cape Verde Islands. — Land at Tristan d'Acunha. — Procure Fish and Potatoes. — Jonathan Lambert. — Arrive at, and sail from, the Cape of Good Hope. — Island of Amsterdam. — Arrive at Batavia. — Governors. — Mr. Watt. — Lade the Ship, and put to Sea. — Lose two Men. — Arrive at the Isle of France. — Exchange Produce. — Sail for Home. — St. Helena. — Warned off. — Finish the Voyage by arriving at Boston.

THE disastrous result of my long-continued efforts in Europe had deprived me of that independence, which I had so early desired, and, for a course of years, had so successfully realized. I was now under the necessity of accepting employment from any of my more fortunate fellow-citizens, who might desire my services.

Soon after the negotiations at Ghent, and the promulgation of peace, I was invited by some of my Salem friends, to make a voyage to Teneriffe and Batavia; an enterprise, which, within my recollection, was viewed as one of untried and doubtful accomplishment, requiring in the commander uncommon skill, perseverance, and tact; but which, at this time, 1815, is of such every-day occurrence, that I am only induced to narrate mine from the consideration, that its omission would leave a chasm in the story, which may be viewed

as unimportant, or otherwise, according to the different tastes of the readers.

Late in the month of July, 1815, I sailed from Salem in the ship *Exeter*, bound to Teneriffe and Batavia. The ship, which was about three hundred tons, was of a clumsy construction, and, being sheathed with wood, gave us a prospect of long and tedious passages ; but the liberality of the owners more than compensated for the additional time requisite for the performance of the voyage.

To meet with an accident in a well-rigged ship, while crossing the Atlantic in summer time, seemed hardly within the bounds of possibility ; yet we did not escape. The first ten days after our departure, we had experienced only the light and baffling winds, which are peculiar at this season of the year, and, consequently, had made little progress on our way ; but, on the eleventh day, we had a fine breeze from south southwest, which gave us the cheering encouragement of making up for lost time. With topgallant-sails set over whole topsails, a foretopmast studdingsail, the sea tolerably smooth, and going at the rate of only eight knots an hour, in an instant, all three topmasts snapped off close to the caps, and came down with a tremendous crash ; the topsail-yards making sad havoc with the courses. The ship being now deprived of her propelling force, lay like a log on the water ; and the sea being smooth, enabled us to save all the rigging, sails, and spars. It was a most fortunate circumstance, that no man was aloft at the time, and that none were hurt by the falling of the spars and rigging ; for, even with the united energies of all, to bring order out of such a chaos was a laborious task. The men, how-

ever, went about the work cheerfully ; and, under the direction of an excellent chief officer, with great diligence and exertion, we had our three topsails and courses repaired and set, in three days after the misfortune. It may be inquired, to what I attribute so unusual an accident ; for unusual it really was at such a time. I can think of no other cause than that of the spars' being weakened by exposure to alternate wet and dry weather, while the ship was hauled up during the whole of the last war with England. We were able to substitute good fore and mizzen topmasts for those lost ; but the main one did not admit of carrying hard sail. Notwithstanding this disaster, we were up with the western islands, passing between Terceiro and St. Michael's on the 11th of August, saw Madeira on the 21st, and arrived at Orotava on the 26th. The day before arriving, and while nearly becalmed, in sight of the Pic of Teneriffe, seeing something on the water, a short distance from us, which appeared like a cask, we lowered the boat, and towed it alongside. On taking it on board, it proved to be a hogshead of fine, old Jamaica spirit. It must have been a long time in the water, as it was covered with barnacles.

Of all the uncomfortable roadsteads in which it has been my chance to load a ship, that of Orotava is the worst. Anchored in fifty-five fathoms of water, with the ship rolling more than when at sea, we are doomed to eight days' quarantine. In the mean time, the wine is prepared to take on board as soon as the quarantine expires. At any time and place, such delays are excessively provoking and tedious ; but, in such a roadstead as this, the fatigue and ennui amount nearly to a state of torture. The eight days, however, were passed

without accident ; and, immediately on their completion, I received a polite invitation from Mr. Little (the merchant from whom I received my cargo), to dine with him, and to take up my quarters at his house, for the little time that remained, while lading the wine, which I very readily accepted.

This gentleman and accomplished merchant is successor to the house of Pasley, long famed for its honorable mode of conducting business ; a fame, which is in no degree less merited by the present house. The hospitality of Mr. Little is acknowledged by all who visit the place ; and he has given such evidence of his philanthropy and benevolence, as to be honorably noticed by the king. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in the island, when all were flying who possessed the means, he remained ; and, by the judicious application of pecuniary aid, by the encouragement of his presence, and by his personal assistance, he probably saved the lives of hundreds, though at the most imminent risk, as he barely escaped being a martyr to his humanity.

On the 3d of September, having completed our lading, and taken leave of my kind host, I went on board, and prepared to go to sea ; but we soon perceived, that, with an ordinary windlass, the united force of our crew was insufficient to heave up the anchor, with such a weight of cable in addition ; and we were compelled to avail ourselves of the services of the men who came off with me. Even with this aid, we were a long time getting our anchor ; but the task was at length accomplished. The boat, with the foreigners, left us. We made sail ; and every one on board was rejoiced to leave a place which was so exceedingly uncomfortable.

On our way to the south, we passed between the Cape de Verde Islands, and not far to windward of Fogo; crossed the equator in the usual longitude, and, making our way with all diligence to the southward, the next land we saw was Tristan d'Acunha. As we could touch at this island without much loss of time, I determined to do so. Accordingly, approaching the north-west end we saw a smoke, and, when within about a mile of it, I sent the boat ashore with directions to ascertain who were the inhabitants, to procure from them whatever eatables they might have to spare, and to be absent no longer than was necessary for the accomplishment of these purposes,—the ship, in the mean time, lying off and on under easy sail. After an absence of about four hours, the boat returned with a good supply of excellent potatoes and a plenty of very fine fish. The officer reported, that there were only three men on the island, who appeared to be Portuguese or Italians, and on inquiring of them what had become of Lambert, they said he had been drowned, with others, in attempting to go to Inaccessible Island.

Jonathan Lambert was a native of Salem and a school-mate of mine. He was a man of good capacity and much eccentricity. Having been unsuccessful in his endeavours by navigation to acquire a competency, and being disgusted with commerce and with the world, he formed the project of establishing himself on this island, which, from its healthy climate, virgin soil, and being in the track of vessels bound to India, might be made an object of attraction to such as were in want of supplies. Accordingly, with several others of no less desperate fortune than himself, but very inferior in point of education and capacity, he landed on the island; and

when they had produced enough for the supply of ships, he caused a notice thereof to be published in the Boston papers, inviting ships to stop and obtain such refreshments as he could supply. Not long after this, it was reported, that he had perished in attempting to go to Inaccessible Island ; but, as he was of an irritable, tyrannical temper, his friends have supposed it to be more probable, that his comrades, unable to bear with it, had put him out of existence.

As our main-topmast could not be depended on, and we were often compelled to lessen the sail on it, to the prejudice of our passage, I concluded it would be a saving of time to stop at the Cape of Good Hope and procure a new one. This we did, and sailed again for the eastward, after a detention of four days. The only deviation we experienced from the accustomed monotony of such a passage, was that of lying by near the Island of Amsterdam, and, in the course of an hour, nearly loading our boat with excellent fish. They were about the size of the cod, and had some resemblance to that fish. At length, on the 31st of January, 1816, we came to anchor in Batavia Roads, nearly six months from the time of our departure from Salem.

The havoc, which in former voyages I had seen made in ship's companies by the fever, which is more or less prevalent at this place at all seasons of the year, induced me to take uncommon precautions to preserve the health of my men. With this view, I hired natives to go in the boats, to hoist in the cargo, and to perform all such duties as would cause an exposure to the sun. My men were seldom allowed to go on shore, and when occasionally such permission was granted, they refrained from the usual practice of seamen, of drinking to ex-

cess, although no alcohol was provided for them on board ship. The consequence was, that, though we were nearly two months in port, we had no man sick during that time.

While at Batavia, both the English and Dutch Governors were present; the former, Sir Stamford Raffles, then surrendering the command of the Island to the person appointed by the government of the Netherlands to receive it. The revulsions in the price of produce, caused by the sudden changes in the political state of the country, had been taken advantage of by some of the foreign residents, by which they acquired great fortunes. Among the number, I was much gratified to find my friend Mr. Watt, a worthy young Scotchman, who was Captain's clerk in the ship *Cronberg*, in which I was a passenger and freighter from the Isle of France to Denmark, in the year 1801. At that period, as respects property, he was a poor man, but rich in intellect and commercial sagacity, of which he gave evidence in availing himself of the opportunities as they presented themselves of acquiring a fortune, greater than is often gained in a long and industrious life; but the enjoyment of it was not permitted him. Before embarking for Europe he had imbibed the seeds of disease, and, sickening on the passage, died at the Cape of Good Hope.

Having accomplished my business at Batavia, by lading the ship with coffee and sugar, and not meeting a sale for the wine I had brought from Teneriffe, I determined to stop at the Isle of France in the hope of being able to dispose of it there. Accordingly, about the middle of March, I left Batavia Roads, exulting in the circumstance of having had no one sick during my

stay there, and of leaving the place with the crew in as good health as on the day of their arrival. But my exultation was but of short duration, for no sooner had we passed Java Head and were in the open sea, where I supposed the danger of sickness no longer existed, than three of my men were seized violently and almost simultaneously with fever. Only one of the three recovered ; the other two lived but a few days after being attacked. These were the first and only men I ever lost by sickness, and their death and burial spread a sadness over their surviving shipmates, of which some traces remained even to the end of the passage.

The trade wind, which we took immediately after passing Java Head, continued so steady and strong as to carry us to the Isle of France in thirty-two days, which was a fine passage for our ship. From the two long visits, which I had made to this place in 1794 and in 1800, I was as familiar with its localities as if it had been my home. These, on my present visit, were unchanged, but these were all that remained unchanged. Since I last left the place it had become a colony of the English by conquest. English government and laws had superseded those of France ; and English manners, customs, and modes of doing business, were gradually making encroachments on those of the French inhabitants, which is not unusual with a subjugated people, when their conquerors are generous and conciliating.

It was soon apparent, that an immediate sale of my wine could not be made, nor was the object sufficiently important to detain the ship. I therefore placed it in the hands of a merchant, and received from him an amount of the produce of the island, equal to what he estimated the wine would sell for ; and this occupied

about the space in the ship, which the wine had done. These interchanges being accomplished, we left the Isle of France, towards the last of April, for home.

The passage round the Cape and thence to Boston was a continued series of fair winds and pleasant weather ; and the only incident, which occurred to break in upon the monotony of such a passage, was that of being boarded, when in sight of St. Helena, by an English brig of war, which was cruising near the north side of the island for the purpose of preventing the entry of vessels there, during the detention of the Emperor Napoleon. The boarding officer was very polite ; said their orders were positive to allow no vessel to go in ; that provision was made at the Island of Ascension to supply ships with water, and that if we had not enough to carry us there, he would furnish us with sufficient for that purpose ; but we were not in want of any thing. Our detention, therefore, was but of short duration, and, taking our departure from St. Helena, we had a pleasant passage to Boston, where we arrived in August, 1816 ; thus accomplishing the voyage in safety, and to the satisfaction of all interested therein.

CHAPTER VII.

Preliminary Remarks. — Departure from New York. — Passing Reflections. — Passage to Cape de Verde Islands. — Tornado. — St. Paul's on the Equator. — Pernambuco. — Rio de la Plata. — Cape Horn. — Embayed. — Passage of the Cape. — Land on the Island of Mocha. — Arrival at Talcahuana. — Visit of the Authorities. — Sketch of them. — A Guard sent on Board. — Our Men taken away. — Prohibition of Communication with our Countrymen of the Canton.

THE general peace of the civilized world, at this time, by producing great commercial competition, made it difficult for the most experienced merchant to project a voyage, in which the chance of loss would not be equal to that of gain. From this consideration, after returning from Batavia, I declined engaging in any other voyage till the early part of the year 1817, when, being at New York at the time intelligence reached there of a revolution in the kingdom of Chili, by which the people had emancipated themselves from the royal government, it occurred to me that I might profit by it.

This event, by freeing the commerce of that country from the severe and paralyzing restrictions to which it had hitherto been subjected, by throwing open those ports to the commerce of all nations, which for ages had been sealed to foreigners, seemed to present very flattering prospects to those merchants, who should be first in availing themselves of it.

The knowledge I had acquired, in my voyage in the

Lelia Byrd, of the wants and commercial resources of the country, gave me advantages, which few of my enterprising countrymen then possessed. It was very desirable to turn this knowledge to the best account, by planning and executing a voyage thither. With this view, I submitted a plan to that enterprising, intelligent, and wealthy merchant, John Jacob Astor, Esq., who, though aware of the risks attending it, was not slow to perceive, and be convinced of the promised advantages; and, with characteristic decision, he determined to engage in it.

As Mr. Astor acceded to my terms as master and factor, and showed equal liberality and good judgment in leaving every thing to my discretion, an agreement was soon concluded, and measures immediately taken to prepare the ship and to purchase the cargo. His favorite ship *Beaver*, (the same mentioned in Irving's "*Astoria*,") had just been repaired, at an expense nearly equal to that of building her anew, and was thus rendered proper for the contemplated voyage. Her equipment being under the superintendence of an experienced and accomplished seaman, Captain John Whitten, who was largely interested in the adventure, was in every respect complete. The cargo, consisting principally of European manufactures, to the amount of a hundred and forty thousand dollars, and the ship, with stores, valued at fifty thousand, formed an aggregate, which, it is probable, no other individual in the United States would have risked on a voyage so full of dangers and uncertainty.

On the 28th of June, 1817, the lading being completed, men shipped, and every thing in readiness for sea, the ship was anchored in the stream, to secure the

services of the men, on which little reliance could be placed, while lying at the wharf. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 1st of July, I was roused by the pilot to go on board ; and, in conformity with previous agreement, called on Mr. Astor, who, at this early hour, was up and waiting for me. After a short interview, I took leave, and repaired on board, where I found all engaged, under the direction of the pilot, in heaving up the anchor.

With a fine westerly breeze, and a strong ebb tide, we passed rapidly on our way, and were soon outside of Sandy Hook, where the pilot left us. The day was remarkably fine, the sea smooth, and before twelve o'clock the highlands of Neversink were no longer visible. Before the day closed, a trial with other vessels, bound to the eastward, satisfied me that the ship sailed well and steered easily. The watch being set at eight o'clock, as usual, and the course to be steered during the night being given, I paced the deck till midnight, pleased with the quiet, which had so suddenly succeeded the bustle of getting away, and gave to the mind ample scope to dwell on scenes past, present, and to come. There are few who have not experienced the pain of bidding farewell to beloved relatives, even though the time of separation is limited to a few weeks ; and thence may be able to form some idea of their feeling of desolateness, of home-sickness, whose destiny compels them to separate for years, perhaps for ever. Nor could the flattering confidence manifested by my employers, in the superb ship under my command, the valuable cargo consigned to me, the entire and unrestricted control of both, and the reasonable prospect of a happy result, tend to diminish the

sadness, which a recurrence to home invariably produced. Time, however, and the imperious duties of my station, gradually lessened the poignancy of these feelings ; and hope, ever buoyant hope, cheered the drooping spirits by pointing to a period, though distant, of a happy consummation of my wishes.

Our passage, as far as the parallel of the Cape de Verde Islands, afforded no incident worthy of note. It was none other than the calm, unruffled smoothness of a summer's sea, which for those who are impatient to make a passage quickly, is much more irksome than the boisterous weather peculiar to high latitudes.

While passing those Islands, we experienced one of the tremendous tornadoes, so common at this season, from the African shore ; and from the effects of which mischief may be averted, by the warning they invariably give. By clewing up all sail in season, and scudding before it, we escaped injury. Such squalls are seldom of more than half an hour's duration, when a calm invariably succeeds, generally for a longer period ; during which the heat is oppressive, the atmosphere lifeless, and the unmanageable ship is tumbling about in the sea caused by the tornado.

Approaching the equator, we took the wind so early from the southward, that I was not without anxiety lest we might fall to leeward of Cape St. Roque ; nor were these apprehensions unfounded, as, on the 17th of August, we saw the rocky Island of St. Paul's, which is nearly on the equator, bearing far to the eastward of us ; and on the 19th were but just able to weather the rugged Island of Fernando Noronha. Having passed this island, and continued our course on a wind to the southwest, we had the Brazilian coast in sight on the

21st, and plying to windward, were, on the morning of the 23d, close in with the town of Pernambuco, which makes a very pretty appearance from the sea.

As there was no blockading squadron here, we presumed that the rebellion had been quelled ; and this suspicion was soon confirmed by information from a vessel, which we spoke immediately from thence, that the Royalists had, some days since, gained the ascendancy, and had caused the principal conspirators to be put to death.

Having next day passed the latitude of Cape St. Augustine, we observed that, as we advanced to the southward, the wind became more easterly, and finally enabled us to spread all our light sails to a favorable breeze. As we approached the latitude of the Rio de la Plata, we spoke an English brig, bound thither from Rio Janeiro, on board of which we put letters for home. As there existed some chance of obtaining information that might be useful, of the relative situation of parties in Chili, by touching at Maldonado, I determined on so doing, if not attended with too great loss of time ; but when, on the 8th of September, we were in sight of St. Mary's, in thirteen fathoms water, the weather was so thick and rainy, that, after lying-to several hours, with no indication of its clearing away, I concluded to abandon the attempt, and with a favorable wind made all sail to the southward.

To avoid being entirely dependent on the authorities of the Chilian ports, that we might enter, for the replenishment of our water and wood, I was desirous of stopping at the Falkland Islands ; and for this purpose, steered a course that would carry me to the westward of them, as long as the wind permitted. This, how-

ever, was not long, for before we arrived near their parallel, repeated and violent gales from the southwest carried us far to the eastward of them. Satisfied that the time required to reach them would be unprofitably spent, and our necessities not being urgent, I gave up this plan, and proceeded toward Cape Horn.

After experiencing the variety of winds and weather which are peculiar to a high latitude, we were favored on the 25th of September with a fine breeze from the eastward, before which we made rapid advances toward the Cape. The breeze continuing the following day, had carried us on so far as to leave no doubt of being up with the Cape before morning. Having by a good observation, at noon, ascertained that our latitude was about ten miles south of the Cape, a course was steered to preserve that parallel; and, with the advantage of a moonlight night, we pressed forward, keeping a sharp look-out for the land. This was descried at 2 A. M. in a direction which led me to suppose it to be the Cape; but continuing our course to the westward, two hours, another point of land was discovered, which satisfied me of my mistake. I therefore immediately shortened sail so as to admit the ship's being hauled on a wind, if it should become necessary. Soon after seeing the second point, land was descried to the southward, making it evident that we had been swept to the northward by a current, and were actually embayed. Immediately on this discovery, the ship was laid to, while we anxiously waited for daylight, which was near at hand.

When the light enabled us to distinguish objects clearly, we found that if our position was not actually hazardous, our safety was due rather to accident than

prudence. Barnevelt's Island was to the southward of us, three or four miles, but we could not weather it. Steering through a passage which opened to us between that Island and Cape Deceit, with a fine breeze from north-northeast, we passed within three miles of Cape Horn, at nine o'clock in the morning, and at noon were six or eight leagues to the westward of it. Thus, with a smooth sea, a breeze to which all our light sails were spread, and with ease and celerity, we passed this formidable and proverbially terrific Cape ; the natural barrier and pledge, for ages past, for the security of the Spanish possessions on the Chilian and Peruvian coasts.

The next day we spoke the ship Packet of Boston, Captain Hill, bound to the coast of Chili ; and the following night we had a gale of wind from the northwest which brought us under reefed courses. The prevalence of northwest gales prevented our reaching the Island of Mocha till the 15th of October. In the hope of obtaining some useful information of the political situation of Chili, we lay off and on several hours, while the boat was despatched for that purpose ; but it returned after reconnoitring the southern and eastern parts of the island, without discovering any traces of inhabitants, or any other animal than the wild horse.

A supply of water and wood being now necessary, I determined to enter the port of Talcahuana, presuming that, whether in possession of Royalists or Patriots, our wants were manifest ; and that our right to enter their ports for a supply, was guaranteed by treaty. Under these impressions, and a belief that I had nothing to apprehend from either party, while I conformed to the laws and regulations of the ruling powers, I directed a course for that port ; and the next morning we were

abreast of the Island of St. Mary's. Having but a light breeze, it was late in the afternoon before we had a view of the port into which an American ship was entering, and which proved to be the Essex of Nantucket, Captain Russell.

A light air from the southward enabled us to pass the Island of Quiriquina, which forms the southern entrance to the port; and soon after, it became perfectly calm. While thus becalmed, we were boarded by an officer, who had just before boarded the Essex, and who stated that the port was in possession of the Patriots; that he was a Patriot officer; that the Royal flag was kept flying on the ships then in full view, as a decoy; that the brig Canton was in port, and would be ready to sail for Salem in two or three days, &c. &c., all which was false, excepting that the brig Canton was in port.

As the calm continued, we were obliged to let go an anchor, and soon after were boarded by an officer of apparently superior grade to the first. He wore an undress Royal uniform, and demanded the ship's papers. Having examined these, and remarked a deficiency of the sea letter, he was about taking them away, to which I would not consent, and after some altercation on the subject, he left the ship. My suspicions were now awakened as to the facts stated by the first officer who boarded us; although corroborated by the second, if untrue, their object must fairly be presumed to be mischievous.

Thus situated, and with such apprehensions, it was evident that no time was to be lost in deciding whether it was most judicious to attempt a retreat and seek some other port, or to enter this, trusting to our right

by treaty. In adopting the first measure, it was to be considered, that though we might succeed in beating off the launches, the only mode of annoyance they could use while the calm continued, yet this must be with the loss of lives, and with a chance of failure. If however, we should succeed in keeping them at bay until a breeze sprung up, which would enable us to go out, the same would aid the ships of war to pursue us ; and we could no more rationally expect to outsail a frigate, than we could successfully resist her. A failure in either of these attempts might be urged as a justifiable cause of condemnation. It was no less obvious, that, if these ships were a part of the Royal navy, the Royalists must possess the ascendancy at sea ; in which case, it was probable that the port of Valparaiso would be blockaded ; and to be taken attempting to enter there, after having forced my way from here, and with a Royal officer on board to detail the circumstances, could not fail to be attended with disastrous consequences.

On the other hand, however vexatious and annoying the conduct of the government towards us might be, from the resentment they would feel, on suspicion of our intention to traffic with those they termed rebels, such suspicion ought not to endanger the property under any circumstances ; and more especially when there existed the most undeniable evidence of such necessity as had been provided for by treaty. With these impressions, and in the worst event, that of the Royalists being in possession of the place, the least of the two evils seemed to be that of placing myself in their power, and manifesting no apprehension for the result ; in accordance with this conviction, I made no resistance to

the admittance of the armed men on board, who were sent to take charge of us. These, however, were alleged by the officer to be put on board for our safety, to guard us against the enemy who possessed the neighbouring shore, from which we were distant about one mile.

Having a breeze early the next morning, we weighed anchor, and after making two or three tacks, under the direction of the pilot, anchored again in front of the town, between the Veloz and Sebastiana, men-of-war. Here a guard from the shore relieved those who first came on board ; and here we were all confined to the ship, and prohibited any communication with the shore, or with our countrymen of the brig Canton, which lay near us.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sails Unbent. — Interchange of Letters with the Governor. — Unfortunate Selection of a Port. — Situation of the Royal and Patriot Forces. — Visit from the Authorities. — Sketch of them. — Their Object and Determination. — Hopeless Case. — Some Resources.

IN the afternoon our sails were unbent, an unsuccessful attempt was made to unhang the rudder, and all (excepting two) of the seamen taken away and put on board other ships. During the afternoon and the following day, several letters were interchanged between the military Governor and myself, all of which showed that it was his intention to appropriate the ship and cargo to the use of government.

It was now evident, that we could not have selected a port on the coast where so much suspicion of sinister intentions would be excited; where the rulers would be more hostile to us; or where, from the entire exhaustion of the military chest, there could exist so good an apology for acting on the principle, that “necessity knows no law.” Hence it was apparent, that if ever the property should be released, it probably would not be till after such a protracted period of litigation in a Spanish tribunal, as would wear out my patience, if not my life.

We now ascertained, that the city of Concepcion and all the eastern side of the bay were in possession of the Patriots, who, with a strong force were besieging

Talcahuana, and daily throwing shells into the town ; while the Royal forces, confined within their lines to the peninsula, were kept on the *qui vive*, by the frequent demonstrations of an attack.

On the following day, we were visited by all the important functionaries of the government, including the military Governor, a sketch of whom, which a compulsory acquaintance afterwards enabled me to take, may be properly introduced at this time. The supreme chief, or Governor Intendente of the Province of Concepcion, was José Ordoñez, a European, but whether a descendant of the one of that name, of whom honorable mention is made in the history of the renowned Knight of La Mancha, I could not learn. He held the rank of Colonel in the Royal army, had seen much service in the late war, and, from having been a prisoner in France, had derived the double advantage of attaining some knowledge of the French language, and of acquiring the happy mode of appropriating the property of others to their own particular use, which so distinguished that nation at the time of his captivity. His manners were those of a gentleman ; and his character a counterpart to that which Tacitus has drawn of Tiberius. His stature was rather below middling. His physiognomy dark and forbidding. His eyelids hung half over the balls of his eyes, after the manner in which a toper is usually drawn, and were so remarkable, that, had he lived in those times of yore, when the peculiar properties of a man gave him a name, as "long shanks," "bald head," &c. he would perhaps have obtained the soubriquet of "lopped-eyed."

The character next in importance, among my guests, was the Fiscal of the Royal Hacienda, or chief of the

civil department, Don Santiago Ascacibar Murube, a native of Old Spain, and a hater of all foreigners. He derived his station and consequence, not less from the scarcity of men possessing the requisite talents for the office, than from the efforts of influential friends, a prepossessing figure, and a degree of assurance bordering on impudence, which gave him a currency with some of the most respectable families of Lima. He was proverbially unprincipled in a community where morality is but little esteemed. After his return to Lima, and in conformity with the usual practice of such sinners, he voluntarily banished himself from society during a fortnight, entered a convent, and submitted to the penance, required by its rules, for that period; then came out cleansed from his sins, and prepared to begin a new score.

The third grand prop of the State, in this company, was the Assessor, or great law officer, the man who interrogated us, and, by the successful issue of this labor, showed to his astonished countrymen, that he could detect guilt where none existed. Juan José Eguiluz, the submissive tool of the two preceding rogues, was a half-starved, lank, pale, doleful looking fellow; from whom, however, Cæsar would have had no apprehensions of the subversion of the government, as he was entirely destitute of any one of the qualifications requisite, except an entire want of principle. His appointment to the office of Assessor must have been the effect of blind partiality, or of that chance which offered no selection, or, probably, of the presumption, that, in so obscure a place as Talcahuana, no official duties would be required of him.

The last, though not the least influential character,

among my visitors, was the Commissary of the army, Don Mattias de la Fuente, the Abbé Sieyes of Talcahuana. Though a native of this country, the King had no subject more devotedly attached to his government, no one who was a more bitter enemy to the Patriot cause. With the manners and urbanity of a gentleman, he combined the duplicity and cunning of a Spanish courtier. He took no other responsibility in the measures pursued against us, than to represent to the government, that there was no money in the Royal chest, that he was destitute of the means of paying the army, whose arrears were so great, and whose necessities were so urgent, that symptoms of discontent among them were daily manifested, and that there was no other resource for the alleviation of that evil, than to appropriate the cargo of the Beaver. With characteristic duplicity, while he was daily making professions of friendship, and encouraging a hope of the release of the property, he was laboring for its confiscation, and was earnestly engaged in producing that ruin which he affected to lament. Such were the men, in whose power it was now my cruel destiny to be placed. On their fiat hung the fate of the valuable ship Beaver and cargo; and with them my own fortune and future prospects.

Although the ostensible object of this visit was to see if our necessities were as urgent as reported, it was very evident, that, in reality, it was to search for some grounds to prove that they were feigned, in order to justify the high-handed measures, upon which they had, evidently, already determined. Among other proofs equally frivolous, they tasted the bilgewater from the pumps, and declared it to be sweet. This falsehood was contrived to substantiate another, namely, that the water

in the hold being palatable, was evidence of our supply having been purposely started to make a show of necessity. If there had been any doubts, relative to our fate before this visit, none could exist afterwards ; as the Fiscal had already been so incautious as to prejudge the cause, by declaring the ship and cargo to be good prize.

It would be in vain to attempt conveying an idea of my distress, now that I realized the scene of trouble which awaited me. I saw at once my fair prospects blasted ; the flattering hopes of meeting my family, with a competency, at no very distant period, annihilated ; the satisfaction of an approving welcome from my employer, without a chance of being realized. Besides this, I was conscious that these calamities, which were only a prelude to others, were produced by the mere accident of falling into the hands of those who possessed but barely sufficient power to enforce their views, while their inhumanity would not hesitate to take my life, if necessary for the furtherance of their object. I knew, too, that they were ignorant, even of the existence of any treaty, by which my rights were secured ; and entirely reckless of consequences. All these conspired to plunge me into an abyss of misery ; to present a prospect so gloomy, so oppressive, so fraught with woe, that the situation of one conscious that his life was limited to the next setting sun, appeared enviable to me.

Such prostration of spirit, however, was of but momentary duration. This was neither the first, nor second time, that my prospects in life had been involved in equal darkness ; and had been succeeded by days of sunshine ; and though I could not now perceive any chance of extricating myself, I felt such confidence that

a way would be opened, that I soon recovered that elasticity of spirits which is necessary to insure success, in any enterprise.

Revolving, in my mind, the various modes which might possibly occur for the recovery of this property, the first, and a very probable one, was the arrival of the *Ontario*, which, from the notice in the papers, of the time of her sailing from the United States, might be daily expected ; and her presence would have had an immediate tendency to cause its release. The second, was the known increase of the Patriot force, and the hope that they might become masters of the place before the condemnation of the ship. The third, was the hope and expectation, that the Viceroy, aware of the incompetency of the authorities at Talcahuana to judge in maritime cases, no less than of their want of moral principle, would order the ship to Lima.

These were the means which presented to me some chance of escape from the immediate thralldom under which I was writhing. A more remote prospect, was that of the interference of the Government of the United States. I did not doubt that a demand would be made for this property, which, under existing circumstances, must be complied with ; though probably at so remote a period, as to make it of little benefit to me. These modes of relief, however, being foreign to myself, were not agreeable to me, nor did my forlorn situation ever reconcile me to the idea of being indebted to foreign aid, to extricate me from my embarrassments.

CHAPTER IX.

Examination by the Assessor. — Liberty to go on Shore. — Escape to the Enemy of the Beaver's Men. — Indignation of the Populace. — Annoyance of Sentries — Arrival of the Venganza. — Put the Guard to Sleep. — Answer the Watchword. — Plan of taking the Frigate. — Consequences. — Sounding the Men. — Day appointed. — Disappointment.

THE irksomeness of being confined to the limits of the ship, after a passage of one hundred and ten days, was very great ; and the misfortune of arriving at a besieged place, where neither fresh provisions nor vegetables were to be obtained, though circumstances in themselves trifling, when compared with the loss of the property, were, nevertheless, so provoking, as to produce an impatience and irritability, while under examination, which was occasionally manifested in such disrespectful, and even insulting replies, as often to break off the proceedings ; and sometimes to provoke a threat of imprisonment. The questions were put by the Assessor, through the medium of a sailor, as interpreter, who understood either language so imperfectly, that I had frequent occasion to correct him. This tedious, and often ludicrous business was continued with me, about ten days ; after which, the two mates, boatswain, and two seamen, were, by turns, subjected to a like tedious examination.

Nearly a month had been spent in this way, and we

had not been permitted to go on shore, or to have any communication with the Canton's men. At length, the examination being finished, orders were given that we should be permitted to go on shore for exercise, and recreation ; but, at a distance from the town, and always guarded by a soldier. We had been in the enjoyment of this indulgence but a few days, when, on the 15th of November, the boatswain, carpenter, clerk, and three boys, being ashore in the jolly-boat, eluded the vigilance of the soldier sent to guard them, escaped in the boat, and were half way across the bay toward the enemy, before the alarm was given. As soon as it was known on board the men-of-war, all their light boats were sent in pursuit ; and although they approached so as to be finally within musket-shot, and kept firing, yet no one was injured, and they reached the shore in safety. Their efforts had been watched by the Patriots, and upon their landing a party of cavalry appeared to receive and protect them. The ship's boat was recovered and brought back by the pursuers.

This was an event, which, as might be expected, set the whole populace and garrison in commotion. There were no epithets too bad for us ; the belief was current, that we had an understanding and communication with the Patriots ; and consequently that there ought to be no hesitation in confiscating the ship and cargo and putting us in prison. It was fortunate for me, that at the time the alarm was given, I was with the Governor, who, for a moment, suspected me of being privy to it ; but, after a little reflection, and my assurance of innocence, he acknowledged having done me injustice. Nevertheless, the guard on board had orders to be more vigilant ; additional sentries were placed between decks, who,

by passing the word from one to another, and thence to the sentries on deck, kept up such a continued bawling all night, as made it impossible to sleep.

The spanker and foretopmast staysail, which had been kept bent to facilitate in keeping a clear hawse, were now unbent and taken away. A search was made for arms, and every musket, pistol, sabre, and boarding-pike they could find removed. This excessive caution and annoyance lasted only two or three days, when it gradually ceased, and we had even more liberty than before the occurrence. Not doubting that our arms would be taken away, we had used the precaution to secrete as many pistols, and sabres, and as much powder and ball, as it was possible occasion might demand, and these remained undiscovered.

On the 20th of November, the Royal naval force was augmented by the arrival, from Lima, of the frigate *Venganza*, of forty-four guns, and the brigs of war *Pezuela* and *Potrillo*. More than a month had elapsed since our arrival ; and so little had been done toward a decision in our case, that we had abundant evidence, that the proverbially sluggish manner of doing business, so peculiar to the Spanish people, was, in no degree, to be deviated from, in the present instance. Their progress had been at such a snail-like pace, that unless affected by some political change, months, if not years, must pass away before I could rationally expect to be provided with those documents which were requisite for my own justification to owners and underwriters ; no less than to enable them to substantiate their claim against the Spanish government.

The prospect of dragging on, for an indefinite period, the wretched existence which I had endured since ar-

living at this port, was insupportable. Mortified at the humiliating position in which I was placed, goaded by the long train of evils which would inevitably result to me from the loss of this property, and driven to desperation by my inability to perceive any prospect of a termination to such misery, I viewed destruction in an effort to free myself, as an evil of less magnitude ; and therefore determined, if I could induce my men to join me, to put in execution a plan which I had long meditated ; and which, like all revolutionary movements, would be deemed praiseworthy or lawless, as the result should prove successful or otherwise.

While lying between the Spanish vessels of war where our ship was first anchored, I had a good opportunity of noticing the absence of proper and ordinary discipline. During more than a month, I paced the Beaver's deck every night, often until the middle watch had nearly worn away ; and observed, that more than half the time the sentries were so deficient in vigilance, as to be hailed several times before answering. Perceiving the advantage that might result, if I could substitute my answer for that of the sentry on board our ship, I often took the trumpet, and found my "*alerto*" to be as current as that of the Spanish sentry. I noticed, also, that a great number of men were sent away in the launches every night, to guard some weak points, at the eastern extremity of the town. With a view of ascertaining the feasibility of rendering nugatory our guard of twenty soldiers, I tried the experiment of giving them a can of grog mixed with a little laudanum, which put them all into so profound a sleep for several hours, as to give us entire control of the ship ; a cir-

cumstance which was concealed from their superiors by my “*alerto*” passing for that of the proper sentry.

With these preliminary experiences, and my general knowledge of the slovenly manner in which the duties of officers and men were performed on board Spanish ships of war, it appeared to me, that if a favorable opportunity presented, and my men were resolute, we might take the commodore’s ship by a *coup de main*. It must be obvious, that the carrying out successfully the plan I had formed, must depend on obtaining possession of the fastest sailing ship. This I had ascertained to be the *Venganza*. Once in possession of this ship, it would not require more than two or three hours before we should have brought her to anchor in the bay of St. Vincent’s, which is only about two miles to windward of Talcahuana. About one mile east of this bay were encamped the Patriot (or besieging) army, the commander of which could not fail to perceive the advantage which fortune would have thus thrown in his way, and would lose no time in furnishing the number of men requisite for the performance of the various duties on board. These could be embarked, and a return to Talcahuana effected in twelve hours from the time of having left there, if necessary ; but it is probable a few additional hours might have been required to adjust the mode of proceeding. A vigorous and simultaneous attack, by this frigate on one side, and by the Patriot army on the other, would cause the surrender of the town and shipping in a very short time.

I should then have gained possession of the Beaver, with the principal part of her cargo yet on board. But this constituted only a small part of my plan. The main object was then to revolutionize the kingdom of

Peru ; and to effect this purpose, the way appeared to be clear, and not very difficult, if I could induce the Chilian General to furnish me with the requisite number of men ; which, as they were no longer wanted at Talcahuana, it was presumable he would readily do. With the Venganza thus manned, and before the possibility of any account of these transactions reaching the blockading squadron off Valparaiso, I would proceed thither with Spanish colors flying, sheer alongside the Commodore's ship, the Esmeralda, before those on board had any suspicion of danger, and take her, probably, without losing a man. The brigs of war composing a part of the blockading force would then surrender without resistance.

When I had thus been the means of placing in the power of the Chilian government the whole naval force of Peru, my personal services would be no longer necessary. The immense advantage to be derived from it could not fail to be perceived and acknowledged by them. The means of revolutionizing Peru would be now in their power ; and, if promptly and judiciously used, could hardly fail of success. To prevent the possibility of escape of any intelligence to the Peruvians, and while the fleet was preparing for invasion, an embargo would be indispensable. As it would be obvious to the Chilian government, that their chance of success would greatly depend on despatch, it is presumable that more than ordinary efforts would be made for the attainment of this object. Entering the bay of Callao with Spanish colors flying, the people of the town would immediately recognise their own ships ; and as they had had, for a long time, the ascendancy on the ocean, would have no suspicion of their being in pos-

session of the enemy. They would, therefore, be taken completely by surprise ; before recovering from which, the Chilians would have become masters of the fortress, of the town, and of the shipping.

Thus, amid the pressure of misfortune, were my spirits buoyed up with the prospect of a change in my affairs ; possibly a brilliant one, conducting to fame, to fortune, to the chastisement of my persecutors, and, more gratifying than all, to the restoration of their property to my employers, with abundant advantage.

The desperate measure, the execution of which now occupied my sleeping, as well as waking hours, in which the lives of myself and associates, as well as those of innocent Spanish seamen, would be jeopardized or sacrificed, I was aware would be viewed by some as high-handed, lawless, and piratical ; by others, as a just retaliation for the injuries I had suffered ; and, by a greater number, as favoring the efforts of an oppressed people, for the overthrow of a despotic government, and the establishment of a liberal one in its stead, highly commendable.

But to perceive, or feel the full force of the motives by which I was actuated, it is proper to refer to some scenes in my narrative, already detailed, — such as, the fruit of many years of my hard earnings being swept off, and myself and family reduced to poverty, by the robbery of Admiral Cochrane, sanctioned by a wicked judge of Vice-Admiralty, without a justifiable cause, and in violation of the laws of nations ; next, the treacherous, mean, and cowardly manner, in which, by order of Napoleon, my vessel and cargo was stolen from me by Murat ; and now, without having violated any law, or deviated in any degree from the tenor of the

existing treaty, — being again stripped of my property, reduced to penury, and goaded with the prospect of the long train of evils which were inevitable. Let such repeated and deeply distressing wrongs be brought home to the breast of any one ; and if they be not considered sufficient to justify the measure on which I had determined, they will do much towards extenuating it.

Immediately after the augmentation of the naval force, mentioned to have taken place on the 20th of November, such security was felt by the authorities of Talcahuana, as induced them to return to the Beaver her ship's company, who, excepting those who had escaped to the Patriots, had been kept as prisoners from the time of our arrival. This was a measure I had anticipated ; and but for which the plan must have been abandoned, as I had no access to them when away from the ship.

In a few days after the arrival of the *Venganza*, the small vessels of war put to sea, leaving in port, besides that ship, only the *Sebastiana*, a heavy sailing vessel. The activity and enterprise of the besiegers was such as to make a requisition of all the men they could spare from the ships of war, to guard, during the nights, the vulnerable points east of the town. On this duty, and on that required elsewhere, so many men were necessary, that the *Venganza* was often left with short of a hundred on board ; and the crew of the other ship was weakened proportionally. The time, therefore, had now arrived to mature the plan, and to put it in execution with the least delay possible.

The great delicacy and caution requisite to be observed in sounding the men, and in ascertaining if they would engage heartily in the contemplated enterprise,

must be obvious to all, who are capable of appreciating the danger of trusting to sailors, a secret involving such consequences as a discovery would create. It would have been manifestly imprudent to open the plan to the crew generally, much before the time when it was to be put in execution, for, though I had no doubt of their fidelity, yet, as some of them would get drunk when they had an opportunity, the secret might escape them while in that state.

Choosing a proper time, when least likely to attract the attention of the guard on board, I invited two of the most trustworthy of my men into the cabin ; when carefully shutting the door, and looking all round to be sure that nobody could hear us, I began by expressing my satisfaction with their conduct since leaving New York, and my regret at the misfortune we were now suffering, to which I could perceive no prospect of an end. I then observed, that as it was always an object with me to promote, as much as was in my power, the happiness and comfort of the men under my command, I trusted they were satisfied with the treatment they had received from me thus far ; to which they readily assented. Their curiosity seemed now to be alive to know what was coming next ; perceiving which, I assured them of my conviction that the ship and cargo would be condemned ; of which they also said they had no doubt. I spoke to them of the outrage of this act, performed by ignorant blockheads in defiance of a solemn treaty made with their King ; stated to them, that though restitution would be made, it would be so long first, as to be little beneficial to us ; that we had no other prospect before us than being left in a strange land, without the means of support ; that tamely to

submit to such cruelty, while any means of redress was within our reach, would be disgraceful ; that any measures, however violent, for extricating ourselves, were not only justifiable but meritorious, and that, by a well-timed and bold effort, we could obtain for ourselves liberty, fortune, and the chastisement of our enemies. They declared, that nothing would please them better than to engage in any plan by which they could get clear of these dirty Spaniards, and give them a good whipping, in which, they said, they knew every man of the Beaver would heartily join.

I then stated to them my conviction of the practicability of our making ourselves masters of the Venganza, and the long train of brilliant consequences that would result from it, as already detailed. They started at this, and seemed to be disappointed in not having proposed to them a plan of less difficult accomplishment. One of them said it was too hazardous, the odds were too great against us ; the other was of the same opinion. I agreed with them that they were right, on the supposition of an open attack ; but that, taking them by surprise, we should obtain possession of the ship before being opposed by an equal number to our own, as had been the case in numerous instances, of vessels taken by surprise, where the disparity in the relative force was equally great. Among other instances within my knowledge, I mentioned to them that of Captain Surcouffe, who, with only eight men, took an English Indiaman, with more than one hundred men on board, in Balasore Roads, and brought her safe to the Isle of France. The relation of this fact seemed to give them renewed spirit, and to lessen their belief in their first impression of the extent of the danger ; as,

after a few minutes' silence, the eldest said, he should be willing to engage in any plan where I would take the lead, looking at the same time at his shipmate, as if expecting him to be influenced by his decision, which was the case.

On parting, I desired them, when a good occasion presented, to sound their shipmates as to their willingness to engage in some such plan, without stating particulars ; and without referring to me ; and to be sure to avoid giving any cause of suspicion to the Spaniards ; never allowing themselves even to hint at the subject in their presence, as some of them were possessed of a few words of English ; and when conversing on the subject, to be certain it should be where they would not be overheard or suspected. The propriety of such caution was obvious to these two men, and they promised to observe it in making their communication to their shipmates, and to enjoin it especially on them. In this delicate mission, they conducted with all due circumspection ; and the result was as I had anticipated it would be. Their treatment by the Spaniards had greatly exasperated them ; which, with the loss of their actual earnings, as well as those in prospect, all combined to render them as ready and earnest to emancipate themselves, by a desperate effort, as I was myself. It remained therefore, now, only to make the proper arrangements, and to determine on the time when the blow should be struck.

A circumstance now occurred which was considered to be auspicious. The two mates of the brig Canton had, within a few days, been ordered to take up their residence on board the frigate. They had heard some indistinct rumor of what was going on ; and it was very important to enlist them in it. With this view, I made

a visit to the Commodore, with whom I was on familiar terms. After conversing with him some little time, I took leave, and found my two countrymen waiting for me on the quarter-deck. There were, besides ourselves, only the two sentries present, neither of whom understood a word of English ; the opportunity, therefore, for a free communication, and interchange of opinion, could not have been better. While walking the deck I opened to them the plan ; having in previous conversations had abundant evidence that I might safely confide in them. As I had anticipated, they admitted its feasibility, if the men could be depended on, and readily agreed to participate in its execution. On parting I recommended to them to be vigilant in making such observations relative to the discipline of the ship, the times in the day or night when most weakened by absences of men, the place of deposit of small arms, and, generally, of every thing which should tend to the successful accomplishment of the object in view.

Although I had no apprehension of any one of our number proving recreant, yet is it obvious that there is danger in trusting a secret to so many individuals ; and where life is involved, immediate action, if possible, is the best and safest policy. It had been observed, that on Sundays, in addition to the men required for the defences, others were allowed to go on shore for amusement ; and that, in the afternoon of Sundays, most of the officers were seeking recreation away from their ships. Sunday afternoon then, it was agreed, was the proper time when the attack could be made with the chance of least resistance, and with a fair prospect of success. It was now Thursday, and the Sunday next ensuing was determined on as the day, — the great, the

important day,—in which we were to expect liberty or death. The intervening two days were passed in great anxiety, lest some suspicion, or careless conversation should avert the meditated blow ; and I now fully experienced that,

“Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma, or hideous dream :
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in counsel ; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.”

On Friday I was occupied most of the day in writing letters to my family and to Mr. Astor ; and on Saturday afternoon, we all met at a secluded place, agreed on, at the outskirts of the town. This could be done in the afternoons with as little chance of seeing anybody, or of exciting suspicion, as at midnight, for all were taking their accustomed *siesta*. I had the satisfaction of finding no wavering among them ; but, on the contrary, all seemed to be resolute and anxious for the arrival of the decisive hour. We numbered fifteen, exclusive of the two on board the frigate. After settling a number of preliminary steps, such as designating the number, and persons for each boat, the manner in which their arms were to be best concealed, the kind of arms to be taken, &c., I addressed them, by saying, that I presumed they were all aware of the hazardous undertaking in which they were about being engaged ; that, once embarked in it, there was no retreat ; that victory or death was the only alternative ; that any flinching in the moment of attack, by any one, might be the ruin of us all ; and that it was my desire, if any one

among them felt his courage flagging, or unequal to facing the danger, that he would now manifest it, as one irresolute man might be the cause of the destruction of all of us. None such appearing among them, but all being resolute, we returned to the ship in different squads, of three or four each, the better to elude any chance of observation.

During the succeeding night my sleep was uneasy and feverish, and I arose in the morning without being much refreshed by it. The sun rose in all the beauty and brilliancy which is so peculiar to this climate at this season of the year, than which nothing of the kind can be imagined more charming, or less in harmony with the deeds I was contemplating. At ten o'clock the customary south wind had not yet began to blow. I made an early visit to the frigate, ostensibly to the Commodore, but really to see the men of the Canton, and to make my final arrangements with them. For this purpose, after finishing my visit, with a promise to return in the afternoon with a book he wished to borrow, I walked the frigate's deck an hour with the mates, and had as fine an opportunity as could be desired, of making all the observations which were important, and which were sufficient to convince me, that if our men were resolute there was no doubt of a favorable result.

Lest so many men should excite suspicion, by going alongside the ship at the same time, it was agreed that the Canton's boat, with half the number of men, should be sailing about near the frigate, and that, when they saw the Beaver's boat, with the other half, go to the starboard side of the ship, they should go alongside on the larboard ; while the Canton's men should be engaged in drawing off the attention of the sentries, or, failing in

this, to snatch from them their arms. The boats' crews mounting simultaneously on opposite sides of the ship, would instantly clear the deck of the Spaniards ; while at the same moment, those designated to cast loose the fore-topsail, and to cut the cable, would perform those duties, and, with the accustomed strong breeze blowing directly out of the bay, we should be well under way, before the alarm would be given on board the Sebastiana. Such was the general plan, which of course must have been varied as contingencies might require.

It was past 11 o'clock when I left the frigate and returned to the Beaver ; and the calm continued. This was very unusual. With an intensity of anxiety which may be more easily conceived than described, I watched the occasional slow passing clouds, and the light zephyrs, which are termed by sailors, cat's-paws, until the sun had passed the meridian, and the prospect of a breeze was not more encouraging. But it might come suddenly before dark, which would be in time for us ; we therefore administered the soporific to the soldiers on board, which soon had the desired effect, and during the afternoon there existed no obstacle to our arming ourselves, and to making every requisite preparation at our leisure. But the customary wind came not, and it must be viewed as a remarkable fact, that at a place where, at this season of the year, a strong south wind blows, on the average, nineteen days out of twenty, we should have this day only light airs from the northward, and calms. Thus were we compelled, by a cause over which we had no control, to defer the execution of our project for another week, to our great disappointment.

CHAPTER X.

Attack of Fever. — Assault on the Town. — Repulse. — Condemnation of the Ship and Cargo. — Appeal. — Patriots set Fire to and abandon Conception. — Arrival of Osorio, with Four Thousand Men. — Pursue the Patriots. — Battle of Talca. — Desperate State of the Patriot Cause. — Battle of Maipo. — Ruin of the Royal Army. — Return of Osorio. — Distress of the People. — Ships ordered to be ready. — Removed from the Beaver.

FAILING, as has been seen, in this first attempt, I had a presentiment that such a coincidence of favorable circumstances would not again occur. I had been two days with the consciousness of approaching fever, which I endeavoured to avert by cold bathing ; but unsuccessfully. On the day succeeding that of the intended attack, the fever raged in a degree that produced delirium ; and it was not till nearly the expiration of a week that I awoke to the consciousness of my situation, to the discovery that I was very ill ; that I was in my bed, with two watchers, and that my legs were very sore from the effect of blisters. These, as well as the requisite medicines, were prescribed by the surgeon of the Sebastiana, Dr. Rosseau, who had been assiduously attentive and kind, from the first, and to whom, in my ravings, I had applied volleys of opprobrious epithets.

I now perceived, that, in the course of a few days, I had been reduced from the utmost vigor of health, to such extreme weakness, as would require much time

and care to restore me. During this period, I learned that the besiegers had made an assault upon, and had gained an entry into the town, on the 5th of December, and that after several hours of hard fighting, they had been repulsed, with the loss of three hundred men. Thus was this source of relief annihilated.

While I was in so feeble a state as not to be able to sit up in my bed, an officer was sent to me with all the papers relating to the process for my examination, and a message that they would be left with me ten days ; in which time it was expected I should make my defence, or appoint some one to do it for me. Indignant at such insulting cruelty, I desired the officer to take himself and papers out of my presence, and not to appear again until I had sufficient strength to express to him, and those that sent him, my opinion of such barbarity. He made no reply, and went away, taking the papers with him.

All my long cherished hopes of extricating myself, by a *coup de main*, were now gone. The two mates of the Canton had gone to Lima. The Beaver's men had already taken themselves off in various directions. The discomfiture of the Patriots had obviated the necessity of weakening the ships for the defence of the town, and the prospect before me was no other than a long course of litigation in a Spanish tribunal, with exhausted energies, and with no chance of a successful result.

The first, and most important object was now to regain my strength ; and this was to be effected under every disadvantage and discouragement. The delicacies which are almost indispensable to convalescents, were not to be obtained at any price ; even an egg was only occasionally and with difficulty to be procured, for the

eighth of a dollar ; and a chicken, or tender bird of any kind, was not to be had at any price. My appetite, however, as soon as I could walk a little, with assistance, became keen, and it was apparent that I was gaining strength, under the scanty and wretched fare, which was procurable.

While in this feeble state, official notice was sent me of the condemnation of the vessel and cargo. This event I had so long expected, that the information did not affect me, as was intended ; and while I was permitted the indulgence of my quiet and comfortable quarters on board the Beaver, and could employ myself in the contemplation of some mode of rescue, my mind regained its elasticity, and my strength was gradually increasing. As in duty bound, I appealed from the decision of this tribunal, from a persuasion that some of the vicissitudes of war, would yet afford me a chance for the recovery of the property, at a higher one ; hence the fate of my own affairs depended so much on the decision of the contest in Chili, as to produce an interest in the movements of the contending forces, not inferior to that of those who were actually engaged.

It is most probable that the commander of the Patriot Army had information that ships, which were conveying a great augmentation of force to the Royal Army, had sailed from Lima ; as on the 5th of January, 1818, they abandoned their position, set fire to the city of Conception, and retreated towards Santiago. The troops which had defended Talcahuana, took possession of the deserted and ruined city, where neither provisions, nor booty, nor aught but desolation was found.

A few days after this event, the fleet arrived from Lima, having on board four thousand troops, under the

command of General Osorio, the son-in-law of the Viceroy of Peru. They were good-looking men, well-equipped, and one half the number were veterans, who had assisted in the expulsion of the French from Spain. The partisans of royalty were now greatly elated, and confidently predicted the subjugation and tranquil possession of the country, in a very limited time. The persons designed to fill the offices of the civil department of the government, came also, in the fleet, and among them was one, who possessed more liberality and intelligence than is usual with his countrymen. This man, Mr. Pereyra, was appointed to the office of first Oidor, or judge of the supreme tribunal of Santiago. With this gentleman I became intimately acquainted ; and from frequent conversations with him on the subject of the seizure of the Beaver, as well as from indirect sources, I ascertained, that he condemned all the proceedings of the government of Talcahuana towards us. I was therefore encouraged in the belief, that whether the case was carried before the superior tribunal at Santiago, or that of Lima, the decree of condemnation would be reversed. But how many dreary months were to be worn away before arriving at this consummation, was not in the power of the best informed to determine.

After a few days spent in refreshing the troops, and making the requisite preparation for transporting the baggage, the Royal army began its march in pursuit of the Patriots. They made a fine appearance, as they moved forward with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," and with a confidence inspired by a belief in the superiority of their own prowess and discipline, and the greatest contempt for that of their enemy. The

Governor Intendente of the province of Concepcion, and successful defender of Talcahuana, now advanced, for that defence, to the grade of Brigadier (Ordoñez), accompanied the army, as second in command ; and from the very contemptuous manner in which I had frequently heard him speak of the Patriot forces, he could not expect to meet much opposition, or much of that toil, privation, and danger, which usually attend an invading army.

In their march to Talca, which is about half way to Santiago, they met with no interruption ; but, soon after leaving this town, they came in sight of the enemy. There was some skirmishing between them on the 14th and 17th of March, and on the 18th, so considerable a body were engaged, and the Patriots so much outnumbered, and, by their resistance, so disappointed the hopes and expectations of the Royal commanders, as to convince them that a *coup de main*, or successful stratagem, presented the only chance for their own safety. Consequently, with a desperation justified by the danger of their position, they made a sudden and, to the enemy, unexpected attack in the night of the 19th, and with such complete success as to take all their baggage, twenty-nine brass field-pieces, and four or five thousand muskets ; they killed and wounded between two and three thousand men, and dispersed the rest so entirely, that there remained no obstacle to prevent their proceeding directly to the capital. A victory so complete, so important, and attended with so trifling loss on the part of the victors, corresponded with the expectations of the Royal generals at the outset ; and tended to confirm them in their contempt of their opponents.

The cause of independence in Chili now appeared to be desperate. There seemed to remain no chance of recovery from this tremendous blow ; and to submit to the mercy of the conquerors appeared to be the humiliating and only alternative. But, fortunately for them, the infatuation and confidence of the Royal commanders was such, that, instead of pushing on to the capital, while all was dismay and confusion, with nothing to prevent them, in true Spanish character they remained inactive, six days, at Talca. This gave ample time to the discomfited Patriots to secure a retreat, to collect their scattered forces, and to combine, within a few miles of Santiago, an army, which still outnumbered that of the Royalists. So confident were the Royal partisans at this place, Talcahuana, of the immediate and complete subjugation of the country, founded on the official despatches of the commander-in-chief, that many of the inhabitants, expecting the surrender of Valparaiso to succeed that of Santiago immediately, were about embarking for the former place on their way to the latter. We now, for the first time, considered our situation more eligible than that of our countrymen at Valparaiso. With them there might be some (perhaps a feeble) plea for confiscation. With us there existed only the suspicion of such ; and a Court of Appeal was about being established at Santiago, from which we had much to hope.

While these transactions were going on with the armies, the Commissioners at Talcahuana, appointed to unlade and dispose of the Beaver's cargo, were busily engaged in that duty. It appeared, however, that though the country, over which they had control, was entirely destitute of the manufactures which composed

the Beaver's cargo, it was so poor as not to be able to pay for one half ; and hence, with all their efforts, the Commissioners were unable to supply the necessities of the army ; on which account, orders were received from head-quarters to sell the ship. This appeared to be giving the finishing blow to the business ; as, after a sale, and in the event of a revocation of the decree, restoration would be out of the question. The only hope upon which I could now lean was, either that some decisive action should take place before the ship was sold, or that orders should arrive from the Viceroy of Peru for the ship to proceed to Callao ; and this I had urged in a letter to the Viceroy, forwarded in January.

After the retreat of the Patriot army, there was no restriction to the direction or extent of our rambles on shore ; and as they were conducive to health, scarce a day passed without my taking an excursion of several miles. In one of these solitary walks, while crossing a field of thick underbrush, between Talcahuana and Concepcion, I was startled by suddenly coming upon an object, whose whiteness formed a contrast with the surrounding shrubbery. On approaching, I perceived it to be the skeleton of a man and horse, who had, doubtless, met their fate on the day of assault, had been stripped of whatever was valuable, and been left unburied, a prey to carrion birds. The warrior lay by the side of his horse, each a perfect skeleton, the bones blanched clean by the sun.

It was now about the middle of April ; and if there had been no interruption to the progress of the army, the news of their occupation of the capital ought to have reached Talcahuana. While all were in daily ex-

pectation of hearing cheering news of the submission of the rebels, or of their being driven beyond the Andes, and the consequent termination of the war, rumors were afloat, that the enemy had collected in such numbers, as to make the possession of Santiago dependent on another battle. The following day it was whispered, with an air of secrecy, that the Royal army had been defeated. This news was confirmed, the next morning, by the appearance of the commander-in-chief, Osorio, who, *à la Buonaparte*, had effected his escape, with ten or twelve followers; the only remains of the proud army, which left here a few weeks since. Ordoñez, and nearly all the officers of distinction, who were not slain, were made prisoners.*

This decisive action, which annihilated the prospects of the Royalists, and established the independence of Chili, took place at a village called Maipo, within a few leagues of the capital, on the 5th of April, 1818. As the General, in his flight, passed through the city of Conception without stopping, the inhabitants very naturally concluded, that the enemy was at hand; and the scene of confusion, terror, and dismay, which succeeded, beggars description. These truly unfortunate people, whose attachment to their King had induced them to abandon their homes on the advance of the Patriot forces, and who had returned to their dilapidated houses, on the retreat of the enemy, were again compelled to fly, carrying with them whatever they had yet remaining of any value. During the two succeeding days, the road, leading from Conception to Talca-

* General Ordoñez, and a number of other Royal officers captured at the battle of Maipo, were sent to Mendoza, on the east side of the Andes, and were afterwards all massacred for alleged conspiracy.

huana, was lined with loaded cattle and carts ; with men and women, old and young, each carrying as much of their furniture as they could.

For such a sudden influx into Talcahuana, accommodation was difficult to be found ; and many families, who had seen better days, were glad to occupy a shed, a stable, or any place that afforded only a partial shelter from the weather, which was now becoming very inclement. But even here they were not safe ; as it was evident, that all the force, which could possibly be mustered, was not equal to defending one fourth of the extent of the lines. Consequently, if the enemy should appear suddenly, no other resource remained, but a retreat to the ships. Aware of this, the commander-in-chief had issued orders for every ship to be put in a state to proceed to sea, at a moment's notice ; and, as a preliminary step, they set about embarking their most valuable effects.

The acting Captain of the port, Tavira, was appointed to the command of the *Beaver*, of which he gave me notice by letter, at the same time expressing a wish, that I would leave the ship immediately. I replied, that, to justify my leaving the ship, I must, in the first place, have an order to that effect, signed by the commander-in-chief ; and, in the next, that suitable apartments and food must be provided for myself and servant ; and that, when these reasonable conditions were complied with, I would obey the order, and not till then. The difficulty, at this time, of procuring a room on shore, was very great ; and, although he made great efforts, he was unable to obtain one. He therefore, the next day, brought me the order, signed by the General, declaring that he could find no accom-

modation for me on shore, unless an arrangement could be made with Mr. Coffin to share his room. This I declined ; at which he became very impatient ; and, after the interchange of a great many angry words, and a threat of compulsion, he left the ship in a passion.

In a few hours afterwards he returned, with a smiling countenance, and told me, he had found excellent quarters for me on board the *Aguila*, a large Lima merchant ship, and that I was to live at the Captain's table. These I found to be more commodious, though less neat, than those of the *Beaver* ; and, acceding to the arrangement, I went on board with bag and baggage, accompanied by the steward, who was the only one remaining of the ship's company.

I now flattered myself, that my affairs had approached a crisis, that would soon put an end to the painful suspense and uncertainty, which I had been so long suffering, by my early departure from this dreary place for Lima. But this illusion was quickly destroyed. As soon as the panic of the Royalists had subsided, it was determined, in council, not to evacuate the place, unless compelled, until they should receive the Viceroy's instructions.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of the Esmeralda. — Her Escape from Capture. — A Ship from Lima. — An Order from the Viceroy for us to be sent there. — Brig Canton prepared. — Sailed on the 12th of May. — Arrival at Callao. — Interview with the Viceroy of Peru. — Result. — Take a House at Lima. — Visit the Officers of Government. — Encouragement of eventual Success.

THE rainy season had now begun ; and the storms from the northwest were frequently so violent as to prevent communication with the town, for several days in succession. To pass the winter on board this ship, without making any progress towards bringing my affairs to a close, presented a prospect so dreary and discouraging, that I began again to think of some means by which to extricate myself from this state of thralldom. The Potrillo, of sixteen guns, was now the only vessel of war in port ; and she could not be made ready for sea in less than twenty-four hours. The Beaver was, at this time, lying with her sails bent, and loaded with sugar and tobacco, an excellent cargo for Valparaiso. Six of my men were acting as seamen on board, who would readily have joined me in cutting her out. It was not a difficult, or even a very dangerous enterprise ; but, was the advantage commensurate with the risk ? Whether successful, or otherwise, would it not have a tendency to invalidate the claim on the

Spanish government ? In fine, would it not be abandoning a certainty for an uncertainty ?

While deliberating on the wisdom of this project, the *Esmeralda* frigate and *Pezuela* brig arrived ; the former having been boarded while blockading Valparaiso, by the Chilian ship of war *Lautaro*. She would have been captured, but for the accidental separation of the ships before a competent number of men were able to board. The few who succeeded in following their captain, had complete possession of the upper deck for some minutes. When the ships separated, the Spaniards seeing the small number on board, rallied and killed them all, — among whom was the captain of the *Lautaro*, and the carpenter of the *Beaver*, the same who escaped in the boat, as related, soon after arriving at Talcahuana.

The day after the arrival of these vessels, May 6th, a ship from Lima came in, by which I hoped to hear something that might give a turn to our affairs ; nor was I disappointed. The next morning, General Osorio, sent for Mr. Coffin and myself, and told us he intended despatching the brig *Canton*, immediately for Lima, under the American flag, and with an American crew ; that we were to proceed in her, and that there justice would be rendered to us. This measure was in conformity with an order from the Viceroy ; and was the effect of my letter to him dated the 28th of January last. A ray of hope once more dawned upon us ; and the joy experienced at the prospect presented of speedy emancipation, was scarcely less intense than that which the criminal feels, who receives a reprieve when under the gallows. It was taking a step, and a very important one, if not towards recovering the property, at least, towards closing the business ; and presented

the prospect of an end to that distressing state of suspense, which is so wearing to the mind, when the object is so important. As every individual destined to embark in the Canton, was impatient to leave a place of so much misery as Talcahuana (for fevers had become very prevalent), the vessel was equipped with more than ordinary alacrity, and we took our departure on the 12th of May.

Seven months had now elapsed since we cast anchor in this truly wretched place ; wretched from being subjected to the government of unprincipled men ; wretched from poverty, filth, disease, and all those horrible calamities which must accumulate in the seat of a civil war. It had been a period to us, of continued privations, mortifications, provocations, and disgust ; but we had all survived it ; and the relief now afforded us, even if it were that only of changing the scene, seemed to give me renovated energy and spirits.

We had on board, as fellow-passengers, two lieutenant-colonels of the Royal army ; one of whom was aide-camp to General Osorio, and was bearer of despatches relating to the disastrous battle of Maipo. If a judgment can be formed of the cleanliness of their countrymen from these officers, the mortality on board their ships, on long voyages, is easily accounted for. We were twelve days on the passage to Callao, and though the weather was always delightful, the personal habits of those gentlemen during the whole time were excessively offensive.

The Canton had on board about twenty-five thousand dollars' value of the Beaver's cargo, and some pieces of brass artillery, the trophies of Talca. I used occasionally to banter these officers on their imprudence

in placing themselves thus in the power of men, who had experienced so great injury and provocation from the party to which they belonged ; and to show them that I had only to say the word, and the vessel would be taken into Valparaiso, and they delivered up to their enemies ; and I used to add, that their confidence was undoubtedly grounded on the appeal thus made to our honor, no less than to the consideration of its being clearly for our interest to proceed to Lima, and hence they had nothing to apprehend.

We anchored at Callao, on the 25th of May, and the next day obtained permission to proceed to Lima. Mr. Coffin and myself were kindly received and hospitably entertained at the house of the officers of the marine, with whom we had become acquainted at Talcahuana, until we could procure a house, as there were no hotels. We now were informed, that the United States ship Ontario had been here, that by her was brought the first intelligence of the destruction of the Royal army ; that her commander was well received, and was on good terms with the Viceroy ; that he had volunteered to go to Chili with an agent for negotiating an exchange of prisoners ; that he was now absent on that mission, and might be here again in two or three weeks. These circumstances all favored the restoration of our property. The following day Mr. Coffin and myself were presented, by Dr. Pedro Abadia, agent of the Philippine Company, to the Viceroy. Our reception was as favorable as we had any reason to expect, or as was consistent with the policy which it was his duty to observe towards us. He addressed us in a stern and earnest manner, accusing the Americans and English of promoting and encouraging the

rebellion by furnishing the insurgents with arms and ammunition ; of contravening the laws, by introducing merchandise into the country and taking away the specie, without paying any duty on the import or export, and thereby seriously injuring the commerce and prosperity of the country. But, nevertheless, he added, that we might rely on his protection while here, that the proper authorities would investigate the business relative to the ships, and that justice should be rendered to us. Without giving us an opportunity to reply, he abruptly withdrew. I did not augur any thing unfavorable from this interview, although I was aware, that his general charges against our countrymen were true.

The excessive aversion to business of the men in office, and the heedlessness and waste of time, which has long been observed as so peculiar to this people, would have induced us to expect great delay, even if the issue should be against us ; but with every encouragement to believe it would be in our favor, we hardly dared look forward to the distant period which might bring our business to a close. We therefore set about hiring and furnishing a house, and making such provision for a comfortable residence, as strangers in most other cities of equal magnitude find already prepared. We agreed upon one that would answer our purpose ; but were prevented taking possession for several days, while trying to get rid of the myriads of fleas with which every room was filled, and which, though greatly diminished by frequent washing and sweeping, were never entirely destroyed ; and we had only to submit to an evil, for which we could find no remedy, and to

which the natives, from long habit, had become accustomed.

To be possessed once more of a domicile exclusively my own, was a luxury that can be properly appreciated by those only who have been harassed and vexed as I had been. As the unhappy mortal, waking from a night of sickly dreams which seemed an age, rejoices, though fatigued, to find the danger imaginary, so this sudden succession of tranquillity to an age of trouble, though so dearly paid for, afforded me no less cause of relief. Henceforth I had to apprehend no more restraint from an arrogant military guard ; no more *surveillance* from the harpies of the custom-house ; no further persecution from a Fiscal and Assessor, whose characters would have made them worthy members of the Inquisition, in the most rude ages of its existence. Patience was now the virtue which it was most requisite to call into action, since to avoid disappointment we must be prepared for a great waste of time. But it is less difficult to reconcile one's self to minor ills, after having been so long subjected to such severe ones ; nor did the novelties presented by the Peruvian capital, fail to beguile the time.

Through the kind attention of two of the officers of the Royal navy, (Mr. Bocholan and Mr. Rivera,) we were introduced to several of the most respectable families of Lima, whom we were afterwards accustomed to visit on the most friendly terms. In addition to these, our business necessarily brought us in contact with the General of Marine, with the Assessor of Marine and his family, and with the Fiscal, by all of whom we were treated with the politeness and respect, which, in the civilized world, is due from one gentleman to

another ; and which formed a striking contrast to our experiences at Talcahuana. As it respected our business, there seemed to prevail but one opinion, as to the reprehensible conduct of the government of Talcahuana, and the probable revocation of all their proceedings, which the Fiscal termed *disparates*, or nonsense.

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of the Ontario. — Threat of the Viceroy to send me away.
 — His Change of Opinion. — Promise of Protection. — Plan of a
 Voyage to Valparaiso. — Engage a Ship. — Engagement broken.
 — Disappointment. — Embark for Valparaiso in the *Andromache*.
 — Captain Sheriffe, Officers, and Crew. — Observance of the
 Sabbath. — Recreation. — Masafuera. — Juan Fernandez. — Ar-
 rival.

WHILE the proper authorities were taking the preliminary measures for an investigation of the doings of the Talcahuana government towards us, (near the last of June, 1818,) the Ontario arrived from Valparaiso, with the person charged by the Viceroy with powers to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. The satisfaction given by Captain Biddle on this mission, manifested by the Viceroy's presenting him with an elegant and costly sword, the lively interest he took in the restoration of our vessels, the attention given by the Viceroy to his representations on the subject, and the prevailing opinion that they must be restored, all confirmed the belief of a revocation of the doings at Talcahuana.

Every thing relating to our affairs, now wore an auspicious aspect, and my mind was busily engaged in forming the various plans for future operations, which depended equally on the amount of property restored, and on the privileges to be granted us. In imagination, I was building up a fortune, which the peculiar political

state of the country seemed to insure ; and from this coincidence of favorable circumstances, was in the enjoyment of a degree of complacency to which I had long been a stranger. But I was suddenly astonished and confounded by the information conveyed to me by Captain Biddle, directly from the Viceroy, that I was considered by his Excellency to be a dangerous man ; that he should not permit me to remain to settle my affairs ; but that I should be sent out of the country immediately ; and the reason given for this determination, was information, from three different sources, that I had uttered treasonable opinions ; among others, having declared his government to be a tyrannical one, and that the sooner it was overthrown the better.

As from a knowledge of the necessity of extreme caution on the subject of politics, I had always been on my guard, I did not hesitate to declare the accusation to be entirely false ; nor would my surprise have been greater, if I had been charged with intent to assassinate the Viceroy. This communication was made to me by Captain Biddle at Callao, while he was on the point of sailing for Columbia River, and after he had taken leave of the Viceroy ; he could not, therefore, advocate my cause otherwise than by letter. On revolving in my mind, whence so malicious and wicked a report could originate, I could account for it in no other way, than that some of those scoundrels who had been engaged in the plunder of my ship, and to whom I had often justly, but perhaps, imprudently, applied that epithet, being apprehensive of exposure, had adopted this measure to have me removed out of the way.

With this impression, with Captain Biddle's letter, and with that confidence which conscious innocence

inspires, I went, the next day, to the Viceroy. He received me with civility, and repeated what he had told Captain Biddle, that the accusation came from three sources. I positively denied the charge, made known my suspicion of its origin, and begged that my accusers might be called before him, while I was present. This he declined doing. I then assured him, that no one of his subjects could be less disposed to meddle with governmental affairs than myself; that to send me away before my business was settled, would be attended with such ruinous consequences to me, that I should prefer remaining, even if it were under either of the hard conditions, of being confined to the limits of St. Lorenzo, of being shut up in the Castle of Callao, or being confined to my ship, or my house; and proposed to give bonds for the due observance of whichever should be determined by his Excellency.

If he had been as perfectly convinced of my innocence as he appeared to be before of my guilt, he could not have evinced it more decidedly. The expression of his countenance was suddenly changed from the forbidding and angry, to the open and benign; and he said to me, “No, Cleveland; I will take none of those precautions; your word of honor is sufficient, and I am convinced, if you made use of the expressions reported to me, it could only have been in an unguarded moment, and is, in a degree, palliated by the great provocations you have endured; but,” he added, with emphasis, “take care not to meddle with politics or religion, and depend upon my protection while you are a resident here.” Thus as a thundergust, whose violence threatens destruction to every thing within its range, passes harmlessly away, and is succeeded by serenity and sunshine,

so were my prospects suddenly changed from the most gloomy and adverse, to bright and favorable.

Although the cases of the *Beaver* and *Canton* (which were precisely similar) involved no questions of intricacy ; yet, to decide them, without the requisite waste of time, would have been entirely out of character ; neither justice, nor humanity could have excused it ; and so perfectly aware were we of this, that we only urged that the decisions might take place in time for Captain Biddle to take them to the United States, on his return from *Columbia river*. We had, therefore, to look forward to a period, of at least four months, in which, as no new questions were to be asked, my presence appeared entirely unnecessary, and my time lost, unless I could think of some plan for its employment.

It occurred to me that a great opening was presented for a very lucrative voyage, by taking to *Valparaiso* a cargo of the produce of *Peru*, and returning with wheat, if permission could be obtained ; and if a suitable neutral vessel could be procured. I made known my plan to a rich mercantile house, who readily agreed to furnish the capital on joint account, under my direction, and to procure from the *Viceroy* the requisite permit. The only obstacle, now, was the want of a ship ; but, as the voyage would afford to pay extravagantly, I had no doubt of obtaining any whaling ship that might enter the port, if not loaded.

These preliminary steps had hardly been taken, when there arrived precisely such a ship as was desired, with only sixty barrels of oil on board, having just arrived on the coast. I lost no time in applying to the captain to charter his ship ; and anticipating difficulties from the novelty of the undertaking to him, I expected to obviate

them, by the very tempting proposal I was prepared to make, for the use of his ship for three or four months ; which would be as advantageous as a year's successful fishing. I offered him for the voyage to Valparaiso and back to Callao, fifteen thousand dollars ; to pay additionally, if he should be more than three months performing it ; and to provide storage for his casks and whaling materials gratis. The proposal was considered so liberal and tempting, that he agreed to accept it ; but unfortunately, between his doing so and the papers being prepared for signing, his officers and men were guilty of some indiscretion, in consequence of a knowledge of this transaction, which induced him to apprehend that he was taking too great a responsibility upon himself, and he concluded to abandon the plan.

The failure of this first attempt to retrieve my affairs, was a great disappointment, especially after I had succeeded in overcoming all the other obstacles ; but there was no other neutral vessel in port, to be procured ; and consequently no other remedy than the exercise of that patience on which such large drafts had already been made.

Several weeks passed away, and I was each day anxiously looking out for the arrival of some other vessel, which would offer the prospect of putting my enterprise into execution ; but I looked in vain. As the Canton was a sharp-built vessel, and sailed very fast, the government determined to make use of her as a cruiser, during the time that an investigation into her case was going on. For this purpose, carpenters were busily engaged in making the requisite preparations for mounting a piece of artillery, on a pivot amidships, &c. &c. ; when a vessel of war was signalled, which was supposed to be the Ontario. Immediately all labor was sus-

pended, and preparation made to undo the work already done. But when the vessel, instead of the Ontario proved to be the British ship of war Blossom, the work was resumed, and the armament completed ; thus showing, among many other instances, the deference paid by the authorities to the presence of a national vessel, and its importance in securing the safety of property. The Canton, being equipped for war, sailed on a cruise in company with another armed ship, and assisted in capturing the Chilian-privateer Maipo, after a severe action. She was afterwards restored to her original master, and, after navigating the coast about a year, returned to the United States.

Impatient from inactivity, and such unprofitable expenditure of time, and aware how much more must be lost before the restoration of the ship should give me employment, I determined to find something to do. It appeared to me, that a trip to Valparaiso would be placing myself in the current of affairs, and that, should nothing advantageous present itself, it would be a change of scene ; and that my expenses would be scarcely greater than if I remained stationary at Lima. As the Andromache, English frigate, was on the point of sailing for that port, I succeeded with her commander in obtaining a passage ; and having procured a passport from the Viceroy, I embarked, and sailed on the morning of the 3d of August.

The beautiful manner in which the ship was got under way, made a strong impression on my mind, from an exhibition of discipline which I had never before seen. When the marines were dismissed after the morning parade, the colors hoisted, and the national air, "God save the King," played, every officer and man being at his

station, and the capstern manned, a signal was made by the captain, to heave ahead ; the cable came in briskly ; the anchor was soon tript, and up ready for hooking the cat. While the ship was swinging round, the men, who had been stationed for the purpose, at the shrouds of each mast, on a signal given, ran up simultaneously to cast loose the sails, while the requisite number were stationed below, to sheet home, and hoist up ; so that almost in a moment, the ship was under a crowd of sail, and swiftly leaving the port ; and all this effected without a word being spoken, and as if by the effect of magic.

We arrived at Valparaiso, after a delightful passage of twenty-four days. I cannot allow the pleasant time I spent on board this frigate to pass without some notice, and without acknowledging the erroneous impressions I had imbibed, of a British ship of war. In common with many others, and especially those, like myself, whose reminiscences were of a date as remote as our revolutionary war, I had imagined an English man-of-war to be a small epitome of hell, where tyrannizing over the crew constituted the principal enjoyment of the officers. That there were great abuses of this kind in the navy, from a very early period, up to the alarming revolt under President Parker, I have no doubt, any more than I have that abuses have occasionally existed since ; but, on board the *Andromache*, there was never any unnecessary severity.

Captain Sheriffe, having had the advantage of moving in the most elevated and polished society at home, and of receiving his professional education from one of the most able commanders in the British navy, united the manners and urbanity of the gentleman, to those of the skilful and accomplished commander. His indefatiga-

ble perseverance in attending to the protection of the commercial interests of his country, and his judicious conduct in his intercourse with the governments of Chili and Peru, in the most trying times, were no less evidence of his superior abilities, than of the wisdom and discrimination of those who appointed him. Nor did these important duties interfere with those of his ship's company, to whose morals, manners, cleanliness, and comfort he was attentive, at the same time granting them so many innocent indulgences, that they certainly constituted the happiest ship's company I had ever seen.

With such a commander, the officers could not fail to be gentlemanly in their deportment, and attentive to their duty ; but, independently of such example, there was evidently an innate desire among them to second the views of their worthy commander ; and, messing with them, I had good opportunity of witnessing a degree of amiability, harmony, and good fellowship, which, unfortunately, is not always met with in the ward-room. Of their kind attention to me, and desire to make me comfortable, I shall always retain a grateful recollection.*

With Captain Sheriffe, the passengers, of whom there were four beside myself, were invited to dine in rotation, and my turn was, generally, two or three times a week. An excellent band, of about twenty performers, always played during dinner ; invariably beginning with " God

* One of the Lieutenants was a son of the Admiral Cochrane, who, by stripping me of my property, in the West Indies, created the necessity for my being now voyaging in the Pacific. He was a gentlemanly young man ; and was ignorant of the suffering his father had caused me.

save the King," and ending with "Rule Britannia." After dinner, the men were usually exercised at the great guns ; and if the weather was ever so fine, the topsails were always reefed before sunset. Sparring, fencing, and dancing, were the amusements of the midshipmen, in which the Captain would frequently join.

The seamen, also, had their hours of relaxation, music, and dancing, once or twice a week. Sunday never failed to be duly hallowed. Soon after breakfast, every officer appeared on the quarter-deck in his uniform ; the marines were dressed clean and paraded. The gun-deck, having been previously prepared with benches, and a temporary pulpit, at a signal given (usually about ten o'clock) every one attended worship, which was performed with as much solemnity and decency, as I ever witnessed in any church. The chaplain never failed to give a plain, good, moral lesson, perfectly adapted to the understandings of his audience ; and such as they could not fail to profit by. The music, from the full band, was delightful ; and when they played, as they often did, the Portuguese and Pleyel's hymns, which were familiar to me, they called up associations of by-gone and happier days.

On the 24th, we passed between the Islands Masafuera and Juan Fernandez ; the next day was passed in sailing by the latter, to the southward of it ; and the day after, we arrived at Valparaiso. In the numerous passages I have made at sea, I have no recollection of any one that afforded such a course of uninterrupted enjoyment, and which was so entirely pleasant as this in the *Andromache*. It has made an agreeable impression on my mind, which will never be obliterated.

CHAPTER XIII.

Visit to the Governor. — Difference in Effect of old and new Government. — Tariff. — Mistaken Policy. — Meet some of the Beaver's Men. — Expectation of Arrival of Supreme Director. — Rejoicing on his Arrival. — Meet with Ribas. — Introduced to the Supreme Director. — Proposal to enter the Service. — Charter a Brig. — Embargo. — Journey to Santiago. — Cuesta de Prado. — Maipo. — Sketch of the City. — Return to Valparaiso.

IMMEDIATELY after coming to anchor, I went on shore with the Captain of the port, who conducted me to the Governor's, where I was interrogated concerning the affairs of Lima. After answering a multitude of questions, and delivering to the Governor all the letters of which I had charge, I was permitted to take leave, and to pursue my own private affairs. While seeking the residence of our worthy consul, Mr. Hill, with whom I intended transacting my business, I accidentally and unfortunately met a relative from Boston, who persuaded me, that the house with which he was intimate, Higginson, O'Brien, & Co. would do my business more advantageously than any other in the place. Relying on this information, I accompanied my friend to this house ; was introduced to the partners of it ; accepted their invitation to take up my quarters with them, and had my baggage transported there.

These important preliminaries being settled, I had an opportunity of leisurely traversing those streets, which my friend Shaler and I had trodden together, sixteen

years before. The government was then of the most despotic character, and the most determined feature of it was the exclusion of all foreigners, excepting those in distress, for whom provision was made by treaty. The government now professed to be republican ; but it was so in name only, as the military tyranny was as great as it ever had been. But the admission of foreigners, and their commerce, gave an air of life and activity, which was never before known.

The lapse of so many years appeared to have made no alteration in the aspect of the town. It was as exactly what it was when I was here before, as if time had stood still ; no new houses, no improvements ; and the greater bustle in the streets was caused by the foreigners. The most striking feature presented, to mark the difference between that period and this, was the harbour, in which there were then two or three merchant vessels, with the royal flag hoisted. Now the harbour was crowded, and besides the Chilian vessels of war, the flags of many of the European nations, as well as that of the United States, were seen displayed.

But the resources of Chili are yet unequal to supporting a great commerce ; and political economy is so little understood by its rulers, that they fail to derive all the advantage from it, of which it is susceptible. This, among other things, is manifested in their blindness to the truth of the seeming contradiction, that more revenue is collected when the duty on imports is ten per cent, than when it is forty. Yet, as this last was the policy of the old government, they adhere to it ; so that, although this government is but of yesterday, there exists the same system of smuggling, and the same degree of corruption in the revenue officers, that was prac-

tised under the old régime. And it is most probable, that the present generation will pass away before the public injury arising from this wretched policy is detected, and then another one, before it is corrected.

In my wanderings about the town, I fell in with the boatswain and the cook of the Beaver, both of whom were among the number who escaped in the boat at Talcahuana. The former had seen hard and dangerous service, but had also shared in a prize, from which he derived more emolument than he would if he had performed the voyage in the Beaver safely. The latter was one of the number who boarded the Esmeralda from the Lautaro, and was so fortunate as to secure a retreat when he perceived the ships to be separating. He informed me that our carpenter, Svend Anderson, was also among those who boarded the Spanish frigate; but, less fortunate than his shipmate, he was slain on that ship's deck. It is due to this man, *en passant*, to say, that he was an excellent carpenter, an orderly, active, and industrious man, and was probably induced to engage in this enterprise from want of employment. The two first were so well pleased with the excitement incident to the pursuit of war, and to the greater emoluments they might chance to derive from it, that they declined my proposal of returning with me to Lima, to join their old ship again.

As it was known that the Supreme Director would soon come to Valparaiso, to be present at the sailing of the fleet, I relinquished the plan of proceeding directly to Santiago, as I had intended. Great bodies, however, are proverbial for moving slowly, as this instance verified, for more than a week had elapsed from the time when, according to public rumor, he should have ar-

rived. At length, however, the extended cavalcade was seen over the distant hills, making its way towards the town, and the long-expected chief and his family, with the proper military escort, arrived amid a cloud of dust, the clang of arms, the roar of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the welcoming cheer of the mob.

While at my door, engaged in seeing the procession pass, and as I supposed, unknowing and unknown to everybody, I was much surprised to see a person leave the procession, and, approaching me with earnestness, call me by name. He immediately dismounted to salute me, and I then perceived it to be Francis Ribas, the young gentleman who came out as clerk of the Beaver, and escaped in the boat as before narrated. We had then time only to exchange mutual acknowledgments of satisfaction, at this very unexpected meeting. The next day we met again, when he apologized for leaving me as he had done at Talcahuana, and related his very narrow escape. He said, that the balls from the musketry of the pursuers passed far ahead of their boat, but fortunately no person was hurt ; that the Patriot cavalry were watching their approach, and were ready at the sea-shore to receive them and arrest further pursuit ; that he was conducted to the Commander-in-chief at Concepcion, who received him very kindly, and provided him with the means of proceeding to Santiago, where he recommended his going to see the Supreme Director ; that his reception by this chief had been of the most friendly character ; that he renewed his wardrobe ; took him into his family, and gave him employment in the Secretary's office, to which he was then attached. Indeed, I found that my friend Ribas, like the others who escaped with him, had changed his prospects so

much for the better, as to have no desire to join the Beaver again.

By Mr. Ribas I was introduced to the Supreme Director, O'Higgins, whose father had been greatly distinguished in the Chilian annals as a public benefactor. This son probably owed his high post to the veneration existing for his father's memory, for although admitted to be a man of good moral character, and of a good heart, there was nothing but his name and fortune to make him a prominent candidate for the responsible office of Supreme Director, even in quiet times, much less in those of revolution and war, like the present. His appearance was plain, simple, and becoming a republican, approximating more to that of an honest farmer, than to the refinement of a gentleman. He received me with great cordiality, expressed much sympathy in the misfortunes and perplexities I had suffered, hoped I should recover the property so unjustly taken from me, &c. He then made many inquiries relative to the state of affairs at Lima ; how the military and naval forces were then disposed of ; whether there were any rumors circulating of an attack from the Chilian squadron ; if the people appeared to apprehend such an attack, &c. To all which queries I replied in as laconic a manner as possible.

Mr. Ribas had undoubtedly impressed him very favorably towards me, for, in this first interview, he offered me a commission in the Chilian navy. Making due acknowledgment for the favorable opinion this proposal indicated, I told him that there existed scarce a doubt of the restoration of my ship ; that, however much I should be pleased to use my efforts in promoting the cause of the revolution, my duty to my employers was

paramount, and forbade my neglecting their interest, for this or any other purpose. As he had expressed so much feeling for my misfortunes, I was induced then to ask him, so far to contribute to their relief, as to grant me permission to lade a small vessel with wheat for Lima. He encouraged me to expect that this permission would be given; but said he must first consult his secretaries, and would give an answer the next day. The interview having continued nearly an hour, to the great annoyance of many who were waiting in the antechamber, I made my bow and retreated. On the presumption, that if the decision should be unfavorable to my taking a cargo of wheat, there could exist no possible objection to my going in ballast, I had already chartered the English brig *Livonia*, to lade for Lima and thence back to Valparaiso with another cargo, for nine thousand dollars. In the expectation of a favorable answer from the Supreme Director, I waited on him the next day, at the hour appointed, and was disappointed to find him less disposed to accede to my wishes than I had any reason to expect, from the interview of yesterday. The secretaries, I had ascertained, urged the impolicy of granting such privilege, exclusively to one individual, and suggested the advantage that would result to the revenue, by making it general. In conformity with this idea, it was immediately proclaimed, that licenses for lading wheat for Lima, would be granted, on condition of paying an export duty of four dollars the fanega. This duty was nearly double the original cost, and with the duty and charges in Lima would make it come so high as to afford no prospect of benefit, and determined me, therefore, to have nothing to do with it. My best course now appeared to be, to proceed, as soon as pos-

sible, to Lima, and to depend on the profits of the return cargo, or on freight, for the requisite compensation.

With this intention, the brig being ready, I was on the point of sailing, when I had a proposition to lade the vessel with manufactures. There were two objections to this ; the first, was the fear of an embargo, which there was no doubt would take place prior to the sailing of the fleet ; the second, was the uncertainty of obtaining the admission of such a cargo at Lima. The first difficulty was obviated by the contractor engaging to lade the vessel in five days, and if not so laden, she was to proceed with what she had on board, at the expiration of that time. The second, by his stipulating, that if the cargo should not be admitted at Lima, and the brig should in consequence, be compelled to return with it to Valparaiso, he would pay the amount of the charter. Thus having a fair prospect of reaping great advantage, without incurring any risk, I closed the contract, and immediately set about loading the brig.

Before the five days had elapsed, however, my apprehension of the embargo was realized. It was proclaimed to exist till the sailing of the fleet. Although this act was dictated by prudence and wisdom at this time, yet my impatience became so great that I had serious thoughts of eluding it, by going off alone in a boat ; in which I should have no doubt of reaching Lima in safety. But beside the assurance, that the fleet would sail at the time appointed, and that the embargo would be raised immediately after, was to be taken into consideration, the effect of such an act upon the enterprise on which I had already engaged, and these causes combined to produce the requisite resignation.

On perceiving that a month, at least, must elapse before the embargo would be raised, during which, to remain idle at Valparaiso would be very tedious, I determined to fill up the time by making a visit to the Chilian capital. Accordingly, early in September, I set out with a party of three, on this journey, on horseback, for the roads were too rough for the use of light carriages. As there was no cause for hurrying, we jogged on very leisurely, taking three days to perform a journey of only thirty leagues. The exercise, being of a kind to which I was entirely unaccustomed, was, however, very fatiguing to me. We found no other accommodation for travellers, on this road, than such as is offered by the houses of the peasantry, which is indeed very miserable, bad enough to induce an effort to go through in a day, if possible. That the road was as good as we found it, was owing chiefly to the indefatigable exertions of a former President, O'Higgins, who evinced a mind of no ordinary compass, in planning and causing to be executed, that part of the road which leads to the city over the Cuesta de Prado, or hill of the meadow, a labor of such great utility, and of such (for the time when it was made) stupendous magnitude, as to perpetuate his name.

The borders of the zigzag road, over this hill, are lined with shrubbery, among which the thornbush prevailed, which, being at this time in blossom, perfumed the air with a delicious fragrance. At the summit, the view is very extensive, beautiful, and magnificent, increased by the invariable clearness of the atmosphere. The northern view is limited by the towering Andes. The southern and eastern, by hills of less magnitude; the intervening space being beautiful, rich, and well-

irrigated meadows. As far as a judgment could be formed of the agricultural state of the country, from the transient view taken on our route, I should suppose it to be susceptible of great improvement. We reached the house of our friend at Santiago in the evening, after crossing the Cuesta de Prado, so much fatigued, that I was very glad to retire early to bed. A good night's rest was attended with refreshing effects ; and with renovated energy I went forth, in the morning, " to see the lions."

The impressions made, on a first ramble over this city, are prepossessing. It had more the air of cleanliness, and attention to the comforts of the most numerous class, the pedestrians, than any other Spanish city I had ever seen. A week's residence within its walls made me familiar with its streets, public buildings, walks, &c. ; of which I shall attempt only a hasty sketch. This capital of the Chilian republic is situated on a fine fertile plain, at the foot of the Andes. The river Mapocho, over which a fine bridge of stone is erected, connecting the suburbs with the city, is prevented inundating the city, during the period of freshets, by strong barriers of masonry on each side. That on the side of the city, in addition to the original purpose, forms one of the most agreeable and most frequented public walks. The southern extremity of the plain is bounded by the river Maipo ; a name rendered for ever memorable in the Chilian annals, by the decisive victory gained over the invading Royal army, which unalterably established the independence of Chili.

In the eastern part of the city, rises abruptly from the plain a remarkable rocky hill, called St. Lucia, which is said, formerly, to have been fortified as a defence

against the Indians. This fortification has, by a late royal President, been renewed, and some cannon mounted on it, with a view to overawe the populace ; and hence the name of the President's Folly has been given to it.

In most Catholic cities, the churches are the structures most costly and magnificent ; and though Santiago is not deficient in this respect, yet the building called the Mint, and the exterior appearance of the custom-house, are far more imposing and magnificent than any other. The Mint, which was designed by, and built under the superintendence of, a native and self-taught architect, is the pride of the city, and indeed would be creditable to any city of Europe. But it is objected by some, that the resources of Chili, even, in her most prosperous days, would not justify its great expense. The private dwellings, excepting a greater proportion of houses of two stories, are built precisely like those of Lima, forming a hollow square or court, and occupying a great space of ground. The streets, which intersect at right angles, are generally of a good breadth, and, for the most part, clean ; and good side-walks prove, that plebeian comforts are more attended to here, than at Lima.

The Great Square, which is justly the boast of all Spanish cities, is very fine, each side measuring between four and five hundred feet. The Cathedral, Bishop's palace, Audiencia, and other fine buildings, form its sides ; and the centre is adapted to the exercise of troops. The women have no peculiarity of dress, like those of Lima, but observe the European fashions. They are generally admitted to be pretty and amiable, and no more cultivated than is proper to

make them fitting companions for the men. The population is estimated at sixty thousand. On the whole, it must be admitted, that Santiago possesses a climate which is unrivalled for its salubrity, that it is a desirable residence for the man of leisure, for the philosopher, or for men in office ; but, as a commercial city, it can never be great or flourishing.

The object of my visit to Santiago being accomplished, — that of wearing away so much time, — I returned to Valparaiso, accompanied by one of the gentlemen who came up with me. We passed one night only on the road ; and, at the close of the second day's journey, reached our destination, less fatigued than with our ride up. As the embargo was not yet raised, my absence had, in no degree, retarded or injured my business ; and I derived no less satisfaction from this consideration, than from having accomplished an object requiring a kind of exertion to which I was entirely unused, — riding on horseback.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sail for Callao. — Arrival. — Revocation of the Decree of Condemnation. — Overtures to buy the Ship. — Take Possession of the Beaver. — Obligation to Captain Biddle. — Livonia. — Obligation to Captain Sheriffe. — Embargo. — Blossom, English Vessel of War. — Judge Provost. — His bad Odor with the Viceroy. — Difficulty of procuring Men. — Obviated by Prisoners. — Capture of Isabella. — Expectation of the Chilian Fleet. — Remove the Beaver below the Fleet. — Ready for Sea.

THE squadron, on whose account the embargo had been laid, having sailed, and the Supreme Director having returned to Santiago, I waited in daily expectation of being permitted to sail ; but such permission was not granted till the 28th of October, when the sailing of the British frigate *Andromache*, for Lima, left no further plea for our detention. Accordingly, we sailed the next day, in the *Livonia*, for Callao. During the passage we experienced no other than the favorable breezes, fine weather, and smooth sea, which is so common in making this passage, and, after twelve days, arrived safely at Callao.

Before coming to anchor, a boat came alongside from the *Ontario*, in which I went immediately on board that ship to see Captain Biddle. He received me very cordially ; told me he had been earnestly attempting to bring the government to a decision in the cases of the *Beaver* and *Canton* ; that, with this view, he had stated to the Viceroy the sensation which had been caused in

the United States by the capture of these vessels ; the importance of their restoration to a continuance of the harmony which existed between their respective governments, and the hope that a favorable decision would be made in time to take it with him to the United States. These representations were earnest, friendly, in accordance with duty, and doubtless had an effect in hastening the business ; but the restoration of the ship, and what remained of her cargo, were acts entirely independent of these efforts, and are of a description, which prudential reasons prevent being made public.

At length, on the 20 th of November, the long looked-for decree was issued, revoking that of Talcahuana, declaring that no cause of condemnation had existed, and that the ship, and whatever portion of the cargo remained in the government stores, should be restored forthwith, and that I must seek for the residue and damages where I thought proper.

There had existed no doubt of this decision ; but the ship, having been twelve months in the hands of the Spaniards, was in a very dilapidated state. A crew could be obtained only with great difficulty ; and the original object of the voyage was destroyed. A merchant of Lima, of the first respectability, aware of these circumstances, and presuming that my course would be the short and common one, in such cases, of selling the ship at public auction, for the benefit of the underwriters, made overtures to me to buy her in for joint account, to be employed in freighting on the coast. His furnishing the money, and my commanding the ship, were to be considered a balance for each other, and the profits to be equally divided. The proposal was a tempting one ; as there was no doubt, it would

lead directly to fortune. But it was obvious, if the ship could be advantageously employed, it should be for account of owners and underwriters ; and feeling that in making up to them any portion of the property which had been lost, while under my care, would be more gratifying to me than the acquisition of fortune under such circumstances, I did not hesitate to decline the proposal.

On the 25th of November, an officer of the royal marine, having been appointed to deliver up the ship to me, I went on board with him, accompanied by a few men from the Ontario, and took formal possession of the ship, and such of her sails, rigging, and stores, as remained. These being very few, the business of reception was soon accomplished, when we discharged a cannon, and displayed the American colors, once more, on the Beaver. This signal being understood on board the Ontario, a strong detachment of men, with Lieutenant Stephens at their head, came on board, and before night had completely stripped the ship to a girtline.

If the Spaniards are filthy on board their own ships, it was fair to presume they would be more so on board one, which was supposed to be held only temporarily. We were therefore not surprised, to find the Beaver dirty in the extreme. Indeed, had we not had the good fortune of obtaining an abundant supply of men from the Ontario, much time must have been expended before we could have accomplished the requisite labor. With these the ship was cleansed and rigged in a very short time, compared with that in which it could have been done with the laborers attainable at Callao, and at a less expense. For this I felt myself greatly indebted to Captain Biddle, who extended his kindness still

further, by supplying a want, which was imperative, and which I was unable to provide for in any other way, namely, that of a person to act as first officer ; and one who would be qualified to take charge of the ship and property in the event of accident to myself. This person was midshipman Alexander B. Pinkham, an active, efficient, and intelligent officer, whose services were invaluable. The obligation, therefore, of owners and master to Captain Biddle, great as it was before, was much increased by this manifestation of desire to do all in his power for us. Indeed, his efforts were not confined to the rule prescribed by duty. He remained many days after being ready for sea, that I might have the benefit of his influence in obtaining a privilege which I sought, that of introducing a cargo into Lima from China, and in procuring an acknowledgment, and some kind of liquidation, of the debt.

The first object was defeated, by the opposing influence of the factors of the Philippine Company ; but the Viceroy promised, in lieu of it, to grant some special privileges on the Peruvian coast. It was apparent, however, that there was no sincerity in these promises ; and, as further delay would be prejudicial to the service, without benefiting us, Captain Biddle determined to lose no more time, and sailed on the 6th of December for Valparaiso, on his way to the United States.

In the mean time, the impediments that had been thrown in the way, by the Consulado and merchants of Lima, to prevent the *Livonia* from landing her cargo, were of so serious and determined a character, that nothing short of its being met with equal determination, on the part of Captain Sheriffe, of the *Andromache*, could have saved the enterprise from defeat. In the

course of a week after her arrival, the *Livonia* had been three times ordered by the Viceroy to leave the port, and each time had taken refuge under the guns of the *Andromache*. At length, with a degree of perseverance, not inferior to that which had been manifested by Captain Biddle in our behalf, permission was obtained by Captain Sheriffe to trans-ship the cargo. This permission was understood by both parties to mean, that while a small portion was sent on board another ship, to be taken out leisurely, the greater was to be taken ashore. By this Jesuitical manœuvre, the opposition of the Consulado was appeased, and the object obtained with but little additional trouble and expense.

As soon as the brig was unloaded, I obtained permission to relade her with a cargo of Peruvian produce for Chili; but as there existed a probability of great competition, I was afraid to risk a large amount on my own account; and, therefore, loaded only one fourth the tonnage, taking the other three fourths on freight. With a view of arriving at Valparaiso before any of the other vessels, intended to be laden for that port, I had made great exertions and spared no expense, but I was again destined to experience delay and disappointment. The *Livonia*, being all ready for sea, the 15th of January, 1819, I applied for the requisite clearance, and was informed that it could not be granted; inasmuch, as an embargo was then laid on all ships in port, till the *St. Antonio* (with treasure) should have sailed for Spain. Though from taking on freight so large a portion of the lading of the *Livonia*, I had already secured a handsome emolument from my enterprise, this detention, by favoring competitors, seemed to annihilate the

brilliancy of the prospect first presented ; but there was no other resource than patience.

Early in this month (January, 1819,) arrived the English sloop of war Blossom, Captain Hickey, from Columbia River, having on board Judge Provost, of New York. This vessel had been despatched to Columbia River for the purpose of making a formal surrender of Astoria to Judge Provost, — the agent of the United States, — appointed for that and other purposes in the Pacific. This business appears to have been accomplished to mutual satisfaction, as both parties gave evidence of a reciprocity of kind feeling.

It would have been advantageous for the American interest here, if equal good feeling had existed between the American Agent and the Viceroy ; but, unfortunately, the very reverse was the case. This Agent, from being the first American who ever appeared in the Peruvian capital in a public capacity, not less than from the favorable disposition of the Viceroy towards us, had an opportunity of obtaining commercial advantages, and of rendering services to his countrymen in various ways, which no other foreigner ever possessed before ; but these were entirely paralysed and lost, by his incapacity of concealing his hostility to the royal government, and by his being a partisan of the revolutionists. His sentiments on these points were expressed so imprudently, so unnecessarily, and in so unreserved a manner, that they gave great offence to the Viceroy, and were productive of such coolness, that the common civility which is expected to be observed by a private individual on leaving the country, was either dispensed with by the Viceroy, or purposely

neglected by the Diplomatist. From the acquaintance I here formed with Mr. Provost, I was fully persuaded of the sincerity of his sympathy in my misfortunes, and of his satisfaction at my prospect of surmounting them ; but as to being indebted to his exertions and address for the restoration of the Beaver, as is recorded in one of the New York Gazettes of the day, so far from this being the case, his interference could not have failed to be prejudicial ; and, aware of this, he did not use any.

While all commercial operations were suspended by the embargo, I was busily engaged in having the Beaver prepared to be ready for sea, as soon as it should be raised. For this purpose, we were kindly supplied with the requisite number of men from the *Andromache*, as none were procurable from shore ; indeed, such was the scarcity of foreign seamen, that to collect the number required for the Beaver, appeared impossible. In making the exertions which I did for the restoration of the ship, which were the cause of that restoration, in undertaking the arduous task of manning and victualling the ship in a place so difficult as that of Callao, and in pursuing a freighting business on the coast, with no other than a crew made up of the most disorderly men, I was actuated only by an ambition to retrieve the loss, and to convince my employer that his confidence had not been misplaced, as this plan was entirely independent of my own private emolument. Indeed, as far as my own interest was concerned, the obligation to which the restoration of the ship subjected me, was manifestly very detrimental ; as, but for this, with far less trouble, I could have obtained much greater profit.

As it was desirable, on various considerations, to lose no time after the embargo should be raised, the ship was put in complete readiness ; but the difficulty of procuring men seemed to be insurmountable. As a last resource, though a somewhat hopeless one, I made known my embarrassment to the Viceroy, stating to him, that the restoration of my ship would be of no advantage without men ; that men were not procurable at Callao, and that it would be conferring a great obligation, if he would permit me to select twelve or fifteen men from among the prisoners in the castle of Callao. He hesitated some moments at this proposal ; but, after a little reflection, assented, on the condition that I would engage to do all in my power to prevent their again joining the ships of the enemy.

Acceding to this condition, the observance of which was more important to me than to him, he gave me an order to the governor of the castle, to deliver me fifteen men. There were, at this time, nearly a hundred prisoners in the castle ; a large portion of whom had been taken in the Chilian privateer *Maipo*. They were of all nations, but principally English and Americans. As soon as they knew that I had an order for the release of fifteen of their number, the solicitude of all was so great to be among the fortunate ones, that making the selection was a task so disagreeable, that I relinquished it to the jailer, and took the chance of having inferior men. Having selected and taken the names of the men, they were not permitted to go on board till the embargo should be raised.

I had not yet obtained the license for lading with wheat and rice at Guanchaca, whence a freight was

offered, but was daily encouraged by the Viceroy to expect it ; for, although the Lima ship-owners were afraid to send their ships out, they were so clamorous against the novelty of substituting foreign ships in the coasting trade, that the Viceroy appeared to be intimidated, and deferred from day to day the promised license.

A visit from the Chilian squadron was generally and soon expected. Its augmented force, resulting from the recent capture at Talcahuana, of the Royal frigate *Maria Isabella*, and the circumstance of Lord Cochrane's having been appointed to the supreme command, were known at Lima. Being impressed with the idea, that this commander had been distinguished for intrepidity, where all were intrepid, and recollecting that he had been selected as best fitted to lead the party destined to burn the French fleet in Basque Roads, I presumed that burning that of Callao would be no more than sport for him ; and never failed to express this opinion, whenever the expected attack was the subject of conversation. In confirmation of this belief, I took the precaution to move the *Beaver* some way below the shipping.

I had been repeatedly urged by Mr. Provost not to incur the risk of having my ship burned, by waiting for a license, which he did not believe would ever be given to me ; but, to leave the place before the arrival of the fleet might cut off all possibility of doing so. The advice, I knew to be well intended and disinterested ; but, it was certain, that he could not be so competent to judge of the risk of having the ship burned, as I was ; and as to his opinion of the Viceroy's intentions,

he was too blinded by prejudice to form a correct one ; therefore, I preferred my own course, which was that of persevering until there should be an opening for some advantageous operation, for which the promised license would be granted.

CHAPTER XV.

Embargo raised. — Arrival of the Chilian Fleet. — Cannonading with the Batteries. — Useless Result. — Removal of the Beaver. — Disposition of the Crew to desert. — Visit the Viceroy. — Obtain a License. — Chilian Proclamation of Blockade. — Visit Lord Cochrane's Ship. — Insolence of her Captain. — Sail for Pisco. — Arrival there. — Mutiny of the Crew. — Suppressed. — Sail for Guanchaca.

ON Sunday, the 21st of February, the *Andromache*, with Mr. Provost as passenger, and the *Livonia* under her convoy, sailed for Valparaiso; at the same time sailed the *Blossom*, with a large amount of treasure; and the English brig *Alexander*, both destined for Rio Janeiro. As the *Livonia* was now fairly on her way to Valparaiso, as no other of the neutral vessels had yet begun to lade for that port, and as the arrival of the Chilian squadron, momentarily expected, might prevent them, I began to entertain more flattering expectations of my speculation, and to regret that I had not taken a greater interest in it.

Although the *San Antonio* had not sailed, yet she was so nearly ready, that the Viceroy did not consider it of importance to require Captain Sheriffe to defer his departure any longer on this account. In this, however, there was an evident want of judgment; as Captain Sheriffe fell in with the Chilian squadron, in forty-eight hours after leaving Callao. It is presumable, that the Chilian commander obtained no information of the

San Antonio being on the point of sailing, otherwise he would not have proceeded immediately for Callao, but would have remained out of sight, to windward, where this rich ship would have fallen into his hands. Fortunately for the owners of the property on board this ship, her departure was deferred from day to day, until the 28th of February, when the arrival of the Chilian squadron put it out of the question.

This is the season of the year when the atmosphere is almost incessantly enveloped in a thick fog, and it was at this time extremely dense. It happened that the Viceroy had selected this day to make his annual visit to the fleet and line of defence recently completed. While on this duty, and making a circuit in the bay, on board the brig Maipo, unsuspecting of danger, his retreat was near being cut off, and himself made prisoner, by the O'Higgins and the Lautaro, Chilian ships of war. The brig had just returned, and come to anchor, when, the fog dispersing, presented these two ships within half cannon-shot distance of the castle. The Maria Isabella or O'Higgins, as now called, displayed the American flag, but this was disregarded at the fort; as, immediately, the cannonading began from the castle, fort, and men-of-war. The guns, however, were evidently elevated for ships at a greater distance, as, for a few minutes, we saw the shot, falling in abundance, a long way outside the Chilian ships; and then again every object was hidden from our sight, by a return of the fog. As neither party could now see any object to aim at, we had soon evidence that they were firing at random, for several shot passed between our masts, and were striking the water, both inside and outside of the Beaver. Fearing, therefore, that the ship might sustain

some serious injury, we slipped our cables, and made sail to get out of the way. In the course of ten minutes, we perceived ourselves to be close alongside a large ship, which proved to be the *San Martin*, of sixty-four guns, Captain Wilkinson. The fog continuing to be so dense that friend could not be distinguished from foe, — we came near having the whole broadside of that heavy ship poured into us ; every man was at his station, matches lighted, and waiting only the word, fire ; when they perceived us to be a merchant ship, with the American flag.* We soon after came to anchor about four miles below Callao, where we were joined by the other neutral vessels, two of which had been struck by shot from the batteries.

The *O'Higgins* and the *Lautaro*, favored by the fog, had reached a most advantageous position for cutting out the Spanish vessels, before a gun had been fired ; the *San Martin* was near, and ready to afford succour, in case the other ships should be crippled in their spars, or otherwise ; and there was, all the time, a fine leading breeze, which would enable them to bring away any prizes they might make, or to retreat themselves, if it should be found necessary. Under so favorable a coincidence of circumstances, the complete success of the enterprise, by the capture of all the Spanish vessels in port, seemed to be inevitable, although it could be done only at the expense of a great sacrifice of life, on either side, — a consideration of trifling weight, generally, in enterprises of this description. An incessant and tremendous cannonading had been kept up, for

* While speaking this ship, five of my men jumped overboard, and were taken up by her boat, sent for the purpose.

about half an hour, after which we heard only an occasional gun, and then a dead silence succeeded. It was now evident that the battle had ceased ; but who were the victors, or who the vanquished, whether we were to see the Spanish fleet brought away by the Chilian, or the latter crippled and flying before their enemy, were events of the most interesting and exciting character, but of which we were unable to form an opinion, owing to the extreme density of the fog. At length, the fog dispersing, we perceived the Chilian fleet within about a mile of us, unaccompanied by any prize, and apparently uninjured. They came to anchor near the island of San Lorenzo. Such a result, such a failure under so favorable auspices, surprised everybody, and, by inspiring the Spaniards with increased confidence, augmented the hazard of a second attack.

While lying at anchor, at about two miles' distance from the Chilian fleet, a disposition was manifested, by my men, to desert to them. If they succeeded, it would be impossible to procure others, and the consequence would be ruinous. To avert such a misfortune, recourse to the most desperate means must be used, if others failed. I therefore secured the boats, loaded my pistols, and threatened with instant death any one who should make the attempt. A rigorous watch, by myself and officers, and a conviction on the part of the crew of the danger of the undertaking, kept them quiet. Early next morning, I proceeded to Callao, and experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining permission to land, but at length succeeded, and went immediately to Lima, where, on arrival, I lost no time, before waiting on the Viceroy, whom I found surrounded with officers, civil, military, and naval, summoned to delib-

erate on the best course to pursue in the existing emergency.

As he knew my ship was lying near those of the enemy, and presumed I might have had intercourse with them, he did not permit me to wait many minutes for an audience. But I could give him no information which he did not already possess, of the size of the ships, and the number of guns. Of the crews, whether their complement was full or not ; or whether the men were seamen or otherwise, I knew nothing. I then stated to his Excellency the mutinous disposition of the Beaver's men ; the difficulty I had experienced in preventing their joining the Chilians ; the only mode of preventing it being that of sending them to prison again, or of enabling me to take them away, by delaying no longer to furnish me with the promised license. The propriety and urgency of the last measure was so obvious, that, no longer regarding the remonstrances of the Lima ship-owners, he directed the Secretary immediately to make out a license for the Beaver, to proceed to Pisco, Guanchaca, and Pacasmayo. This was sent to me next day at Callao, whither I returned the same day.

I now applied to the General of Marine for launches, wherewith to get my cables and anchors, (which had been slipped,) and take them to the ship ; but he refused from the apprehension, that they might be taken from me by the enemy. I had, therefore, no other resource left, than that of going with the ship to the anchors. With this view, we got under way on the 2d of March, and beat up to where our anchors lay, which having recovered, we were ordered to move down again, as all

the neutral vessels had done, in order that we might not serve as a shield to the enemy, in case of an attack.

The intercourse of the neutrals with Callao, was now interdicted by the Royalists, and those of them who had not taken the precaution to supply themselves with water and provisions, were actually in distress, and could find but partial relief from their neighbours. Whilst the supercargoes and agents of the several neutral ships were suffering the greatest embarrassment from their non-communication with the shore, the difficulties were greatly augmented by a proclamation of the Chilian commander, Lord Cochrane, which was communicated to the masters of all the neutral vessels then present, declaring the whole coast of Peru, from its southern extremity to Guayaquil, in a state of vigorous blockade ; and giving neutrals until the 10th of March to settle their affairs, and remove themselves from its influence.

This measure seemed at first sight to threaten annihilation to the prospect presented by the license, of which I had been so long in pursuit, and was of so serious a nature, as to require much pondering upon the next step I should take. The incompetency of their naval force to a legal blockade, even of one eighth part of the coast declared to be blockaded, the origin of the measure, and the intention, being merely an apology for the plunder of neutrals, were circumstances so palpable, as to leave no doubt in the minds of the most unobserving. Recollecting that the government of the United States had manifested a determined disregard of the paper blockades of England and France, from whence this was imported, in a direct line, by his lordship in person, I had no doubt of protection from my government in disregarding this. Besides, to suppose, that the Chilian

Republic would hazard offending her best friend, by persisting in enforcing a measure evidently adopted with a view to plunder, by a few English adventurers, would be supposing her to act with a degree of imbecility inconsistent with her general policy since her attainment of independence.

From these considerations, as well as from not knowing what else to do with the ship, I determined to pursue the plan I had marked out at first ; and as the port of Callao must be considered now as legally blockaded, not to return there, until I had ascertained that the blockade was raised. This decision was in opposition to that of all the other neutral agents, and of the twelve neutral vessels then lying in Callao bay, the Beaver was the only one whose destination was not defeated, and prospects ruined by this proclamation of blockade.

Being all prepared to sail on the 8th of March, I went on board the O'Higgins frigate, to demand my men, but with no expectation of their restoration. Accordingly, when I made known to the Captain of that ship, an Englishman, by the name of Foster, the object of my visit, he not only peremptorily refused giving them up, but in the true insolent style, peculiar to John Bull, expressed a regret that more of them had not deserted. As I was going away he tauntingly held up the proclamation, and bid me beware of the consequences. I replied, that I was as well acquainted with my business as he was with his, therefore the caution or threat was unnecessary and misplaced.

As the Lautaro was laying near, I went on board to see Captain Guise, with whom I had become acquainted at Valparaiso. I found him in his cot, recovering from a slight wound received when exchanging shots with the

castle. The friendly and polite reception I experienced from this gentleman formed a striking contrast to that from Captain Foster, and presented a remarkable instance of the difference of conduct on the same occasion, of officers of the same grade ; one of whom had been reared and educated in polished society, and the other among the low and vulgar. Captain Guise expressed regret, that their present want of men was such, that no influence he could use with Lord Cochrane would be of any avail. In speaking of the proclamation of blockade, I did not fail to express my opinion, that the government of the United States would support me in not considering those ports blockaded before which there was no naval force, and that I had determined to act in conformity with that opinion, which he seemed to consider a correct one.

On returning to the Beaver without the men, I perceived a general manifestation of dislike, among the crew, to go to sea, with so many short of our complement ; but there was no possibility of procuring others, and delay would be more likely to change the aspect of affairs for the worse than the better. I therefore called all hands aft ; represented to them the easy and short voyage we had to perform ; that the numbers now on board were an ample complement for any voyage on this coast ; that I had considered we had an extra number, originally taken, in order to make the greater despatch in lading the ship ; but that, nevertheless, if they would go to work cheerfully and heave up the anchor, I would engage to divide among them the wages of the five men who had deserted, until I could ship others in their stead. This had the desired effect ; they went with alacrity to the windlass, hove up the anchor, made

sail, and at four P. M. I was once again on the broad ocean, in the uncontrolled command of the Beaver.

More than two years had elapsed since the seizure of the ship at Talcahuana ; and, during that time, I had experienced scarcely any thing but a continued series of vexations, altercations, and the most prolonged, and aggravating state of suspense. The freedom from thralldom, therefore, which I now experienced, was at first difficult to believe, and many days passed away before I possessed an entire consciousness of having regained the power of independent action. We stood off to the southwest, braced sharp to the wind until we had reached the desired latitude, and then tacked to the eastward.

As we approached the land we became enveloped in a thick fog, which caused the loss of several hours, while lying to in the hope of its dispersion. At length, it suddenly cleared away, and showed us, that in the endeavour to save time, we had infringed the bounds of prudence. The ship could not have been better placed, even had it been clear ; but we had approached the shore nearer than I supposed, being midway between Sangallan and the Chincha Islands, with Pisco right ahead, where we anchored at four P. M., just four days after our departure from Callao.

I immediately went on shore, and was met at the landing by the Subdelegate of Marine, Don Vincente Algorti, and a squad of armed soldiers. On being satisfied of the friendly character of my mission, the soldiers were dismissed, and I was conducted to town by the officer, and introduced by him to the Governor, Gonzalez, who, on being satisfied with the legitimacy of my passport, offered me all the aid in his power to facilitate my views. As it was late in the evening be-

fore I finished my interview with the Governor, and the surf was so great that I could not return to the ship without getting wet, I accepted the offer of Don Vincente to take a bed at his house ; and, as this gentleman had almost the exclusive commerce of the place, it gave me the opportunity of obtaining the requisite information relative to the object of my voyage. He told me, that at this season of the year only a small quantity of brandy and wine were usually procurable ; but he thought it probable the quantity I wanted might be obtained, and he would ascertain the next day.

In the mean time it was discovered, that a brig had anchored near Sangallan, which they suspected to be an enemy ; and were very desirous that I should reconnoitre. Accordingly I proceeded to the brig, which I found to be the *Frederick* of Stonington, on a sealing voyage, only four months from the United States. Here I was surprised to be recognised by the mate, who, seventeen years before, had been navigating these remote seas with me in the *Lelia Byrd*, as seaman. He had pursued the sealing business since, and by his good conduct, and great experience, had been advanced to a mate's berth. The report I made of this vessel, which at the same time was confirmed by the master, in person, tended to relieve the apprehensions of the good people of Pisco.

On the third day after our arrival, I sent off to the ship several launches loaded with brandy ; but so much care and adroitness were requisite in taking it on board, and in stowing it afterwards, that, although the stowing was done by experienced stevedores, we made but slow progress. To hoist a fragile jar, containing twenty gallons, up the high sides of a light ship, while rolling in an

open roadstead, required the attention of several men to guard it from striking, and great vigilance in the officer to see this duty properly performed ; yet, with all our care, many jars were broken.

The feebleness of my ship's company, which was particularly manifested when taking in cargo, the apprehension of desertion, and the impossibility of supplying the loss should any one of them desert, their knowledge of this, and probable presumption, that the indulgences they received might be still farther extended, induced them to attempt carrying into effect a measure, that would have led to the subversion of all discipline, and endangered the safety of the ship and cargo. This was an attempt to bring on board, and hold in their possession, a jar of brandy. I was not on board at the time ; but Mr. Pinkham, seeing the man with it, very judiciously endeavoured to persuade him to give it up, promising to serve it out to them in such quantities as should be most useful to them. But this they would not submit to, and swore they would do as they pleased with their own liquor. Perceiving remonstrance to be vain, and aware of the mischief that would result from its being in their possession, Mr. Pinkham very properly knocked the jar out of the fellow's hands, which broke it, and spilled all the brandy. The most abusive language then followed from several ; the mutiny became general, and all hands left off work. In the evening, one of the shore boats brought me a note detailing these transactions, and the continued insubordination of the crew. It was too late to go on board that evening ; and I had, consequently, time to revolve in my mind the most prudent and judicious mode of proceeding. I was offered a file of soldiers, to take as

many as I chose on shore, and have them whipped ; but, though this could easily be done, it would only tend to increase the difficulty when we should be out of the reach of this aid. It was obvious, that, to secure any further services from these men, they must be subdued by the efforts of myself and officers alone ; and, cost what it might, I determined to try the issue, and to convince them, that there could be but one master to the Beaver. The task was an arduous and a hazardous one, but there was no alternative.

Accordingly, on going on board, and finding my officers ready to second me, — all work on board continuing to be suspended, — we determined, that seizing up the ringleader to the shrouds, and giving him a good whipping before the whole crew, would be the readiest and best way of settling the difficulty ; but, if the men made the resistance which was apprehended, the attempt might be attended with serious consequences. Having loaded our pistols, and prepared the requisite seizings, I called the ringleader, by name, to come aft, which he did very readily, and no doubt with the expectation of support from his shipmates. I asked him how he dared to speak to the officer of the ship in the insolent manner he had done ? He replied with equal insolence, that the officer had broken his jar of brandy, and he would be damned if he, or any one else, should do any more work on board until it was made up to him. I then turned to the mates, and desired them to seize him up to the rigging. The crew, who had been watching the progress of the business from the fore-castle, now began moving aft in a body. I therefore immediately took a pistol in each hand, and, meeting them half way, leisurely laid a rope across the deck,

and threatened with instant death any man who should dare to cross it. This had the desired effect. No one had the temerity to try me ; and the fellow was whipped until he begged for mercy, and promised never to behave amiss again ; and indeed he was ever after, while on board, an orderly, good man. With my pistols still in hand, I then went forward, and peremptorily ordered the men to their duty, on pain of a like punishment to any one who refused. I did not allow them time for consultation ; as, calling them by name, I ordered them immediately on various parts of ship's duty. Not one of them saw fit even to hesitate ; and they were, ever after, as orderly a crew as I could desire. Having now passed a week at Pisco, and taken on board six hundred jars of brandy, and wine, we sailed for Guanchaca, and thus demonstrated, that this part of the coast was not in a state of blockade, in the true and legitimate acceptation of that term.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pisco. — Arrival at Guanchaca. — Alarm at Truxillo. — Unlading and Relading. — Galvarino. — Men detained on Shore. — Suspicion of our good Faith. — Proceed to Malabrigo. — Lose two Anchors. — Proceed to Pacasmayo. — Finish Loading. — Sail for Callao. — Touch at Guacho. — Hear of the Blockade being raised. — Arrival at Callao. — Sketches of Truxillo, Guanchaca, Malabrigo, Pacasmayo. — Satisfaction given the Viceroy. — Discharge the Cargo. — Proceed to Pisco. — Lade with Brandy. — Return to Callao. — Disappearance of the Volador.

PISCO is situated on a sandy plain, about one mile and a half from the sea-shore. It has two churches near the Great Square, one of which was built by the Jesuits. These indicate a degree of prosperity and riches, at the time they were built, which does not now exist. In their decaying and dilapidated state, in that of the private dwellings, and in the commerce, so meagre compared with what it might be, there is continued evidence of the withering effects attendant on the wretched policy, under which this people have so long suffered. The haciendas or farms, in the vicinity of Pisco, are very productive ; and their produce, brandy and wine, with which Lima, and the whole coast as far as Panama, is supplied, meets with a ready sale ; but the heavy duties on exports from thence, and on the imports at other places, tend greatly to cramp and diminish this commerce.

As the next port of our destination was little more

than five degrees to the northward of Pisco, we had a pleasant and easy sail before the wind, and on the third day after our departure, were off the town of Guanchaca, which, owing to a dense fog, we had passed, as we perceived on its clearing away, by discovering the church on the hill to windward of us. We therefore had to pass the day in tacking off and on, to gain the anchorage, which was not effected until sunset.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Truxillo and Guanchaca, who had heard of the blockade of Callao, and had no information of our coming, supposed us to be one of the Chilian squadron, and were thrown into the greatest consternation. All their military force was on the alert all day ; and although after coming to anchor I sent (by a couple of Indians) some letters from Lima, to merchants of Truxillo, tending to confirm my report of who we were, these were not sufficient to quiet their alarms. They were on the watch all night, and Truxillo remained in a state of confusion, until I went on shore (the next morning) and exhibited to the Governor the license of the Viceroy.

Immediately on landing, I was provided with a horse, and conducted to Truxillo, by a party of cavalry. Being escorted to the Governor's house, I found him and the Subdelegate of Marine waiting my arrival. Neither of these gentlemen appeared entirely to have recovered from the preceding night's alarm. The Governor, however, did give intimation of returning spirits, in my presence, by a severe reprimand to a respectable looking man, who happened to come in on business. Adverting to the confusion that reigned in the town, the preceding night, he angrily observed to him, that it had appeared as if every man would be Governor, but he

would let them know there was but one. Owing to the mail from Lima having been stopped by the freshets which rendered the rivers impassable, we were the bearers of dates ten days later from thence, than they were in possession of, notwithstanding our voyage first to Pisco ; consequently, as all information was particularly interesting and acceptable at this time, my visit was prolonged much beyond the time which is usual on a first interview.

Having finally completed it, my next object was to find the merchant to whom I had a letter of introduction, and with whom I expected to transact my business. I found him to be, as he had been represented to me, a modest, unassuming man, and with much decision of character. He at once made me a proposal for my brandy and wine, which appeared to be very fair, offering to pay me in wheat and rice, at the current price. This I promised to take into consideration, and to give an answer next morning. I then sought the family of Lynch, to whom I had a letter of introduction, from one of their connexions in Lima. This is a family of Irish descent, who inherited a very large landed estate in this vicinity. I accepted their invitation to take a bed at their house, and found them a very amiable, good-natured, and pious family of fanatics, their minds entirely subservient to the direction of crafty priests ; and their bodies actually suffering from the rigid observance of prescribed fasts. One of them, who had been a merchant, I consulted on the proposal made for my cargo, which he considered to be liberal, and advised my accepting it, which I did, accordingly. As the proceeds of my cargo from Pisco would not be sufficient to lade more than half the ship with wheat and rice, I

proposed taking freight, and soon had offered, at a high rate, more than sufficient to complete the lading of the ship.

Having disposed of the cargo, contracted for another, and engaged a person to provide the launches, the launchmen, and the tascaros, or men who take the cargo on their shoulders, and transport it from the launches to the beach, I returned to the ship the third day after leaving her, and immediately set about discharging and receiving cargo at the same time. We soon perceived that the roadstead of Guanchaca was a most uncomfortable place for a ship to lade. The distance at which it was necessary to anchor the ship from the landing, the slow process of loading and unloading the launches through the surf, and the three days, at every full and change of the moon, when the surf was so much increased as to cut off all communication between the ship and the shore, combined to call into requisition our whole stock of patience. We had been industriously engaged about ten days, had delivered about half our cargo, and received on board upwards of a thousand bags of wheat, when the cable parted, and the current setting to leeward, carried us some way from the anchorage, before we perceived ourselves drifting. We had, therefore, no other resource, than to make sail, and stand out to sea so far, as to secure a prospect of reaching our anchorage early in the morning. What rendered this business particularly onerous, was the circumstance, that, at the time of parting the cable, Mr. Pinkham, and half the crew, were ashore on duty.

As we approached the land, next morning, we saw a vessel making directly for us ; and which, on coming near, proved to be the Chilian brig of war Galvarino.

It was now evident, that I should soon know if he would act in conformity with the tenor of the proclamation of blockade. Accordingly, when within hail, he inquired, What ship? Answer; The Beaver. Question; What are you doing here, Sir? Answer; Loading with wheat. O, you are, I am glad to hear it; you are a good prize. Answer; Stop until I am fully loaded, and I shall then be a better prize. He then sent his boat, and requested me to come on board with my papers, which I complied with, and was treated with great civility by Captain Spry, with whom I had become acquainted at Valparaiso. After half an hour's conversation, he became convinced that he had better not molest me; he therefore, after endorsing my register, and returning me on board the Beaver, pursued his course, and left me at liberty to pursue mine.

Having thus fairly tested the degree of molestation to be apprehended from the Chilian cruisers, my confidence in the success of my voyage was greatly increased. But the circumstance, that had inspired *me* with confidence, had entirely annihilated that of the freighters. Having waited a considerable time, after coming to anchor, for the return of the officer and men, who had been left ashore, without seeing any thing of them, I was entirely at a loss how to account for it. But, as it did not occur to me that they could suspect me of treachery, I had no apprehension for my men, and therefore despatched the second mate and four hands to ascertain what had become of the first. These, on landing, were immediately taken into custody of the military, preparatory to being interrogated; and thus was I left, in an open roadstead, without an officer, and with only six men, until the next day, when they were permitted to return. The answer

I gave to Captain Spry, and which they ascertained by interrogating the sailors, was construed into an intent of giving the cargo to the enemy, when the lading should be completed; and was such confirmation of their suspicions, that those who had engaged to freight now declined doing so; and those who had freight on board were desirous of taking it out. As this was out of the question, and as it was evident no more freight could be obtained here, I determined to proceed to Malabrigo, and take on board what I knew to be there ready, on ship's account, and any freight that might offer.

On anchoring at Malabrigo, in the vicinity of which is the town of San Pedro, I had soon a number of applications to freight, and contracted for a considerable quantity, to be taken on board at Pacasmayo. The first freighters having gradually recovered their senses, came to us in the hope of persuading us to return, and fulfil the engagement, which they had broken. But their application was too late, and they were greatly disappointed, when they discovered that having contracted for other freight, sufficient to fill up the ship, it was not in my power to take theirs.

Having broken the stream anchor at Guanchaco, and lost a bower and a kedge at Malabrigo, our only dependence now for completing our lading at Pacasmayo, was on the only remaining bower anchor. This, however, served us; and on the 19th of May, having a cargo on board exceeding in weight thirteen thousand quintals, which brought the ship's chainwales almost even with the water, we sailed for Callao. As I had been able to obtain no information from Callao since I left it, I was very anxious to know the state of affairs

before venturing too near. I therefore looked in to Guacho, where perceiving a brig at anchor, with English colors displayed, I sent the boat to obtain information, while the ship was lying to. On returning, I was rejoiced to learn, that the Chilian squadron had left the bay of Callao nearly a month since, and that there was no impediment to entering there. This brig (the *Columbia*) had been boarded a few days before by the Macedonian frigate, Captain Downes, who inquired if he had seen the *Beaver*. Having run along shore to the northward, while the *Beaver* was standing out to sea, to the southwestward, we missed seeing each other, to my great regret, as I had no doubt there were letters on board from my family ; and had been anticipating their receipt, with all those feelings of hope and anxiety, so easily conceived by those who love their homes, and who have had no tidings for so long a period.

We now made sail on the *Beaver*, and, at the expiration of two days, were, early in the morning of the 9th of June, at the entrance of the bay of Callao, with light airs off shore. At ten o'clock, we perceived a large and a small vessel coming out of the bay, under a crowd of sail, and steering directly for us. On coming up, they proved to be the *Esmeralda* frigate and *Pezuela* brig of war, sent out to ascertain who we were. Satisfied on this point, we returned into port together, and came to anchor nearly at the same time.

Of the places I had visited, Gnanchaca is nothing else than a collection of wigwams or Indian huts, built of mud, mats, and bamboo ; and of a description that would be untenable in a country subject to an ordinary course of rainy weather. In the season for taking the

sea-baths it is the resort of the people of Truxillo, as Callao is for the people of Lima, at the same season. It contains about five hundred inhabitants, all Indians, excepting the Curate, who is of European descent, and who appears to possess the address of keeping them not less in the fear of himself, than in the fear of God.

Truxillo is two leagues southeast from this village, and on the road to it we passed the ruins of a very large Indian city, which was the summer resort, or Baia, of the celebrated chief Atahualpa. From the ruins of this ancient city, a great amount of gold has, within a few years, been dug ; and also a great number of earthen vessels, of various forms, called by the Spaniards *guaqueros*, and which afford evidence of a degree of perfection in the manufacture of pottery, which the present race of Indians do not possess. The land immediately in the vicinity of the sea, presents a most sterile and forbidding appearance ; scarce a tree, a shrub, or any verdure to be seen ; but a few leagues in the interior there is the most luxuriant vegetation.

Truxillo is a very ancient city, having been founded by that celebrated devastator of the Indian race, Pizarro, in the year 1535. It is situated in the valley of Chimo, on a very sandy soil, is surrounded by a brick wall, is regularly built, (the streets intersecting each other at right angles,) and is, in fact, Lima in miniature. The inhabitants of this city consist of Spaniards, Indians, and the various grades and shades peculiar to a population of European and Indian, and amount together to about ten thousand. It formerly enjoyed a lucrative commerce with Porto Bello and Carthagea, by the way of Santa Fé and Quito ; and to this, it was indebted for

its elevation and consequence, as it is to the loss of it, for its present poor, dull, and gloomy state.

The estates in its neighbourhood might be made very productive in wheat, rice, and sugar, if there was any encouragement given to agriculture ; but while the cultivator has no other prospect before him, than that of seeing his produce rot on his hands, he will naturally be cautious to cultivate no more than is sufficient for his own consumption. Not less productive might the estates be, which are situated in the mountains, for rearing cattle and sheep, if there existed any encouragement. As an instance, the family of Lynch, already mentioned, possess an estate on which are maintained sixty thousand sheep, which produce wool of a very tolerable quality, but, owing to there being no export for it, much is wasted ; and what is sold produces only two dollars the arroba ; so that the estate, which, if commerce was encouraged, would yield a princely revenue, barely suffices for the maintenance of their family, in a very economical style of living.

If I was struck with the attention given to the affairs of religion at Lima, much more was this the case at Truxillo ; for this as much surpasses the other in private, as well as public devotional observances, as the former appeared to me to exceed every other place I had ever before visited. Indeed, the priests may truly be said to live in clover at Truxillo ; the whole business of the city is so entirely religion, that it may very properly be viewed as a great cloister. It often occurs, that many of the class called merchants, and probably others, are invisible at the ordinary hours of business ; and on inquiry as to the cause, it appears that they are at their devotions, in which they must not be disturbed.

Some families are said to spend eight hours of the day in prayer. All this show of sanctity would be very laudable, if it made them better, or more honest men ; but it had a tendency to put me more on my guard.

Although others would have given me from ten to fifteen per cent more for my cargo, and would have sold wheat for as much less, yet I preferred contracting with the man to whom I was recommended, for a small advantage, rather than with any other of this pious community, for a great one. But all my caution was, unfortunately, of no avail. One of these inveterate praying men, who was engaged by my correspondent to receive and deliver the cargo, and to supply the ship, made such enormous charges, and was guilty of such frauds, that I refused to settle his account ; and it was left to arbitration at Lima, the result of which, I have never known, further than that I never received any return of the amount I left wherewith to pay the award.

Malabrigo is, as the name indicates, a bad shelter, and is important only to the cultivators of the valley of Chacama, for the shipment of their produce. Pacasmayo is only a collection of a few Indian huts, near to a river of that name, and is the place of embarkation of San Pedro, which is distant from it about two leagues, over a very sandy road ; some of the hills of which resemble very high snow-drifts. San Pedro, excepting its church, and the residences of half a dozen European families, is little better than a collection of wigwams. The curate, as in all such villages, is omnipotent ; and for a poor Indian, within the jurisdiction of his curacy, to kill a calf, a hog, or a sheep, without sending him a portion, would be considered a sin, requiring more

prompt atonement, than that of the transgression of any rule of the Decalogue. The inhabitants, with the above exception, are Creoles and Indians. Some families of the former have acquired fortunes, in defiance of the obstacles presented by the bad policy of the government. The jealousy which exists between these and the Europeans, is not less than that which formerly prevailed at St. Domingo, between the whites and mulattoes. Hence the Creoles were perceived to be ardent friends of the revolution, and are less reserved in evincing this disposition than any other people on this coast, whom I have visited. To promote these views, and add to their stock of political knowledge, I gave them a large file of Chili gazettes, which was a most acceptable present to them.

Our safe return to Callao, with so large a cargo of wheat and rice, was an event no less auspicious for the people of Lima, than for ourselves. Precisely three months had elapsed since our departure from Callao ; and, by the successful accomplishment of our voyage, we had demonstrated to the Viceroy, that he had no cause to apprehend the supply of bread-stuff's being cut off by means of a Chilian blockade ; at the same time, we had inspired a confidence in our good faith, which was before greatly wanting. The earnings of the ship during this period exceeded twenty thousand dollars, payable immediately on landing the cargo. My reception by the Viceroy was of the most flattering description. He appeared now, for the first time, to be aware of the great advantage derivable from neutral commerce ; complimented me on the boldness manifested in disregarding Lord Cochrane's proclamation of blockade, and

declared his readiness now to give me a license to go to any part of the coast I pleased.

I had now as many men at work in unlading the ship as could be advantageously employed, as it was important to lose no time before being away again. In the mean time, canvassing several plans for the next operation, the most eligible appeared to me to be that of introducing a cargo of brandy into Lima before the renewal of the blockade, presuming that immediately after that event, it would rise greatly in value. This being determined on, an express was sent off to Pisco to buy the brandy, and have it ready for the ship as soon as she should arrive. Having accomplished unlading and ballasting the ship, we sailed again for Pisco, on the 25th of June, and arrived there on the 1st day of July. Here we found every thing in readiness for lading the ship in as short a time as possible, and having taken on board four thousand jars of brandy, and a deck-load of wheat, we sailed from Pisco on the evening of the 30th of July, and on the 1st of August again entered, unmolested, the port of Callao.

The Captain of the port, on making his accustomed visit on our arrival, desired me not to go on shore until permission was obtained first from Lima. As this seemed to me a regulation for foreigners, which the Viceroy could not intend to apply to those who were engaged coastwise, I told him I should not comply with it. He then said he should put me under arrest, if I came on shore before obtaining the requisite permission. Accordingly, as soon as I had breakfasted, the boat was manned, and we rowed to the landing guarded by the sentry, who called out to us to keep off; but, simultaneously with the order, I had landed and sent my boat away.

The sentry then arrested and conducted me within the walls of the castle. It was soon rumored, that the Captain of the Beaver was in the castle of Callao, and several officers of the navy came to see me, kindly proposing to obtain leave for me to go on board my ship; and inviting me to go and dine with them; but I declined leaving the castle until an order should come for my release, from the Viceroy. This order was given as soon as my arrest was known to him, and I was released, after having passed nearly the whole day in the castle. The effect was what I intended and expected it would be, — a general order for all masters of foreign vessels, sailing coastwise, with the Viceroy's license, to be permitted to go on shore, and if desired, to proceed to Lima, without waiting for a special permission.

A circumstance which occurred on this voyage, demonstrates the extreme credulity of this people, not less than the ideas they entertain of our morality and humanity. A Spanish brig, called the Volador, and owned in Lima, had been loading at Pisco with brandy and wheat, at the same time with the Beaver. This brig having accomplished her lading, and having several passengers on board, sailed for Callao, about four hours before us. At sunset of the day of departure, we perceived, that we were coming up fast with her, and supposed we passed her in the night. The following night we anchored at Callao, and the next day were momentarily expecting the arrival of the Volador, as eight or ten hours, at the most, ought to be the only difference in our passages; but she did not arrive that day. Another, and yet another day passed, and no appearance of the Volador. The owner, and those who had friends on board, had now become very justly alarm-

ed, and my replies to their earnest inquiries, as to when we last saw her? or what I supposed could have become of her? had no tendency to lessen them. Her disappearance was enveloped in a mystery, which has never been unravelled. There was not known, or believed to be, any cruiser near, by which she might have been captured, the weather had been very fine, the sea very smooth. Had she foundered? had she taken fire and burnt up? In either of these events it would be strange, that not one individual should be saved in so pacific a sea, and still more strange, that not a boat, a spar, an oar, no trace of any thing belonging to this vessel, should ever have been discovered; yet such was the fact, and to this day, I believe, it has never been known what became of her.

CHAPTER XVII.

Suspected of sinking the Volador. — Crew of the Beaver examined. — Sell the Cargo. — Charter the Ship. — Sail for Guacho. — Arrival of the Chilian Fleet. — Guacho and its Manufactures. — Sail for La Barranca. — Stupid Pilot. — Return to Guacho. — Sail for Samanco Bay. — Observations thereon. — Bad Calculation of the Charterer. — Commandante and his Daughters. — Arrival at Pacasmayo. — Sail for Chili. — Boarded by the San Martin. — Arrival at Valparaiso.

AFTER arriving at Callao from Pisco, having no immediate business at Lima, I remained on board ship a fortnight, while the cargo was discharging. When this was accomplished I went to the city. On walking out soon after being set down at my lodgings, I perceived myself to be an object of unusual attention ; and heard the remarks, “ There he goes,” — “ That ’s the fellow ;” and saw people pointing at me. Passing by the shop of an acquaintance, he expressed surprise at my release from the castle of Callao, if the rumors relating to me were true. On my asking an explanation, he told me the report was current, and generally believed, that I had run down the Volador, and drowned the crew and passengers ; that I had been incarcerated for it in the castle ; and that the people were astonished to see me at liberty and walking the streets of Lima.

It appeared, that a number of circumstances, trifling in themselves, had combined to favor this idea, in a populace jealous of strangers, and generally very igno-

rant. Among them, my having remained a fortnight at Callao after arriving ; my being arrested by a sentry, and conducted to the castle ; my having remained there, as was supposed, while actually on board ship ; and the circumstance, of their entertaining none too good opinion of me to doubt my readiness to destroy a vessel and crew in revenge for the ill treatment I had received in the country, were sufficient materials wherewith to fabricate the story which was in circulation in the city.

It was now obvious, that my personal safety required that some immediate and efficacious measures should be adopted to undeceive the populace ; as I perceived the story to be believed, not by the mob alone, but by persons who ought to have known better. I therefore waited on the Viceroy for this purpose, and requested that an investigation might be made into this business by his order. He had heard of such report, and ridiculed it ; nevertheless, he thought my safety would be better secured by an inquiry. Accordingly, three officers of the Royal navy were appointed to examine as many of the Beaver's crew, touching this business, as they saw proper. It happened, fortunately, that among my seamen was a Spaniard belonging to Lima, and this man's testimony, corroborating that of the others, was of great importance. They were not long in coming to a favorable result, exonerating me from all blame or participation in the loss ; and this decision was sent to the Viceroy, who caused it to be generally known. After this, no doubt existed in the minds of the respectable part of the community of my innocence ; but the unfavorable impression was never entirely obliterated with the lower class.

I had contemplated landing only one half the cargo at Callao, and proceeding down the coast with the other half, which would produce enough to lade the ship with wheat ; but, having ascertained that a supply had already been sent there, I concluded to give up this plan, and negotiated with a house in Lima to take the whole cargo, at a profit of about ten thousand dollars. It had been observed, that, latterly, much brandy had been delivered from the pumps ; and we were prepared to find great breakage, although there had been no rough weather to produce it. But it was evident, that the weight was too great, and that, by it, many of the lower jars had been crushed. On completing the un-lading, we found that one hundred and fifty jars had been broken ; notwithstanding which, the operation proved to be a very productive one.

It was now evident, from the accounts from Valparaiso, that much time would not elapse before the re-appearance of the Chilian fleet, and the renewal of the blockade. The great importance of being away, therefore, before this event, was obvious ; and any delay, in deciding what course to pursue, might be attended with increased loss of time, if nothing worse. Although the exposed situation in which a ship lies at Guanchaca and Pacasmayo, and the tedious process of conveying the cargo through the surf to the launches, on the shoulders of men, cause the lading of a ship at these places to be a very laborious and tedious undertaking, yet the freight to be earned was in due proportion to this trouble ; and, perceiving nothing that presented so fair a prospect, I determined on pursuing it, and immediately despatched an express to those

places, to have a cargo prepared against my arrival there.

This measure had scarcely been taken, when I had a proposal for the charter of the ship, which offered advantages so much greater than the other, that I immediately closed with it, and sent off a second express to countermand the first order. This charter stipulated for the ship to proceed to three ports to leeward, and there lade with the produce of the country, and proceed with it to Valparaiso ; there deliver it, and relade with wheat for Callao. For the performance of this service, I was to receive forty thousand dollars, limited to be performed in four months ; and if, from any cause on the part of the charterer, that time was exceeded, he was to pay at the rate of six thousand dollars per month. In addition to the certainty, which this contract presented, was the great additional security resulting from its being for English account ; as the commanders and officers of the Chilian fleet were almost exclusively English, and they had given the most unequivocal evidence of a disposition to view, with indulgence, the same transaction under their native flag, which was denounced as confiscation under the American.

Having agreed with the charterer, that the ship should be despatched without delay, it being even more for his interest than mine that no time should be lost, and the blockade being momentarily expected, my impatience became so great, when the month of September was approaching its close, that it was agreed I should proceed to Guacho, and there wait for him to join the ship. Accordingly, late in the afternoon of the 28th of September, we sailed from Callao ; and, at sunset, as we were passing the Pescadores, on the

north side of the bay, we saw the *Isabella*, Lord Cochrane's ship, entering near San Lorenzo, on the south side. This was, indeed, a fortunate escape ; as a delay of only an hour would have closed the door upon us. The *Pallas*, an American brig, which sailed with us, bound to windward, was detained, and sent to Valparaiso.

The day after leaving Callao, we anchored at Guacho, and in the evening a squad of soldiers were sent to the beach, intended for the two-fold advantage of protecting the ship, and preventing smuggling ; but they had no boat to bring them on board, and kept blowing horns and hallooing for ours, till they were satisfied we should not send for them, and they then marched back again to their quarters. We found, on our arrival, a quantity of sugar ready to be taken on board ; but with the bad management, evinced from the day of the contract, no license had been provided for embarking it, and another week was lost before it was received from Lima. As soon as the license was received, the sugar was embarked, and we sailed for La Barranca, to take on board a quantity which was there ready for delivery.

Guacho is a small village, principally of Indians, whose employment is almost exclusively making straw hats and cigar-cases ; in which manufacture they have arrived at a degree of skill, so much surpassing all others, that their cigar-cases, of the finest quality, are often sold for a doubloon, and their hats are proportionally prized. As La Barranca is an obscure place, where, probably, the American flag had never before been displayed, that no time might be lost, I, for the first time since navigating the coast, took a pilot ; but I had better been without him, as, in the true bungling

style of his countrymen, he brought the ship to, at least a mile further off than was requisite. Having dismissed him, and taken soundings of the harbour, we perceived also, by the breaking of our bower anchor, on heaving up, that he had anchored us on foul ground. We ran in to about half a mile from the beach, whence our cargo was to be taken, and anchored again in a snug harbour, which is at an equal distance from La Barranca and Supa, and serves as the port of embarkation for each.

The lading of cargo, at this place, occupied about a week, at which time, having received a letter from the charterer, dated at Lima, without stating when he should leave there on his way to join the ship, I became very impatient; and, with a view of saving time, by lessening the distance between us, returned again to Guacho, and informed him of this movement by an express. Day after day passed away, while we were lying idle at this place. At length, on the 25th of October, he arrived in a small vessel, laden with cocoa, indigo, his baggage, &c. The policy of such solicitude and such impatience, on my part, at our slow progress, while the earnings of the ship were so great, may not be perceived; but the inference was clear, that the person who managed his own affairs so badly, could not so well be confided in for the fulfilment of his engagements to others; and hence my dissatisfaction was manifested, occasionally, in terms less mild and conciliating than was becoming. The arrival of the English brig Catalina, destined to lade with sugar for Valparaiso, and the information received by her, that the English ship Inspector had gone to Canete for a like purpose, and for the same destination, tended greatly to diminish the pros-

pect of advantage, which was promised at the early stage of the enterprise.

The cargo of the little vessel having been taken on board the *Beaver*, with all possible despatch, we sailed, on the evening of the same day, for Samanco Bay. The second day after leaving Guacho, we anchored in a bay in latitude $9^{\circ} 17'$, which I supposed to be Samanco Bay, but, as we could discover nothing of the river Huambacho, I presumed that we were mistaken. I therefore despatched a boat, early in the morning, to the northern extremity of this bay to look for the river in question. At noon the boat returned, and the officer reported, that the bay and river were about five miles to the north of us. Immediately, therefore, we weighed anchor, and, proceeding to this bay, came to anchor again in a snug cove near the river Huambacho.

The ship was no sooner anchored, than several horsemen made their appearance on the beach. The charterer went immediately to them and ascertained, that they were the persons charged with the delivery of the cotton, which was to be taken on board, and which, instead of being already prepared for us, it appeared would not be ready for several weeks. If there had been no prospect of competition at Valparaiso, the expense of the ship alone ought to have discouraged the idea of waiting ; and the two circumstances combined, should have left no hesitation in the decision to leave the cotton and pursue the voyage ; but a strange infatuation seemed to blind the charterer to the ruinous consequences of delay. For eight hundred quintals of cotton, value five thousand and six hundred dollars, the ship was detained a fortnight, at a certain expense of three thousand dollars, and the difference in the value

of the sugar at Valparaiso, if the other vessels should arrive there before us, would probably not be less than thirty thousand dollars ; but with obstinacy and stupidity it was in vain to contend, and, in the annihilation of any prospect of advantage on my own adventure, I had only to be resigned. At length, after the expiration of a fortnight, the cotton had been taken on board, and we were on our way to Pacasmayo, the last port of our destination on this coast.

The advantages, which Samanco Bay would afford to a hostile squadron in these seas are great ; until forces could be collected from a distance, they might lie here with all the security, that they would have in their own harbours. The facilities, which the river Huambacho offers for wooding and watering are great, as the boats can enter and lade without any difficulty. The town of Nepina being six leagues distant, it might be difficult to procure cattle and domestic animals, but the bay abounds with fish, fowl, and seal. The latitude of this bay is $9^{\circ} 12'$. Immediately to the southward of it is a fine bay, where we first anchored ; and next, northward, is the very spacious Bay of Ferrol, affording a harbour equally safe, and the prospect of supplies from an Indian village on its northern shore.

As the Beaver was doubtless the first foreign ship, that ever had a Royal license for trading coastwise, as she was a remarkably fine ship, had beautiful accommodations, and was always kept in the neatest order, her fame along the coast was very great. And, at all these small places, she was thronged with visitors, men, women, and children, who came from many miles distant to see the ship, and who always expressed themselves delighted with (what they considered) the beauty of the

cabin and its furniture, the whiteness of the deck, and the attention to cleanliness in every part. The Commandante of La Barranca and his three very pretty daughters, from eighteen to twenty-four years old, happened to be on board, one day, at our dinner hour, and I invited them to sit down with us. Their awkward mode of handling the table utensils was evidence, that, although they were people of the first respectability, they were accustomed to live in very primitive style, being evidently entirely unaccustomed to the refinements of such superfluous articles as plates, knives and forks. They endeavoured, however, to do as we did; the father and one of the daughters succeeded tolerably well, but the other two girls seemed to consider a plate, knife, and fork, for each, to be needless. They therefore placed a plate between them, and, one of them taking the knife and the other the fork, they endeavoured, the one to cut, while the other held the meat with the fork. But this mode of proceeding did not succeed; the beef was too hard, or the knife was too dull, or there was a want of adroitness, and they were finally compelled to accept the aid of their next neighbour, which they did with great complacency, — being all the time in high glee at this novel mode of taking their food. The Commandante was very desirous of returning our civility, by giving us a dinner at his house, but the duties of the ship would not allow our absence for a day, and we declined the honor, although the young ladies earnestly seconded the invitation. They left us, as did all our visitors, with manifestations of pleasure and gratification.

Arriving at Pacasmayo, I was very agreeably disappointed in finding all the cargo at the shore, ready to be

taken on board, and a fair prospect of meeting with no detention at this disagreeable anchorage. With great exertions the last of the cargo was received on board, at the expiration of a week from the time of our arrival, and on Sunday, the 21st of November, we sailed for Valparaiso. Thus, on the day of departure from the Peruvian coast, were expended nearly three months of the four, for which the ship was chartered. But there was a satisfaction in being under way, and in the consciousness that the business must progress, which I had not experienced since entering into the contract.

While pursuing our voyage to Valparaiso, and in the latitude of 22° and longitude 91° west, we fell in with the Chilian ship of war, San Martin, of sixty-four guns, bearing Admiral Blanco's flag. As he approached he fired to bring us to. His boat with a lieutenant then boarded us, and requested me to go on board with my papers. This I declined, and sent them by Mr. Pinkham, with my compliments to the Admiral, and saying, that I never left my ship at sea except by compulsion. The boat soon returned, bringing Mr. Pinkham and a request, that the charterer would go on board and produce the required proof of the property being as stated. This he did to the satisfaction of the Admiral, who, he said, made no hesitation in declaring, that if the ship had been laden for any other than English account, he should have sent her in for adjudication. To this circumstance, therefore, were we indebted for being allowed to pass without molestation. Passing in sight of the islands Masafuera and Juan Fernandez, we arrived in safety at Valparaiso, after a remarkably pleasant passage of twenty-five days.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Competition at Valparaiso. — Purchase the Ship Ocean. — Sail for Lima. — Arrival. — Completion of the Charter. — Drottingen and Ocean sail for Guayaquil. — Zephyr for Pacasmayo — Beaver for Guayaquil. — Sketch of Lima. — Arrival at Payta. — Observations. — Arrival at Guayaquil. — Controversy with the Governor. — Lade the Ships. — Sail for Callao. — Arrival there. — Governor of Guayaquil superseded. — Sketch of Guayaquil.

THE great loss which I anticipated from our tardy progress in lading the ship, was unfortunately but too surely experienced. The day after we had anchored, the *Catalina*, which we had left loading at Guacho, arrived, and, before we had begun to unlade, the Inspector also arrived, with a full cargo of sugar. The arrival of three cargoes of sugar at the same time, had an immediate tendency to depress the market; and the cargo of the *Beaver*, which, but for those two arrivals, would have brought from ten dollars and a half to eleven dollars per *arroba*, was with difficulty sold for seven dollars seventy-five cents; making a difference of from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars to the charterer, and five or six thousand on my private adventure.

As I had received no account of the consignment per the *Livonia*, although twelve months had elapsed, I lost no time in calling on the house for an explanation; and had sufficient evidence, that no account would ever have been rendered if I had not demanded

it in person. The notoriety of the embarrassed situation of their affairs, led me to be very apprehensive of difficulty in getting my property out of their hands. There was evidently no other chance of success than to take wheat and other produce of the country, which they had in store. To accomplish this, it would be necessary to buy or to charter a ship. I therefore purchased the ship *Ocean*, of three hundred and sixty-five tons burden, and received a cargo of wheat for her, from the house. This ship and cargo were one half on my own account, and the other on that of a Spaniard at Lima, who had been one of the principal freighters in the *Livonia*.

Not doubting that I should be able to employ neutral ships advantageously at Lima, I purchased one half of the ship *Zephyr* of Providence, of three hundred and sixty tons burden, and chartered the Swedish ship *Drottingen* of four hundred tons. The quantity of wheat which had already been shipped for the market of Lima, was such as to offer no prospect of profit on other shipments, and my object in putting any on board these vessels was only to secure an entry. The account sales of my adventure by the *Livonia*, fell far short of my expectations ; and indeed, produced one third less than other shipments to other consignees by the same vessel. This was in part accounted for, by the duties being all charged as cash, when one half was paid in government paper, which was then at a great discount. This I caused to be refunded ; and although I had been cheated in the weight and otherwise, the adventure yielded a handsome profit.

Having completed lading the *Beaver* with wheat, in bulk, and the charterer being ready, on the 21st of

January, 1820, we sailed from Valparaiso ; and after a pleasant passage of twelve days, anchored once more at Callao. The Ocean had arrived some days before, and was unloading. The Zephyr and Drottingen arrived a few days after the Beaver, and I had now the four ships discharging at the same time. The circumstance of making such a show of business, excited no less surprise at Lima, than it had done at Valparaiso ; yet it was at the latter place only, where commerce is declared free, that I was subjected to impertinent interrogatories relative to my business, by that profound blockhead De la Cruz, the Governor ; a very different character from the one of the same name, who was so distinguished in the wars of Peru.

The successful accomplishment of my charter to Valparaiso, and back, combined with the product of my anterior freights, now gave me the control of an amount of property which could not fail to justify me in determining to lade for home ; in addition to which, the state of the ship evinced but too clearly, that the period had arrived when the enterprise ought to be brought to a close ; cables, rigging, sails, boats, every thing was so much worn, as to be barely sufficient to serve the passage home ; and a renewal of them in this country would be attended with great expense. Duty, therefore, independently of inclination, pointed out this, as the course which ought to be pursued. While, therefore, the ship was discharging, I made a contract for a cargo of cocoa, to be delivered on board at Guayaquil, and obtained the Viceroy's license for the same ; and was otherwise busily engaged in the settlement of my business, preparatory to taking a final leave of Lima. For the Ocean, I obtained a freight from Gua-

yaquil to return to Callao, and despatched her as soon as unloaded. For the Zephyr, I procured an advantageous freight from Guanchaca and Pacasmayo, and despatched her on the 1st of March. Funds being offered me on *respondentia* sufficient to lade the Drottingen, I contracted for a cargo deliverable at Guayaquil, on the same terms as the Beaver's ; and laded her at Guayaquil entirely on my own account, whence she proceeded to Gibraltar. The charterer of the Beaver having resigned any further claim on the ship, after completing her unlading, (the 19th of February,) she was again at my disposal.

The term, for which my crew had shipped, being now also expired, I had to pay them off and ship a new one. A disagreeable job in any country, but a very difficult one at this place ; nevertheless, I succeeded, principally by re-shipping the old crew. Having employed Spaniards to ballast the ship, I could have been off on the 1st of March, but for a difficulty at the custom-house. This arose from a regulation, that no ship could obtain a clearance, the duties on whose inward cargo were unpaid ; a regulation that placed me completely at the mercy of the charterer, as no bonds would be taken. It was, therefore, the 12th of March, before this arrangement could be made, and the clearance obtained, when we bade farewell to our Lima acquaintance, and the next day sailed for Guayaquil.

Nearly two years had now elapsed, since my first arrival at Lima, and during that period, I had never witnessed a shower of rain, a flash of lightning, or a peal of thunder ; but there are very heavy dews amounting to Scotch mists, for half the year, during which

time the sun is seldom seen ; the weather, therefore, is gloomy ; the dampness so great, that every thing susceptible of it becomes rusty ; and the streets become so dirty and slippery as to make it very unpleasant for the pedestrian. There were several shocks of earthquakes, which always created alarm, but none that caused any damage while I was there. They are observed to be less violent where wells are common. The market of Lima is always well supplied with beef, mutton, poultry, and fish, at the seasons peculiar to each ; with vegetables and fruit all the year round. In variety and excellence, the fruits surpass those of any other country I have ever visited. Peaches, apricots, plumbs, grapes, apples, pears, pines, guavas, bananas, strawberries, and oranges, are abundant in their seasons ; but that which is justly the highest prized, and in my opinion is the most delicious fruit in the world, is the *cherri mowie*, a description of which has been given already by so many travellers, as to make it superfluous here.

As the ladies of Lima are famed for their passion for flowers, and pay liberally for such as are superior, the market is generally well supplied ; but on Sundays and holydays there is such a brilliant display of rich and beautiful colors, such an infinite variety and form, all in such perfection, and displayed with so much taste, that few can pass them without paying a voluntary tribute. So many and correct descriptions of Lima have been of late years published, as to make it unnecessary to say any thing on the subject here. I shall, therefore, make only some desultory remarks on objects which came immediately within my observation.

A stranger is struck, on passing through the streets

of Lima for the first time, by the great number of people in the sacerdotal garb ; evincing that the affairs of the church are in no degree less engrossing here, than in other Catholic countries. But a moderate degree of experience and observation is sufficient to induce the belief, that the moral and religious advantages which the people derive, bear no proportion to the multiplicity of teachers ; on the contrary, the inverse ratio would be nearer the correct one. Nor are the remarks of Robertson the historian, less applicable to the existing generation, than to that of which he wrote, when he says, “ Many of the regular clergy are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth, where the reality is wanting.” I have seen no people, who appeared to be so devoted to religious affairs, and none where every rule of the Decalogue is so generally disregarded.

That the ambition and passions of men are not annihilated, or even mitigated, by the sanctity and seclusion of the cloister, was proved by an instance no less ludicrous than melancholy, while I was at Lima. The fraternity of Augustine monks lost their Superior by death. In the choice of a successor the brotherhood were divided, and so equally, and each party so obstinately bent on not yielding to the other, that they at length came to blows ; and in the sanctuary where love, peace, and harmony are supposed to dwell, were raging such discord and horrid war, that it was only by the aid of a military force sent there by the Viceroy, that peace and order were once more restored to these turbulent sons of the church.

The ridiculous pride, which prevents the descendant of Europeans from pursuing any of the mechanic arts, has left to a vast body of the "well-born," the choice only of the sword or gown, employments for which many had neither talents nor inclination. Hence a total absence of science and skill in the military, and hence the licentiousness and ignorance of the clergy, of whom the historian before quoted observes, that, "notwithstanding many of the members of the clergy enjoy the ease and independence which are favorable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations."

Neither the public amusements, nor the private and select society of Lima, were equal to my expectations, founded on the consideration of its age, population, opulence, and the long state of tranquillity it has enjoyed. The theatre is capacious and of tolerably good aspect within; but the performances are bad, and the house, for the most part, poorly attended; the one probably a consequence of the other. At the circus, where the bull-fights are exhibited, there is evidence given of its continuing to be the favorite amusement of the people, as the boxes and seats are invariably crowded; the most respectable part of the female world, however, (to their credit,) are generally absent. These, with an occasional procession, a military review, and the ride in the paseo, on Sundays and holydays, constitute all the public amusements.

The Limeans appear to possess all that dread of be-

ing alone, which is the peculiarity of an idle people, and therefore never miss meeting in the evening at each others' houses, where they have recourse to the universal custom of cards ; in the games of which their children are initiated at a very early age. The ladies of Lima possess no ordinary share of personal attraction ; but, excepting the common acquirements of music and dancing, they are as uncultivated as their last imported slaves. Indeed, as respects society, Lima affords none to the man of literature, for literature is not cultivated ; none to the politician, for politics must not be meddled with ; none to enterprising merchants, for enterprise is proscribed ; none to teachers of political economy, for political economy is a science totally unknown ; none to the promoters of industry, for industry is discouraged. In fine, those who can make up their minds to live in a state of passive obedience and non-resistance to the governing powers, and take care not to offend the clergy, may lead lives as peaceable, easy, and quiet, as they must necessarily be stupid and worthless.

On our way to Guayaquil, we anchored at the little town of Payti ; a place indebted for some fame to the circumstance of its having been sacked by Lord Anson ; and latterly, by that accomplished buccanier, Lord Cochrane. To view this miserable looking little town, and the apparently extreme poverty of the inhabitants, one would suppose, that *British magnanimity* would not only have spared it, but that, in opposition to the common practices of war, *British generosity* would have tried to alleviate it. In both instances, however, the houses of the unfortunate inhabitants were stripped of every thing, not excepting such articles even as were of no use to the ravagers. The former instance is on

record, as an evidence of *British glory*, the latter is destined to imperishable renown, as forming an enviable epoch in the Chilian annals.

Pursuing our destination, we arrived and came to anchor, on the 23d instant, near the town of Puna, at the north end of the Island of that name. Here a pilot came on board to take the ship to Guayaquil, for which we had a leading breeze. When abreast of the fort we were hailed, and ordered to come to anchor, and send a boat ashore with the passport. The boat having been already prepared, was immediately on her way, and the pilot was extremely anxious to obey the summons of coming to anchor ; but having a leading breeze, I would not consent to it. He then placed himself so as to have the mainmast as a shield against the expected shot ; none, however, was fired at us, and we anchored off the town of Guayaquil on the evening of the 25th of March.

I had the mortification to find the Ocean under seizure, on pretext of irregularity of papers ; and the Drottingen lying idle, in consequence of a prohibition to lade till the agent would engage to pay an additional export duty, exacted by the Governor. Under such circumstances my first interview with the Governor was not of a description to prepossess either in favor of the other. I presented him my license from the Viceroy, which he admitted to be correct, and said that we might begin to lade as soon as we pleased. I then explained to him why the Ocean's documents were imperfect ; and observed, she was navigating conformably to the laws of the United States, and would be protected by any of our vessels of war ; nor could I see how he could be justified in detaining a vessel, whose papers were so satisfactory to

the Viceroy, as to induce him to grant her the requisite license to load. But it was useless and unavailing to reason with a man, in whose detestation of foreigners and heretics all our embarrassments were founded, and on his refusal to permit the ship to lade or to go away in ballast, I requested him to make a prize of her, and to treat the Captain and crew as prisoners of war. At this his wrath was kindled, and in an angry and vehement tone and manner, he told me, that he had had much difficulty to prevent the populace taking possession of the ship as insurgent property, and likewise, from putting me to death for having run down the *Volador*. In a tone and manner somewhat contemptuous, I asked him how it was possible, that a man who was considered worthy of so respectable a command as that of Governor of Guayaquil, could repeat so ridiculous a story, and abruptly left him.

It was now evident, that no more time should be lost in resisting the Governor's exaction, but that we must pay it, lade the ships as fast as possible, and return again to Lima, for redress. In the mean time, I wrote to Lima by the mail, complaining of the conduct of the Governor, and made known my determination to return there, in order that such steps might be taken before my arrival, as should cause the least possible detention. With these views, the lading of both ships being accomplished at the same time, we dropped down to Puna on the 18th of April, sailed together on the 20th, and parted company on the following night, — the *Drottingen* bound to Gibraltar, the *Beaver* to Callao. Arriving at Callao on the 16th of May, we found that we had not been alone in urging complaints against the Governor of Guayaquil; but, that the inhabitants, in addition, had done it so

effectually, that an officer had been appointed by the Viceroy to supersede him, and had already sailed in the *Prueba* frigate, for that purpose. By a letter from the master of the *Ocean*, I was informed, that when the Governor ascertained that we had gone to Lima, instead of the United States, as he imagined, he was much alarmed and vexed, and that he had not sufficient address to conceal it.

Guayaquil is situated on a river of the same name, and about fifty miles from the sea. At a narrow pass of the river, about five leagues below the town, called *Punta de Piedra*, is the fort intended for its protection against hostile shipping; but it is not strong enough to insure successful resistance against a serious attack. Although this town is situated only two degrees south of the equator, and on low, marshy ground, its contiguity to a high chain of mountains renders the climate healthy; among them is occasionally seen from the town the famed *Chimborazo*, whose summit, towering far above the clouds, appears to belong to some other world. For the greater part of the year the climate is said to be agreeable, but during my visit (March and April) the heat was exceedingly oppressive. The mosquitos, at the same time, were so numerous and annoying, as to compel me to take up my lodgings on shore, and my sailors to sleep in the tops of the ship. The houses are built entirely of wood, and in an agreeable style, adapted to the climate. The upper stories being most airy, and most free from mosquitos, are occupied by the family, while the lower story is destined for the domestics. The churches, convents, and custom-house are wooden buildings, remarkable neither for size nor beauty. The part of the town fronting on the river makes a pretty

appearance ; but this, as well as the other parts, are kept so intolerably dirty, that nothing but positive training to filthiness saves the people from epidemics, and the other deleterious effects of such climates. The women of this city are so celebrated for beauty as to be termed the Circassians of Peru ; whether deservedly so or not I am not able to say, as the heat prevented their walking out in the day time, and my hurry of business prevented my engaging in the society of the place. The buccaniers, however, who took the town in the year 1687, speak in the most exalted terms of the beauty and amiability of those, who were the great-great-grandmothers of the present generation, and it is natural to infer, and desirable to suppose, that the race has not degenerated.

The importance of this place, in a commercial point of view, is greater than that of any other on the coast of Peru, with the exception of Lima, and surpasses this, even, in the variety and value of native productions. The general average export of cocoa is eighty thousand *cargas* of eighty-one pounds each. Timber of the finest quality is abundant and cheap, and ship-building has long been pursued here on an extensive scale. Cotton, bark, tanned hides, thread, &c. are among its articles of export to Europe and to Lima. It abounds in every kind of fruit, which is peculiar to the tropics ; but the pine apples, for size and exquisite flavor, surpass those of any other country. The plantains are very superior and abundant, and are used as a substitute for bread. The inhabitants of this province are, generally, advocates of independence.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrive at Callao. — Repair the Ship. — Sail for Rio Janeiro. — Retrospective Reflections. — Receive a Letter from the Owners. — Remarks thereon. — Reply. — Arrival at Rio Janeiro. — Custom-house Officer. — Sail from Rio Janeiro. — Happy Ship's Company. — Arrive at New York. — Letter to the President of the National Insurance Company. — Reception by that Officer. — Remark of a Merchant on the Voyage.

ON our passage to Callao the ship proved to be so leaky, that if no other cause had made it necessary to touch there, this would have been sufficient. On examination it was found that the bends and upper works were very open, and required recaulking ; for which purpose there would be a necessity of discharging that part of the cargo which was betwixt decks. Fortunately I was able to procure a vessel into which I could discharge this part of the cargo, and thus save the expense of transporting it to and from the shore. While as many caulkers were employed as could work to advantage on the ship, I was busily engaged in endeavouring to obtain from the house which had contracted to deliver me the two cargoes on board, free of all expense, at a stipulated price, the addition which I had been compelled to pay to the Governor. They acknowledged the justness of my claim, but declined reimbursing me until they had first recovered it from the government. A memorial for that purpose having been presented to

the Viceroy, was, by him, submitted to the Junta de Arbitrios, who probably had not come to a decision when the subversion of the government, by the invading army of Chili, put an end to their functions.

At the expiration of ten days after my arrival, the requisite repairs were completed, the cargo re-shipped, the water-casks filled, and every thing made ready for our departure. Still the house, with whom I had contracted for the cargo, refused to conform to the conditions of the contract by restoring the amount, which had been arbitrarily exacted from me by the Governor of Guayaquil, and which should have been on their account. If it was ever recovered from the government, those to whom of right it belonged never have received it. This, however, was not an object of sufficient importance to detain the ship, even if the prospect of success had been greater than appeared, especially as the momentary expectation of the Chilian fleet and renewal of the blockade might cause us a long detention. On this account, I considered it to be so important not to lose an hour, after all things were ready, that, a balance due on my private account to the amount of between five and six hundred dollars, not being forthcoming at nine o'clock, as promised, I preferred the chance of losing my money rather than detaining the ship a moment; and therefore as two bells were sounded, on the evening of the 11th of June, we weighed anchor and sailed for Rio Janeiro.

Thus, after an absence from my country of three years, I was once more bending my course homeward, and with a degree of impatience and anxiety augmented by the circumstance of having had no tidings of my family since leaving them. This occurred from not

having fallen in with the frigate *Macedonian*, on board of which ship was a packet of letters for me, but the chaplain, into whose charge they were given, died; they were not left at any port where I might receive them, and were handed me in the United States many months after my arrival there. The events of these three years may be thus briefly stated. I embarked at New York with the most flattering prospects; those prospects were blasted and succeeded by inevitable ruin at the first port of entry. Being unable to reconcile myself to the tedious process of litigation, in a Spanish tribunal, for the recovery of the property, I had determined on attempting it by violence, and, at the moment, when every thing was ready for the execution of the design the wind failed us. In a few hours after being thus compelled to suspend the attack, I was suddenly seized with fever of such violence as to render me delirious, and for nearly a week I was unconscious of passing events. A long period of debility succeeded my convalescence; during which, I suffered from the combined causes of not being able to obtain the requisite nourishing food, and the vexations incident to being subjected to the *surveillance* of a military guard. In this trying state of suspense, anxiety, and incessant aggravation, I remained seven months, and then, by virtue of an order from the Viceroy of Peru, I went to Lima, where a ray of hope began to dawn. At length my ship was restored to me, together with a remnant of the cargo. At the expiration of twelve months from regaining possession of the ship, I had employed her so advantageously as to have paid all the expenses incident to repairing, re-victualling, and re-manning her, which amounted to more than the product

of the remnant of the cargo returned to me. I had shipped on board the Beaver, for New York, a cargo of cocoa in bulk, which, it was presumable, would nearly replace the original capital; besides specie more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of the ship, up to her arrival in the United States; and, in addition, a clear and legitimate claim on the Spanish government for the original amount of cargo and damages. This entirely for account of the owners of the Beaver.

For myself, having laid a foundation before the restoration of the ship, by a speculation to Valparaiso, I had succeeded in acquiring a property, such as the most successful accomplishment of my views, at the outset, would not have produced. Thus, again, as in repeated instances of my eventful life, have the circumstances, which I deplored as being fraught with overwhelming calamity, proved to be productive, in the end, of the greatest good fortune. And thus is manifested an instance, which teaches in the most emphatic manner, that, in the most distressing circumstances, we should never yield to despair, remembering always, that

“We, ignorant of ourselves,
Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers
Deny us for our good; so find we profit
By losing of our prayers.”

When on the point of leaving Lima, for the United States; I received a letter from the owners of the Beaver, acknowledging the receipt of mine up to the 23d of August, and conveying a peremptory *order*, that I should lose no time “in bringing so long pending a concern to a close, by a speedy return home,” &c. The impatience manifested in this letter, to have returned to them an old and worn-out ship, that probably

would not sell at New York for more than it would cost to deliver her there, would have excited surprise, had they supposed she was engaged only in a moderately advantageous business ; but to give such an order, when informed by my letter above mentioned, that their ship was earning the enormous sum of ten thousand dollars per month, was perfectly incomprehensible, and seemed to indicate such suspicion that my intentions were not honest, as was very mortifying. A peremptory order, also, was unnecessary, misplaced, and offensive. The voyage being one of my own suggesting and planning, it would have been as preposterous for the owner to give orders, as it would for me to receive them ; and though, for form's sake only, I received instruction, yet it was well understood, that the entire and unshackled control of the voyage was vested in me ; nor would I have undertaken the management of the enterprise on any other condition.

Our passage to Rio Janeiro, where we arrived on the 14th of August, was remarkable neither for celerity nor tardiness ; for very good nor very bad weather. No sickness on board to distress, and no disorderly behaviour to mar the general harmony and quiet on board. As soon as we had anchored, the usual number of custom-house guards and soldiers were put on board. The former, from the facilities they are expected to render to those who make short entries, are treated with great familiarity and attention by the masters of merchant ships, at whose table they always occupy seats, and sometimes invite their comrades. As I had no favor to ask of them, other than such as common civility requires, which I was ready to reciprocate, I saw no reason for submitting to the inconvenience of having

them at my table, and therefore desired the steward to give them their meals in the lower cabin. I could not imagine, that an objection could be made to such arrangement ; but we had scarcely taken our seats at the supper table, when one of the officers came into the round-house, and began to remonstrate against the want of respect and the indignity offered him, in not complying with the invariable practice of admitting the officers of the customs to the Captain's table. As he was backward in leaving the room, which I desired him to do, but continued talking in a high and angry tone, I arose, and, taking him by the collar, led him to the door, and then gave him a shove which laid him sprawling on the deck. The soldiers, who were on the forecastle, immediately came aft to assist their comrade, who was already on his feet again, calling lustily to a boat, that was passing, to take him on board. This they complied with, and he left us, vowing vengeance.

The next morning, as soon as the rules of etiquette would admit, I made the customary and requisite visit to the Intendente. He was sitting at his desk writing when I entered, and rose to receive me. On being informed who I was, he immediately alluded to the complaint of ill treatment on board my ship, by one of the officers of the customs. I then told him my story, as already narrated. On hearing which, he admitted I had served the officer as he deserved ; and another, of less pretensions, was sent on board in his stead. Taking leave of the Intendente, with apparently no unfavorable impressions on his part, from the circumstance of the officer's denunciation, I immediately set about the necessary measures for collecting the pro-

visions and stores which were needed, and replenishing our stock of wood and water.

As the cargo I had on board was much better adapted to the market of Gibraltar, than to that of New York, I conceived it to be probable, that I should find letters at Rio Janeiro, directing me to proceed there, but was agreeably disappointed at receiving only a duplicate of the one already mentioned, *ordering* me to make the best of my way home, with the least possible delay.

Having passed a week, very agreeably, at Rio Janeiro, and obtained the supplies required, we sailed for home on the 21st of August, 1820.

Our passage to New York was uncommonly pleasant, both from its celerity and the enjoyment of an uninterrupted course of fine weather, but entirely destitute of any exciting occurrence to vary or interrupt the usual routine of a sea passage. When we had arrived within sight of the Highlands of Neversink, and myself and officers were exchanging mutual congratulations at the prospect of so soon experiencing a cessation of our labors, I was astonished to perceive an opposite feeling to be prevalent with the crew. Instead of the animation and hilarity, always observable with seamen when on the point of arriving, ours were interchanging expressions of regret, that the voyage was about being brought to a close. This may, in part, be accounted for by their being foreigners, who, on arrival, could anticipate no kind greetings of relatives or friends. But it was an anomaly; and inasmuch as it was an evidence of their happiness, and of a just appreciation of their usage on board, it was a circumstance no less gratifying to me than remarkable in itself.

The tenor of the letter I had received from the under-

writers, was a theme on which my mind had been much occupied during the passage. As it was not supposable I could feel any of that complacency toward them, which was constant and undeviating toward Messrs. Astor and Whitten, as a consequence of the confidence reposed in me, I determined to address to them a letter, expressive of my sentiments and feelings, which should be presented before my interview with them. Accordingly, I prepared such a letter ; and, sending it by the pilot, it reached them several hours before I presented myself. I therein reminded them of their acknowledging the receipt of my letter from Lima, by which they were informed that their ship was earning the enormous freight of ten thousand dollars per month, and of the inference, very naturally suggested to my mind by the peremptory order for her immediate return, after being possessed of such information, namely, that there was an unjustifiable want of confidence, and an implied apprehension affecting my honor. In the disasters attending the early part of the voyage, perhaps there might be some apology for the first ; but I did not admit any whatever for the last ; which, I assured them, was the only instance of the kind during my life, and had been productive of pain and mortification to me, in proportion to its novelty, and the respectability of the source from which it originated. Such being the case, however, I remarked on the regret I experienced at the time the order was received, that it had not been conveyed to me by a person authorized to relieve me from the charge of the ship, as I could have improved the time much more advantageously to myself had I been free from this incumbence.

Conceiving, however, that they could not be aware of the efforts and means I had used for the recovery of the ship, and her employment afterwards, it appeared to me to be no more than justice to myself, that I should state to them a few particulars, as follows :

First. Amid a hostile people, and in the endurance of great privations, I remained by the property at Talcahuana, after every other individual, belonging to the ship, had left her, and when its situation was so desperate, that I should have been justified, in the opinion of the world, in abandoning it.

Second. For the recovery of the ship, without expense to the owners, they were indebted to exertions and enterprise, on my part, in performing a service for the Viceroy at the risk of my life, and which, by superseding the necessity of employing counsel, was a saving to the concern of probably ten thousand dollars.

Third. While making these exertions it was obvious to me, that their success would be prejudicial to my own interest, because, had I been freed from the incumbrance of the ship, my time could have been employed more advantageously for my private interest.

Fourth. I took upon myself the responsibility of disregarding the proclamation of blockade of the Chilian Vice-Admiral ; and, being the only neutral who dared to do it, I had the almost exclusive business of the Peruvian coast, and hence accumulated a property for the owners in one year, by freighting, for which, I believe, the annals of commerce can furnish no parallel.

Fifth. While lying in the roads of Pisco, I suppressed a mutiny in the ship's company, composed of a lawless set of foreigners, where no other seamen were

procurable ; and where, had my attempt failed, the property would most probably have been lost.

Finally, I acknowledged that I had received information as early as June, 1819, that the property had been abandoned to the underwriters, and was conscious of being engaged in laboring for men who knew me only by name ; and to whom my happiness or misery, my living or dying, was of no other interest, than as it was connected with the safety of their property.

Having also informed them, that from my year's exertion in their behalf, I had laden for their account on board the *Beaver* eight hundred and forty thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds of cocoa ; and had besides a balance in specie of between five and six thousand dollars, I expressed to them my extreme regret, that this had not been done before their patience was exhausted, but hoped forgiveness on the principle, that "to err is human, — to forgive, divine."

This letter, as before observed, was forwarded by the pilot, and not knowing the persons to whom it was addressed, it was difficult to conjecture how it would be received. I was uncertain whether the President was not a choleric and arrogant young man, whose angry feelings would be roused by what he might imagine to be a want of due respect, and who would be prepared to resent it, or whether he was one who had reached the period of life, when the passions become subdued ; and who, entering into my feelings, would have the candor to acknowledge them natural, and receive me with cordiality. I presented myself, therefore, at the office, prepared for peace or war.

The very agreeable surprise at the hearty and cordial reception I experienced from the venerable Presi-

dent, when introduced to him, quite overcame me. He rose to meet me, his frank and benign countenance beaming with expressions of goodness and amability ; inspiring no other sentiments than those of respect, confidence, and veneration ; and, taking both my hands, he said to me, “ I have received your letter, Sir. I know your feelings. I thank you for what you have done for us ; although I am not authorized to promise you pecuniary remuneration, you will, nevertheless, have it.” Having expressed to him, how much more gratifying to my feelings was the expression of such approbation and kindness, than any pecuniary reward, I left the office with emotions very different from those with which I entered it.

My voyage, I perceived, had made a considerable sensation with the mercantile portion of the community ; and I was complimented on its fortunate termination, by some whom I did, and others whom I did not know. Among the former, particularly, was an old and respectable merchant, who had retired from business with an ample fortune ; one well versed in mercantile affairs, but of a generous disposition. After the interchange of the customary salutations, on meeting, he observed to me, “ You have done well for the office ; you have raised the value of its stock, ten per cent ; they cannot give you less than ten thousand dollars.” Several of the stockholders, also, expressed their obligation to me.

CHAPTER XX.

Visit my Family in Massachusetts. — Return to New York. — Owners Object to my Commission. — Left to Arbitrators. — Deduct therefrom Two and a Half per Cent. — Disappointed in promised Remuneration. — Letter to the President. — No Reply. — Comparison of this Company with Others. — Not attributable to the President. — Observations on Corporations. — Close of my Voyaging. — Remarkable Fact as respects Loss of Men and Sickness. — Loss of Property. — Don Pedro Abadia. — Don José Arismendi. — Proceed to Hamburgh. — Return. — Letter to Abadia. — Proceed to Bordeaux and Madrid. — Interview with Arismendi. — Viceroy. — Return via Paris and Havre. — Arismendi in Boston. — Imprisoned. — Escape by the Aid of a Merchant. — His Cunning. — Proceed to Havana. — Death of Mr. Shaler. — Effort to Obtain the Consulate. — Disappointed. — Return to Boston.

WITH the satisfaction naturally resulting from the abundant evidence I had received, that my services were duly appreciated, and during the time the ship was unlading, I absented myself a week to visit my family in Massachusetts. On my return, I found that an objection was made to my charge of ten per cent on the net proceeds of freights. I was aware that such a charge might be without precedent; but I was equally aware that it was no more than a just proportion, with the extra services I had rendered; since, independently of obtaining a restoration of the ship, in the manner related, I procured all the freights without the intervention of a broker. And when, for collecting their amounts, I was sometimes compelled to employ

an agent rather than detain the ship, the commission paid for such service was not charged to account of the owners. Besides, had the graduation of my emoluments been made with any reference to what they would have been, but for the seizure, they would have much exceeded the ten per cent charged.

These circumstances were urged to the gentlemen interested, but were of no avail. Mr. Astor being unfortunately in Europe at this time, his agent, had he been disposed to act liberally, would have feared to evince a less exacting disposition, than the underwriters were doing ; hence recourse was had to the ordinary mode of settlement, in like cases, that of arbitration ; the result of which was a deduction of two and a half per cent on my charge.

It is not unusual for those to be dissatisfied, who are adjudged by arbitrators to be in error ; and it appeared to me, that I had abundant cause ; but I refrained from manifesting it to my opponents at the time, because I trusted to the repeated (though unofficial) assurances of the President of the National Insurance Company, of pecuniary remuneration ; and presuming that this would, at least, be equal to the sum deducted from my commission, the cause of dissatisfaction, on my part, would be obviated.

With such impressions, and having, as in duty bound, submitted to the award of the arbitrators, I left the city for my home, without notifying the underwriters of my intention ; as I wished to avoid the appearance of hurrying them on the question of the promised remuneration, but never doubting that it would come in due time. A month, however, passed, and I heard nothing from

them, and so a second month, when I could no longer doubt that they had found it convenient to forget me.

The conviction, that the supposed honorable, liberal, high-minded men with whom I was thus brought in contact were capable of such conduct, was very painful to me. Indignant at such treatment, and mortified at being thus duped, I determined to give them a word at parting expressive of those feelings.

Accordingly, under date Lancaster 22d of December, 1820, I addressed a letter to the President of the National Insurance Company, in which I referred to mine dated the 5th of October, enumerating the unusual services I had rendered the Company, in the recovery and successful employment of the Beaver ; and further remarked, that if I had condescended to make invidious comparisons, I could have proved that what they considered to be an extra commission, bore no proportion to the extra earnings of the Beaver, over those of every other vessel then on the Peruvian coast ; and this, less from any concurrence of fortunate circumstances, than from a difference in favor of my management. I again reminded him of his promise of remuneration, and of its being repeated at a subsequent interview ; and expressed my belief that these promises were made with the intention of throwing me off my guard, and of lulling me into security, the better to deceive me ; and that the success attending it, had been, I doubted not, gratifying to all who shared in the two and a half per cent thus saved to the Company. This letter closed by the remark, “ that, had I conducted your business with as little regard to the observance of the rule of ‘ doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us,’ as has been observed, in this instance, towards me, the

result of the Beaver's voyage would have been very different from what it is." To this letter I never received a reply.

It must occur to every one versed in maritime affairs, how different would have been the conduct of Lloyd's, in a similar case, and I doubt not, of most of our own Insurance Companies. Such an occurrence is the more remarkable from its being in the Commercial Emporium, where such a spirit of generosity is prevalent, that there is scarcely a captain of a packet-ship, who, for merely conveying his passengers in safety across the Atlantic, has not been complimented with a piece of plate.

But it would be doing injustice to the venerable and respectable President of the Company not to acknowledge, that, though of necessity he was the person to be officially addressed, I believe him to have been incapable of a mean or dishonorable act ; and that, when he made the promise alluded to, he sincerely believed the directors would, as he knew they ought, confirm it. There were two of the directors who expressed to me their disapproval of the curtailment of my commission ; and a third, who said to me, that he felt shame at being one of an association capable of such dishonorable conduct. But there was one individual among the directors, whose great wealth gave him a preponderating influence in the affairs of the office. The greater deference paid to his opinions, than to those of any of his associates, was very perceptible ; and it is probable, that the President taking it for granted, that a handsome compensation could not honorably be withheld, had the temerity to assure me of it, before consulting him, and thus caused the defeat of his intention. However it

may have been, it is a fact, that all I received was the unofficial thanks of the President, and that I suffered a deduction of two and a half per cent from my commission.

That corporations have no souls, and that men in a corporate capacity are often guilty of acts of injustice and oppression, such as, individually, they would be ashamed of, is an old observation, the truth of which, almost every day's experience confirms. But comments on so clear a case are superfluous ; and I will only add the curious fact, that almost simultaneously with the discovery that ten per cent was too much for the laborious, hazardous, and eminently successful services I had rendered the Company, one of the directors of this very Company did not perceive, that ten per cent was too much for merely paying the disbursements on the building and equipment of the Greek frigates.*

More than twenty years have elapsed since the occurrence of the transactions above narrated, and those of the actors, who have not passed off the stage, may be surprised at a recurrence to affairs which probably have long since been forgotten by them. This, they may be assured, has not arisen from any hostile or unkind feeling toward them, but from the circumstance

* A letter which I received at this time, from the house of Tooke Robinson & Co. of London, places in strong relief their conduct when compared with those with whom I had recently been brought in contact. Its object was to inform me of their holding a hundred and twenty pounds at my disposal, being principal and interest on a sum arising from a mistake accidentally discovered, in accounts relative to transactions in wheat eight or ten years previous ; and which, they remark, I must consider somewhat in the light of a prize in the lottery. This was paid to my draft at sight.

alone of perceiving that my narrative would be incomplete if they were omitted.

The voyage, just narrated in the *Beaver*, was the close of a series of voyages to most parts of the habitable globe, comprising a period of twenty-four years, in various kinds of craft, from the boat of twenty-five tons, to an Indiaman of one thousand tons ; and on the most laborious and hazardous enterprises, as will have been seen. But a remarkable fact, which is worthy of note, may have escaped the observation of the reader, that during that long period, some portion of which was passed in the most sickly climates of the globe, I never lost but three men, — two by fever, and the third by a fall from the mast-head. Although I have repeatedly been five months on a single passage, I have never been under the necessity of putting my men on allowance of provisions or water ; and to this circumstance, combined with guarding them against unnecessary fatigue and exposure, I was probably indebted not only for the happiness of escaping that scourge to seamen on long voyages, the scurvy, but almost all other kinds of sickness.

Although the private affairs of an individual may generally be considered to possess little attraction for the public, yet, to those who have followed me thus far, I have supposed that some details of my subsequent course might not be destitute of interest.

Acting in opposition to the maxim, that “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,” I was destined again to see swept off, in less than a year after my return, the greater part of my hard earnings. A most unfortunate enterprise to Gibraltar ; incompetent, selfish, and careless agents ; and, more than either, a most

shameful abuse of the confidence I had placed in the commercial house at Lima, with which I had been so long doing business, (Abadia & Arismendi,) were the causes of these misfortunes. Soon after these reverses were known to my acquaintances in Boston, I met my highly esteemed friend George Cabot, Esq., who, in his happy manner, remarked to me, "that I had cut a great deal of hay, but had got it in very badly." Alas ! I felt most sensibly, that it was too true. The information of the revolution in Peru, of the consequent confusion in the commerce of Lima, of the breaking up of the house of Abadia & Arismendi, and of the escape of the latter, with a large amount in silver, in an American brig for Manilla, was received here not many months after my arrival.

During the Vice-Regal government, no stranger of respectability ever visited Lima, without enjoying the hospitality of Don Pedro Abadia. He was eminently hospitable, urbane, and friendly ; but although of superior education, and extensive intercourse with mankind, he was bigoted and priest-ridden. His talents and education, and the extraneous circumstances of his being agent at Lima of the Philippine Company, and of his brother's being about that time one of the cabinet of King Ferdinand ; all combined to give him an influence with the Viceroy and the Cabildo, unsurpassed by any other individual in the kingdom. This influence was often exerted for my advantage, or rather for that of the owners of the Beaver ; advantages, however, which were reciprocal ; as it enabled me to throw into their hands many valuable consignments. It was Abadia who gave to the house the character of respectability which it possessed, and which was such as to inspire a degree of

confidence, which secured to it, almost exclusively, the foreign business of the place.

Don José de Arismendi was the active, business man of the house ; a man who possessed the capacity of accomplishing much and varied business, with a degree of despatch and adroitness, very rarely seen among his countrymen. While present with him, he would conduct the business with which he was charged, on fair, honorable, and liberal principles. By this semblance of honesty and fair dealing, I was deceived, and was induced to confide in the house, to an extent which I discovered, when too late, was entirely unmerited, and which has been attended with ruinous consequences to me. It was late in my transactions with the house, before I discovered the peculiarity of the connexion. Abadia's relation to the Philippine Company did not admit of his engaging in a private mercantile house ; hence, while a sharer in the advantages, he was exempt from its responsibilities ; and hence, all the accounts and business documents were signed exclusively by Arismendi. Had this circumstance been known, as it ought to have been, it would have tended greatly to diminish the general confidence in the house.

Late in the summer of the year 1823, mention was made in one of the Boston newspapers, of the arrival of Señor Arismendi at Hamburgh, in the *Roscoe* of Salem, freighted with a rich cargo for his account from Manilla. As I had no doubt of this being my quondam friend, I flattered myself, that, starting immediately, and circumstances favoring, I might reach there before he should have left. Accordingly, in forty-eight hours after receiving the information, I was on my way to New York ; and in thirty days more, I arrived at Hamburgh, via Liv-

erpool, London, Harwich, and Cuxhaven. But I had the mortification to find that my labor was in vain. Arismendi had been landed at Teneriffe; and the cargo of the Roscoe, yet unsold, was so well covered, in the name of a Señor Zavaleta, a former clerk of Arismendi, who swore the property belonged exclusively to himself, that it could not be touched. After passing four days at Hamburgh, and with the aid of one of the most intelligent merchants of that city, being unable to effect any thing, I set out on my return, by the same route I had come. Fortunately I arrived at Liverpool just as the packet I came in was hauling out of dock on her return, and, embarking on board, I arrived at New York on the seventy-third day after leaving it.

Towards the autumn of the following year, 1824, I received information of the arrival of Señor Abadia at St. Thomas, and immediately wrote him on the subject of my demand. A copy of my letter to him, will best explain my views, as follows.

“ Lancaster, 21st Sept. 1824.

“ DON PEDRO ABADIA,

“ Dear Sir, — By a letter from our mutual friend, Mr. C., I learn that after many perils, and some pecuniary embarrassment, you have arrived safely at St. Thomas. On this event permit me to offer you my most hearty congratulations. It was reported, last year, that you had arrived at Porto Rico; and knowing that you possessed a coffee plantation there, I thought this very probable, and directed several letters to you there, some one of which you may have received. These letters were written with the hope of inducing you to use some effort, or point out some means, by which the confi-

dence I placed in the honor and integrity of your house should not be productive of my ruin. Among various other items you must be aware, that a sum of fifteen thousand dollars, charged me in account, as shipped for me, on board the Macedonian, and for which I hold duplicate acknowledgments of Arismendi, was never shipped. I will not attempt to describe to you my astonishment, when, after a great lapse of time, I received letters from Captain Smith informing me that I had been deceived, and that no property had been shipped with him, either for my account, or for that of your house. Independent of other sums, this amount, with five years' interest, will make an aggregate of upwards of \$20,000, as one item now due me, from your house.

“ Consider, my dear Sir, that this is the fruit of very hard labor, in the most toilsome profession ; and that on the possession or loss of it, is dependent, a life of ease and comfort with my family, or protracted absence, care, and toil; for the rest of my life.

“ You inform Mr. C. that Arismendi saved about three hundred thousand dollars. I had heard of his arrival at Manilla, with a large property, two years since ; that, last year, he had there chartered the brig Roscoe, and with this property had arrived at Hamburgh. In forty-eight hours after receiving this intelligence, I was on my way to Liverpool, where I arrived early in October, and proceeding immediately to London, caused inquiries to be made of the Spanish houses there if they knew any thing of Arismendi. They referred me to the London Times of the 7th of October, (only two days previous to my arrival,) in which appeared the advertisement which I send to Mr. C. to be forwarded by him to you. This advertisement was sufficient to account

for Arismendi's not venturing up channel, to accompany his property to Hamburgh. I therefore proceeded to Hamburgh, where I found an amount of sixty to seventy thousand dollars of the cargo of the Roscoe, in possession of a Mr. Zavaleta, in whose name it had been shipped, at Manilla, who had accompanied it, and who solemnly swore, that the property belonged to him. Arismendi had been landed at Teneriffe. I had then, and have now, no doubt that this property belonged to Arismendi ; but, unfortunately, I could produce no proof of it ; and therefore my efforts were of no avail. I wrote to a house at Teneriffe on the subject, and received for answer, that Arismendi remained there only two or three days, and then embarked for the continent. This is the last I have heard of his movements. He told Zavaleta, he should assume some other name. In this case, I do not perceive how you can discover where he is, or how he can receive the information that you are at St. Thomas.

“ I presume from the tenor of your letter to C. that you have no amount of property with you, and that, not less on your own account, than from a desire which I believe you to possess, of doing justice to your creditors, you will leave no efforts untried to discover the retreat of Arismendi, and to get that property from him, which, while withheld from the creditors of the house, will (however undeserved) be considered not less dishonourable to the name and character of Abadia, than to that of Arismendi. If there should be any such chance for the recovery of the property as would justify the expense of my meeting you at St. Thomas, and there taking your directions and power to settle with Arismendi in Europe, I would not hesitate to embark on

such an expedition ; indeed, I would even proceed to Lima, if you had any property remaining there, which there was a fair chance of recovering. It will afford me much pleasure to hear from you," &c. &c.

Whether this letter was ever received by Abadia I have never been informed.

Scarcely two months had elapsed after writing the above letter, when I received such information as could be depended on, that Arismendi was at the paternal residence, at Zarauz in Guipuzcoa. I had no hesitation, therefore, in embarking at New York, in December, in a brig bound for Bordeaux. Arriving there some time in the month of January, 1825, I proceeded, via Bayonne, Passage, and Yrun, to San Sebastian. From hence a messenger was despatched to Zarauz, who soon returned with information, that Arismendi was at Madrid ; and with the name of the street where he resided. Taking the Diligence, therefore, to Madrid, I had the good fortune to arrive there without being robbed. The next day I succeeded, not without much difficulty, in finding the person of whom I had been so long in pursuit, and was actually once more in his presence. Had an apparition appeared to him he could not have exhibited greater evidence of astonishment and dismay ; nor was it until the expiration of some minutes, that he was able to converse rationally. Unfortunately it required but little conversation to ascertain that my efforts would prove to be unavailing, and that I should recover nothing.

Arismendi had succeeded in obtaining what is termed a Moratoria, which is a security against molestation of person or property, by creditors, for a certain period. His was for four years. He begged me not to press my demand ; declared he had the control of no proper-

ty, and the wretchedly mean, dirty, and obscure lodgings he occupied, would confirm the truth of such assertion, if made by any other than a very cunning man. But I had no belief in it, and therefore did not desist from the pursuit until satisfied, by repeated conversations with him, and the best advice I could procure, during a residence of a fortnight at Madrid, that there existed not a ray of hope of obtaining any thing.

As some alleviation to my disappointment, so far as it tended, in a degree, to keep up hope, Arismendi gave me a power of attorney for the recovery of a large amount of property, alleged to be due him from sundry merchants in the United States. From a cursory examination of these claims I was induced to believe, that a considerable sum might be recovered, and I therefore flattered myself that there existed some chance of indemnification for my trouble and perseverance.

Soon becoming reconciled to my disappointment, and burying it in the oblivion which screened such a multitude of its predecessors, I passed the time very agreeably at Madrid, in visiting the numerous objects of interest with which that city abounds, the result of which was given to the public soon after my return, through the medium of the Literary Gazette of Boston, edited by J. G. Carter, Esquire.

The *ci-devant* Viceroy of Peru (Pezuela) hearing of my being in the city, sent a messenger to me with an invitation to his house. I went, therefore, in conformity, and was received by him with the cordiality of an old friend. He inquired how my various mercantile operations had resulted, and evinced an interest in my affairs which was as pleasing as it was unexpected. His inquiries for Captain Biddle, and his expressions

of friendship for him were made with an earnestness of manner which left no doubt of the esteem and regard he cherished for that distinguished officer. To the hospitality of our worthy minister, Mr. Nelson, and to that of the family of Mr. Rich, I was indebted for the most agreeable social hours I passed at Madrid.

Taking leave of my kind friends at Madrid, I returned to Bordeaux by the same route I had passed over before, excepting not revisiting San Sebastian. On ascertaining at Bordeaux, that no opportunity would occur for the United States, for some weeks, I took the Diligence for Paris, where, after passing a week, I proceeded to Havre, and took passage in the *Edward Quesnel* for New York, and arrived there in the month of April, 1825.

The agency for the collection of another's debts is an unacceptable service, more especially when they are of a description susceptible of controversy ; but in this instance there existed more than the usual inducement, for I hoped thus to cancel the debt due me. Upwards of one hundred thousand dollars were claimed of a Boston merchant, the justice of which he denied, and refused to pay any part of it. A demand on a merchant of Baltimore, for a much less amount, was equally unsuccessful. The only debt acknowledged by the signature of the debtor, was that of an old and intimate friend, who could ill spare the money, and from whom it was very painful to me to exact it ; but forbearance would have been a dereliction of duty, and would have been no otherwise serviceable to my friend, than to defer the time of payment. Accordingly, I recovered from him an amount about equal to one fourth of that due me from Arismendi.

When I was convinced that nothing more was recoverable under the power of attorney, I wrote to Arismendi, under the assumed name of Don Fausto Corral, as agreed on, to this effect ; assuring him of my conviction, that he would never obtain any thing through the intermediation of an agent, and that the only course which presented any prospect of success, was to come to this country and prosecute the business in person. This, however, I did not believe he would do, from the circumstance, that there were large demands against his house, in this country.

Nearly two years elapsed after writing this letter, and I heard nothing from him, when suddenly, and without any previous intimation to anybody, he made his appearance in Boston. He was accompanied by a nephew, who, like himself, spoke no other than the Spanish language. They were in very obscure and ordinary lodgings, kept by a foreigner, which circumstance, combined with their having brought no letters, was evidence of their desire of concealment.

After the usual salutations on so unexpected a meeting had passed, I rendered to him an account of my stewardship, of which he had previously been informed by my letter. I now felt a security, and consequent exultation, in the recovery of my property, which I had not experienced before ; indeed I perceived no way in which it could be eluded ; but the short-sightedness of man is proverbial, and scarce a day passes, that it is not self evident. As Arismendi was indebted ten thousand dollars for short freight on a ship, belonging equally to myself and to a merchant in Providence, I did not imagine any mischief could arise from informing him of it, though the result but too clearly proved, that this information

had better been delayed. With ill-judged impetuosity he sent the papers, proving the debt, to a lawyer of this city, with directions to institute a suit, notifying me, at the same time, of his having done so. Perceiving at once the mischief that would result from precipitate action, I went to the lawyer and persuaded him to wait a week, with a view of giving Arismendi time to ascertain the prospect of recovering the property of which he was in pursuit. This engagement, owing to some mistake, was not adhered to, the writ was issued, and for want of bail he was imprisoned ; thus taking from him the power of making those collections on which mainly depended the chance of obtaining our payment. It was literally destroying the bird that was destined to lay the golden egg.

This error being manifest, one of the partners of the Providence house came on, in the hope of retrieving it, and with this view we united in an act which rendered the matter worse, that of releasing him from prison, on his promise of making a settlement ; for it soon became evident, that his object was only to be emancipated, and that he had no intention of fulfilling his engagement. On being satisfied of this, recourse was had to the instituting a new suit, but before the writ could be served on him, he absconded.

This act, no less disgraceful on the part of the assistant, than of the principal, was effected by the aid of a Boston merchant, who enabled him to elude the vigilance of the officer charged with the arrest, concealed him until a vessel for St. Thomas was ready to sail, and then conveyed, or caused him to be conveyed, on board, thus assisting a fraudulent debtor to flee from jus-

tice, and preventing honest creditors from recovering their just demands.

In judging of actions we often err, and are guilty of injustice towards the individual whose motives we undertake to scan ; but in this instance there can be no mistake. As there existed no personal hostility or animosity to me, it was palpably no other than sordid interest. Arismendi crossed the Atlantic for the purpose, principally, of collecting a debt of upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, alleged to be due him from this Boston merchant.

On the presumption, that it was desirable to avoid payment or even to avert a troublesome course of litigation, nothing could possibly have happened more opportune, than the coincidence of circumstances, by which he became the confidant, the adviser, and the liberator of Arismendi, ostensibly to screen him from the rigors of a prison, but really to get rid of the payment of the debt ; for, once away, he knew there was a moral certainty he would not return to prosecute in person, and it was apparent it could not be done by an agent, without incurring the risk of the property's being trusted. But every single act of a man's life, when seen from a right point of view, is found to be in harmony with his whole character.

It was very evident, that I must relinquish all hope of ever recovering this debt, or any part of it ; a debt so considerable, that its loss was productive of serious inconvenience to me ; a debt, for the recovery of which I had made two voyages to Europe ; had induced the debtor to come to this country, and when in possession of the means of compelling payment, by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, already detailed, missed

profiting by those means ; thus truly verifying the adage of “ many a slip between the cup and the lip.”

An uninterrupted correspondence with my friend Shaler, during his long residence at Algiers, as Consul-General of the United States, kept alive that friendship whose origin was of so remote a date. After his return to the United States, being appointed to the Consulate of Havana, he invited me to accompany him, on terms of perfect equality in every thing essential. Taking charge of the Consulate in October, 1829, we remained there together until the melancholy occurrence of his death by cholera, in March, 1833, when it raged at Havana, with unparalleled fatality. In the death of Mr. Shaler the country lost a most excellent and patriotic citizen ; the government, a devoted and highly talented officer ; and myself, a long-trying and deeply lamented friend.

The evidence of estimation evinced by a long list of the most respectable among the merchants and others of Boston, Salem, Portland, and Havana, to procure my appointment to the vacant Consulate, although unsuccessful, was very flattering, and excited my most grateful acknowledgments.

CONCLUSION.

THERE is a propensity in men to inquire into the affairs of their neighbours, to discover the state of their fortune, to find out how much was made by one operation, and how much was lost by another. This propensity, which is generally stronger in small, than in large communities, is very often the offspring of impertinent curiosity ; but it may also, in many persons, be the result of kind feelings and a sympathy in the good or bad fortune of the individual. On the presumption that some of this latter class, who may have perused my narrative, may be gratified with a summary of my gains and losses, and the final result of my labors, I am induced to close my book with such a sketch, aware of subjecting myself to animadversion ; but too near the close of life to be affected by it.

It will have been seen, that the amount of my outfit from France was four thousand five hundred dollars, of which two thousand were mine and two thousand five hundred belonged to others, and were shipped on half profits. This produced at the Cape of Good Hope eleven thousand dollars, which were invested in an enterprise from China to the Northwest Coast of America, together with seven thousand dollars belonging to some friends, making the cost of the expedition to the

Northwest Coast, for vessel and cargo, eighteen thousand dollars. The furs procured there sold in China for sixty thousand dollars, about one third of which was shipped in teas to the United States, and the other two thirds taken to Calcutta, the Isle of France, and Denmark.

The profits on the cargo from the Isle of France to Denmark were great. In about two years from the time of sailing on my Northwest voyage, the eighteen thousand dollars cost yielded in Denmark and the United States upwards of one hundred thousand dollars ; and the two thousand dollars, the amount of my property on leaving Europe, together with my commissions, wages, and half profits, amounted to about forty-five thousand dollars.

Such a brilliant result to my enterprise may be supposed to have been very gratifying to me, if on no other consideration than the acquisition of independence ; but it was vastly more so, from the circumstance of its enabling me to make comfortable and happy the latter years of a father, who, with a young family, was feeling the pressure of poverty ; of aged uncles and aunts, who had seen better days, and whose kindness to me required that I should leave nothing undone, which was in my power to do, to promote their happiness.

From my next enterprise in the *Lelia Byrd*, which was of three years' duration, I returned to Boston in the spring of the year 1804, in the ship *Alert*, having on board an invoice of silks of about fifty thousand dollars, belonging equally to my friend Shaler and myself. The result of this, with that of my former voyage, and my interest in the *Lelia Byrd* under the direction of Mr.

Shaler, would amount to about seventy thousand dollars, which I possessed in the year 1804, clear of debt.

I then embarked in commerce to the extent of my ability ; was unfortunate, and by the time my friend Shaler returned to the United States in 1807, having made a disastrous voyage, this, with my own operations, had diminished our capital two thirds, leaving us only about twenty thousand dollars each, or forty thousand dollars ; all of which was embarked in the *Aspasia*, under my command. The total loss of this property by the confiscation of the *Telémaco* at Tortola, and the disaster which occurred to the *Aspasia* is fully detailed. I was now ruined, with a family to support, and with no other way of doing it than by pursuing a profession, which had every day become more hazardous by the increasing depredations of the British cruisers.

Years rolled on, during which I was an exile from my family, toiling for their support, and for the acquisition of independence. My voyages to Africa, to England, and to Holland during the embargo, were successful. By my voyage to Naples, although vessel and cargo were seized and confiscated, I made sixteen thousand dollars. In the *William*, which was wrecked on Jutland, I made a profit of five thousand dollars. These sums were embarked in a voyage from Copenhagen to Riga and back, which was performed successfully. Afterwards I was interested in several cargoes of wheat from Holstein to England, which yielded a handsome profit ; so that I had once more a capital of about thirty-five thousand dollars. This was embarked in an adventure from England destined for Hamburgh, and which, owing to the defeat of Napoleon in Russia, turned out nearly a total loss.

Returning home penniless, I had to begin the world again. The peace between the United States and England having been ratified soon after my return, and the then pacification of the world rendering commercial adventures little productive, I gained only five thousand dollars as master and supercargo of a ship to Batavia. By my next voyage in the *Beaver*, in the years 1817 to 1820, I made seventy-five thousand dollars ; and after my return, in an adventure to Peru, in the ship *Tea-Plant*, with Messrs. LeRoy and Bayard, I made eight thousand dollars. The greater portion of the amount acquired in the *Beaver* was swept off as detailed, before it reached the United States, and most of the remainder in an unfortunate voyage to China. On my return from Havana in 1835, I had yet about sixteen thousand dollars. This was all swallowed up in an unsuccessful speculation in 1836, and I was thus a third time left destitute.

On making an estimate of my losses in the twenty years between 1805 and 1825, I find their aggregate amount to exceed two hundred thousand dollars, although I never possessed at any one time a sum exceeding eighty thousand dollars. Under such losses I have been supported by the consoling reflection, that they have been exclusively mine, and that it is not in the power of any individual to say with truth, that I have injured him to the amount of a dollar.

With a small annual sum from the Neapolitan indemnity I have been enabled to support myself, till this was on the point of ceasing by the cancelling of that debt ; when I was so fortunate as to obtain an office in the custom-house, the duties of which I hope to per-

form faithfully, and in peace, during the few remaining years, or months, or days, which may be allotted me on earth.

THE END.





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